

Ashabiyah Polarization of the Religious Diversity of Tanon Community Kediri

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Abstract

Ashabiyah is the most crucial thing in building integrity in the community's social life, especially in religious life. In Indonesia, various kinds of religions have developed, and differences in ethnicity, race, and language are unique features and challenges for the people of Indonesia. What's more, when talking about religion which is very risky in the history of the world and even in Indonesia, discrimination, violence, intolerance, and violence in the name of religion often become prolonged conflicts. Therefore, this research is presented as a sample form of the polarization of ashabiyah from the Tanon community, which has differences in one social unit, even at a more micro level, that's the family. This research is qualitative research with a phenomenological approach as the chosen approach. The design strategy that the researcher uses is to identify the nature of a community phenomenon based on the experiences of individuals who are members of the Tanon Village community, Papar District, Kediri Regency. The theory used is Talcott parson's theory of structural functionalism. The results of this study indicate that the function of the religious elite, abangan, and the Tanon community in the salvation system is one of the forums for building religious harmonization. In addition, the religious elite, in conveying their spiritual teachings from each religion, recognizes religion as a universal truth in Tanon society. The last is a customary ritual, and cultural traditions are a means of latency for the people of Tanon Village in forming a harmonious social life.

Keywords: *Ashabiyah, Polarization, Religious Diversity, Strutural Functionalism*

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Article History

Received: 30 October 2021 | Revised: 4 August 2022 | Accapted: 30 December 2022 | Available online: 31 January 2023

How to Cite this Article

Hanik, Umi. 2023. "Ashabiyah Polarization of the Religious Diversity of Tanon Community Kediri". *Tribakti: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman*, 34 (1), 47-60.
<https://doi.org/10.33367/tribakti.v34i1.1990>



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Introduction

In the spirituality of religion, Indonesia has various variants of beliefs that develop in tandem (Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism, and Confucianism) from every meaning of religiosity; none of the religions in Indonesia teach evil and division.¹ The harmony in Indonesia's socio-religious life has become colorful, representing the first precept, namely "God Almighty." However, in practice, friction between religious people (persons) of religions often occurs; at least, the violations of freedom of religion and belief (KBB) were recorded from 2020-2021 in approximately 62 cases.²

To avoid the development of cases in the name of religion, it is necessary to foster the life of religious communities through religious leaders and the grassroots community.³ In this case, sociological tolerance is an alternative to prevention on religious issues, because the sociological tolerance approach provides a dialectic space between religious communities to talk about things being a common goal in creating harmony in social life.⁴ In this sociological space, religious people no longer show their religious identity but a sense of humanity and the purpose of living together.

Besides the religious conflicts, the debate on tolerance among religious communities has also generated polemics; the perspective used sometimes does not come from various theological, sociological, and anthropological considerations, so that religious tolerance considers religious tolerance for mixing one belief with one's faith.⁵ The need for various approaches will be understood clearly in the literal meaning of tolerance. If we draw further, the idea of tolerance rumbled in Europe in the 16th century, when the impact of wars between religions sparked fear in society; the ideas of humanism and secularization of modern countries triggered this.⁶ J. Denk and S. Franck were one of the figures who voiced the idea of a universal church and religion without dogma. The thought triggered the freedom struggle to speak up for the concept of tolerance in the 17th century; now, tolerance needs to be aligned with understanding religious communities.⁷

Building religious tolerance in Indonesia also has challenges, especially since Indonesia has various religions, races, ethnicities, languages, and cultures.⁸ Moreover, religious identity politics is often launched as a powerful weapon for political elites. No doubt, this has succeeded in supporting or bringing down political opponents. For example, the incident

¹ Pradana Boy Zulian and Hasnan Bachtiar, "Indonesia: A Complex Experience of Religious Diversity Governance," in *Routledge Handbook on the Governance of Religious Diversity* (Routledge, 2020).

² Mohammad Naefi, "Future Challenge of the Freedom of Religion Act: Comparing Indonesia and Malaysia," *Semarang State University Undergraduate Law and Society Review* 1, no. 2 (July 31, 2021): 125–40, <https://doi.org/10.15294/lshr.v1i2.50551>.

