

Conflict and Consensus in The Dynamics of Islamic and Christian Relations in Tolaki Tribe in Indonesia

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Abstract:

This study explores the dynamics of interfaith conflict and consensus between Islam and Christianity within the Tolaki community of Konawe, Sulawesi. Despite sharing common cultural roots, the Tolaki community exhibits contrasting patterns of interfaith relations in the districts of Lambuya and Wolasi. This study employs an interpretive paradigm and a phenomenological approach. The analysis integrates Moustakas' phenomenological framework with the data analysis model developed by Miles and Huberman. Findings reveal that factors such as traditional values, leadership, and shared social practices contribute to harmonious relations in Lambuya, while differing historical contexts and localized social dynamics in Wolasi exacerbate tensions. Additionally, local values such as kolasara and the role of traditional elders are proven to be crucial in maintaining religious harmony in both Lambuya and Wolasi district.

[Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi dinamika konflik antaragama dan konsensus antara Islam dan Kristen dalam komunitas Tolaki di Konawe, Sulawesi. Meskipun memiliki akar budaya yang sama, komunitas Tolaki menunjukkan pola hubungan antar agama yang kontras di distrik Lambuya dan Wolasi. Penelitian ini menggunakan paradigma interpretatif dan pendekatan fenomenologis. Analisis ini mengintegrasikan kerangka fenomenologis Moustakas dengan model analisis data yang dikembangkan oleh Miles dan Huberman. Temuan mengungkapkan bahwa faktor-faktor seperti nilai-nilai tradisional, kepemimpinan, dan praktik sosial bersama berkontribusi pada



hubungan yang harmonis di Lambuya, sementara konteks sejarah yang berbeda dan dinamika sosial lokal di Wolasi memperburuk ketegangan. Selain itu, nilai-nilai lokal seperti kolasara dan peran tetua adat terbukti sangat penting dalam menjaga kerukunan umat beragama di Kabupaten Lambuya dan Wolasi.]

Keywords:

Conflict, Consensus, Tolaki Society, Interfaith relations.

A. Introduction

The dynamics of encounters between Christians and Muslims in the Tolaki community of Konawe, likely involve a complex interplay of religious, cultural, and social factors. This community, located in Southeast Sulawesi, reflects Indonesia's broader religious diversity and multicultural coexistence. According to Amiruddin (2017)¹ the Tolaki tribe, with its religious diversity, acts as a microcosm for the challenges and opportunities encountered by pluralistic societies globally. In their daily lives, the Tolaki people practice Islam, Christianity, and indigenous religions. This rich religious variety mirrors the diversity found in societies around the world. The social, cultural, and religious exchanges within the Tolaki community reflect wider trends in multicultural societies. The issues faced by the Konawe community, such as interfaith conflict, discrimination, and efforts to foster tolerance are not unique to this area and can be seen in many parts of the world with religious diversity. This community offers a distinctive setting where we can observe firsthand how religious differences may either lead to conflict or promote cooperation. According to Hymes (1964)², religious diversity presents both opportunities and challenges: on the one hand, it provides chances for mutual learning, cultural enrichment, and the creation of inclusive societies; on the other hand, it brings potential for conflict, misunderstanding, and discrimination. As a community with a deep religious diversity, the Tolaki people offer an intriguing case study on how historical, social, economic, political, and cultural factors interplay to shape interreligious relations.

In the Tolaki community, Islam and Christianity are the two largest religions that have integrated with the local indigenous belief system.

¹ Amiruddin, I Ketut Suardika, and Anwar, 'Kolasara Di Kalangan Masyarakat Tolaki di Sulawesi Tenggara', *Mudra: Jurnal Seni Budaya* Vol. 32, no. 1 (2017): 209–19.

² Dell H. Hymes, ed., *Language in Culture and Society: A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964).

Therefore, the existence and dynamics of these two religions are quite interesting to study, as their religious movements are significantly influenced by the culture, mindset, and social relationships of the community. Rambe (2020)³ stated that the relationship between Islam and Christianity in this community is deeply rooted in a complex history of interactions that encompass both conflict and cooperation. Christianity and Islam have been present in the region for centuries, with the spread of each religion influenced by various waves of colonialism, trade, and missionary work. In many parts of Indonesia, including Konawe region, Islam was introduced by traders and Islamic kingdoms, while Christianity was often spread by European missionaries. Over time, these two religions became intertwined with the local culture and identity, often blending with indigenous beliefs and practices. The legacy of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia created a context in which both Islam and Christianity were sometimes used to further colonial interests. This history of external control and religious tension still influences interfaith dynamics today. In the life of the Tolaki people who reside in Lambuya District, Konawe Regency, for example, the presence of Islam and Christianity does not pose a problem, and harmony between the two religions is fostered through the local tradition of kolasara. Meanwhile, in Wolasi District, South Konawe Regency, religious tensions still tend to arise, though they have not escalated into open conflict.

