Christian-Muslim Relationships in Medan

and Dalihan na tolu –

A Social Capital Study

of The Batak Cultural Values

and Their Effect on Interreligious Encounters

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and Their Effect on Interreligious Encounters

by

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Abstract

Interreligious disharmony between Christians and Muslims seems prevalent in the world. Indonesia, one of the democratic nations in the globe, offers no exception. In the last two decades, disharmonious encounters have been escalating in the country to a point where people commit violence towards adherents of other religions. Despite this phenomenon, few studies have addressed the issue. The literature suggests that the problems are related to three distinct areas: the history of the country, the method of evangelizing and socio-economic and political issues. The current study was conducted in the framework of the theory of multiculturalism – a contemporary social theory which has been developed by Amitai Etzioni and Bikhu Parekh – not only to address the issue of interreligious disharmony but also to promote interreligious encounters when a society is divided. The participants in this study were Batak married people in Medan City, North Sumatera – Indonesia. The value of the kinship system among the Bataks in Medan, called Dalihan na tolu was regarded as their social capital and the impact of this culture on interreligious encounters was investigated, along with the values of religion. Using concurrent mixed methods, a model of interreligious encounter in Medan City was created and analyzed based on the quantitative data from 1,539 respondents. From the quantitative analysis, the study has found cultural influences to be stronger than religious influences in promoting interreligious encounters among the Christian and Muslim Bataks in Medan. This finding suggests that the social capital of Dalihan na tolu plays a greater role than religious influences in promoting harmony. The qualitative analysis affirmed this finding. Dalihan na tolu promotes harmonious relationships between those of different religions indirectly by reminding the Bataks of the cultural
values which put respect, love and harmony first in the kinship system. While some religious teachings could be a barrier to interactions, the value of the kinship system appears to transcend the values of a particular religion. Overall, this study proposes the use of communal values to promote interreligious encounters in Indonesia or in particular in Medan and thus, to create a more harmonious society which pulls together otherwise disengaged members through shared values.
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Chapter One

Introduction

In Indonesia, since the mid-1990s, Christian-Muslim relationships have been generally marked by interreligious tensions and conflicts. Different forms of religious violence have become so common that they are now taken for granted. Religious conflicts have caused suffering, material and psychological damage, and have even incurred the loss of life.

The phenomenon reached a peak in 1998 when a series of riots hit the country. On the wall in destroyed places of worship, sacrilegious graffiti and profanities were written as part of the terror in order to show the victims that the perpetrators’ religion is the right one. Both Christians and Muslims involved in the conflicts appear to believe that violence took place because God was the one who gave them the order. They saw violence in the name of religion as the right thing to do as part of their religious mission.

To explain the phenomenon of violence in the name of religion, some authors have suggested that some verses in the Holy Scriptures and theologies of both religions, Christianity and Islam, triggered the conflicts. These authors argue that the verses and theological teachings serve to support violence and confrontations as if they are fighting against evil (Riddell & Cotterell, 2003; Treverton, Gregg, Gibran & Yost, 2005)

This form and level of religiously motivated violence surprised the Indonesian government as the government had introduced a measure known as SARA in an attempt to prevent religious violence. SARA refers to the avoidance of discussion about four potentially inflammatory issues (Suku [Ethnic group]; Agama [Religions]; Ras [Race
relations]; and Antargolongan [Inter-class relations]) because problems related to SARA issues were seen as having potential to create a social and political instability in Indonesia (Sumartana et al., 1999, p. 6). The government suspected that these interreligious and ethno-cultural conflicts were engineered by some political or religious actors (Sumartana et al., 1999, p. 7). Some Indonesian scholars are anxious to discover what triggers such collective conflict and violence. Interreligious and ethno-cultural disharmony in Indonesia raise the question about what has happened with the harmonious relationships among religions that had existed many decades ago? Was the religious harmony something imposed? Or, were the conflicts manipulated by the political system or structures in the society?

Whatever the causes, interreligious encounter is required to halt the problems and to promote interreligious harmony. The use of religion for political self gain that often occurs in Indonesia not only hurts people of different religions, but also brings damage to each religion. People endure tensions and religious prejudices. Thus, interreligious encounter is seen as a means of bridging the differences between religions and cultures.

**Interreligious Encounters in Medan**

Despite the phenomenon of violence in the name of religion there has also been progress in various ways to develop Christian-Muslim relationships. In Medan, for example, the local authorities, religious institutions and the adherents of both religions have initiated encounters in cultural or adat events which often involve representatives from other religions such as Hindus, Buddhists and Confucians.

Medan is the capital of North Sumatera Province, Indonesia. It is the third
largest city in the country and the majority of people who live in Medan are the Bataks, Chinese and Javanese (see Appendix C and D). Some of the Bataks are Christians and some are Muslims. Edward Bruner (1950) and Johan Hasselgreen (2000) call Medan the “city of minorities” where the Bataks felt little need to adjust their cultural practices and had no choice but to remain a Batak because there was no single majority ethnic group in Medan.

As a result of involving cultural values in aspects of interreligious encounters, the city of Medan has experienced less interreligious conflict, although the potential for conflict still exists. This phenomenon of interreligious encounters in Medan attracted the researcher, an ordained Catholic priest in the Religious Order of Carmelites and a 15th generation of Batak in the Sianipar clan who grew up in Medan, to do this study. Little effort has been made to study the importance of cultural values in promoting interreligious encounters. In order to address this gap, the current study aims to explore the contribution of cultural values of the Bataks in Medan which is known as Dalihan na tolu (DNT)\(^1\) to promote interreligious encounters.

**The Bataks and Their Cultural Values**

The concept of DNT (the three pillars) is well-known among the Bataks in Medan. DNT is a principle of three different functions in the extended family that each pillar depends on the others without any exception. The DNT principle creates a common ground within families of different religions to work together as equals in ethnic activities and social life. It puts aside religious differences among the people. It

\(^1\) DNT will be used for Dalihan Na Tolu throughout the thesis.
also becomes an unwritten law for the people to preserve harmony. It causes shame for somebody if his/her family calls him/her a “lawless person” \((\text{ndang maradat})\) as a reminder to uphold DNT values at all times.

J.C. Vergouwen (2004), in his studies on the Batak society and the local customs of Bataks in the Batakland, has explored the ongoing influence and practice of DNT in the Batak society. His studies revealed that the people strongly adhered to their traditional culture although the Dutch, who colonized the region at the time, had insisted on introducing a new way of choosing new leaders for the people. Bataks believe that their leaders have the \(\text{sahala harajaon}\) (a special quality of kingship) and, consequently, they have the \(\text{sahala hasangapon}\) (a special quality to deserve respect). Only those who acknowledge their leaders will be blessed with prosperity here and now. In short, this is the reason why they continue to keep their traditional values and practices as they believe that their customs are embedded in traditions of the past “\(\text{adat ni ompunta, sahala ni amanta}\)” (the law of our ancestors and the spirit of our forefathers).

When the Bataks moved from the Batakland to Medan, DNT became the fundamental principle by which to re-establish their cultural ties and kinship system in a new place. DNT was their ethnic capital in the Batakland and it was transformed to play its role and then became a form of social capital for the Bataks as a means of survival in Medan. In L.J. Hanifan’s (1916) studies of social capital, he argued that capital accumulation is needed to create constructive work which, in turn, will satisfy the social needs of the person and affect the quality of the community. The DNT system as an ethnic capital in the Batakland appears to capture the social capital of the Bataks in Medan and contributes to harmonious relationships in that place. In this sense, social capital building takes place because of a strong adherence to cultural values and the people live harmoniously despite religious differences.
In response to the interest of this study, the following research questions were raised:

1. What theoretical model can best explain the Christian-Muslim relationships in Medan?
2. What is the relationship of religion and social capital with interreligious encounters?
3. Does religion or culture play the predominant role in promoting interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan?
4. How does DNT play a role as social capital among the Bataks in Medan?

Multiculturalism and the Good Society

This study used the theory of multiculturalism (acknowledging that within a multicultural society, some people prioritise religious values and practices and others prioritise cultural values and practices) to guide the research design which is in harmony with the national goal of Indonesia Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity). It is a theory that many scholars discuss as the most useful theory for enlightening researchers on studying cultural differences such as interreligious conflicts. Bikhu Parekh (2000) says that “multiculturalism is not about difference per se but about those that are embedded in and sustained by culture; that is, a body of beliefs and practices in terms of which a group of people understand themselves and the world and organize their individual and collective lives” (p. 2-3). He believes that in multicultural societies people engage in a dialogue that benefits them mutually (Parekh, 2000, p. 168). On the contrary, people in a culturally homogenous society have a tendency to become closed, intolerant, averse to change, claustrophobic and oppressive and, to discourage
Parekh (2000) believes that a multicultural society creates a good society because individuals’ basic rights and liberties are acknowledged and maintains the continuous culture of dialogue in the society. Each member of the community feels embedded and attached individually (Parekh, 2000, p. 340). Parekh’s understanding of a good society is similar to that of Amitai Etzioni’s definition of a good society which begins with the premise that building and reinforcing good moral standards in the community will result in the moral character of each individual as a consequence (Etzioni, 1996, p. 187). Etzioni strongly believes that a good society does not necessarily take its values from religions. For him, “being religious does not guarantee virtue” (1996, p. 254). He continues to say that a good society takes its core values from both religious values and secular sources (p. 255). Religious or social differences, according to Etzioni, are therefore not an issue in a good society which can transform those differences into consensus values and so affirm them as part and parcel of the cultural richness of the society (Etzioni, 1996, p. 256).