³ Ahmad Shobiri Muslim and Saiful Mujab, "Kearifan Lokal Dan Peran Elit Agama Dalam Merawat Toleransi Antar Umat Beragama di Akar Rumpun," *EMPIRISMA: JURNAL PEMIKIRAN DAN KEBUDAYAAN ISLAM* 28, no. 1 (2019): 31–40.

⁴ Reza Zahid and Mubaidi Sulaeman, "The Geneology of Islam Boarding: A Moderate Islam in Kediri," 2022, <https://eudl.eu/doi/10.4108/eai.11-10-2021.2319521>.

⁵ Steve Clarke, Russell Powell, and Julian Savulescu, *Religion, Intolerance, and Conflict: A Scientific and Conceptual Investigation* (OUP Oxford, 2013).

⁶ Martha C. Nussbaum, *The New Religious Intolerance* (Harvard University Press, 2012).

⁷ Andrew R. Murphy, *Conscience and Community: Revisiting Toleration and Religious Dissent in Early Modern England and America, Conscience and Community* (Penn State University Press, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780271031767>.

⁸ Umi Hanik, "Pluralisme Agama Di Indonesia," *Tribakti: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman* 25, no. 1 (2014).

after the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Head Election and the 2019 Presidential Election negated religious and political issues. Indonesia's challenge of religious tolerance comes from more than just the grassroots and the political elite.⁹

The results of a survey in 2010 of cases of religious intolerance conducted by the Indonesian Survey Institute (LSI) have begun to escalate; in 2017, claims of discrimination have increased again, and the transformation of prejudice has entered the realm of destroying houses of worship.¹⁰ It has become a severe concern for Indonesia's government and religious communities. In 2018 the Setara Institute conducted a case survey of intolerance based on cities in Indonesia, with indicators of government regulations, social regulations, government action regulations, and religious demographics, the results of which are as follows.¹¹

Rating	City	Scores
85	Sabang	3.757
86	Medan	3.710
87	Makasar	3.637
88	Bogor	3.533
89	Depok	3.490
90	Padang	3.450
91	Cilegon	3.420
92	Jakarta	2.880
93	Banda Aceh	2.830
94	Tanjung Balai	2.817

As for the result, it is necessary to evaluate the understanding of tolerance in Indonesia. Moreover, one of the indicators is regulation in the government. Tolerance should be increased in various lines, starting from the family, school, and higher levels, that is, the government.¹² It learned from Tanon Village in Kediri, a village called a plural village, in which religion and religious communities. It is in direct contact with the community's social life; this ashabiah spirit is represented in the community's cultural life so that Tanon Village has the characteristics of a plural village.

However, only a few people see the basis; the people of Tanon Village strongly understand tolerance and plurality. Even this can be seen in various cases, such as marriage and family; there is color in one family. One family has family members who are different in embracing religion.

From here, it is interesting to see further, sociologically with a religious approach, how the actual polarization of the ashabyah of Tanon Village in caring for its religious plurality.

⁹ Marcus Mietzner and Burhanuddin Muhtadi, "Explaining the 2016 Islamist Mobilisation in Indonesia: Religious Intolerance, Militant Groups and the Politics of Accommodation," *Asian Studies Review* 42, no. 3 (July 3, 2018): 479–97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1473335>.

¹⁰ Edward Aspinall and Marcus Mietzner, "Indonesia's Democratic Paradox: Competitive Elections amidst Rising Illiberalism," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 55, no. 3 (September 2, 2019): 295–317, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2019.1690412>.

¹¹ Agnes Setyowati Hariningsih, "How Intolerance Is Practiced by School Students in a Rural Area in Bogor, West Java, Indonesia: Case Study of Sukamaju Village," *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding* 8, no. 1 (February 27, 2021): 516–26, <https://doi.org/10.18415/ijmmu.v8i1.2473>.

¹² Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Diskursus Dan Kritik Terhadap Teologi Pluralisme Agama Di Indonesia," *MIQOT: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 42, no. 1 (2018): 105.