The dynamics of conflict and consensus within the Tolaki community are an intriguing area of research because they highlight the complex interplay between culture, religion, and social relationships in a plural society. Despite sharing a common cultural heritage, the Tolaki community exhibits different patterns of interfaith relations in different districts, such as Lambuya and Wolasi. This diversity in religious dynamics within the same cultural group offers a unique perspective on how local traditions, social norms, and historical factors shape interfaith interactions. This research is important not only for understanding the local case but also for strengthening diversity and tolerance in Indonesia on a broader scale. understanding the Tolaki community also offers insights that can inform broader efforts to strengthen interfaith dialogue and religious tolerance in

³ Toguan Rambe, 'Mukti Ali's Contributions to Interreligious Harmony in Indonesia', *Al-Lubb: Journal of Islamic Thought and Muslim Culture (JITMC)* Vol. 2, no. 1 (2020): 34-47.

Indonesia and other multicultural societies. By identifying the factors that enable religious cooperation or exacerbate tensions, the findings could help policymakers, religious leaders, and community organizers design more effective strategies for fostering peace and harmony in diverse communities.

Several related studies include the work of Idris and Alifuddin,⁴ who explored how religious leaders in Kendari respond to the concept of pluralism. Using the analytical frameworks of Mukti Ali and Ninian Smart, Idris concludes that, in general, the religious leaders' understanding in Kendari, from Ali's perspective, exhibits both agreement and disagreement. When analyzed through Smart's framework, the views of Islamic religious leaders in Kendari City regarding the relationship between beliefs tend to reflect an inclusive hegemonic mindset. Both the combination of agreement and disagreement, along with the inclusive hegemonistic approach, do not allow for a broad and open environment where mutual respect between followers of different religions can thrive. These two patterns of thought still leave space for suspicion toward individuals from different sects or religious groups. Further, research by Alfitri et al., titled *Interfaith Dialogue as a Tool for Peacebuilding in Indonesia: A Case Study*, examines interfaith dialogue strategies in communities with religious differences, particularly in rural areas of Indonesia, as a means to reduce tension. This research provides context for comparing interfaith dialogue mechanisms in other areas with the dynamics in Wolasi, where religious tensions are higher. In addition to the two studies mentioned, research by Nurjannah titled *Faith Parallelism: Interfaith Understanding Relations in the Lambuya Community* examines how Islam and Christianity coexist peacefully in the Tolaki community in Lambuya. Using descriptive analysis and ethnographic approaches, this study explores the historical and cultural factors that foster mutual understanding and unity. It identifies cultural mechanisms that support social solidarity within the Tolaki community, such as yielding attitudes, shared ethnic awareness, kinship systems (*serumpun*), respect for traditional institutions (*kalo*), and adherence to rituals. These cultural pillars, rooted in the shared value of *kalo sara*, function as key elements in strengthening social unity and fostering harmonious relationships between different faiths.

⁴ Muhammad Alifuddin, 'Dakwah Inklusif Dalam Masyarakat Segregatif Di Aoma Dan Ambesakoa Sulawesi Tenggara', *Jurnal Dakwah* Vol. 16, no. 2 (2015): 171–201, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jd.2015.16201>.

These studies provide various relevant perspectives to understand the dynamics of interfaith conflict and consensus within the Tolaki community, particularly in the contexts of Lambuya and Wolasi. However, an in-depth analysis focusing on the differences in conflict dynamics within a community with shared cultural roots has yet to be fully explored. Focusing on these differences provides a new perspective on how customary values can be implemented differently depending on the local social and political context. Therefore, the research questions in this study are: 1) How are patterns of interfaith conflict and consensus formed in Lambuya and Wolasi? and 2) Why does the community in Lambuya tend to maintain harmonious interfaith relations, while Wolasi experiences tensions despite both sharing the same cultural roots? This study refers to the interpretive paradigm (the emic point of view). The interpretive paradigm focuses on the various concrete forms of cultural meaning in their distinctive and complex textures. In line with this is the emic perspective by looking at the cultural meaning from an insider's point of view. The phenomenological approach is used to study the religious phenomena among the Tolaki communities in Lambuya and Wolasi. Data then analyzed using phenomenological analysis, as developed by Moustakas, combined with the data analysis models of Miles and Huberman. The aim of this research is not only to understand the local dynamics of interfaith relations in these two districts but also to contribute to broader efforts in strengthening religious tolerance and diversity across Indonesia. By identifying the key factors that enable religious cooperation or exacerbate tensions, the study will provide insights for policymakers, religious leaders, and community organizers to design strategies that foster peace and unity in diverse societies.

