

Respect, Internal Attribution, and CORFing as Muslims' Cultural-psychological Strategies in Fostering Interreligious Harmony in Waingapu

Aad Satria Permadi*, Rozmi Ismail and Arena bt. Che Kasim

Abstract---

Purpose: To discover the psychological dynamics of the Muslims in fostering interreligious harmony in Waingapu.

Methodology: This is qualitative-phenomenological study. The study included 11 participants who were selected using purposeful-snowball sampling. The researchers used eight main interview questions to guide data collection process.

Results: Research result shows that in fostering interreligious harmony, they are applying respect and internal attribution, as well as performing CORFing. All three stemmed from the norms of Islamic creed (aqidah) and manners (akhlaq) and influenced by the belief of "one ancestor".

Applications/Originality/Value: The research resulted in an understanding that the norms of aqidah, which is commonly considered as dividing the community, turned out to be a catalyst of harmony between the Muslims and other religious groups in Waingapu. The narrative behind it shall be discussed in this article.

Keywords--- Respect, Internal Attribution, Cultural-psychological.

I. INTRODUCTION

The province of East Nusa Tenggara (Nusa Tenggara Timur/NTT) is one of the provinces in Indonesia with the best interreligious harmony (Marten, 2018). In fact, NTT is appropriate to be the role model of interreligious harmony in Indonesia (Wiwoho, 2015). One of the cities in NTT with good interreligious harmony is Waingapu (Nappoe, 2017). There are six religions whose adherents are living harmoniously for centuries in Waingapu, namely Protestantism (48.59%), Islam (29.13%), Catholicism (15.54%), Marapu (5.75%), Hindu dan Budha (0,99%) (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Sumba Timur, 2018). No religion-related conflict has broken out in Waingapu.

Prior researches revealed that harmony is closely related to values adhered to by the community. Naicker (2016) stated that the harmonious attitude of the Hindus in India towards other religious groups is closely related to the implementation of Swami Vivekanda values. The values are encouraging human beings to view difference as a holistic unity. Another research also specified that individual with holistic view of life are capable to live harmoniously with other individuals (Turner-zwinkels, Postmes, & Zomeren, 2015). However, the researchers have not yet described the motives encouraging the community to continuously adhere to the values of harmony.

Aad Satria Permadi*, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Selangor.
E-mail : aad.satria@ums.ac.id
Rozmi Ismail, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Selangor.
Arena bt. Che Kasim, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Selangor.

Compassion is a motive that encourage individual to live in harmony. Snelgar, Renard, and Shelton(2017) researched the determination of 273 pastors in South Africa to foster harmony with everyone, including other religious groups. It was found that the main encouraging factor for the pastors is compassion. The same result was also discovered by Lohy and Faturochman(2018). Lohy and Faturochman stated that the motive behind Ambon community to live harmoniously after the regional conflict ended is compassion. Ambonese's compassion is presented in the form of forgiveness. Based on the theory of hierarchy of needs, motivation is closely related to need (Khan & Jahan, 2012). Individuals with motivation are people who have experienced well-being in their lives. Hence, psychological well-being is also associated with harmony.

Garcia, Nima, and Kjell(2014) researched the correlation between affective profile, psychological well-being, and harmony. Research result shows that affective profile is systematically related to psychological well-being and harmony in life. Ip(2014) also discovered similar findings in his research in two communities in China and Hong Kong regarding factors influencing social harmony. The results show that social harmony in both communities is influenced by psychological well-being, while the latter is influenced by happiness. Hence, Ip concluded that social harmony in both communities is influenced by happiness. Individuals act not only based on their emotion, but also cognition. Thus, cognition factor should also be taken into account in the discussion of interreligious harmony.

Obiekezie and Timothy(2015) experimented on the effect of critical thinking to interreligious harmony among students. 76 students participated in the experiment. They were presented with manipulation in the form of a game titled Generalisation Assessment Game (GAG). This game trained their critical thinking prior to creating generalization on other religious group. The result revealed that the manipulated students showed lower level of prejudice.

They displayed positive attitude towards other religious group. As trust emerges, they were willing to interact with them. It is similar to the research of Van Zan and Kray(2014) which specified that harmony in a diverse community will last long when the individuals meet face-to-face. Face-to-face meeting allows trust between individuals to due to identity transparency.

The above description indicates that interreligious harmony is an interaction between cultural phenomena, application of religious teachings, and cognition. Culturally, individuals accepting and learning cultural diversity tend to be able to live harmoniously with other religious group (Gawali & Khattar, 2016). The way individuals practice their religious beliefs also affect interindividual harmony. Individuals developing their intrinsic aspect (religious values) will find less trouble to live harmoniously, compared to those who develop their extrinsic aspect (worship) in practicing their religion (Saha, 2014). A research in Indonesia shows that interreligious harmony is influenced by cognitive behavior, i.e. social exchange. It refers to caring (Lestari & Faturochman, 2018) and respect (Tara'u & Faturochman, 2018) to other religious group.

Built on the above description, we are going to discover how Muslims' cultural interaction, religious values, and cognition play their roles in developing interreligious harmony in Waingapu.

II. RESEARCH METHOD

Qualitative

We chose qualitative method for its capability to explain how a phenomena materializes in a certain context (Percy, Kostere, & Kostere, 2015). When the phenomena is a behavior, qualitative method is helpful to understand how individuals comprehend and rationalize their experiences (Cruz & Tantia, 2017). With regard to this research, qualitative method is applied by the researchers to reveal the meaning and rationalization of participants' experiences in the context of interreligious harmony in Waingapu.