It is also interesting when using a sociological theoretical approach that's Talcott Parson's Structural Functionalism.¹³ This theory, the researcher sees, is very suitable to see the polarization of the people of Tanon Village, based on the basic assumption of the birth of Structural Functionalism in seeing society. This theory sees society as a system consisting of various parts that have a negation with each other; it means that if other functions experience dysfunction, it will also impact other operations.¹⁴ So it can be concluded that this theory views that the functioning of the system will have an impact on better functioning of society.¹⁵

The community has an integrated system based on the community's consensus that has social values that can overcome a debate so that the community is seen as a system that works in an integrated and balanced manner. So society is a group of social systems that are interconnected with each other.¹⁶ This function can be integrated as a unified system requiring conditions such as *adaptation*, *goal attainment*, *integration* and *latency*, these four conditions make it easier to describe the theory of structural functionalism.¹⁷ From this theoretical point of view, the researcher wants to know how, the polarization of Ashabiyah Tanon Kediri community, in seeing the differences in every society, even at a more micro level, that is the family.

Methods

This study used qualitative research, it is a research that is used to gain an in-depth understanding which will produce data and describe it descriptively in the form of words and language.¹⁸ The use of phenomenology as the chosen approach is quite clear that the design strategy which the researcher uses is to identify the nature of a phenomenon in society based on the experiences of individuals who are members of the Tanon Village community, Papar District, Kediri Regency¹⁹. Therefore, researcher need to study directly involving the research subjects to find out the patterns and relations of the Tanon Village community. The efforts to understand the experiences of research subjects need researcher to put aside personal experiences, because one characteristic of phenomenological research is research that is

¹³ Ismail Ismail, "Penggabungan Teori Konflik Strukturalist-Non-Marxist Dan Teori Fungsionalisme Struktural-Talcott Parsons: Upaya Menemukan Model Teori Sosial-Politik Alternatif Sebagai Resolusi Konflik Politik Dan Tindak Kekerasan Di Indonesia," *ESENSIA: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 13, no. 1 (2012): 67–84.

¹⁴ Talcott Parsons, "Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change," *Rural Sociology* 26, no. 3 (1961): 219.

¹⁵ Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," *Social Forces* 17, no. 4 (1939): 457–67, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2570695>.

¹⁶ Richard Ormerod, "The History and Ideas of Sociological Functionalism: Talcott Parsons, Modern Sociological Theory, and the Relevance for OR," *Journal of the Operational Research Society* 71, no. 12 (December 1, 2020): 1873–99, <https://doi.org/10.1080/01605682.2019.1640590>.

¹⁷ Bryan S. Turner, "Parsons and His Critics: On the Ubiquity of Functionalism," in *Talcott Parsons on Economy and Society* (Routledge, 2014), 179–206.

¹⁸ Tatang Parjuman and Dede Akhmad, "Pendekatan Penelitian Kombinasi: Sebagai 'Jalan Tengah' Atas Dikotomi Kuantitatif-Kualitatif," *Moderat: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Pemerintahan* 5, no. 4 (2019): 530–48.

¹⁹ Berek, D. I. P. (2014). Fashion Sebagai Komunikasi Identitas Sub Budaya (Kajian Fenomenologis terhadap Komunitas Street Punk Semarang). *Interaksi: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, 3(1), 56–66.

rooted in psychology and philosophy and focuses on the experience of the subject under study.²⁰

As in society, people always associate themselves with a complex meaning system to organize themselves. Apart from managing themselves, they also use the meaning system to understand themselves, others, and understand where they are living.²¹ The reason the researcher takes the ethnographic approach is to know the community directly, the community here is not only a small community but also does not rule out the possibility for a wider reach. In this study, the researcher also tries to pay attention to the meaning of the cultural actions of the subjects studied in understanding pluralism and tolerance. In addition, researchers are also encouraged to offer *problem solving* when finding a problem. This means that ethnographic researcher is also slightly required to take part if a problem occurs, and the results of the research are not only science for science, but also a solution that is a solution with in-depth analysis result of religious issues.

Result and Discussion

Sosiohistorical and Siosoreligious of Tanon Village

Socio-historically, Tanon Village is an agricultural area, and the rest is residential housing. Geographically, Tanon Village is located in the north by Mranggen Village, in the south by Papar Village, in the east by Srikaton Village, and in the west by the Brantas River, which is the main line. Border Rivers in the Ngajuk and Kediri areas. Tanon Village is part of Kediri Regency, with a population of around 2,915, with 1,419 males and 1,496 females. The location of this village is approximately 219,915 hectares, divided into 132,145 hectares of rice fields, 32,070 hectares of dry areas, and 55,700 hectares of yards, the remainder including swamp land.