The Theoretical Framework of the Study

Numerous studies have highlighted the positive contributions of religious tolerance in promoting interreligious encounters (Ghazali, 2009; Hamim, 2007; Sachedina, 2001; Schumann, 2008; Zada, 2008). By making religion a priority, religious teachings are encouraged in order to promote religious tolerance toward each other in the common interests of achieving peaceful co-existence (Abdulaziz, 2001; Akbarzadeh & Yasmeen, 2005; Muda, 1992; Mujiburrahman, 2008; Saiful, 2003; Sianipar, 2005). On the contrary, cultural values are prioritized when it is believed that
religious teachings will have minimum impact on promoting interreligious encounter. In this case, peaceful co-existence is based on socio-cultural values or communal norms (Hasselgren, 2000; Sirtha, 2008; Thontowi, 2007). Dimitria Giorgas (2000) believes that when communal sense plays a major role within the community, social capital building is more likely to be taking place (pp. 2-4, 9).

Figure 1.1 shows the theoretical model of this study based on the theory of Multiculturalism with the two different priorities: Religious Priority and Cultural Priority. Three different sources of interreligious disharmony in Indonesia are indicated and all these causes were considered as the main causes of interreligious conflicts in the country. They were: opposing colonialism equals opposing Christianity; issues of religious proselytizing and; socio-economic and political issues. The government leaders, the upper-class society and the Indonesian-Chinese descendants suffered from these conflicts (vertical effects), and the society in general suffers the negative effects of conflict (horizontal effects). This study is proposing the use of the Multiculturalism theory to help solving interreligious disharmony in Indonesia.
FIGURE 1.1
The Theoretical Model of Interreligious Encounter in Medan.

Causes

- Opposing colonialism equals opposing Christianity
- Issues of religious proselytizing
- Socio-economy and political issues

Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia

Effects

- Vertical: conflict with political leaders; the elites; the rich; the Chinese
- Horizontal: conflict with fellow citizens

Religious Priority

Multi-culturalism Theory

Cultural Priority

Strong Faith
Social Security
Knowledge
Dialogue
Forgiving

Networks
Trust
Reciprocity

Interreligious Encounter in Medan
The two priorities: Religious Priority and Cultural Priority were employed as a framework in which to investigate possible routes to interreligious encounters which can help resolve the conflicts. On the one hand, Religious Priority employs primarily interreligious dialogue and interreligious tolerance. This study proposes that Interreligious Encounter in Medan is promoted by Strong Faith, Social Security, Knowledge, Dialogue and Forgiving.

On the other hand, Cultural Priority posits cultural values and norms (adat) to promote Interreligious Encounter in Medan. The value of DNT is suggested to be a form of social capital of the Bataks in Medan (see Chapter Three) which consists of Networks, Trust and Reciprocity. The kinship system in DNT and its value is believed to support and improve the Bataks’ human development including financial gain. This idea of supportive DNT for the Bataks agrees with Mujiburrahman’s (2008) suggestion that interreligious harmony will take place once good social welfare exists (p. 318). In other words, DNT helps the Bataks in their social welfare and thus has potential to impact positively on interreligious encounters.

Some Expectations from the Study

This study is significant in three ways. First, it is an attempt to discuss the socio-psychological role of religion and culture in society as also studied by Emile Durkheim (1912) and Robertson Smith (1894) that will strengthen traditional ties between individuals (Clifford Geertz, 1957, p. 32). This study expects to gain insight into the relative roles that religion and culture play in Muslims and Christians achieving social stability.

Second, while there are many studies on the topic of Christian-Muslim
encounters, most of them are centred on the collective or institutional level of interreligious encounters. There is also an important place for exploring individual experiences. For instance, Theo Sumartana et al. (1999) engaged in an interreligious project among university students in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in order to obtain data about personal experiences of interreligious encounters. He concluded from these data that religious group exclusivity has potential to damage the unity of a plural society, and vice versa, whereas inclusivity can help a plural society to survive. Similarly, this current study seeks to generate data about individual experiences and observations of, as well as reflections on interreligious encounters.

Third, some scholars believe that adherents of different religions can live side by side peacefully in Medan because many of their religious leaders are of the second generation and most of them have a university education and experiences of diversity (Sudjangi, 1998). They also believe that the strongest influence on peaceful co-existence among multi-religious adherents and multi-ethnicities in Medan comes from kinship systems and ethnic activities (adat) that build familial networking among these people. Thus, the selection of Medan as a site for this study will allow an examination of a model of Christian-Muslim encounters and the way in which the Batak kinship system and adat influence interreligious encounters.

**Organization of the Thesis**

**Chapter Two** describes the identity and the culture of the Bataks in Batakland. The history of the origin of the Bataks is presented first to develop deep understanding of the people and their culture. This study chose the basic elements for knowing and understanding the Bataks by discussing extant studies on their social and religious traditions. Then, the migration of the Bataks to Medan and the assimilation of the
Bataks in the new place are discussed.

**Chapter Three** explains the definition of social capital as it is still in debate among the social science scholars. The history of the concept of social capital is presented first, followed by a definition of social capital. Some criticisms of social capital and the limitations of social capital are discussed to give a comprehensive understanding of social capital. The last part of the discussion in this chapter concerns the possibility of understanding DNT as a form of social capital among the Bataks.

**Chapter Four** offers a synthesised review of scholarly literature relevant to this study. First, the role of religion in society is discussed. Then, causes of interreligious disharmony between Christians and Muslims in general are discussed. Next is the discussion of the sources of interreligious disharmony in Indonesia. This part will discuss the issues that may trigger disharmonious relationships. Some issues are related to religion but some are not. Then, a discussion of promoting intercommunal (Christian Muslim) harmony in Indonesia is presented. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the theory of multiculturalism concerned with creating a ‘good society’.

**Chapter Five** outlines the methodologies employed in this study. First, an explanation of the research design, purpose and research questions driving the study are presented. Then, the participants and informants are described and the research instruments and ethical considerations are presented, next followed by data collection. The chapter concludes with the process of data collection and the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data.

**Chapter Six** presents the results of the quantitative analyses. First, the results of the factor analysis are presented, followed by the correlations among the composite variables. The results then discussed concern the multiple regression analyses on encounters in civic engagement and civic discussion which were used as the preliminary
investigation of the proposed relationships among the variables according to the hypothesized model. The last section of the chapter reports on the results obtained from the structural equation model analyses which were used to test how well the proposed model fitted the data.

Chapter Seven is an attempt to deepen and elaborate on understanding the findings emanating from the quantitative analysis. In this chapter, the informants of this study share their opinions and experiences in dealing with DNT and its different forms of social capital, especially in the context of, interreligious encounters in Medan. First, informants share their experiences of DNT as a form of social capital in social trust, social help and social bonding. As part of the social trust discussion, informants highlighted the contribution of DNT in conflict resolution. Subsequently, the next discussion in this chapter is about religious influences on interreligious encounters in Indonesia. Causes of extreme religious beliefs, the discussion of interreligious disharmony in Indonesia and in Medan followed by the discussion about encounter in civic engagement are discussed respectively. This chapter concludes with a discussion of DNT and interreligious relationships in Medan.

Chapter Eight presents the discussion and conclusions to this study. In this chapter, the findings of the study are discussed in the context of the research questions that drove the study. All four research questions are discussed. Next, the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research are presented. Then, the conclusions of the study are presented next to conclude the study.
Chapter Two

The Batak: In Their Village and In Medan City

Introduction

Knowledge about the Bataks and their socio-religious traditions is important. This chapter will introduce the Batak people, where they live and their traditions. First, the place of the origin of the Bataks will be discussed. Next is the history of the Bataks. The discussion about their social traditions is followed by a similar discussion about the religious traditions of the Bataks. The values and the pillars of DNT are seen as central as DNT is the core around which the Batak social system revolves. This chapter will conclude with consideration of migration and assimilation issues among the Bataks in Medan city.

The Batakland in North Sumatera

The Batakland is known as Tapanuli. It is a name which was given by the Dutch Colonial Government in 1906. This name was taken from a small village called Tapiannauli (beautiful bay) which then disappeared over the years (S. Situmorang, 2009, p. 7). According to Sitor Situmorang (2009), the name Tapanuli was simply given for the sake of the Dutch administration which at the time was in control of Sumatera Island based on the London Treaty between the British and the Dutch in 1824 (p. 6).
The Batakland is about 50,000 km² and 900 metres above sea level in the northern side of Sumatera Island. It has a lake which is called the Toba Lake. The lake itself is about 1,300 km² and 500 metres deep. Batak is an ethnic group in North Sumatera that consists of six sub-groups: Batak Toba, Karo, Mandailing, Simalungun, Angkola and Pakpak. The first Batak village is called Sianjur Mula-mula. It resides on a hill of Samosir peninsula which is called Pusuk Buhit and it is precisely in the middle of the Toba Lake. The peninsula of Samosir, which at present is called Samosir Island, is about 630 km². In the time of Dutch colonialism, a canal was built to separate the peninsula from the mainland (S. Situmorang, 2009, p. 10). The purpose was to give
space for boats to pass the area freely and faster. For this reason, the peninsula of Samosir is not seen as a peninsula anymore, but as an island. Now, it is called Samosir Island.