Qualitative researcher conducts his research in a natural setting (Babbie, 2014). Researcher focuses on presenting themes of individual experience to discover holistic meaning of a phenomena (Lune & Berg, 2017). This research was conducted in a natural setting, where researchers and participants were not confined in laboratory procedures. It is aimed at providing more freedom for the participants to discover unique themes related to beliefs, norms, and culture.

There are various approaches to qualitative method. The researchers prefer phenomenological approach. Phenomenology is a qualitative approach to reveal the meaning of human experiences (Finlay, 2014). The experiences refer to the ones directly experienced by the individual, not other people's experiences that he/she has knowledge of. Scientifically, it is called first-hand experience (Lune & Berg, 2017). This research discovered the meanings of participants' life experience with regard to interreligious harmony in Waingapu.

Phenomenology

Phenomenological approach is a systematic effort to explain individual's subjective reality with regard to a phenomena (Gill, 2014). Subjective reality refers to attitudes, beliefs, opinions, feelings, and all internal dimensions of an individual (Percy et al., 2015). We chose phenomenological approach because the meaning of interreligious harmony phenomena is developed from the interaction of all internal dimensions of the individual.

In phenomenological paradigm, individual's subjective reality is transcendental. Researchers negated their own experiences and focused on participants' experiences. We analyzed phenomena based on participants' experiences instead of ours (Gallagher & Zahawi, 2012). Thus, when facing subjective realities revealed by the participants, we did not embark upon subjective assumption. Subjective reality is accepted as is, as comprehended by the participants.

Participants' subjective realities were analyzed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method. IPA is a method to understand how individuals, in certain context, comprehend a phenomena (Alase, 2017). We analyzed data in two stages of interpretation, known as double-hermeneutics (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006). At the first stage, data was put in writing and coded, with interpretation focus on participants' statement to researchers' interpretation. Focus of analysis at the first stage was to discover meaning in each participants' statement. At the second stage, the compiled interpretations from the first stage were re-interpreted to generate a complete subjective reality.

Participants

We divided participants into two groups: Islamic religious leader participants and non-Islamic participants. Islamic religious leader participants are the ones who actively involved in fostering interreligious harmony in Waingapu. Meanwhile, non-Islamic participants are non-Islamic religious leaders and laypeople. Non-Islamic participants were those who understood Muslims' behavior in fostering interreligious harmony in Waingapu. Participants were selected based on theoretical assumption of Indonesian Power Distant Index (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010) and theory of organizational culture (Schein, 2004).

The behavior of Indonesian people is strongly influenced by the behavior of their leaders (Hofstede et al., 2010). In the context of fostering interreligious harmony in Waingapu, Muslims behavior is influenced by the behavior of their religious leaders. The latter is the reference of Muslims' behavior in fostering interreligious harmony in Waingapu.

Culture is the entire underlying assumptions, beliefs, norms, and values, that are manifested in consistent behavior (Schein, 2004). Underlying assumptions are the deepest dimension of culture. This dimension comprises of assumptions that are unconsciously believed. At intermediate level, there are espoused beliefs and values. They are converted from the dimension of underlying assumptions. The outer dimension of culture is artifacts i.e. goods and consistent behavior. They are the expression of espoused beliefs and values. Organizational culture can be illustrated in Figure 1.

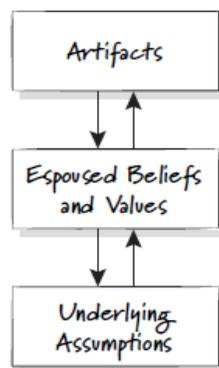


Figure 1: Organizational Culture

(Schein, 2004, p.26)

The first group of participants were Islamic religious leaders. It is founded on the idea that Muslims' efforts to maintain interreligious harmony are systematic efforts, which include implicit basic assumptions (underlying assumptions). Further, the assumptions develop beliefs and values. Eventually, these beliefs and values develop Muslims' behavior (artifacts) in maintaining interreligious harmony in Waingapu. Such complex system is only known by religious leaders, while laypeople only perceive the behavior (artifacts). Hence, Islamic religious leaders were selected as participants in order to explain the dynamics of such complex system.

The second group of participants were non-Islamic participants, which comprised of non-Islamic religious leaders and laypeople. It is built upon the impact of Muslims' effort to foster interreligious harmony as experienced by non-Islamic religious leaders and laypeople. Information from them will be the supporting data about Muslims' behavior in fostering interreligious harmony in Waingapu.

Such theoretical assumptions are in line with the reality in Waingapu. The religious leaders play important role in maintaining interreligious harmony. Fatwas from religious leaders are the reference for Waingapu people. They are accustomed to apply such fatwas, for example, to name their children, or even to resolve their marriage problem. It is common for the youth to respect the religious leaders by kissing their hand. Conflict between elements of the community is resolved by religious leaders. Whatever the problems, religious leaders will resolve them.

There were 11 participants in this research. They comprised of five Islamic religious leaders, one Protestantism religious leaders, one Marapu religious leaders, and four laypeople. Participants of Hinduism and Buddhism were not involved for two reasons. First, they are not actively involved in the effort of interreligious harmony in Waingapu. Second, their population in Waingapu is not significant. When combined, their population in Waingapu is only 374 (0.99%) (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Sumba Timur, 2018).