The government structure in Tanon Village is fronted by the headman and village officials, as the village government system in general. The design of the village government is also part of the Village Regulations and Village Regulations based on Law Number 22 of 1999 concerning Regional Government. As explained in article 95, the village government consists of the headman and village officials. In the new regulation, a BPD (Village Representative) is responsible for protecting customs, establishing village regulations and housing, channeling community aspirations, and supervising the implementation of village government based on Article 104. Tanon village has four hamlets, including;

1. North Dukuh Tanon has 1 (one) RW, that is RW 1, which consists of 4 (four) RT with a population of 721 people with details: RT1: 175 people, RTII: 179 people, RT/III: 180 people, RT: IV: 187 people.
2. South Dukuh Tanon has 1 (one) RW, that is RW II which consists of (four) RT with a population of 568 people with details: RTI: 130 people, RTII: 141 people, RTIII: 153 people, RTIV: 24 people.

²⁰ Jhon W. Creswell, "Research Design, Desain Penelitian Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches" (Jakarta: KIK Press, 2002).

²¹ Emy Susanti Hendrarso, "Penelitian Kualitatif: Sebuah Pengantar" Dalam Bagong Suyanto Dan Sutinah (Eds.) Metode Penelitian Sosial: Berbagai Alternatif Pendekatan" (Jakarta: Kencana Prenadamedia, 2013).

3. Dukuh Payak has 1 (one) RW, that is RW/III, which consists of 5 (five) RTs with a population of 776 people with details: RTI: 140 people, RTII: 160 people, RTIII: 157 people, RTIV: 151 people, RT/V: 168 people.
4. Dukuh Gropyok has 1 (one) RW, that is RW/IV which consists of 5 (five) RTs with a population of 790 people, with details: RTI: 140 people, RTII: 160 people, RT/III: 57 people, RTIV: 151 people, RT/V: 168 people.

Overall, the four Dukuh above have the same economy, education, social interaction, and mobility characteristics. The Tanon village's history is inseparable from the developments, population growth, and government policies. It can be seen in the early 70s when the stretching of economic development led to the space of rural communities, on agricultural issues in particular, *the slashing, half-and-lease* system became one system that could be enjoyed by society at that time. Along with the times in the 90s, the transformation in the field of classical agriculture changed to a semi-modern agricultural system, and labor brokers altered the mindset of the Tanon people from farming to the TKI industry with the destination countries of Malaysia and Saudi Arabia.

The economic transformation of the Tanon people is motivated by financial problems, so becoming a migrant worker is an opportunity to earn a higher income than farming. Undoubtedly, this change also has consequences, including cases that occurred TKI/TKW abroad, such as violence and deportation for not having a permit, which some Tanon people often experience. Still, although this often happens, the community must be fed up with the conditions. The economic transformation of the people of Tanon Village began to take shape when they entered an understanding of religion.

Sosioreligious of Tanon Village Community

Historically, the forward of Islam in Tanon Village cannot be separated from the entry of Islam for the first time in Java brought by Syeh Maulana Malik Ibrahim, as well as the founder of the first Islamic boarding school in Indonesia. Previously, the Javanese people knew the religion of Islam around 1416 M; even other sources said that in 1413 M. In detail, the forward of Islam in Tanon Village, there is no apparent source, but in 1875. It was a small prayer room in Tanon village, which 1875 was finally destroyed by the Dutch colonialists around 1901.

In other that, several religious leaders in Tanon Village argue that Islam in Tanon village was brought by Kyai Fatchuurrahman, but the typology of Islam in Tanon village was originally only a community identity, at the level of sharia, the Tanon village community has not implemented it, it means that Tanon religiosity is more in the abangan community at the time. Not only Islam exists in Tanon Village, Hinduism also develops and lives in the Tanon community. The development of Hinduism in Tanon Village is parallel to the history of the spread of religion over a very long period of time, it means that before Islam became the majority religion, Hinduism had lived and grew in the midst of Javanese society.

Basically the bloody events of 1965 as the point of origin for the entry of Hindus in the village of Tanon, the abangan Islamic religious culture which is incorporated in the Indonesian Nationalist Party (PNI) is suspected of being infiltrated by the ideology of communism, resulting in friction among the people. Through a middle way, to avoid the

bloody conflict, the people of Tanon village adopted a new religion, that is Hinduism which at that time had no political affiliation and recognition of the existence of Hinduism in Indonesia strengthened the community to embrace that religion. There are various versions when discussing the inclusion of Hinduism in Tanon Village, such as this second version.