B. Theoretical Framework

Inter-religious relations in the context of this study are defined as reciprocal relationships between adherents of religions in a social and cultural situation that allows the parties involved to interact.⁵ In the context of inter-religious social relations as a social situation developed in the Aoma and Ambelasakoa communities, an important fact that occurred in the two communities is a situation which in sociology is called "segregation" which

⁵ Puspita Handayani, Ima Faizah, and Mochammad Alfian Rosid, 'Model Gerakan Dakwah Keagamaan Muhammadiyah: Studi Etnografi Di Kabupaten Sidoarjo Jawa Timur', *Sosiologi Reflektif* Vol. 15, no. 1 (2020): 103–16, <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsr.v15i1.1967>.

leads to a spatial classification based on the color of religion/ideology. Theoretically, the classification of space based on an ideological basis will encourage the creation of a cultural fence that will lead to strengthening the solidarity of each group.⁶ This of course has an impact on their response to the concept of plurality of beliefs.

William Graham Sumner, professor of sociology in the United States (Yale College), argues that, segregation can cause (automatically) each group to have an opinion that it is superior to other groups and therefore (opportunities) for conflict to widen when two groups meet. According to Pettigrew and Tropp, in the late 19th century, the leading ideas of social psychology dictated that contact between two different groups (many things that can form a 'group' such as gender, income source and educational background, cultural, one of the most common: race) almost certainly ends in conflict.⁷

In general, conflict sometimes brings great catastrophe in society, especially if the conflict touches the ideological level. Conflict can manifest itself in two faces, functional conflict and dysfunctional conflict. A dysfunctional conflict can occur if each party feels the opposite aspiration of the other party and there is no opportunity for problem solving that can accommodate the interests of both parties. In such conditions the conflict manifests itself in various forms.

In functional conflict, the conflict itself is sometimes needed as a solution, which is done by raising the latent conflict to the surface and then finding a solution that can accommodate the interests of all parties (compromise). Compromise and conflict are like two sides of a coin in society. Dah Rendrof's thesis states that consensus and conflict exist simultaneously in society as a causal relationship. Society will not have conflict without prior consensus or agreement. Conflict occurs because it has violated the consensus. Society is expected to always be in an integrative, stable, and orderly situation, because in society there are values, norms, and rules that are mutually agreed upon by its members. The social

⁶ Hafidz Arfandi, 'Motif Dan Strategi Gerakan Filantropi Muhammadiyah', *Jurnal Muhammadiyah Studies* Vol. 1, no. 1 (2020): 127–55, <https://doi.org/10.22219/jms.v1i1.11413>.

⁷ Ichwansyah Tampubolon, 'Dakwah Pencerahan: Pemikiran Dan Aktivitas Dakwah Muhammadiyah Zaman Kekinian', *Al-Muaddib: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial Dan Keislaman* Vol. 1, no. 1 (2016), <https://doi.org/DOI:http://dx.doi.org/10.31604/muaddib.v1i1.101>.

system in society can survive and survive requires conditions that can fulfill integrative and stability goals.

Parson calls such conditioning AGIL, namely A (adaptation), G (goalainment, I (integration), and L (latency) marton in Coser, Gluckman in,⁸ Andaya and others believe that compromises that lead to integration resulting from conflict allow for similarities in the broader social structure. This similarity is held by each party due to the elements that reduce conflict in the form of a system of religion, politics, and customs and even a broader system of cultural values. According to Rahardjo, the most vulnerable issue regarding conflict is the issue of religious differences. But on the other hand, based on the results of many studies conducted, it shows that religion is not only one of the factors to accelerate the integration process, as well as a factor supporting the process of associative interaction among themselves, especially in an environment that comes from one ethnicity. According to Martono, another aspect that is also very important in the integration process between people of different cultures is the adaptation of positive values which are the basis for the realization of progress in development, namely the transfer of skills and technology.⁹

Marton said that the structure of society not only serves to maintain the orderliness of a system, but can also cause dysfunction in the social system. The structure of society may have a positive function for certain parties, but can also be dysfunctional for other groups. Thus, the dysfunctional social structure still persists, because the structure is functional for some systems in society. Merton suggested that social systems can move toward meaningful change if dysfunctional structures are removed. In such conditions, the social system can survive, be stable, and integrative in a better and meaningful way.¹⁰

Conflict has the same opportunity as compromise in inter-religious relations. Many factors in inter-religious relations can trigger conflict,

⁸ Muhammad Alifudin, Moh. Toriqul Chaer, and Fitriah M. Suud, 'Contextualization of The 19th Century Islamic Law in Buton: A Study on Sultan Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin Thought about Mawaris', *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* Vol. 20, no. 2 (2020): 269–87, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v20i2.269-287>.