According to Jamaluddin Hasibuan (1982), the Bataks used to live in geographical isolation (pp. 14-16). This isolation heritage started to change when the Bataks fought against the Dutch at the end of the 19th century when Si Singamangaraja XII and his people led the war to fight colonialism (S. Situmorang, 2009, pp. 19-20). Batara Sangti Simanjuntak (1977) says that since then, until a half century later, the Bataks experienced rapid economic progress which was greater than that of the other tribes in Indonesia (pp. 18-19). The unfertile land of the Bataks in Samosir means that most of the Bataks live in poverty.

**The History of the Bataks**

Batak is an ethnic group. Christiano, Swatos and Kivisto (2002) considered ethnic groups as a subtype of Gemeinschaft groups in which the personal identity of its members are based on emotional rather than functional ties (p. 155). Furthermore, they asserted that one of the characteristics of ethnic groups is in its involuntary nature and how emotional bonds link members whether or not they know each other personally.

Finding academic writings on the early history of the Bataks is difficult. There is much information about the early history of the people but most of it emphasizes their mythical history. This study will include the mythical stories about the early history of the Bataks as they also contain some historical detail.

The exact time that the Bataks started to live in the Batakland is unclear. There are no early writings about their origins. The Bataks have the *Parhalaan* (calender)
which follows the rotation of the moon and stars but it does not number the years and centuries. As a result, it is difficult to set dates to the Bataks’ early history. There are two different approaches taken to Bataks’ history.

The first approach to the early history of the Bataks is the so-called mythical approach. One scholar who follows this approach is Sabam Sianipar (1991). Based on his interviews and studies on the early Batak documents during 1957 – 1990, he believes that the Batak people were the descendants of Mangaraja Batak Bongaran (Part I, p. 51). Mangaraja’s mother was the concubine of the King Mangaraja Burbur in Central Asia and was expelled to the jungle in Bonggaran territory because she became pregnant before the Queen. She then gave birth to Batak Bonggaran and raised him in the jungle.

Around 400-500 BC, Sianipar says that the King Mangaraja Burbur ordered his servants to find a sacred cane named Tukkot Si Sia Lagundi which was known all over Asia to have magic power (1991, Part I, p. 6). It was made of the Batak wood, a material to make cane for Kings and great shamans in the area at the time. Then, the King’s servants commanded Batak Bonggaran and his mother to find the sacred cane with the consequence that they would be killed if they could not find the cane within three months.

Batak Bonggaran and his mother were threatened by the order and went to save their lives. They left Bonggaran land searching for the sacred cane and the Batak wood with no intention of giving it to the King but intending to keep it as their own. They were roaming through many places for about 50 to 60 years and each time they met someone they asked if the person knew about the Batak wood. Their persistence to find the Batak wood was known to the people and hence they became known as the Bataks. As a result, Mangaraja Bonggaran was also known as Mangaraja Batak. The adventures
of Mangaraja Bonggaran to seek the Batak wood directed them to the South or the Malacca Strait. There were 51 families from Bonggaran and 44 other families who came along with Mangaraja Bonggaran and settled in the Batakland.

According to Sianipar, Mangaraja Bonggaran and his descendants lived in the Batakland for 25 or 26 generations (1991, Part I, pp. 6-7). Mangaraja Bonggaran had three sons and three daughters. The three sons were Ompu Tuan Doli, Mangaraja Sumba and Ompu Tuan Mangalas. After the 25 or 26 first generations, the story of the Bataks halted because of the first hagolapon (darkness). According to Sianipar, hagolapon (the darkness) was the eruption of the Toba Volcano (1991, Part I, p. 7).

After Toba’s eruption, the Bataks came back to the Batakland and most of them were: the descendants of Ompu Tuan Doli: Tatea Bulan; the descendants of Mangaraja Sumba: Sori Mangaraja, and; the descendants of Ompu Tuan Mangalas: Mangaraja Pakpakulu. According to Sianipar, these descendants re-wrote the Batak Tarombo or the Batak family tree. The re-writing of the Batak generation places Tatea Bulan as the 26th generation of Ompu Tuan Doli or the 27th generation of Mangaraja Bonggaran (1991, Part I, p. 11).

The second approach is the so-called Sundut approach. This approach is often used by the Batak scholars to investigate the Batak early time. The Sundut approach means counting from one Tarombo (generation) to the next generation to get to the early time of the Bataks. According to Batara Sangti Simanjuntak (1977, p. 22) and Dj. Gultom Rajamarpodang (1992, p. 28), the normal length for one sundut is 30 years. From the Sundut approach Sangti Simanjuntak (1977) believes that Siraja Batak (the person from whom the Bataks generation started) was born in 1305 (p. 22). On the contrary, some scholars such as Gens G. Malau (1994) and Paul Pedersen (1970) claim that the Bataks had already existed some 1,500 to 2,000 years ago (Ibrahim Gultom,
Sometime after 2000 BC and before AD 1500 The Batak culture was influenced by a Hindu-Buddhist civilization in the southern and coastal regions of North Sumatra... Dozens of abandoned temples and ruins in the Asahan valley and southern Batakland testify to a highly developed civilization in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. When Islam came to Indonesia through Sumatra, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Hindu-Javanese contact was cut off, isolating the Bataks and causing the remaining foreigners and their culture to be assimilated into the indigenous population (Pedersen, 1970, p. 19).

Moreover, Mangaradja Onggang Parlindungan (1964) believes that the Bataks already existed even earlier than Malau and Pedersen have predicted. He says that the Bataks had existed in 1000 BCE and that they originally came from a Proto Malayan tribe which lived in the mountains near the Burma border, along with the other tribes of Proto Malayan tribes such as Karen, Igorot, Toraja, Bontoc, Ranau, Meo, Tayal dan Wajo (pp. 19-20). Parlindungan says that these tribes wished to isolate themselves. They did not like to make contact with people who came from the seashore.

All of the Proto Malayan Tribes ... their nature characteristics for thousands of years was in Splendid Isolation!! They were all Mountain People, who voluntarily isolated themselves on the mountains and so to reject all connections with the out-side world, especially with people who came from seashores for they brought religion which was new religion to the tribes (Parlindungan, 1964, p. 20).

The territorial expansion of the Mongolian tribe in 1,000 BC caused the Sjan tribes (Palae Mongoloid race) to move to the Southern side of Asia which later became Burma, Siam, Kamboja, Vietnam and the Dayak people (in Borneo Island). The expansion of the Sjan tribes forced the Proto Malayan tribes to leave the mountains and move across the ocean searching for a new isolated place to live in. The Brontoc and Igorot tribes moved to the Phillipines. The Tayal tribe moved to Taiwan. The Toraja tribe moved to Sulawesi. The Karen tribe, however, did not go anywhere. They stayed
in the mountains in Burma. The Ranau tribe moved to Southern Sumatera and lived around lake Ranau. The Meo tribe did not go anywhere. The Wajo tribe moved and chose the sea as their new place to live.

Parlindungan (1964) argues that the people who later became the ancestors of the Bataks migrated from the Burma mountain hills in three different times (p. 22). The first migration arrived in Nias Island, Mentawai Island, Siberut and other small islands and Enggano Island. The second migration arrived at the estuary of Simpang River. The river took them to the inland of Andalas (Sumatera) Island through Simpang Kiri River and this group then settled in Kutacane. They are known as the Gayos and the Alas people. Those who settled through the Simpang Kanan River are known as the Pakpak Batak people. The third migration arrived in the estuary of Sorkam River. They continued the journey to Pusuk Buhit through Tele. They finally settled at Sagala Limbong Mulana (Parlindungan, 1964, pp. 22-24).

People of the third migration, according to Parlindungan (1964), became the ancestors of the Bataks (p. 24). They grew in number and split into two different branches of ancestry: the Tatea Bulan branch and the Isumbahon branch. The King Sori Mangaraja – from the Tatea Bulan branch – and his dynasty ruled for 90 generations in a theocratic government system. The unfertile soil for agricultural purposes, together with epidemics, forced the people from the Tatea Bulan branch to leave the land for Sagala Limbong Mulana. From this place, they spread to West Sumatera (where the Minangkabau people live), Tanjung Morawa and Selangor – Malaysia.

Most of the Bataks who lived in Sagala Limbong Mulana were from the Isumbaon branch. The remnants of the Tatea Bulan branch, such as the Lubis clan, lived together with them. In 450 CE, they moved into Mandailing and were forced out by the Minangkabau people in 900 CE. They settled in the territory of the Lubu tribe in the area
around Batangtoru River. The Lubu tribe’s ancestors originally came from India.

The two approaches to the early history of the Bataks meet at the generation of Tatea Bulan. Sianipar argues that if the Bataks are now in the 94th generation (1991, Part I, p. 9) and if one generation is 30 years, then the Batak generations have existed for about 2,820 years. The generation of Tatea Bulan was the 41st generation. This means that they lived around 1,230 years ago. The prediction about this is uncertain as Parlindungan (1964) postulates that the descendants of Tatea Bulan lived between 1000 BC and 450 CE (pp. 15-16). The Bataks have lost 53 generations (1,590 years) from Mangaraja Bonggaran to Tatea Bulan.