We created the following initials for the five Islamic religious leaders: UAG, AK, HI, SS, and SP. UAG is the sixth child of an Islamic cleric who also founded Waingapu city. UAG is a habib (descendant of Prophet Muhammad PBUH) with Al-Ghadrie as the family name, and was born and raised in Waingapu. People know UAG as the teacher of Islamic religious leaders in Waingapu. AK is an ustadz (teacher of Islam) who actively participate in the activities of interreligious harmony in Waingapu. Currently, AK holds the position of secretary of Forum for Interreligious Harmony (Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama/FKUB) of Waingapu. HI is an ustadz who actively foster the community. AK is the Head of Regional Executive of Muhammadiyah in East Sumba District. By means of Muhammadiyah, HI fosters interreligious harmony in Waingapu. SS is one of the heads of MUI (Indonesian Council of Ulama) of Waingapu City. SP is an ustadz working in the Directorate General of Political and National Unity (Direktorat Jenderal Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik/Kesbangpol) of East Sumba. SP is an ustadz specifically assigned by the state to foster harmony in Waingapu. Table 1 shows the demographic information of Islamic religious leader participants.

Table 1: Demography of Islamic Religious Leader Participants in Waingapu

| No. | Participants | Sex | Age | Religious/Occupational Social Status |
|-----|--------------|------|----------|--|
| 1. | UAG | Male | 80 years | Waingapu Cleric |
| 2. | AK | Male | 55 years | Secretary of FKUB of Waingapu |
| 3. | HI | Male | 60 years | Head of Muhammadiyah of East Sumba |
| 4. | SS | Male | 58 years | Treasurer of MUI of Waingapu |
| 5. | SP | Male | 50 years | Ustadz and Staff of Kesbangpol of Waingapu |

Initials of six participants from non-Islamic groups were as follows: APR, UR, JV, YOK, DC, and CB. APR is the Head of FKUB of Waingapu and a Protestant pastor. UR is a Marapu religious leader in Waingapu and the child of Prailiu King. Prailiu is a kingdom and the center of Marapu religion in Waingapu. JV is youth of a Catholic church who actively participates in the activities of interreligious harmony in Waingapu. Each year JV is appointed by the church and FKUB to organize sport matches between religious groups in Waingapu. YOK is an official at the

Department of Religious Affairs in Waingapu who manages interreligious harmony affairs. YOK is a Protestant. DC is an army deployed in Regional Military Command (Komando Distrik Militer/KODIM) of East Sumba. DC is a Protestant. CB is a Catholic taxi driver. Despite his occupation, CB is a youth living in a family of priests. Table 2 shows the demographic information of non-Islamic participants.

Table 2: Demography of non-Islamic Participants

| No. | Participants | Sex | Age | Religious/Occupational Social Status |
|-----|--------------|------|----------|---|
| 1. | APR | Male | 43 years | Pastor of a Protestant Church |
| 2. | UR | Male | 40 years | Marapu religious leader |
| 3. | JV | Male | 37 years | Youth of a Catholic Church |
| 4. | YOK | Male | 50 years | Official at the Department of Religious Affairs of Waingapu |
| 5. | DC | Male | 35 years | Army |
| 6. | CB | Male | 30 years | Taxi driver |

Upon receiving approval from Institutional Review Board on March 29, 2019 (Attachment A), researchers began selecting the participants. Participants were selected using purposive and snow-ball sampling methods. First, we determined the criteria for group participants. The criteria are Islamic religious leaders who actively participate in the activities of interreligious harmony in Waingapu. Second, we conducted snow-ball sampling. We visited an officer at MUI of Waingapu (SS) and asked SS to select qualified Islamic religious leaders for us. Several Islamic religious leaders were finally selected as participants, including AA.

We acquired participants from non-Islamic group based on the information from AK as the Secretary of FKUB of Waingapu. AK recommended APR, who is a Protestant and Head of FKUB of Waingapu. Further, APR recommended other non-Islamic participants to us. APR selected participants based on their involvement with the phenomena of harmony with other religious groups, particularly with Islam.

Data from participants were collected using in-depth face-to-face interview. It was conducted from May 8, 2019 to August 11, 2019 in locations agreed to by the participants. Copy of interview questions was provided to the participants prior to the interview. Researchers also observed participants' gesture, facial expression, and intonation. Each interview was conducted in a reasonable period of time of a maximum 60 minutes. This was to maintain participants' comfort during the process of data collection. The entire process of interview was recorded using a recorder.

Interview Questions

All participants attended the interview. Group of Islamic religious leader participants acquired five major questions (major questions 1-5). Meanwhile, group of non-Islamic participants acquired three major questions (major questions 6-8). Major questions were aimed at discovering their psychological internal dynamics on certain phenomena. Afterwards, major questions were followed with supportive questions to understand deeper participants' subjective reality.

Major Question 1

Could you describe the relationship between Muslims and other religious groups in Waingapu?

Supportive Questions to 1:

- One of the important matters in your description was _____. I would like to ask a few questions on that matter.
- How did you get involved in that situation?
- What thought did you have at that moment?
- How did you feel at that moment?
- What did you do in that situation?

Major Question 2

How do you foster harmony between Muslims and other religious groups in Waingapu?

Supportive Questions to 2

- Why do you consider _____ as the main factor in fostering harmony?
- What do you think about apostasy/Christianization issue?
- How do you feel when a Muslim converts to another religion?
- How do you maintain harmony while preventing Muslims from converting to another religion?
- What positive value do you learn from other religious groups?

Major Question 3

In 1997, interreligious conflict almost broke in Waingapu. Could you describe how the 1997 incident happened?

Supportive Questions to 3

- Could you describe what you think and feel at that moment?
- How did Muslims respond to the incident?
- How did non-Muslims respond to the incident?
- How was the relation between Muslims and other religious groups following the 1997 incident?
- What if an incident similar to the 1997 incident repeats itself?

Major Question 4

How did the Muslims resolve their conflict with other religious groups?

Supportive Question to 4

- You stated that the Muslims conducted _____ to resolve the conflict. Why was the method selected?
- How do you feel about the conflict?
- Could you describe your thought about the conflict?