⁹ Martono, *Panca Matra Transmigrasi Terpadu* (Jakarta: Departemen Transmigrasi, 1985), 45.

¹⁰ Muhammad Kahfi, 'Peranan Muhammadiyah Sebagai Gerakan Islam Berkemajuan Di Era Modern', *Al-Risalah* Vol. 11, no. 2 (2020): 110–28, <https://doi.org/10.34005/alrisalah.v11i2.590>.

including from different perspectives and both have a strong sense of belonging. The sense of belonging that arises from self-identification can lead to different feelings between the two groups. This potential will lead to more conflict, if the identification of "us" with "them" is strengthened by the legitimacy of the narrative of faith, rituals, and so on which further strengthens the identification of oneself and the group. This sense of belonging and solidarity with a very strong group can be a trigger for conflict, in addition to other factors.¹¹ The real conflict arises from the perception of differences in interest (perceived divergence of interest).

Conflicts between religions in society are caused by the perception of differences in interests between the parties involved. This can happen when one party can have aspirations that conflict with the aspirations of the other party. In such a situation, there are only two opposing parties, namely the dominant and subordinate parties.¹² The cause of the conflict lies in the difference in interests and the unavailability of alternatives that can accommodate the interests of both parties. Another factor causing conflict according to Dahrendrof is the difference in the distribution of authority. Dahrendrof¹³ explains that the dominant party seeks to maintain the status quo, while the subordinate party wishes to make changes. With a concept that is not much different, Coser argues that conflict occurs because of the intensification of pressure on non-dominant groups and the absence of legitimacy on the distribution of rights in society.

The imposition of dominant group interests and legitimacy has always been the main factor causing conflict. The dominant group has a very large role in ensuring stability and sparking conflict in society. The elites in instilling their dominance use psychological discourses that are not realized by the non-dominant group as coercion and oppression, even considering it as a natural thing. In fact this is a form of violence or rather institutionalized violence or structural violence. Institutional violence does not occur by chance, but is supported by social structures as the legitimacy of power. Another factor that causes conflict is the lack of recognition

¹¹ Tampubolon, 'Dakwah Pencerahan.

¹² Zuly Qadir, 'Islam Berkemajuan Dan Strategi Dakwah Pencerahan Umat', *Jurnal Sosiologi Reflektif* Vol. 13, no. 2 (2019): 209–33.

¹³ Alifudin, Chaer, and Suud, 'Contextualization of The 19th Century Islamic Law in Buton: A Study on Sultan Muhammad Idrus Qaimuddin Thought about Mawaris'.

(legitimacy) of equal rights in society.¹⁴

The absence of recognition of equal rights or discrimination is actually a form of structural violence. Structural violence tends not to be felt by victims of violence, because it still shows stability under certain conditions and is invisible. In structural violence, sufferers of violence experience a systematic process of weakening (systematic disempowerment). Several factors, the dominance of elite figures, and the legitimacy of different treatment according to Giddens are dimensions of structuration in society that can lead to structural violence. This condition becomes a dysfunctional social system and tends to give rise to conflict.¹⁵

C. Results

1. Conflict and Consensus Patterns in Lambuya and Wolasi

Conflict and consensus patterns refer to the ways individuals or groups interact within a society or organization, particularly in decision-making processes and problem resolution. The patterns of conflict and consensus among the Tolaki tribe in Lambuya and Wolasi districts are heavily influenced by the long history of religious introduction to the region, as well as the presence of social conditions shaped by migrants in these areas. These factors have led to distinct conflict and consensus patterns in each community.

In the Tolaki community of Lambuya, differences in religious beliefs are not seen as a complicated issue. Instead, the community focuses on fostering elegant communication across all dimensions of life. People live harmoniously, mingling with one another and considering religious differences a private matter between an individual and their God. As a result, in their daily lives, the Tolaki people of Lambuya continue to work together, practice mutual cooperation, and maintain a harmonious coexistence among followers of different religions. Both Muslims and Christians show mutual respect and deeply honor local customs and indigenous beliefs.