Beside those two approaches to the early history of the Bataks, there are many writers who speak about their visits and interactions with the Bataks in places such as in the city of Barus, an international port. For example, the Madras Epigraphy Report, which was written in 1891 – 1892, states that:

Because of the good will of DR. J. Brandes, I have received two prints out of a Tamil epicgraphy from Loboe Toewa, Baros, Sumatera which was kept along the collections of Bataviaasch Genootschap Batavia archaeology (catalogue), p.388, No.12. The rock has broken and damaged; but from the readable text, it is clear that the epicgraphy was made in year 1010 (1088 AD) and it wrote a gift from a group of people ‘one thousand and five hundreds’. It is interesting to notice that the Tamil language was used in public documents in Sumatera Island in the 11th century AD (Y. Subbarayalu in Claude Guillot, 2002, p. 17).

Another writing entitled Relation de la Chine et de l’Inde written in the year 851CE states that “a place named Fantsour (Barus) produces many high quality of mothballs” (Marie-France Dupoizat, in Claude Guillot, 2002, p. 144). In another text, the Yi Jing text (635-713 CE) from the Tang Dynasty calls Barus as Polushi and Poli (Roderich Ptak in Claude Guillot, 2002, pp. 105-128). These writings from outsiders show that the Bataks have experienced international relations since the 7th century CE.
The Social Traditions of the Bataks

The Bataks believe that they came from one Ompung (ancestor). The family name is an indication that every Batak has Saompung (one ancestor) with the people of the same family name. Sianipar states that “A clan name is the shared name made by an Ompung for all of his descendants in one particular group” (1991, Part I, p. 198). Sianipar continues to say that the name of a clan could be taken from three different sources: the name of Ompung, the name of Ompung’s Huta (village) or from the Ompung’s habits (1991, Part I, p. 199).

In the Batakland, a normally extended family lives in one neighbourhood which is called Huta (Hamlet). This family is called Marga Tano as it is the owners of the Huta. According to Brunner (1959), about six households live in a hamlet. Two thirds of the hamlet is owned by the sons and one third is given to the daughters of the family. An average of six households form[s] a hamlet huta (Batak), the core of which consists of an exogamous patrilineage based on a line of descent from one male ancestor. In about two-thirds of the hamlets in our region the inhabitants are limited to male members of the lineage together with their wives and unmarried children. This situation results from a strict adherence to the rule of patrilocal residence. However, in the remaining one-third of the hamlets, matrilocal residence has also occurred, that is, daughters of the lineage have brought their husbands to live in their hamlets. In either case, only families with a direct genealogical connection to the male ancestor who founded the hamlet have the right to live in it. There are no outsiders in a Batak Huta (p. 54).

These days, however, besides the Marga Tano, there are also other clans that live with them in the hamlet. They are called Marga Paripe (participant families).

Huta is the smallest structure in the socio-political system of the Batak society. Every Huta has a leader and this position is passed on to the oldest son of Marga Tano (S. Situmorang, 2009, p. 40). In the Batak tradition, the leader of the hamlet is called
Sisuan Bulu (the Bamboo planter) and Sisuan Baringin (the Beringin planter)\(^2\). In doing his job as the leader of the Huta, there is a meeting forum which is called Partukkoan. This forum is the highest forum for the Bataks. Partukkoan is usually held under the Beringin tree (Rajamarpodang, 1992, p. 414). The leaders of each Huta ex officio become the candidates for the Bius members that is the highest political council in the Batakland. The delegates for Bius membership are chosen from every Horja\(^3\) (S. Situmorang, 2009, p. 40). Those who sit as the Bius members are called members of the Si Tuan na Torop (the Supreme Council members).

The socio-political system of the Bataks cannot be separated from the kinship system of DNT. According to Sianipar, DNT was introduced by Tuan Rumrum (1991, Part I, p. 14). Before DNT was introduced the Bataks had a culture system called Tuho Parngoluan which was inspired much by the traditional religion Mulajadi Nabolon in the Mangaraja Bonggaran era. With no exact date when the system was changed into the DNT system, Sianipar believes that the decision was made in the Partukkoan (1991, Part I, p. 14).

People in general and many writers believed that the term, DNT, was literally taken from tataring (three stones that hold a wok or a pan to cook a meal) (Rajamarpodang, 1992; Nainggolan, 2006). Sianipar (1991), however, believes that the DNT system is not about tataring but rather it is about Juht (the meat) which is delivered to the three pillars in the DNT system.

Based on my research, there is no connection between the word of dalihan na tolu and tataring. When the law of dalihan na tolu and its

\(^2\) Sisuan Bulu is the tradition that every Batak who stepped for first time his feet and lived in a Huta, would make a trench which surrounded the hamlet and plant bamboo trees at the sides of the trench. He also planted a Beringin tree at the right hand side of the entrance way of the Huta as the owner of laws and wisdoms in the Huta (hamlet).

\(^3\) Each Horja consists of eight Hutas.
kinship term were created, we will know exactly that *dalihan* is about food to be given to the three pillars in the DNT system (Part II, p. 95).

The three pillars of the DNT system are *Hula-Hula* (the wife-giving), *Boru* (the wife-taking) and *Dongan Tubu* (the direct line of descendants of *Hula-Hula* and *Boru*). They should always be present in every Batak *adat* event (Sianipar, 1991, Part II, pp. 199-200). Bruner (1959) adds that

Batak ceremonialism is based upon patrilineages and their extentions. The relationships between three groups, one’s own lineage, those to whom one has given wives, and those from whom one has received wives, are symbolized in every Batak ceremony and life-crisis rite (p. 55).

In short, if the DNT pillars (*Hula-Hula, Boru* and *Dongan Tubu*) are incomplete in the *adat* events, then the ceremony is not an *adat* in the DNT system (Sianipar, 1991, Part II, p. 251).

In a simple way, Figure 2.2 explains the relationship of the three pillars where *Hula-Hula, Boru* and *Dongan Tubu* are in equal position. *Hula-Hula* (the wife giving) relates to *Boru* (the wife taking) based on affinal (related by marriage) bonds. The *Dongan Tubu*’s relationship with *Hula-Hula* and *Boru* is based on consanguineal ties. These relations, consanguineal (of the same blood) and affinal (related by marriage) bonds, become the foundation of the Batak kinship system (Sihombing, 1986, p. 109; Vergouwen, 1986, p. 51; Sianipar, 1991 Part I, pp. 458-461).

The kinship system based on consanguineal kinship (related by birth) are:

- *Bapauda/Inanguda* (the younger brother/sister of parents), *Iboto* (the sister), *Amang-Inang* (the father and the mother), *Haha* (the older brother), *Gelleng* (child), *Pahompu* (grandchild), *Paraman* (the son of *Lae*), *Maen* (the daughter of *Lae*), *Bere* (the son and
daughter of sister), *Nini* (*great grandson*), and *Nono* (*great granddaughter*). Every Batak should know these consanguineal kinship terms in order to address someone in the family properly.

In affinal kinship (related by marriage), the Bataks are addressed as *Dongan Tubu, Hula-Hula* and *Boru*, based on their place in the DNT system. As mentioned before, there are three pillars in the DNT system: *Dongan Tubu, Hula-Hula* and *Boru*. This means that a married male Batak is the *Hula-Hula* of his sisters’ husbands and family and, at the same time, he is the *Boru* of his wife’s brothers. In social life and *adat* events, all Bataks should respect their *Hula-Hula*, express love towards *Boru* and interact cautiously and sensitively with *Dongan Tubu*. The relations among *Dongan Tubu, Boru* and *Hula-Hula* form a circle (see Figure 2.2). In short, a person will not be a *Hula-Hula* in isolation as, at the same time, he is also a *Boru*.

*FIGURE 2.2*

Relation of the three pillars in the DNT system.

The rotation of role in the DNT system is important as it is related to leadership in the community which, most of the time, has problems to be solved. The common problems among the Bataks are problems in the family, marriage, divorce, death, inheritance (Payung Bangun in Koentjaraningrat, 1971, p. 111). These problems are
brought to the community leaders as the Bataks believe that their leaders have *Sahala Harajaon* (quality of power) and *Sahala Hasangapon* (quality of being respected) (Pedersen, 1970, p. 33). The problems among the Bataks are solved in collegiality of spirit as is reflected in the DNT system. The spirit of leadership in the community is: *Somba marhula-hula* (respectful to *Hula-Hula*), *Manat mardongan tubu* (act cautiously and sensitively with *Dongan Tubu*) and *Elek marboru* (to express love towards *Boru*).