Major Question 5

How does interreligious conflict in Java affect harmony in Waingapu?

Supportive Questions to 5

- Why were the people of Waingapu unaffected by interreligious conflict occurring in Java?

- Could you describe your opinion regarding interreligious conflict occurring in Java?
- How do you feel regarding interreligious conflict occurring in Java?

Major Question 6

Could you describe the relationship between _____ religious group (religion of the participant) with Muslims in Waingapu?

Supportive Questions to 6

- One of the important matters in your description was _____. I would like to ask a few questions on that matter.
- How did you get involved in that situation?
- What thought did you have at that moment?
- How did you feel at that moment?
- What did you do in that situation?

Major Question 7

Could you describe the preaching of Muslims in Waingapu?

Supportive Questions to 7

- What is your thought about their daily lives?
- Is there any positive values of the Muslims which is worthy to be followed by _____ religious groups?
- How do you differentiate Muslims in Waingapu and in Java?
- What is your opinion about Islamization issue?

Major Question 8

What do you think about interreligious conflict in Java which involves Muslims?

Supportive Questions to 8

- How do you differentiate Muslims in Java and in Waingapu?
- What is your thought about interreligious conflict in Java?
- How do you feel about the conflict?

III. RESULT

Interview result was verbatim, which would afterwards be classified based on the emerging themes. There were five emerging themes which eventually developed meaning of a phenomena. The process to generate theme and develop phenomena was performed under IPA process as explained in the research method section.

Theme 1: Belief of One Ancestor

Based on table 4, all participants believe that all religious groups in Waingapu come from the same ancestor. The difference among participants is only in the way to articulate such belief.

The most frequently used expression is “kawin-mawin” (marital relationship) as stated verbatim by, for example, participant HI. HI specified how Islam developed in Waingapu by way of “kawin-mawin.”

“kita di sini sudah biasa punya saudara beda agama. Kawin-mawin antara orang Islam dan non-Islam kemudian mereka masuk Islam. Laki perempuan ada semua”

[It is common for us to have relatives of different faith. Kawin-mawin is practiced between Muslims and non-Muslims, then the non-Muslims convert to Islam. There are both men and women among the converts.]

Another expression with similar meaning was stated by participant CB. The expression is “satu tali perut” (one gut). It indicates that people of Waingapu come from the same womb.

“Biar sudah dorang baku hantam di sana[Jawa]. Kita di sini sama saja. Masih satu tali perut”

[Let it be conflict there [in Java]. Here, we are living peacefully. We still belong to one gut]

The last expression is marapu, which refers the the ancestor of Sumba people. Participant UR described that many of his relatives were adherents of Marapu, who now convert to Islam. However, it is not a problem because we are essentially still belongs to one marapu.

“Tidak masalah[orang Marapu berpindah agama Islam]karena masih satu marapu. Mereka juga hadir waktu kita adakan upacara-upacara adat. Itu sudah kehormatan buat kami”.

[It doesn't matter (if adherents of Marapu convert to Islam) because essentially we belong to the same Marapu. They still attend our traditional ceremonies, anyway. It is already an honor for us.]

Table 4: Theme 1: Belief of One Ancestor

| Expression | Meaning of Expression | ΣMuslim Part. | ΣNon-Muslim Part. |
|------------------------|---|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>Kawin-mawin</i> | Marriage between Waingapu people who previously are of different faiths | 5 | 4 |
| <i>Satu tali perut</i> | Coming from the same womb | 0 | 1 |
| <i>Marapu</i> | Coming from the same ancestor | 0 | 1 |

Theme 2: Aqidah and Akhlaq

Based on table 5, all of the Islamic religious leader participants stated interreligious harmony in the context of aqidah (creed of Islam) and akhlaq (manners). They also stated the obligation to act virtuously to non-Muslims, while holding on to the creed of Islam.

Participant UAG stated that akhlaq is his preaching materials for tens of years.

“[materi dakwah saya] akhlaq! karena itulah yang paling penting dari Islam. Innamal bu’istu li utammima makarimal akhlaq”

[(my preaching material is) akhlaq! Because it is the most important thing in Islam. Innamal bu’istu li utammima makarimal akhlaq” (I was only sent to perfect the noble qualities)]

For matters related to aqidah, UAG defined it using the principle “lakum diinukum wa liyadiin” (To you be your religion, to me my religion). The principle is implemented by, for example, not wishing any greeting for the holiday of other religious groups.

“[saat natal] saya tidak mengucapkan selamat natal karena itu artinya meyakini ajaran mereka.... [orang Kristen Waingapu tidak mempermasalahkan] kosong-kosong sudah to[adil, sama-sama tidak mengucapkan selamat]”

[(On Christmas) I don't wish them Merry Christmas because that means I also believe in their faith... (the Christians in Waingapu have no problem with it) we're even now (fair situation where both religious groups do not wish any holiday greeting to each other)]

HI had a more moderate opinion, that in terms of aqidah, leaders of Islam and other religions gather in a forum to provide information to each other about the creed of each of their religion. This forum was mediated by the regional government of East Sumba.

“kita saling memberi tahu, mana saja yang boleh, mana yang tidak boleh. Sedingga pas perayaan agama, umat yang beragam lain tetap mengikuti perayaan agama lain, tapi bukan ibadahnya”

[“We inform each other, on what is allowed and not allowed to do. So during the holiday celebration, other religious groups can still join the celebration, but not the worship.”]