In fact, there is an elder from the Tanon Village community who stated that Hinduism entered around 1968, even though historically the Tanon Village community began to embrace Hinduism after the 1965 incident as explained above. Interestingly, in 68 only five people were Hindus including Sumarto Sumiran (81 years), Suraji (81 years), Slamet (late), Riyono (late), and Suroso (late). Over the time, precisely in 1972, Hinduism was even suspended by the local government, without any reason why there was a suspension of Hindu religious activities in Tanon Village. Shortly after that, the suspension of this activity was lifted, until in 1982 the Hindu community in the village of Tanon founded Pure at the time of the inauguration and opening of prayers in 1982, there were 600 Hindu followers.

Apart from Islam and Hinduism, Catholicism also has space in Tanon Village. Historically, Catholicism was under the leadership of Pak Tamin, one of the army colonels. There are no exact records regarding the year of Catholic entry in Tanon village, only services in 1971, Pak Tamin who is Catholic, donated his residence as a place of worship or a chapel for his congregation. There are not many sources on how the development of Catholicism in Tanon Village is because the congregation is not very significant. In contrast to Christianity, which until now has significant adherents, Christianity was started in 1966 under a community health center officer who worked in Papar, at first only Mr. Sastro was a Christian.

The development of Christianity began when one of the residents converted, that was Soedarto, who was attended by fifteen people from five families, including Mr. Sastro (late), Heri Suwarno (late), Pendi (late), Bari (late), and Sudirman. From these five families, Christianity in 2006 had a distinctive feature, those were Christian Jawi Wetan and Christian Bethel. Socio-religiously, the people of Tanon village in spreading their religion and the inclusion of religion as the identity of the Tanon people was not through ideology, violence and coercion so that the people of Tanon village naturally accept their beliefs without any interference, this is the forerunner of the unique socio-religiousness of the Tanon community.

Unification in the frame of humanity and mutual respect can be seen in the history above, the constructivism of the community's understanding of religion is not in a position of personal hegemony in the spread of religion, and this foundation serves as a provision for the tanon village community to represent pluralism and a sense of tolerance between religious communities. Religious relations exist in the social space, it's not in the ideological space, so that the interpretation of religion in the midst of society is more flexible and the meaning of religion itself.

Ashabiyah Polarization of Religious diversity in Tanon Village Community

1. Harmonization as Goal attainment of Tanon Village Community

Theoretically, *goal attainment* is a system that explains the achievement of the main goals in the structure, but individual goals often have differences with social goals that are greater

than individual interests. From this unification of goals, the different mindsets of the community will shift from the interests of individual goals to the interests of a larger nature, that is society. However, that does not mean that personal interests are no longer important in this position, but to achieve one million social systems must suppress the personal ego so as to generate social solidarity according to which will be the goal.²²

Goal attainment can be seen in the people of Tanon Village in the form of mutual awareness in developing the village based on religious tolerance as well as intercultural interaction at the community level. Tanon Village community layers are based on religious understanding, *firstly* the religious elite, which is religious leaders who become role models in making decisions in each religion.²³ In addition, religious leaders, as the perpetrators of religious activities, are carried out by inviting religious leaders to several events, as a form of inter-religious harmony in Tanon Village. *Ashabiah*, which is formed in the first layer of society, is the key holder of the harmony in social life, which will be followed by the layers of society below him. All speeches and actions as a demand in goodness, so that the function of the religious elite here is very important to maintain the harmony of religious communities.

The second is the middle layer of society that has an implementation function in religious activities, as representatives of each religion in religious activities.²⁴ This function creates a space of harmony in Tanon Village, this second layer is young people from each religion who are directly involved in every religious event. The cohesiveness of these young people represents the next generation who have a strong sense of tolerance between religious communities. Family ties are created naturally, because they have the same goal, it means, the religious divide is transformed into the form of *ashabiya* in the sociological space.