*Boru* is to respect *Hula-hula*. This kind of respect is not just a gesture, but a deep honour because, for Bataks, *Hula-Hula* is the visible God in the world. The Bataks believe that God will help them to achieve their goals: *Hamoraon* (wealth), *Hagabeon* (prosperity) and *Hasangapon* (honour). These goals are achieved only within marriage and, as a result, the *Hula-Hula’s* blessings are needed. This is why *Hula-hula*, according to Anicetus Sinaga (1981), is also called *Debata Sorisohaliapon* (the Lord source of blessings and wisdoms) (p. 76). In addition, the Bataks also regard *Hula-Hula* as *Hula-Hula do mata ni mual si patio-tio on, mata ni ari so suharon* (the water spring that should be maintained and the sun that should not be faced). Vergouwen (2004) shares the same view that

*Hula-Hula* is the source of divine power, the source of vitality to *Boru*. *Boru* considers *Hula-hula* as a person who is blessed with *Sahala*. *Sahala* is a special power that goes beyond the hidden power of *Tondi* (Human Spirit) could have. *Sahala* could either benefit *Boru* or could make them respect *Hula-Hula*. It means that *Boru* never hurts the *Hula-Hula’s* feelings and should show gratefulness for all blessings they get from *Hula-Hula*. *Boru* should not have conflicts with their *Hula-Hula: Hula-Hula so jadi badaan, habiaran ma tondina i“* (p. 55).

The respected position of *Hula-Hula* in the DNT system is balanced with *Elek Marboru* (to express love towards *Boru*). *Hula-Hula* is always obeyed by the *Boru* to do anything to help the *Hula-Hula*. In return, being thoughtful and wise is what *Boru* expects from the *Hula-Hula*. *Hula-Hula* should express more love in order to get help.
from the *Boru*. When the *Boru* feel the love, *Boru* will help the *Hula-Hula* willingly because they feel they owe something to the *Hula-Hula*. In this sense, *Boru* increases the Hasangapon (honour) of the *Hula-Hula* (Vergouwen, 2004, p. 66).

Besides the attitude of Elek Marboru, *Hula-Hula* is also inspired by the teaching of: “*Molo naeng ho mamora* (if you want to be rich), *elek Ma ho marboru* (you should love your *Boru*). According to Sihombing (1986), the meaning of being rich in the teaching is about having a generous heart which will make the person always happy and live without burdens (p. 106). So, being rich is not just about wealth in the Bataks’ mind, but also is about having good relationships with fellow human beings. *Hula-Hula* will live happily once they love their *Boru*. This harmonious relationship between *Hula-Hula* and *Boru* is expressed in a famous saying among the Bataks: *Durung do tutu Boru* (*Boru* is a real fisherman’s net), *Tomburan Hula-hula* (*Hula-hula* is the place where the fisherman stores the fish).

*Dongan tubu* refers to the family members of an extended family based on the man’s line. *Hula-hula* have their own *Dongan Tubu* and *Boru* have their own *Dongan Tubu* as well. They believe that they came from one *Ompung* (ancestor). The brotherhood feeling in *Dongan Tubu* is so strong that their relationship is like: *Tampulan aekdo anggo parbadaan ni na mardongan tubu* (it is like cutting off water when members of *Dongan Tubu* have conflicts). This means that the kinship relations are impossible to separate (H. Situmorang, 1983, p. 101). This inseparable kinship relationship is maintained by the teaching which says that *Molo naeng ho sangap*, *manat Ma ho mardongan tubu* (If you want to be honoured, then you must act consciously and sensitively to *Dongan tubu*). As a result, the Bataks are expected to always be unanimous in what they decide in daily life. Vergouwen (2004) says that the kinship unity is expressed in *sisada sipanganon* (eating from the same meal), *sisada*
The uniqueness of the DNT system is that it includes *Ale-ale* or *Sihal-sihal* (outsiders or non Bataks) in the Bataks’ kinship system. The Bataks have a reason to include Ale-ale in the system: *Nipis hansing-hansing, ido na patoguhan, met-met sihal-sihal, ido na patukkon* (Though friends are few, yet they provide strength. Though there is a small number of outsiders, yet they provide stability) (Sihombing, 1986, p. 73). All pillars in the DNT system should have a *sorta* (friendly attitude) towards *Sihal-sihal.*

The role of *Sihal-sihal* in the DNT system used to be ignored as the society in the Batakland is mostly homogenous. However, in a modern heterogenous society like in Medan or in Jakarta, to have a good relationship with *Sihal-sihal* is important for the Bataks to promote harmony.

As discussed above (see p. 21), a family name is important to the Bataks. Without a family name, a Batak does not know his/her state of relationship with the other Bataks in the DNT system. This is why it becomes a habit to a Batak to ask the family name first when they meet a Batak for the first time. There is a famous saying (*pantun*⁴) in regard to this habit:

\[
\text{Jolo tiniptip sanggar bahen huru-huruan} \\
\text{(the branch of sanggar is refined to make the birds cage)} \\
\text{Jolo sinungkun marga asa binoto partuturan} \\
\text{(the family name is asked to know relationships)}
\]

The action of asking a Batak his/her family name first is known as *martarombo* (to genealogize) and *martutur* (to engage in the process of establishing a kinship connection). It is not always an easy or rapid procedure as in *martarombo* and *martutur*

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⁴ *Pantun* is a traditional oral form of expression. The first line of *pantun* is used simply for the sake of rhyme.
a man must possess fairly extensive genealogical knowledge and he must be aware of recent marriages in his own and related lineages. In the rural areas, most men have acquired the necessary information by the time they become adults, but this is not so in the city, especially among the younger generation. There are various shortcuts for determining kinship connections: by asking parents or genealogical specialists, by comparing the number of generations of each person from a clan ancestor and by working out kinship connections by reference to a known relationship to a third person (Bruner, 1963, pp. 5-6). Martarombo is considered satisfactory if each person agrees with the term of reference and the term of address for both of them to use.

The Bataks and Their Religious Tradition

Understanding the religious tradition of the Bataks is important as it links to their social system. Harold Abramson (1973) followed by Phillip Hammond and Kee Warner (1993) in establishing three typologies in the possible relationship between religion and ethnicity: (1) Ethnic Fusion is where religion is the major foundation of ethnicity such as among the Amish and Jews; (2) Ethnic Religion where religion is linked to language and to national identity; a unique blend of ethnic religion occurs in communities such as the Dutch Reformed, the Greek Orthodox, the Church of England, the Serbian Orthodox, and the Scottish Presbyterians; (3) Religious Ethnicity where religion extends beyond ethnicity such as Catholicism for the Irish, Polish, Italian, Mexican and other nations that are the major components of Catholicism; and, Lutheranism for the five Scandinavian countries and Germany (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001, p. 369). Unlike the other two ethnic groups: the Acehnese and the Minangkabau – two neighbouring provinces on the Northern and Southern parts respectively of North
Sumatera Province in which they have the type of ethnic fusion where is found the strongest relationship between religion and ethnicity, the Bataks do not seem included in those typologies.

Ibrahim Gultom (2010) says that the early Bataks had persistently called their religious traditions as a religion to protect them from the bad influence of other religions such as Christianity and Islam (p. 3). They call their religion Malimism. William Marsden came to visit Sumatera in 1771 and wrote a book entitled The Sumatran History. It is the first book written by an outsider about the Batak ethnic group (Pedersen, 1970, p. 18). Marsden (1966) says that "One of the ethnic groups in Sumatra Island which have typical characteristics is the Batak ethnic group. The differences are the characteristics, the customs and the special traditions" (p. 337). The special traditions used as an example are in fact about their religious traditions. The Bataks had a tradition that is hard to distinguish from religion in general. As a result, it is not agreed that the Bataks had a religion in the normal sense of the term. Regardless, the Bataks liked to perform religious rites more than people in Rejang or in Pasemah. They call the religious leaders “Guru” with a main duty of overseeing the taking of oaths, forecasting bad days or good days and conducting funeral services (Marsden, 1966, pp. 350-351).

Anicetus Sinaga (1981) claims that the Batak religious tradition is not so different from religious traditions among other communities in South-East Asia (p. 15). Even Pedersen (1970) believes that the Batak religious traditions have similarities with the culture of Proto Malayan.

The early Bataks, settling in the region of Lake Toba in North Sumatra, were probably shifting cultivators of root crops or perhaps rice with a non-metallic technology. Their religion, judging from similarities with other Proto Malay cultures, involved a respect for the powers of nature and the firm belief that ancestral spirits took a lively interest in the behaviour of their descendants (p. 18).
In general, the social system of the Bataks includes reference to their mystical concept about the world and god. The Bataks believe that there are three worlds: the Upper World, the Middle World and the Under World, and that each world has its own god. *Debata Mulajadi na Bolon* (the highest God) created *Debata na tolu* (the Three gods).

... The High God, while being intimately immanent in creation through numerous numina, is a transcendent God having his own Life and Being in himself distinct from the created beings. *Mulajadi na Bolon* is ultimately seen as the almighty Author and the transcendent Creator, to whom the whole numina and beings are subjected and subordinated in terms of a relationship between the Creator and the created (Sinaga, 1981, p. 68).

About the *Debata na tolu*, Sinaga (1981) says that "they are rather special human beings because they possess a divine character. They are really worshipped and so we can call them deities (p. 71). *Debata Mulajadi na Bolon* gave the name to the *Debata na tolu*: *Batara Guru*, *Soripada* and *Mangala Bulan* and they were born from the eggs of *Hulambu Jati* (mythical birds) (p. 71).