Table 5: Instance of Aqidah & Akhlaq Behaviors

| Instance of <i>Aqidah</i> Behaviors | ∑Part. | Instance of <i>Akhlaq</i> Behaviors | ∑Part. |
|---|--------|--|--------|
| Not wishing any greeting for the celebration of non-Islamic religious celebration | 1 | Assisting for social/non-worship purpose | 5 |
| Respecting/joining the celebration in non-worship activities | 4 | | |

Based on table 6, non-Muslim participants are aware of Muslims' respect towards their religious celebration. Respect was paid by participating in religious celebration and social charity.

Participant JV described the habit of Muslims in Waingapu who distribute drinks to participants of “Pawai Salib” (Parade of the Cross) of Waingapu Church. The parade is an annual event of Christians in Waingapu to welcome the holidays of their religion.

“di Waingapu sudah biasa kita [saling menghargai]. Pas jalan salib itu yang kasih kita minum malah mama-mama tua yang pakai jilbab [maksudnya umat Islam]. Waktu kami kebaktian, umat Islam yang jaga. Nanti pas idul fitri kami yang jaga”.

[“In Waingapu we are accustomed to it (respecting each other). As a matter of fact, during the parade, an old woman wearing hijab (meaning a Muslim) gave us drink. During our church service, the Muslims guard us. Later in Idul Fitri, it will be our turn to guard”.]

According to Islamic religious leaders in Waingapu, akhlaq motivates Muslims there to help other religious group socially. One of the help is for constructing church. This is stated by participant CB. “Several churches here, were constructed with the donation [of money] from our Muslim brothers,” he said.

Table 6: Instance of Muslims Respect as Experienced by non-Muslims Participants

| Instance of Respect Experienced | ΣPart. |
|--|--------|
| Participation in religious celebration | 5 |
| Social aid | 1 |

The behavior based on *aqidah* of the Muslims limits their interaction with non-Muslims, particularly in religious celebration. Muslims cannot fully participate. They can only participate in non-worship activities. However, non-Muslim participants do not perceive such Islamic *aqidah*-based behavior as intolerant behavior. All non-Muslims participants stated that they understand and respect such creed. Hence, when Muslims in Waingapu participate only in the celebration, it is already considered as respecting the non-Muslims.

Participant UR described on how he felt respected because of Muslim brothers' behavior when attending Marapu ceremony.

“sodara muslim kita kasih parang sendiri, kerbau atau sapi sendiri untuk mereka sembelih. Mereka juga kami kasih rumah sendiri untuk masak. [tidak tersinggung] justru kami merasa dihormati mereka sudah datang”

[“We provided separate machete for our Muslim brothers. The buffalo or cow is also separate. Not to mention separate kitchen for cooking. (We are not offended) As a matter of fact, we felt respected for their attendance.”]

Theme 3: Respect

Respect is the antonym of “disregarding” or “looking down.” It is closely related to self-esteem. Islamic religious leader participants stated that they want to earn non-Muslims respect when interacting with them. They believed that harmony with non-Muslims can be developed when the non-Muslims are not looking down on them. They agreed that to earn respect family must be strengthened. Muslims must be educated through their family. The education refers to *aqidah* and *akhlaq* education.

Participant AK stated that he is stern when educating the *santri* (students of Islam) in terms of *aqidah* and *akhlaq*, in order that they are respected by other religious groups.

“ustad minta maaf kalau dulu ustad keras sama kalian. Ustad hanya khawatir kalian diremehkan oleh mayoritas. Dua hal itu saja [aqidah dan akhlaq] yang ustad paling marah kalau kalian langgar”

[“Ustadz apologize for being stern towards you. I was just concerned that you will be looked down by the majority. Only those two (*aqidah* and *akhlaq*) that matters the most. I will be outraged when you violate them.”]

Aqidah referred to by AK means the belief that the only God worthy of worship is Allah, which also includes the commitment to worship.

“Kalau kita buat acara dengan orang non-Islam, kita harus tunjukkan komitmen kita beribadah. Kadang mereka buat acara yang tidak ada waktu sholatnya. Maka, kita minta dengan akhlaq yang baik agar waktu sholat diberikan kepada yang beragama Islam. Mereka akan sangat hormat dengan kita.”

[“When we organize an event with non-Muslims, we have to show our commitment to our worship. They sometimes organize an event without break time to do our prayer. So, we must ask politely for break time for us to do our prayer. They will highly respect us.”]

Participant HI stated that Muslims must strengthen their internal aspect before living harmoniously with other religious group.

“secara internal kita harus kuat dulu biar tidak diremehkan. Memang harus dimulai dari penguatan agama di keluarga-keluarga muslim kita ajarkan komitmen beribadah kepada Allah”

[“We have to be strong internally so we won't be looked down. It is indeed have to be started by strengthening religious values in our Muslim families. We teach the commitment to worship Allah”]

Based on table 7, non-Muslim participants stated that they respect the Muslims, and it is implemented in their daily lives. Their respectis manifested in reminding for worship, providing specific treatment, and repaying good deeds.

Participant YOK said that Waingapu people respect each other. YOK described two instances of respectof non-Muslims towards Muslims in Waingapu.

“kalau kawan saya yang muslim belum sholat, saya biasa mengingatkan dia agar sholat....ketua DPRD Waingapu orang Islam, walaupun mayoritas orang Waingapu Kristen... begitu bentuk saling menghormati kami di sini”

[“When my Muslim friend haven't performed their prayer yet, I usually remind him to do that. Head of DPRD (Regional Representative Council) of Waingapu is a Muslim, although the majority of Waingapu are Christians. It is how we respect each other here.”]

Participant APR stated how the Christians always guard the security during Idul Fitri and Idul Adha prayer for Muslims.

“kami juga menjaga umat islam ketika mereka sholat idul fitri. Pas kita merayakan Natal”

[“We also protect the Muslims when they are performing Idul Fitri prayer. Similar to what we experienced during Christmas.”]