This situation contrasts sharply with the conditions in the Tolaki community in Wolasi district. Here, religious differences are much more

¹⁴ Haedar Nashir, *Gerakan Islam Pencerahan* (Yogyakarta: Suara Muhammadiyah, 2015).

¹⁵ Endang Supriadi, Ghufon Ajib, and Sugiarto, 'Intoleransi Dan Radikalisme Agama: Konstruksi LSM Tentang Program Deradikalisasi', *Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo* Vol. 4, no. 1 (2020): 53–72, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2020.4.1.4544>.

pronounced. Muslim and Christian residents tend not to mingle or engage with one another. Each religious group tends to inhabit separate areas, with Muslim and Christian communities living in distinct and often distant locations. This segregation or separation based on religious affiliation reflects a dichotomous divide in religious beliefs and worldviews. While open conflict has not yet emerged, there is a clear tendency toward tension and differences between the two religious groups. The choice to live apart with defined geographical boundaries is a manifestation of cultural tensions between these communities. This separation has led to the establishment of geographical boundaries based on religious identity, which signifies socio-cultural tension in the local community. However, this tension does not manifest in physical clashes but rather in ideological clashes. The most visible implication of these ideological clashes is the creation of a segregated society or social system between the two communities. The geographic and social separation underscores the underlying tension and differing approaches to coexistence between Muslims and Christians in Wolasi.

In the Tolaki community of Lambuya, differences in religious beliefs are not a significant issue and instead encourage the community to focus on fostering effective and respectful communication across all aspects of life. The people interact and integrate seamlessly, considering religious differences a personal matter, private between individuals and their God. Consequently, in their daily lives, the Tolaki people of Lambuya continue to work together, engage in mutual cooperation, and maintain a harmonious coexistence among followers of different religions. Both Muslims and Christians show mutual respect for one another and deeply value local customs and indigenous beliefs.

This situation is quite different from what occurs in the Tolaki community of Wolasi district. In Wolasi, religious differences are much more apparent. Muslim and Christian residents tend to avoid mingling or engaging with each other. They even occupy distinct areas, where Muslim communities live separately or far from Christian communities. The presence of segregation or separation based on religious affiliation highlights a dichotomy in religious beliefs and approaches to coexistence between these groups. Although open conflict has not yet arisen, there is a clear tendency toward tension and division between the two religious communities. The choice to live apart with defined geographical boundaries is a manifestation of cultural tensions between these groups. This separation

has led to the establishment of geographical boundaries based on religious identity, which underscores socio-cultural tension within the local community. However, this tension does not manifest in physical clashes but rather in ideological disagreements.

Conflict and consensus are two sides of the same coin in social dynamics, both serving as integral parts of human interaction. While conflict reflects differences in opinion, competing interests, or rivalries, consensus represents agreements, mutual understanding, or solutions accepted by all parties. In the Wolasi community, latent conflict is one of the emerging patterns. This type of conflict is not overtly visible or directly expressed but exists as underlying tension. Dissatisfaction or disagreements may not be explicitly voiced, yet these feelings persist and could escalate unexpectedly. Based on observations and interviews, it was found that both Muslim and Christian adherents regard their respective religions as the ultimate truth, perceiving differences as a threat. Another type of conflict observed is interest conflict. This arises when two or more parties have opposing goals or interests. In this context, the Muslim majority exhibits a sense of superiority, expecting to be followed and heard, while the Christian minority resents this perceived dominance. These conflicting interests create tensions that cannot be simultaneously resolved, and the imbalance of power between the majority and minority has the potential to escalate into more severe conflicts.

Ideological or value conflicts also occur due to differing worldviews. Endang et al. (2020) suggest that when individuals or groups hold divergent beliefs or values, ideological conflicts may arise. In the multicultural Tolaki society, differing views on religion or morality can spark tensions. Despite these conflicts, efforts to mitigate tensions are made through mediation and consensus-building. The consensus established in Wolasi emphasizes strong ethnic solidarity, rooted in the perspective that social organization, values, norms, roles, and institutions are interconnected as a cohesive whole. Both communities share a common objective: to agree on what is acceptable and unacceptable, and to collaborate in supporting each other's activities. As Emile Durkheim¹⁶ noted, the content and general nature of laws and agreements are shaped by the type of solidarity that characterizes a society.

¹⁶ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman, *Teori Sosiologi Modern* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2003), 45.

This perspective underscores the importance of shared values and collective efforts in fostering harmony despite underlying differences.