A brief account of the Toba-Batak mythical world view is here in order. The cosmos, according to the Batak conception, consists of three layers or three worlds: the Upperworld, the Middleworld and the Underworld. The High God dwells in the highest sphere of the Upperworld. The creation of the Upperworld is not narrated in the Batak myths, which only are concerned with the Middleworld (our world). Mulajadi na Bolon first of all created a mythical tree: the Cosmic Tree, the Tree of Life, the Tree of Creation. Then he created a mythical bird, Hulambu Jati, which laid three eggs. From these eggs came out the three deities: Batara Guru, Soripada and Mangala Bulan. There are many other deities, whose origins are more or less obscure: Silaon na Bolon, Debata Asiasi, Debata Idup, Boraspati ni Tano, Siraja Indainda, etc. The daughter of Batara Guru, called Sideang parujar, descended from the Upperworld. She was floating in the primordial infinite sea (Underworld) and asked the help of Mulajadi na Bolon. Through his messengers, Swallow Mandi and Swallow Naguranta, Mulajadi na Bolon send a handful of earth to form the Middleworld. While she was forming the Middleworld, Naga Padoha,
the king of the Underworld, attempted to destroy it. Sideang Parujar took her sword, pierced him, and put him into prison under the Middleworld. Plants, animals and men were created to inhabit the Middleworld (p. 24).

Then, he continues to say:

... when the messengers asked Mulajadina Bolon what would be the name of the three persons born out of the first three eggs of the Mythical Bird Hulambu Jati, the High God answered: “They are ‘Human Beings’ (Jolma Do I); tell the bird to give them names: the first being Batara Guru, the second Balasori, and the third Balabulan ... Balasori is the variant of Soripada, Balabulan of Mangala Bulan. The versions narrated by Hoetagaloeng ... and Pasaribu ... also call the Three Gods ‘human beings’ (p. 71).

The role of the Debata na tolu are: Batara Guru is linked to creations and their functions. When the Bataks pray to him they call him Pandapotan ni adat (He-with-whom-the-tradition-is-found) and Panungkunan (He-who-isalways-consulted) (Sinaga, 1981, p. 72). This means that Debata Batara Guru is the source of Adat and wisdom for the Bataks. Sinaga (1981) says, “Adat or culture is the source of wisdom, or religious knowledge. In its deeper meaning, adat is associated with order, which is contrasted with disorder, the primordial chaos” (p. 72).

Debata Soripada is the god that links with maintaining life. The Bataks pray to Debata Soripada to protect their land to provide good harvest, to take care of the children and to become the shepherd of the Bataks. The sign that Debata Soripada is with the family or a person is shown if that the person is happy, lives prosperously, is respected by others and is pious.

Soripada is considered as the governing preserver of the world... He is honoured as the just keeper of accurate justice and the standard measure. Stealing and bribery are not found in him... He is the founder of the kingdom of the Batak and, because of his governing wisdom, there is prosperity and joy. People are rich, full of honour and pleasing to God (Sinaga, 1981, pp. 73-74).
Debata Mangala Bulan is the god of judgements. The Bataks pray to him for blessings, good health, welfare and longevity, although his role is to judge. Sinaga (1981) says, "While people pray to Batara Guru and Soripada only for blessings and protection, Mangala Bulan is worshipped for good and bad purposes" (p. 74). In short, the function of the gods for the Bataks is to bless, to judge and to punish as well.

In the Batak social system the role of Debata na tolu is expressed directly in the DNT system. Sinaga (1981) describes it as follows:

Batara Guru is the symbolism of the hula-hula – the father-in-law and his dongan sabutuha – who through the fertility of their daughters, procreate new human beings, the concern of Batara Guru. In society, hula-hula enjoy[s] a great honour and power, as does Batara Guru among the ‘Three Gods’. Soripada is the symbolism of the dongan sabutuha which, at times, bears responsibility for the education, dowry and important social affairs of the children of a member of dongan sabutuha ... The symbolization of boru in Mangala Bulan is more complex... Mangala Bulan ... has two functions, namely, on the one hand he blessed and actuates the fertility prepared by Batara Guru, and on the other hand he withholds rain in order to hinder the actualization of the fertility. This is also the function of boru. A-son-in-law can fertilize a woman but he can also withhold fertilization – an extreme punishment for the wife, and which, as may be expected, rarely occurs (p. 76).

The Batak religious tradition is the implementation of the macrocosm or the universe into the microcosm of a person. In other words, the universe is materialised inside a person, as Philip Tobing tried to explain in regard to the religious tradition of the Bataks:

Dr. Philip Tobing introduces the notion of an underlying, naturalistic-monistic trend, which he calls totalitarian religious thinking, to describe traditional Batak religion. The Batak did not distinguish between different powers and aspects of the High God because they experienced each part as a totality, each microcosm as a macrocosm. This synthetic-concrete approach contrasts sharply with the analytic-categorical approach of Western scientific thought (Pedersen, 1970, pp. 22-23).

This simple explanation of the Bataks’ religious tradition reflects the influence
of both Hinduism and Buddhism. The influence of Hinduism and Buddhism has also appeared in the Batak language, especially in religious ceremonies, medical treatments, the Bataks’ astrology, calendar and mythical traditions (Sinaga, 1981, pp. 25-26). This is why Pedersen (1970) believes that Hinduism and Buddhism must have come to Indonesia between 2,000 BCE and 1,500 CE (p. 19).

The Bataks in Medan City

Medan is the capital of North Sumatera Province. It is the third largest city in the country with a population of 2.121 million people (Census 2009, See Appendix C). The majority of people who live in Medan, according to the census taken in 2000, are Javanese (33 percent), Bataks (34 percent) and Chinese (11 percent). Some of the Bataks are Christian and some are Muslim. The city of Medan has experienced less interreligious conflict than most other areas in Indonesia, although the possibility of conflict still exists.

The ethnic composition in Medan has shifted due to the influence of European planters, in the 1920s, who needed more agricultural labourers for rubber and palm oil plantation. The company headquarters, which were located in Java, Singapore and Hong Kong, sent Javanese and Chinese workers to Medan (Bruner, 1963, p. 3). The numbers of the Bataks in the Batakland decreased rapidly due to the migrations of the inhabitants from rural Sumatera. These internal migrants experienced great change in terms of physical and social environment. Traditional life styles at their homeland, such as farming, cooler temperatures and the Batak language, were changed for aspects of modern life style such as paved streets, offices, newspapers and a new language (Indonesian).
Despite all these changes, Edward Bruner (1963) found that the function of kinship among the Bataks in Medan was maintained. These findings contradict the findings of Julian Steward (1960) and Leslie White (1959) who predicted that the traditional kinship patterns would automatically disappear or be transformed when people from rural areas migrated to cities (Bruner, 1963, p. 1). Bruner argued that the traditional kinship patterns did not disappear among the Bataks in Medan as the people acknowledged that they were still part of a single community of the Toba Batak people (Bruner, 1963, p. 10). Thus, this means that, wherever the Bataks live, they will always be aware of their traditional kinship bond. This is why the Toba Batak people generally have the genealogical knowledge of the clan and have to update that knowledge by adding those who have married in the family.

Furthermore, Bruner (1963) suggests some points about the role of kinship ties among the Bataks in the city (p. 10). First, the Toba Batak people who live in Medan have a sense of identity higher than those in the village. Second, the kinship system in Medan reaches a broader group than in the original village. Third, the personal relationships of the Toba Batak people in Medan generally are less personal, less intimate and less familial than those in the village. Fourth, the kinship relationships between those who live in Medan and in the village still exist and are important. Fifth, the Toba Batak people in Medan founded a familial organization which is important for socialization and other traditional ceremonies. Finally, the nuclear family for the Toba Batak people in Medan is far more important than it is for those who live in the village.

Togar Nainggolan (2006) agrees with Bruner (1963) that migrated Bataks who live in a city with heterogeneous ethnic groups, where none of these ethnic groups are politically dominant (such as in Medan and Jakarta), will organize themselves according to their cultural traditions (pp. 264-265). In contrast, when the Bataks migrated to
Bandung, a city where Sunda is the dominant ethnicity in the city, the Bataks lost most of their cultural heritage and conformed to the dominant culture, the Sundanese (Bruner, 1974, pp. 269-271).

Furthermore, Nainggolan (2008) says that the Bataks who have migrated to a heterogenous ethnic city experienced segmented assimilation, that is, assimilation taking place partly to strengthen kinship ties (p. 274). In the new place, while the Bataks work hard to support their daily lives, pursue education as high as possible, make acquaintances with as many people as possible and acculturate their customs to the surrounding circumstances, they also maintain their kinship ties (Nainggolan, 2008, pp. 274-280). For example, the Bataks in Jakarta keep their traditional cultural veneration towards ancestor rites by going back to the Batakland for the ceremony. This segmented assimilation successfully strengthens the Batak identity although they are far from the Batakland (Nainggolan, 2008, p. 275).

Interestingly, Usman Pelly (1983), in his study about the migration of the Minangkabau and the Bataks from the southern areas of the province to Medan, finds that the Bataks did not use their clan names and acknowledge themselves as Batak due to unharmonious relationships with the Bataks in the northern areas of the province (pp. 56-59) and in order to intermingle harmoniously with the Melayu people (the inhabitants of Medan) (p. 60). It seems hiding their identities as Batak from the majority was common (Hasselgren, 2000, p. 140). All the Bataks from the South called themselves ‘Mandailing’ (the majority population of the Bataks in the South) and “Muslim Communities” to get better services from the Melayu leaders in Medan. This reflects that the Bataks’ assimilation and their choices to change were determined by occupational options and residential factors.

as they migrated to Medan city. The change was primarily influenced by their interactions with their village of origin and with other ethnic groups and religions in the city. They migrated to Medan with a goal to be white-collar workers.