Specialization of treatment to Muslims of Waingapu is stated by participant UR.

“sodara muslim kita kasih parang sendiri, kerbau atau sapi sendiri untuk mereka sembelih. Mereka juga kami kasih rumah sendiri untuk masak. [tidak tersinggung] justru kami merasa dihormati mereka sudah datang”

[“We provided separate machete for our Muslim brothers. The buffalo or cow is also separate. Not to mention separate kitchen for cooking. (we are not offended) As a matter of fact, we felt respected for their attendance.”]

Table 7: Instances of non-Muslims Respectto Muslims in Waingapu

| Instances of non-Muslims Respectto Muslims in Waingapu | ∑Part. |
|---|---------------|
| Worship reminder | 1 |
| Repay good deeds | 4 |
| Special treatment | 1 |

Theme 4: The 1997 Incident

In 1997, conflict between Muslims and Christians almost broke in Waingapu. Both religious groups were shocked by the rumor of church burning by a group of Muslim youth. They were suspicious of each other.

Fortunately, tension between Muslims and Christians did not grow into a conflict due to the role of Islamic and Christian religious leaders who alleviated the situation. Participant AK stated that the main factor behind the subdued tension was the role of Christian pastors who alleviated the situation.

“Kalau menurut abah [AK menyebut dirinya Abah yang artinya ayah], peran para pendeta sangat besar saat itu. Mereka mengatakan, kalau masjid mau di serang, umat Kristen yang jaga. Setelah itu, hujan deras dan besoknya tidak terjadi konflik”

[“In Abah's opinion (AK calls himself Abah which means father), the pastors played a crucial role at that time. They said, if mosque is targeted, the Christians will protect it. Afterwards, heavy rain poured and no conflict happened on the next day.”]

Based on table 8, all participants vividly remembered the 1997 incident. There were two versions to the incident cause. A participant said that the 1997 incident was a misunderstanding between Muslim and Christian youths. Another participant stated that it was closely related to a political scheme. Still another participant said that it was the work of a provocateur from outside of Sumba to disrupt harmony in Waingapu.

Participant CB, who experienced the tension of the 1997 incident, swore at the provocateur who wanted to disrupt interreligious harmony in Waingapu.

“Cukki mai [umpatan dalam bahasa Sumba, yang artinya “mother fucker”] mereka yang [ketika tahun 1997] membuat onar di Waingapu!”

[“Cukki mai(a swearword in Sumba language, meaning “mother fucker”) for those (in 1997) who stirred up trouble in Waingapu!”]

Participant JV said that the 1997 incident was a misunderstanding between two groups of drunk youth in front of a church. They quarrelled and fought but the incident grew into a rumor of church vandalism.

“Itu karena mereka mabuk, terus saling lempar dan kena gereja. Itu anak kampung bugis yang mabok, saya punya teman. masih ada dia di Waingapu”.

[“It's because they were drunk and threw things at each other but landed on the church. The drunk youths were from Bugis Village. I have a friend living there and is still in Waingapu right now.”]

Participant SS has a different opinion. In SS' opinion, the 1997 incident was the political elite's ploy aimed at taking advantage from the conflict between Muslims and Christians in Waingapu.

“Itu karena ada orang yang mau mencalonkan diri lagi menjadi pajabat di Waingapu. Biar dia mendapat keuntungan dari itu [konflik antar umat Islam dan Kristen Waingapu]”

[“It's because someone wanted to run for another political office in Waingapu. He wanted to take advantage from that (conflict between Muslims and Christians in Waingapu)”]

Table 8: Perception on the Causes of the 1997 Incident

| Perception on the Causes of the 1997 Incident | ΣMuslim Part. | ΣNon-Muslim Part. |
|--|---------------|-------------------|
| Provocateur work | 0 | 1 |
| Misunderstanding between Muslim and Christian youths | 4 | 5 |
| Related to political scheme | 1 | 0 |

Should a conflict broke in Waingapu, the 1997 incident was a momentum which influenced the participants' way of thinking. We asked an imaginary question to the participants, 'What if the 1997 incident happens again?' (supportive question to 3). All participants' answers are based on their perceptions on the cause of the 1997 incident.

Theme 5: Internal Attribution

Internal attribution is a process where individual believes that his/her internal factors are the cause of a behavior (Hogg & Vaughan, 2010). This theme was developed when participants were asked about people who are converting to other religion. As seen in table 9, participants' answers indicate internal attributions. They responded with two types of answer: First, they believe that people who are converting to other religion is caused by poor family guidance. Second, a person converts to other religion on his/her own will, without any coercion from other people.

Participant HI stated that if any Muslim in Waingapu converts to other religion, it is caused by poor religious upbringing in his/her family.

"Biasanya memang seperti itu [pembinaan agama di keluarganya kurang baik]. Pastinya kita sedih, tapi itu semua kembali kepada pembinaan keluarga. Keluarga yang harus diperkuat"

[“Usually that's the case (poor religious upbringing in his/her family). We are surely sad, but it's basically a matter of family upbringing. Family must be strengthened.”]

Participant APR stated that when a Christian converts to Islam or vice versa, it happens because of his/her free will.

"Biasanya kami orangnya [yang berpindah agama] kami temui dan kami Tanya baik-baik. Apakah pindah agama dengan suka rela atau paksaan. Kasus-kasus yang sudah ada, suka rela. Ya tidak masalah karena itu pilihan bebas mereka yang sudah dewasa"

[“We usually visit this person (who converts to other religion) and ask with good intention. Did he/she convert voluntarily or under coercion? The existing cases of conversion were all voluntary. It is not a problem because they are just making their choice as adults.”]