Thirdly, those are the abangan groups who obey and comply the religious elite regarding the commands and prohibitions of each religion. The common goal in establishing religious tolerance can also be seen in the daily life of the Tanon people, functioning to fortify from negative influences, so that the condition of harmony in the life of religious communities is based on religious and cultural beliefs.²⁵ The roots of belief in religion and culture can be investigated in the religion of the Tanon people, Islam, Catholicism and Christianity for example. Both are heavenly religions under the prophet, while Hinduism comes from culture. All uphold universal human values in understanding religion, while the standardization of understanding of community tolerance sees the common goal in life, for example in the family and the surrounding environment. The theology that unites the religious views of the Tanon people is, *the first*, religious subjectivism which considers the truth of their religion to be absolute, and *secondly*, subjectivism is the assumption that other religions are not wrong. This is of course a fairly strong adaptive and pattern maintenance so that the Tanon people have color in their religious understanding.

²² Melanie Wallendorf, "Talcott Parsons: Structural Foundations for Cultural Sociology," in *Canonical Authors in Consumption Theory* (Routledge, 2017), 93–99.

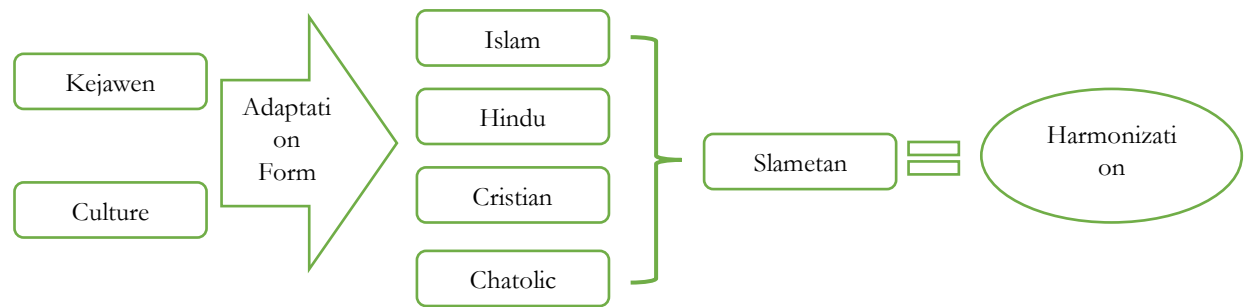
²³ Kevin Dew, "Structural Functionalism," in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Health, Illness, Behavior, and Society* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2014), 2390–94, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118410868.wbehibs305>.

²⁴ Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Open Road Media, 2011).

²⁵ Fauzan Saleh, Maufur Maufur, and Mubaidi Sulaeman, *Menarasikan Islam, Pluralisme, Dan Keberagamaan Di Indonesia*, ed. Maufur Maufur and Mubaidi Sulaeman (Kota Kediri: CAKRAWALA SATRIA MANDIRI, 2021), <http://repo.iai-tribakti.ac.id/423/>.

2. *The Polarization of the Religious Adaptation of the Tanon Society*

The adaptation polarization of the Tanon Society is measured by the adaptation concept in Parson's Structural Functionalism theory. Adaptation is a system that copes with external situations; the system needs to adapt to the environment and the existing institutions in the social system. It can be seen in the polarization of the adaptation of the Tanon community, which leads to a form of harmonization in the slametan culture; the following is an analysis chart;



The Tanon people know religion starting from an ancient culture called kejawen. Kejawen is a combination of Hinduism and Javanese religion. Still, in its development, it has transformed into divine forms such as Islam, Christianity, and Catholicism. At the same time, the second transformation is more about maintaining old beliefs that are more inclined to Hinduism. Kejawen, in its new face, has been in contact with the official religion, so there has been a shift in practice that is more inclined to religious rituals in the social order, such as salvation. The symbol of salvation represents harmony between religious communities²⁶