The consensus based on the meposoako paradigm is actually a law that was born from the womb of the Tolaki people's tradition of being humble, peace-loving, tolerant, and respectful of fellow human beings. The law is constructed on the basis of mutual agreement and is formed from the behavior of the community itself when the community commits deviant acts, as can be referred to when Wekoila first united the Tolaki community who were in an atmosphere of conflict. Thus, the consensus that occurs in the Aoma and Ambesakoa communities today is actually a continuation of the civilization and culture of integration inherited by Wekoila, namely Kalo Sara. Through the Kalosara mechanism, the Tolaki community can control the deviant behavior caused by the community. The strong culture of integration within the Tolaki community as part of the cultural consensus as manifested in culture is theoretically recognized in the scientific realm. This can at least be referred to Sumner's view that law-making cannot change customs quickly and easily and that all laws flow directly from customs or that law cannot include any social change.

The patterns of conflict in the Lembuya community are significantly lighter compared to those in Wolasi. In the Tolaki community of Lembuya, religious differences are not considered problematic as they are regarded as personal rights and are distinctly separated from communal life. Religion is seen as a highly private matter, and the community respects each individual's right to choose and practice their faith. Social interactions focus more on human values, mutual cooperation, and local wisdom, rather than religious differences.

The Tolaki people of Lembuya also uphold the traditional customs and beliefs of Lokasala. The strong presence of Lokasala beliefs in the Lembuya community fosters closer social bonds. These beliefs promote values such as mutual cooperation, tolerance, and respect for nature and ancestors. These values serve as powerful social adhesives that help suppress potential conflicts. Additionally, the egalitarian and participatory social structure of the Lembuya community contributes to the lower levels of conflict. Important decisions are often made through deliberation and consensus, ensuring that all community members feel involved and take ownership of the decisions. The patterns of consensus observed in Lembuya include consensus through discussion, natural consensus, and adaptive consensus.

Individuals of different religions openly communicate, share perspectives, and strive to understand one another's positions. A shared understanding of similar goals and values also leads to natural consensus within the Lembuya district. Furthermore, the role of the tribal chief, who is still highly respected, serves as a mediator to help find common ground and resolve differences, effectively reducing the likelihood of conflicts. In certain situations, consensus is formed gradually. For instance, in organizations or communities, groups involved may not fully agree at the outset, but over time, they adapt to small changes and make compromises, ultimately reaching a larger agreement. This gradual process is driven by an awareness of their shared ancestry, which strengthens their willingness to collaborate and maintain harmony.

2. Factors that make the conflict and consensus patterns in Lambuya and Wolasi different.

Wolasi District is one of the sub-districts under the Regional Government of South Konawe Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province. This area was once part of Konawe Regency, but after the expansion of the Regency, Wolasi became included in the geographical area of South Konawe. The expansion and development of this area have led to an influx of migrants, making Wolasi a place where various ethnic groups from all over Indonesia now reside. In principle, religious diversity, as well as ethnic and national plurality, are undeniable facts. This diversity has led to the creation of social class divisions, which in turn caused jealousy. Over time, the local community has been increasingly displaced, with the region being dominated by Muslim migrants who now live alongside the Muslim Tolaki community. The separation of residential areas has further strengthened the disparities and differences between the two groups. Each group now holds its own perspectives and beliefs, and there is mutual prejudice. These two communities do not have an intense relationship and only interact for business or practical purposes.

The long history of interfaith interactions in Wolasi district has also shaped a complex social landscape. Historical events, such as migration, colonization, and internal conflicts, have left deep marks on interfaith relations. The aggressive introduction of religion in this area has caused prolonged trauma, leading to suspicion and mistrust that persist between religious groups. This is further exacerbated by economic factors in the dynamics of interfaith relations in Wolasi district. Differences in

socioeconomic status between religious groups, competition for resources, and injustice in wealth distribution have increased religious tensions. Fortunately, the Tolaki community still adheres to traditional principles, which have led them to exercise restraint, focusing on harmony and avoiding religious conflicts. These principles are manifested in the separation of living spaces and prohibitions on interfaith marriages.