Participant UR also said that many of his relatives convert to Islam. It is not a problem for him.

"Tidak masalah [orang Marapu pindah agama menjadi Islam]! Justru itu menunjukkan bahwa kami toleran".

[“No problem (if Marapu people convert to Islam)! As a matter of fact, this shows that we are tolerant.”]

Table 9: Types of Internal Attribution in Cases of Religion Conversion

| Types of Internal Attribution | ΣMuslim Part. | ΣNon-Muslim Part. |
|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Poor family upbringing | 4 | 2 |
| Individual's free will | 1 | 4 |

Theme 1 stated that all participants believed to come from the same ancestor. Based on the theory of organizational culture (Schein, 2004), this is known as underlying assumption. Such underlying assumption causes Islamic religious leaders participants to believe to have the same identity as non-Islamic group participants. This common identity generates the sense of brotherhood between Islamic religious leaders and non-Islamic group in Waingapu.

Afterwards, this sense of brotherhood interacts with normative awareness in theme 2, *aqidah* and *akhlaq*. *Aqidah* guides the behavior of Islamic religious leaders to differentiate themselves with non-Muslims in terms of religious creed and worship. Meanwhile, *akhlaq* encourages Islamic religious leaders to act virtuously to other religious group.

Sense of brotherhood among religious groups in Waingapu motivates the people there to care about each other regarding the limits of religious creed and worship that should not be crossed. Such condition allows Islamic religious leaders to convey Islamic creed and worship that are different from those of other religions. For example, Muslims are not allowed to eat meat of animals slaughtered by other religious group. It is expected that non-Muslims do not feel disrespected when Muslims do not eat meat of animals slaughtered by them.

Internally, Islamic religious leaders apply internal strengthening strategy to the Muslims prior to interacting with non-Muslims. The strategy refers to strengthening the embeddedness of *aqidah* and *akhlaq* by way of family institution. It is aimed at earning respect from non-Muslims. It is this respect which encourages non-Muslims to interact harmoniously.

Islamic religious leaders strengthen the *aqidah* (including the worship) by way of family institution in order that Muslims are perceived as a religious group committed to their worship. The perception generates respect from non-Muslims. They manifested their respect to Muslims in their support for Islamic worship. For example, non-Islamic group guards the security of Islamic major worship event in Waingapu.

Akhlaq, as discussed earlier, is manifested by paying respect to non-Muslims and attending religious celebration of non-Muslims (although under strict limitations). For example, Muslims are forbidden from entering the house of worship of non-Islam, eating meat from animals slaughtered by non-Muslims, and wishing holiday greeting of other religions. Muslims' respect, which is only manifested in their attendance at religious celebration of non-Muslims, is considered acceptable for the non-Muslims.

Paying respect to each other results in harmony between Muslims and non-Muslims in Waingapu.

Muslims in Waingapu are occasionally involved in conflict with other religious groups. Fortunately, it does not grow into major conflict between groups. The role of religious leader is crucial in alleviating conflict and reinforcing interreligious harmony in Waingapu.

Conflict is divided into overt conflict and covert conflict. Overt conflict is seen in the conflict between religious groups as known by many people in Waingapu. On the other hand, covert conflict is known only by Islamic religious leaders in Waingapu. In this case, it refers to cases of Muslims conversion into adherents of other religion.

In the case of overt conflict, Islamic religious leader participants refer to the 1997 incident to develop perception on the cause of the incident. Based on table 8, the perceptions of Islamic religious leaders regarding the cause of the 1997 incident were “misunderstanding between Muslim and Christian youth” and “related to political scheme.” Such perceptions lead Islamic religious leader participants not to acknowledge the behavior of individuals involved in the conflict. In other words, their behaviors are not considered as representation of their group. For example, the behavior of a Christian individual involved in the conflict is not considered as representing all Christians of Waingapu. This phenomena is called cutting off reflected failure or CORFing (Forsyth, 2010). After the process of CORFing, Islamic religious leader participants return to their perception of other religious group as a decent group, hence harmony is generated.

In the case of covert conflict, i.e. the conversion of Muslims to adherents of other religion, Islamic religious leader participants apply internal attribution. They consider that the one deserves to be attributed to for the conversion is the family of the Muslims themselves. Other religious group is not considered as the main cause of the conversion of Muslims in Waingapu. Such point of view does not provoke hate towards other religious group. Other religious group is still considered as decent religious group, because they are not the cause behind the conversion of Muslims in Waingapu. Such perception encourages Islamic religious leader participants to reinforce harmony with other religious groups.

Hence, psychological dynamics of Islamic religious leaders in fostering interreligious harmony in Waingapu can be illustrated as follows:

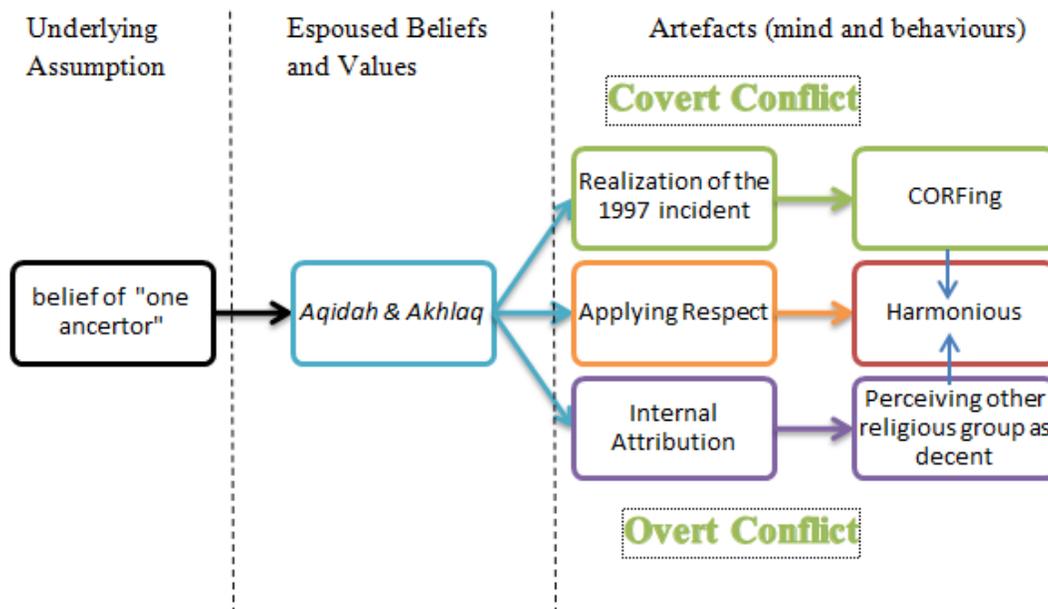


Figure 2: Psychological dynamics of Islamic religious leaders in fostering interreligious harmony in Waingapu

IV. DISCUSSION

Psychological dynamics of Islamic religious leaders in fostering interreligious harmony in Waingapu has been described. However, the implication of such dynamics is not clear yet. Our research result shows that psychological factors directly related to interreligious harmony are respect, CORFing, and internal attribution. The result implies that internal fostering of the Muslims by Islamic religious leaders should be able both to generate and earn respect from other religious groups (be respected). Muslims must be perceived as a group who pay respect to other religious groups, and who is appropriate to be respected by other religious group. Islamic religious leaders should also influence Muslims not to generalize negative behavior committed by a few members of other religious group. Such behavior must be differentiated from the behavior of the majority of such group. Islamic religious leaders must engage their followers to conduct internal evaluation when experiencing unexpected incident. Hence, Muslims will be the group capable of fostering interreligious harmony.

Study of factor analysis of harmony indicates that harmony has four dimensions. One of them is to be caring (Lestari & Faturochman, 2018). The objective of being caring as referred to by Lestasi and Faturochman is to earn caring from the other party in return. This is what they called as constructive conflict management. In addition to being caring, social exchange that may generate interreligious harmony is respecting each other (Tara'u & Faturochman, 2018). The motive is the same: to pay respect in order to earn respect from other group in return. In our research, one of the factors similar to the findings is respect. However, there is a difference of thinking logic in the Muslims of Waingapu when paying respect to other religious group. Respect paid by Muslims of Waingapu is not only to earn respect in return, but also to be worthy to be respected. In the thinking logic of Waingapu people, the requirements for individual to be worthy of respect are as follows: first, the individual has paid some respect. Second, the individual is appropriate to be respected. Appropriateness to be respected is what differentiates respect in our finding with respect in prior researches. Respect which generates the perception of appropriateness to be respected emerges from the norm of aqidah, i.e. the belief that Allah is the only God worthy of worship. Such norm is manifested in discipline and consistency in worship. These discipline and consistency generates the perception that Muslims are appropriate to be respected.

Saha(2014) specified that individuals express their religious teaching in two forms: extrinsic and intrinsic. Extrinsic expression of religious teaching is in the form of worship and symbols. Meanwhile, intrinsic expression is the implementation of religious values in daily life. In his research, Saha concluded that individuals who intrinsically express religious teaching will be more tolerant and harmonious with other religious group. This is different from our finding. In fact, harmony between Muslims and other religious group is the result of extrinsic expression of religion. Non-Islamic participants think that Muslims are appropriate to be respected because they are perceived as highly committed in expressing their religious teachings. Such respect generates harmony between Muslims and other religious group in Waingapu.

One of the factors allowing individual to live harmoniously is the culture of accepting difference (Gawali & Khattar, 2016). We found similar finding that people of Waingapu are accustomed to live in religious diversity. However, we found something which is not yet described in the research of Gawali and Khattar and which leads them to accept such diversity. It is the belief that people of Waingapu come from one ancestor. The belief leads

them to feel related to each other like family, in spite of difference in religion. This also leads them to accept extrinsic religious experience as something worthy of respect.

Our research has several limitations. First, all participants are male, causing the perspective of the researched phenomena not to fully represent female religious group. Second, not all villages in Waingapu are represented by the participants. District of Waingapu City has seven villages, i.e. Hambala, Matawai, Kemalaputi, Kambajawa, Mbatakapidu, Pambota Njara, and Luku Kamaru Villages. Participants come from the four most populated villages, i.e. Hambala, Matawai, Kemalaputi, and Kambajawa. However, we are certain that the result of our research provides credible explanation. There are two reasons behind our certainty. First, result from our field observation indicates that the majority of religious leaders in Waingapu are male. Second, the majority of religious leaders who are actively involved in fostering interreligious harmony live in four villages: Hambala, Matawai, Kemalaputi, and Kambajawa. The activities of Waingapu people are centered in those four villages (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Sumba Timur, 2018).

Thus, Muslims' psychological strategy to foster interreligious harmony in Waingapu is by applying respect and internal attribution, as well as performing CORFing. All three stemmed from the norms of aqidah and akhlaq, and influenced by the belief of "one ancestor". Result of this research indicates that to be harmonious, no religious belief needs to be sacrificed. As a matter of fact, when individual shows his/her religious commitment, others will perceive him/her as appropriate to be respected. This respectability generates respect from others, meaning harmony is established. However, this research needs to be developed further. There needs to be a research on how psychological strategy of other religious group fosters harmony in Waingapu. It is crucial to complete the understanding on interreligious harmony phenomena in Waingapu City.

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