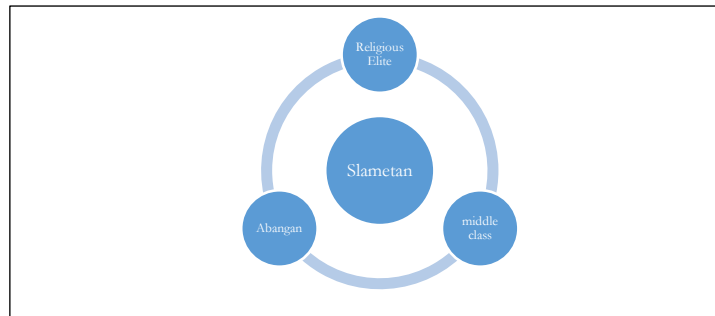
It can be seen from the good habituation between local culture and all religions in Tanon village. There is no negative response to the practice of slametan, in religion everyone accepts it. This adaptation is produced by good structural relations with the community, from a religious perspective there is nothing wrong with the practice of slametan, so that slametan becomes an adaptive medium to unite religious communities in Tanon Village. Selametan is also owned by religions, such as Islam, Hinduism, Catholicism, or Christianity. The Slametan tradition is an affirmation that the belief in what they believe is the same, although in a different way. So that the existence of religion in Tanon Village does not become a barrier in the realm of harmony in life.

Beside that, adaptive forms can be seen in the syncretism of the Tanon people in traditions, birth, circumcision, marriage, death, making houses, farming and believing in the calculation of the day, such as Pon, Kliwon, Wage, legi and Pahing. No wonder this happens in the midst of the Tanon community, as in Greetz's research in *The Religion of Java*, which shows the face of Javanese people's diversity in three forms, those are, abangan, santri and priyayi. The description of Greetz's findings about the abangan community is that the Javanese community combines Animistic, Hindu and Islamic elements, just like the Tanon community before they knew religion.

²⁶ Umi Hanik and Moh Turmudi, "Slametan Sebagai Simbol Harmoni Dalam Interaksi Sosial Agama Dan Budaya Masyarakat Desa Tanon Kecamatan Papar Kabupaten Kediri," *Tribakti: Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman* 31, no. 1 (January 13, 2020): 135–52, <https://doi.org/10.33367/tribakti.v31i1.990>.

The second is the santri, as Muslims who are obedient to the teachings of Islam and religious doctrine, in contrast to the abangan who tend to ignore religious rites, the santri are actually full of enthusiasm for religious doctrine centered on belief and faith.²⁷ The last is the priyai, a group of people who have a royal line or blue blood. Priyai have a strong relationship with the king of Java in the past, but nowadays the connotation of a priyai is a person who has a high social status, either because of their economic capital or their symbolic capital. So Greetz came to the conclusion that the three typologies of Javanese religion are none other than syncretism.²⁸ The similarity of Greetz's food with the socio-religious condition of the Tanon people can be interpreted if the role of the religious elites holds fast to their old traditions, in terms of slametan and other syncretistic practices, from the traditional forms of religious communities and the slametan tradition so that it becomes a common goal in maintaining the harmonious social life of the community.

3. *The Function of Integration and Latency in the Religious Elite of Tanon Community.*



The typology of religiosity in the Tanon community is more abangan Islam; this can be seen from the form of the slametan rite that developed in the Tanon community. No exception, religious syncretism has also begun to emerge in Hindu, Christian, and Catholic communities. It follows the culture of the Indonesian people, which historically has been in direct contact with local culture. This contextualization can be seen in Javanese culture in various traditions that combine Hindu and Buddhist animism and Islam, called *syncretism*.²⁹ The style of Javanese religious syncretism generates a concept called *kejawen*, or a mystical flow that is not part of religion. Interestingly, both often become unity when talking about religion and culture, so there are terms Javanese Islam and Jawi Wetan Christianity in the Tanon community.³⁰

²⁷ Jochem van den Boogert, "The Role of Slametan in the Discourse on Javanese Islam," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 133 (September 2, 2017): 352–72, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2017.1345166>.

²⁸ Danang Kristiawan, "Javanese Wisdom, Mennonite Faith, and the Green Revolution: The Farmers of Margorejo," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 35 (2017): 173–96.

²⁹ Anita Maria Leopold and Jeppe Sinding Jensen, eds., *Syncretism in Religion: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2016), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315024554>.

³⁰ Faqihul Muqoddam and Virgin Suciyantri Maghfiroh, "Syncretism of Slametan Tradition As a Pillar of Islam Nusantara," *Karsa: Journal of Social and Islamic Culture* 27, no. 1 (June 12, 2019): 75–94, <https://doi.org/10.19105/karsa.v27i1.1950>.