One of the interesting things to note in the context of inter-religious life in Wolasi is the reality of marriage which is built on the basis of different beliefs (Christian Islam). If in the Tolaki Lambuya community this kind of case is common and is responded to as a natural thing, this is not the case for the Wolasi people who live in Aoma. In the Lambuya community, cases of religious dualism in one house tend to be more relaxed or even accommodated, so in Wolasi (Aoma) they tend to be "opposed" or "rejected". The results of the author's identification, for interfaith marriages between the Muslim Aoma community and the Christian Ambesakoa and Taman Sari, are very difficult not to say. This is confirmed by Ibrahim;

"As far as I know, none of the people in our village have married them, even if they did, it might have been an accident."¹⁷

The same thing is also explained by Randelangi as follows:

"Our families in this village are trying their best to prevent our generations or our children from marrying non-Muslim partners, and this has not happened so far. Inter-religious marriages here usually occur with people from outside our village. If there are children in this village who choose to marry a resident of the next village, then he must first be bathed and then say the two sentences of the shahada."¹⁸

In line with Randelangi, Abdul Razak said that cases of interfaith marriages are now rare. In the past, it often happened, but after the government regulation regarding the obligation for husband and wife to be of the same faith, the case of interfaith marriages has become difficult. Right now, sir, if someone wants to marry from a couple from a different religion, then they must first be converted to Islam, if they don't want it, the marriage will not happen, unless they marry according to tradition.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ibrahim, *interview*, 27/7/2020

¹⁸ Randelangi, *interview*, 15/5/2020

¹⁹ Abdul Razak (Eks KUA Wolasi), *interview*,

Moving on from the information of a number of informants as described above, it is clear that the Wolasi community rejects the reality of interfaith marriages. There are at least two main reasons that underlie their strong rejection of the reality of interfaith marriage. First, culturally, the Tolaki Wolasi people, especially those living in Aoma, rely on the tilaka owose philosophy. According to Su'ud the philosophy of tilaka owose, implies that unlucky parents are when one of their offspring marries someone other than Islam. The second reason for this opposition is because for the Wolasi people (especially the Aoma people), interfaith marriages that have occurred so far are a hidden agenda carried out by certain parties, to change someone's belief. In this regard, Muhammad Ali emphasized:

“Actually, inter-religious marriages that occur in this area have certain purposes, namely to convert us to Christianity (read: Muslims). The proof is that almost all mixed marriages occur where the man is a Christian and has a Muslim woman, and after a while the wife is usually "demanded" by her husband to convert. There are many cases like this, sir, for example the marriage between Hasrun Dayan and Farida, but fortunately his wife also insists that she does not want to leave her religion”.²⁰

In the case of mixed marriage above, there is indeed a family and inter-family conflict, this is acknowledged by Pdt. Marlin: He mentioned that the family, which is blessed with two children, was chaotic, because Farida's husband insisted that Farida follow her faith. this, for the sake of the children.²¹

The conflict in Hasrun and Farida's families with different religions occurred because each party persisted with their own religion, which was acknowledged by Mrs. Nur Aida, Farida's older sister. According to Aida:²²

“We have warned our sister, do not really leave your religion, no matter what happens. And besides, I, as his older brother, always encourage him to be active in the Taklim Council.”

Based on this, we can see that the Tolaki community in Wolasi views religious differences as something that cannot be unified. Therefore, to maintain interfaith harmony and peaceful coexistence, it is suggested that

²⁰Ali, *interview*.

²¹Pdt. Marlin, *interview*.

²²Nuraida, *interview*.

Muslims gather with fellow Muslims and marry within their own faith, while Christians should live in one area with other Christians and choose to marry within their religion. In this way, each group can respect one another and live peacefully.

This situation is different from the Tolaki community in Lambuya, who still strongly adhere to their ancestral beliefs. According to Tarimana, the most valuable things in the life of the Tolaki people are what they call *medulu mepoko'aso* (unity and unity), *ate pute penao moroha* (holiness and justice), and *morini mbu'umbundi monapa mbu'u ndawaro* (prosperity). and welfare). These ideas are communicated and expressed by the Tolaki people in various fields of life, both related to social and cultural and economic activities, and even integrated in religious ceremonies.²³

The three values quoted above are nothing but a form of rejuvenating the concept of *kalo* in the life of the Tolaki people. In addition, it can be stated that the values embodied in the concepts of *medulu mepoko'aso*, *ate pute penao moroha*, and *morini mbu'umbundi monapa mbu'u ndawaro*, are actually an integrated culture that has existed since ancient times and is maintained and preserved by Tolaki people *sampai hari ini*.²⁴

According to Tarimana, *kalo* at the level of norms are expressions of cultural values that function to build relationships or specific connection to Tolaki people. In this context, it actually has value as a symbol of guidance in behavior for Tolaki people in their efforts to interact with fellow Tolaki people. *Kalo* as a symbol that is guided by the Tolaki people in building relationships between fellow humans, its manifestation can be seen in the use of the *Kalo* symbol as a value and legal system. The *Kalo* symbol as a value in the customary law system in the Tolaki community functions as a regulator of various aspects of Tolaki life. As a symbol of customary law, it appears in various social activities of the Tolaki community, in this context, it functions as a means of communication between families and between groups.²⁵

The use of the *kalo* symbol in all Tolaki people's activities as described above, illustrates that in the cultural concept of the Tolaki people, *kalo* is a

²³ Abdurrauf Tarimana, *Kebudayaan Tolaki*, Seri Etnografi Indonesia No. 3 (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1989), 284.