The white-collar worker not only became an ideal in the Toba [Batak] community but with time also developed into a stereotype of Toba men in colonial Medan ... An example of the power of the stereotype is that the Toba who lived in Medan before 1942 often speak as if no other Toba social groups existed in Medan at the time (Hasselgren, 2000, p. 145).

As a result of the Bataks’ assimilation, the Christian Bataks survived successfully in Medan. They started to build their identity as Batak in the early 1920s, although identity as Batak at the time was perceived negatively, particularly among the Mandailing people (Hasselgren, 2000, p. 58). In 1922, the rivalry among the Muslim Bataks reached its culmination in the case of the Sei Mati graveyard. The Mandailing people did not allow Bataks from the South to be buried, even though they were Muslims, as they supported the Christian Bataks in having their own identity as Bataks. This rivalry among the Muslim Bataks affected the Mandailing relationships with the Christian Bataks negatively. The Mandailing people kept their distance as far as possible from the Christian Bataks. The effect of conflicts on the Batak identity and religion reduced the influence of the Melayu culture in being adopted by other ethnic groups in Medan. Since this time, Medan grew as a multi-ethnic city (Hasselgren, 2000, p. 59). Hasselgren says that the rivalry between Christians and Muslims in the city of Medan after 1950 escalated as the city was no longer dominated by the Malayu people but had turned into 'a city of minorities' (2000, p. 387).

Hasselgren (2000) argues that the migrated Bataks left their 'harajaon' (kingdom) in their original village to rebuild their new 'harajaon' in the city of Medan (pp. 387-388). The ethno-religious and socio political identity of the Bataks has grown
gradually in the city without them losing their original identity. As migrants, the Bataks revived their original identity in the new context and this identity is able to be incorporated by people of other religions and ethnic groups.

Summary

In this chapter, the Bataks and their history are introduced based on the two approaches of studying their early history. The early Bataks migrated around 1,000 BCE from secluded areas of the mountains near the Burma border from Proto Malayan tribes. In the Batakland, the Bataks built their own social and religious traditions by including the influence of Hinduism and Buddhism.

The literature suggests that the social and the religious system of the Bataks are two parts of one reality. This means that, in order to understand the social system of the Bataks, we need to study their religious system as well as their broader social systems. DNT represents the social system of the Bataks, while the religious system concerns the three gods: Batara Guru, Soripada and Mangala Bulan, the Upper World that they inhabit while human beings live in the Middle World and the sea of darkness of the Under World.

The Bataks migrated to Medan city to obtain a better life for themselves and so to fulfill the dream of Hamoraon (wealth), Hagabeon (prosperity) and Hasangapon (honour) as the Batakland could not provide for this dream fully. In Medan city, the Bataks assimilated with urban life styles. The literature suggests that the kinship ties in the social tradition of the Bataks have not been superseded or lost totally in Medan. The type of the Bataks’ assimilation in Medan is so-called segmented assimilation where assimilation takes place in order to strengthen their traditional kinship ties.
This information about the Bataks and their cultural values has been provided in order to contribute to a better understanding of how the Bataks’ ethnic capital was transformed into social capital in the community. The following chapter examines the current literature on social capital and the possibility of DNT as a form of social capital. The literature is sourced from what scholars assert about the historical and definitional ramifications of social capital, including their criticisms about and the limitations they impose on the notion. With a clear understanding of social capital, this study then proceeds to examine whether DNT has potential as social capital to influence interreligious relations among the Bataks.
Chapter Three
Social Capital

Introduction

This chapter presents a case that DNT is a form of social capital because of the trust it establishes among the Bataks through kinship ties. It starts with the definition of social capital, although it is still in debate among the social science scholars. This chapter will discuss the history of the concept, ‘social capital’, followed by its definitions. It will then proceed to explore literature concerned with critique of the notion, including limitations that need to be kept in mind as the thesis continues to apply it. The last discussion in the chapter concerns the potential for considering DNT as a form of social capital among the Bataks.

The History of Social Capital

The definition of social capital is still in debate. L.J. Hanifan (1916) used the term in relation to a community centre. It started with his observations on the young Black Americans and other young people from different countries of origin in West Virginia. He called them people with “the total lack of social capital in rural districts” (p. 12). In order to help these young generations, he said that they needed social centres where social workers or volunteers could help them with their economic development. So, for Hanifan, social capital was a term used mainly to describe services that redress financial deficit.

James Coleman (1988), one of the important theorists of social capital, gives some illustrations to describe it (pp. S5-S7). One of the first illustrations is about the strong ties among the Jewish people in Brooklyn, New York City, who sell diamonds. Before they sell them, the stones are transferred from one seller to another to make sure that the diamonds they are selling are of a high quality. They transfer the diamond stones to other diamond sellers without any formal insurance, or any fear that the other sellers would steal or substitute a stone with one of inferior quality. Coleman says that it has been a common practice among the Jewish diamond sellers in Brooklyn due to a high level of trust among them.

From the illustration above, Coleman concludes that social capital can function in a similar way to the better understood notions of physical and human capital. If physical capital is wholly tangible and human capital is less tangible, “social capital is less tangible yet, for it exists in the relations among persons” (Coleman, 1988, pp. S100-S101). Coleman explains more that:

Just as physical capital and human capital facilitate productive activity, social capital does as well. For example, a group within which there is extensive trustworthiness and extensive trust is able to accomplish much more than a comparable group without that trustworthiness and trust (p. 101).

Furthermore, Coleman says that the form of social capital is different in each social structure. When social capital is present, the outcomes can be felt both at individual levels and in making transitions from the micro to macro level (Coleman 1988, p. S101). For example, a high level of trust among the diamond sellers in
Brooklyn to examine the quality of each others’ diamonds has impact on the success of selling high quality diamonds in New York City. So, besides the outcome of social capital on the different levels of relationship, it can also bring economic and non economic developments. This definition of social capital is similar to James Farr’s (2004) definition of social capital that it consists of networks, norms and trusts:

the network of associations, activities, or relations that bind people together as a community via certain norms and psychological capacities, notably trust, which are essential for civil society and productive of future collective action or goods, in the manner of other forms of capital (p. 9).

The Definition of Social Capital

Social capital, according to Coleman, consists of obligations and expectations (pp. S102-S103), information channels or information that facilitates action (p. S103) and effective norms and sanctions that reinforce a certain kind of behaviour (pp. S103-S104). Coleman believes that all social structures facilitate some form of social capital, but there are certain kinds of social structures, such as networking, which will facilitate the presence of social capital (p. S105).

In his studies, Coleman focuses on finding and developing social capital within families. He says that the good use of social capital between parents and children in the family will benefit the development of the children’s human capital (pp. S109-S110). However, when parents and children in the family do not have good relationships, a great deal of the parents’ human capital is not directed towards the children’s educational growth.

On the one hand, the lack of social relationships within a family blocks the children from developing their educational skills. On the other hand, high social capital within the family gives the children access to the parents’ human capital and, as a result,
helps the children achieve better educational outcomes. In other words, the basic role of social capital is to enable members of society to carry out their plans or jobs at the level of individuals and groups (Cook, Hardin & Levi, 2005, in Craig Calhoun et al., 2007, pp. 127-128). This concept of social capital, according to C. Grootaert (2001), brings all vertical (between a person and the community) and horizontal (between a person and a person) associations together (Roberts & Lacey, 2008, p. 105).

In a broader sense, Leonard and Onyx (2004) take the view that social capital:

- is a resource created through numerous connections between members of a group which is the property of the group or society and not of any individual within it; involves co-operation gained through informal constraints such as social norms and mutual interest involvement, rather than force; involves high levels of trust; can be realized into tangible outcomes ... not necessarily directly related to the original interactions; can be accrued and realized either inadvertently or through deliberate planning; is iterative and in that a store of social capital can be translated into a co-operative activity, which can then lead to increase in the store of social capital (p. 2-3).

This definition of social capital displays many elements in it such as social networking or social bonding, social norms and social trust. Leonard and Onyx (2004) then narrow these to five key elements of social capital: networks, reciprocity, trust, norms and agency (p. 181). They say that these five key elements are generalized and so do not necessarily have to be seen as indispensable elements in social capital because a reasonable consensus among the scholars has not yet been reached. For example, social trust is not always included in the definitions of social capital where networks are present. The absence of social trust in the definition, however, is unthinkable in social networks. So, it really depends on making a decision about which elements are more important to the definition.

The discussion above indicates that Coleman, Leonard and Onyx agree that social structures facilitate the form of social capital. Social capital is basically more in
the actions of the people. It is not created by a high profile person in the society (clan leaders, religious leaders or political leaders) but, on the contrary, is created by the interactions of every person in the society. It creates communal norms in the absence of a powerful legal authority (Cook et al. in Calhoun et al., 2007, p. 126). The social interactions take place only if people have what Coleman calls social networking. This is why, according to Leonard and Onyx (2004), abandoned and unfortunate people who have no social networking have little opportunity to have social capital. This in turn will limit their opportunities in economic and non economic endeavours.