The function of latency in religion in Tanon village is in the form of acculturation that gives and receives between one system and another at the sociological and anthropological level, for example the yasinan tradition, slametan, nyadran and others. The function of latency in this case is not in the form of ideology or religious teachings, where religious elites, abangans and the public are reduced to another function, which is the integration function. This means, Integration. Each layer system - religious elite, abangan and middle class society - must maintain internal coordination of the parts and establish communication with each division or must maintain its unity. The concept of integration shows that there is a part of social solidarity which in this case can be implemented in the form of culture so as to shape and play the role of each of these elements according to their position and status.³¹ The bonds of solidarity that exist in the Tanon community will fall apart if each of the elements that make up a systems, those are, the religious elite, the abangan and the middle class, show or prioritize their respective interests. Therefore in this sense of integration the concept of the whole constitutes of this phenomenon.

In the Tanon community, integration occurs due to factors, (1) The relationship between the religious elite and the religious community in Tanon village. (2) The appearance of individuals that is religious elites who carry out relations with grassroots and government elites in Tanon Village. (3), has a goal, that is in social life in the Tanon community. And (4) there is a structural relationship, those are religion and group function, called religious adherents, which occurs because individuals do not live separately and have the same goal. In addition, social conditions shape the Tanon community into a society that understands plurality at the real level, it's not at the theoretical level so that the objectification of the understanding of purity and tolerance is the highest, it means that there is no longer a barrier in the practice of diverse awareness because each element of the diverse community of Tanon people has faith in their religion and belief in other religions with one truth in a different way.

The function of the religious elite in the Tanon community, terminologically, refers to a group or layer that has the most influence or at least has a good name in the religious community. The religious elite that is meant is the highest layer who has the ability in their field, in this case is religion, so that the religious elite in the Tanon community are located like Ustadz or Kiai, Pastors, or Monks. The religious elite in the Tanon community also has two functions, In addition to mantening inter-religious integration, it is as wel as a cultural maintener in the form of *ashabiah slamatan* traditions.³²

Slametan is intended to be a place for religious communities to unite in the name of humanity and a sense of mutual cooperation between human beings.³³ So that the important role of religious elites in maintaining plurality and tolerance in Tanon community is more to the process of interaction that takes place between various religious elites in order to create social integration as a result of social processes. Thus the religious elite in question are the

³¹ Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure."

³² Wallendorf, "Talcott Parsons."

³³ Mohamad Abdun Nasir, "Revisiting the Javanese Muslim Slametan: Islam, Local Tradition, Honor and Symbolic Communication," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 57, no. 2 (December 24, 2019): 329–58, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2019.572.329-358>.

religious leader of each in Tanon Village. The form of the integration function of the religious elite can be seen in the religious elite of Tanon Village interactively always establish relationships in the form of ritual activities. The religious elite of Tanon Village in understanding religious plurality recognize the truth of existing religions. Cultural ritual activities and customs become a means of interaction between religious elites and society. Religious elites in Tanon Village act as role models for the people and society. Religious elites have the same ideas in creating harmonization.

Conclusion

Based on the results of the research above, it can be concluded that the religious elite in Tanon Village has an integration function in community activities, so that this pattern has become the key to the success of the Tanon community until now is thick with tolerance among religious communities. The polarization built by the religious elite is in the form of harmonious communication between the abangan and middle class communities as patrons in building an attitude of pluralism. In addition, the religious elite in conveying their religious teachings from each religion recognizes religion as a universal truth in the Tanon Community, lastly, custom rituals and culture are a means of latency the Tanon Village community in forming a harmonious social life.

The harmony of religious elites with one another can also occur with ritual activities that directly involve religious elites. These activities are followed by embracing their respective religions and at the same time functioning as a means of effective interaction and communication in a plural religious society. On a practical level, the results of this research are useful for building solutions to conflicts between religious communities. Three polarizations of ashabiah, the diversity of Tanon village is the key in understanding religion, namely the religious elite itself. Theoretically, Talcotl Paron's structural functionalism can be used in analyzing structural problems that exist in society, as is the case in this study. Understanding the functions of adaptation, latency, integration and purpose has an impact on a comprehensive understanding, meaning not only on system functions but also on the form of tasks of each system in the community. However, the need for theoretical deepening of this theory does not reach the historical process, how the systems, structures and functions in society were formed, therefore it is necessary to study in depth and use new approaches, both methodological and theoretical.

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