²⁴ Arfandi, 'Motif Dan Strategi Gerakan Filantropi Muhammadiyah'.

²⁵ Handayani, Faizah, and Rosid, 'Model Gerakan Dakwah Keagamaan Muhammadiyah: Studi Etnografi Di Kabupaten Sidoarjo Jawa Timur'.

legal provision that must be implemented and obeyed by Tolaki people. Violation of the values of *kalo* as a symbol of communication in social activities will be subject to sanctions or punishment in the form of a fine according to the customary provisions of the Tolaki people, which is excluded from social life. The value contained in the *Kalo* in the life of the Tolaki people is something that must be carried out and obeyed by all components of the Tolaki people in *lambuya*, both those with the status of ordinary people and upperclass community groups/which in the concept of Tolaki culture is called *mokole* (king) *Tariman* in.²⁶

The absence of a significant gap between the rich and the poor, as well as the lack of discrimination based on different religions, has made religious life in *Lambuya* more peaceful, even though the area is also inhabited by people with differing beliefs. The doctrines of Islam and Christianity are not rigid, as both religions are still strongly influenced by the local *Lokasaru* belief, which makes the Islamic and Christian communities in *Lambuya* value harmony and peaceful social life over religious differences. In daily life, the people of *Lambuya* often celebrate traditions and rituals that bind them together as a community, such as traditional celebrations or large family gatherings. In these events, both Muslims and Christians are often involved, demonstrating that religious differences do not hinder cooperation or the maintenance of harmony. This shows that diversity can be a source of strength rather than a cause of division. With these factors, *Lambuya* demonstrates how local culture, social values, and the role of religious leaders work together to create a harmonious society, despite religious differences. Interfaith conflicts are very rare because the community tends to prioritize dialogue, tolerance, and cooperation in their everyday lives.

In such a context and atmosphere, the role of the head of the tribe (*kepala suku*), religious leaders, and elders (*tetua suku*) is crucial in maintaining harmony and mitigating potential conflicts arising from religious differences. Based on the results of the author's interviews with various individuals, including *Mustakim*, *Fedelia*, and *Pelita Sara*, it was explicitly stated that the unity and integrity that have been built in the two communities so far are primarily due to the strategic role of the head of the tribe and elders, while the government and even religious leaders have not played a significant role. Therefore, the unity of society in religious diversity in *Konawe* can remain intact as long as the community upholds the

²⁶ Arfandi, 'Motif Dan Strategi Gerakan Filantropi Muhammadiyah'.

teachings of their ancestors, such as the Kolasaka tradition. Religious leaders and heads of tribes must continue to preserve this local tradition to ensure that unity and harmony remain strong in the land of Konawe.

D. Conclusion

The research findings reveal different patterns of conflict and consensus in Lambuya and Wolasi, reflecting the variations in interreligious dynamics, despite both communities sharing the same cultural roots. The Tolaki community in Lambuya tends to live in religious harmony, where Islam and Christianity coexist without causing significant conflicts. This religious diversity is supported by local cultural values, particularly the concept of *kolasara*, which promotes mutual respect and cooperation among different religious groups. This culture strengthens social solidarity and ethnic unity among community members, creating space for positive interfaith interactions. In this context, consensus is more dominant, with individuals from various religions supporting one another and maintaining harmonious relationships. In contrast, the Tolaki community in Wolasi, although sharing the same cultural heritage as Lambuya, exhibits a more complex interfaith relationship, where religious tensions are more pronounced. In this area, although these tensions do not escalate into open violence, the divide between Muslims and Christians remains, often triggered by differences in religious interpretation, local power struggles, or broader social and political factors. In this case, conflict is more prominent, with underlying mistrust and suspicion between religious groups. Overall, the differences in conflict and consensus patterns illustrate how social, political, and local cultural factors play a crucial role in shaping interreligious dynamics. While both areas share the same cultural background, local conditions and external factors can lead to different interaction patterns between religious communities. []

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