The people who are least able to contribute to social capital are those on either side of oppressive power dynamics. Such oppressive dynamics occur in violent families, schools that tolerate bullying, most prisons, neighborhoods threatened by crime, and workplaces that use the threat of dismissal to silence workers. People in low status, marginalized groups are often characterized as lazy (Leonard & Onyx, 2004, pp. 186-187)

Some Criticisms of Social Capital

There are some criticisms that have been made about the concept of social capital. The first criticism of social capital comes from Ben Spies-Butcher (2002) who argues that social capital is another version of rational choice of collective action theory (p. 186). Social capital is seen as a compromised solution to social tensions to reach a social equilibrium. Once the social equilibrium is reached, then it will be maintained. This is why, according to Spies-Butcher (2002), social capital does not give the community members a chance “to correct structural causes of inequality” (p. 187) as injustices in society happen all the time. As a result, he doubts the capability of social capital theory in dealing with public demands.

It is also unclear whether social capital will be able to enter mainstream economic debate in a form that does justice to the complexity and contingency of the social, a challenge that is vital for
social capital theory to have a substantial, positive impact on public policy. Many of those involved in the collective action debate suffer from the desire, common to much rational choice economics, to create abstract models that invariably undermine the complexity of the social (Spies-Butcher, 2002, p. 187).

Leonard and Onyx (2004), however, disagree with Spies-Butcher (2002) which, in their view, they call the theory as a “rational choice in disguise” (p. 191). For them, social capital is the correct version of rational choice theory⁵ where human beings are responsible (by making rational choices) for gaining a great advantage for their self interests. They argue that,

The fact that Putnam (1993) draws heavily on PD [Prisoner’s Dilemma] research probably reflects his interest in economic concerns. But this historical path does not mean that social capital is rational choice theory in disguise. The addition of concepts of norms and relationships is not just decorative: it undermines the basic assumptions of rational choice theory (p. 192).

In other words, Spies-Butcher’s argument was tested with a simulation games titled Prisoners’ Dilemma (PD)⁶. When the simulations were used over time with the same players, the outcomes were not consistent as variations and complexities in everyday life should be taken into consideration.

The second criticism is from those who see social capital as part of social exchange theory. Leonard and Onyx (2004) assume that social exchange theory is about how people exchange social actions with the same amount of value and by doing so their personal self interest is maximized. However, they believe that reciprocity in social capital is not just about equal exchange of kind and time, but it is also about a personal

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⁵ Rational choice theory was the dominant economic theory of the day.

⁶ According to Spies-Butcher, Prisoners’ Dilemma was an important test for Game Theory (a theory that was built in the 1940s for the development of experimental economics by constructing theoretical propositions and could be tested scientifically) (2002, p. 178). It was important because it predicted an equilibrium when the player was worse off as a result of their engagement in mutual cooperation.
social exchange to a larger resource which in turn brings benefits to the person. This is why Leonard and Onyx (2004) disagree with the idea of equal exchange from the theory as, in society, “economic power, social norms and social roles often decree that uneven relationships exist. Parenting is, of course, the most common example” (p. 192). Cook et al., quoting Amato Paul (1993), see that in social capital, social exchange takes place not for the sake of social reciprocity but for the sake of communal norms (Calhoun, 2007, p. 131).

The third criticism is about the idea of making capital out of social relationships. People are suspicious that social capital is an agent of capitalist ideology. In response to the critique, Leonard and Onyx (2004) argue that making profit out of social capital is not an easy task (p. 193). They believe that the use of “capital”, however, offers greater benefit as it “enables us to focus on the value of social capital as a real source, one that requires care and proper investment for its formation and use” (p. 193).

The fourth criticism is about social bonding in social capital. Does social bonding in community always mean that there is no conflict? The answer, according to Leonard and Onyx (2004), is that it is not necessarily true that people high in social capital will have no conflict. They argue that there is a positive side of conflict to make societies grow. Conflict, up to a point in communities with high social capital, can be productive and challenge people to balance the productive tension and total division. Negotiating becomes the ultimate choice when conformity is forced and greater involvement is needed (Leonard & Onyx, 2004, p. 193). Leonard and Onyx (2004) also believe that the term ‘community’ in social capital is not just about one’s own community. The term community is used in an inclusive way. In other words, one community with high social capital should be more open to different communities and also accommodate the government’s policies.
... we do not see the State as either intrinsically hostile or benign. It can provide essential infrastructure and support, redistributing resources from wealthier to poorer areas. It can equally decide to close a school that one below its quota, regardless of the death knell this sounds for a town. A social capital aware state could provide basic infrastructure and services, some resources for community development, and then stand back and be responsive to community initiatives (p. 194).

Some Limitations of Social Capital

Leonard and Onyx (2004) also note some limitations of social capital. The big enemies of social capital are threefold (pp. 194-196). First is passivity. Members of a community tend to be passive and not able to take initiatives. The mentality of dependency and passivity will block the presence of social capital as it encourages each contribution from the community members to strengthen social bonding and social trust among them.

Second is individualism. Social capital puts more stress on the communal aspects of social relationships. In an individualist society, human capital plays more of a role than social capital to access economic capital. Social capital is seen as a supplementary ingredient to gain quick economic capital in the short term.

Third is factionalism. Good social bonding can prohibit community members from bridging relationships with people from other communities. As a result, in the long run, they tend to be intolerant and ignore diversities in their social lives. Social capital, however, is enriched because of diversities from its people. So, a community high in social capital connotes that it possesses good social bonding as well as acceptance of differences.

Besides these three elements which serve to limit the development of social capital, reference to economic, human and ecological capital is also important (p. 195).
Leonard and Onyx (2004) believe that large financial support, strong or skilful community members and awareness of limited natural resources will yield a high social capital (pp. 195-196). When the community members have little economic capital, there is nothing much they can do. They are facing limitations to do different social activities because of this low economic capital. The need for human capital is even greater when the community members want to expand their capabilities in handling technical or social problems. High social capital is reflected in the community’s efforts to guard the use of natural resources. Without good *ecological* capital – good air, clean water, enough food supplies – social capital will not exist.

**Is Dalihan Na Tolu (DNT) a Form of Social Capital?**

After discussing the history of social capital, the critiques of some scholars on social capital and its potential limitations, are we in a position to assert that DNT constitutes a form of the Bataks’ social capital? In the Bataks’ social tradition, DNT creates social dynamics. Doangsa Situmeang (2007) claims that DNT is the *ruhut parsaoran ni bangso Batak* (the social dynamism of the Bataks) (pp. 205-207) or the Bataks’ *adat*.7 Bruner (1959) believes that the meaning of *adat* to the Bataks is more inclusive (p. 55). Bruner says that *adat* is not only about, inheritance, property and marriage law but also a value system, the procedure of each life-crisis ceremony, the entire kinship system, and the proper behaviour between members of various patrilineal kin groups (1959, p. 55)

He continues to say that *adat* plays a role as a system that connects the Bataks in a society and impels familial rights and obligations. For the Bataks, *adat* is sacred. The

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7 The usual translation of *Adat* is custom.
only way to keep the *adat* alive is to practise exactly what has been done in the past (pp. 55-56). In the DNT system, no social bonding is taking place if two Bataks do not know each other’s clan name. The clan name becomes important to having social relationships among the Bataks. So, DNT and the clan system create communal norms and social bonding among the Bataks and the Bataks are required to follow the *adat* or *Ruhut* laws.

As a social system, according to Situmeang (2007), DNT has been the standard of the traditional legal system, friendships and kinships among the Bataks for a long time (pp. 220-224). For example, although the DNT system is ethnically exclusive to the Bataks’ unwritten laws, it inspires them to have inclusive attitudes in the society. The Bataks give space to the outsiders to contribute in their social activities or *adat* events as their *Sihal-Sihal*. This inclusivity preserves not only good relationships with outsiders or foreigners but also unity among the Bataks as one community as well. It preserves unity as it preserves the *Ompung*’s (ancestor’s) legacies or traditions (Sianipar, Part I, p. 480).

Another example concerns executing punishments. Punishments on the community members are not recommended by DNT. All social crimes will be resolved in the *Huta* or the village assembly session known as *Partukkoan*. When a Batak commits a crime, the person will be called *Hutu Geok* (funny lice) (Sianipar, 1991, Part I, p. 481). The reason for the name is that the person who commits a crime is not considered in the first place as a real enemy to the community. The community gives the person a second chance to correct mistakes. This type of traditional legal system indicates that, in the absence of legal or state enforcement, DNT has the ability to handle issues of social relationships and social problems.

In regard to the leadership of the Bataks’ social system, *Partukkoan* is the term used for communal leadership. In the Bataks’ social system, there are no kings,
Presidents, Sultans or dignitaries based on jobs or financial legacies. What the Bataks have as terms of address for respectful persons in the society are *Amang* (Sir), *Inang* (Ladies), *Lae* (A respectful title for a male), and *Dongan* (Friend) (Sianipar, Part I, pp. 462-463). In other words, in the Batak society, all people are respected brothers and sisters.

Having discussed the social system of the Bataks above, it could be said that by implementing the DNT system, the Bataks have created social capital among them. Floya Anthias (2007) suggests that ethnic capital, ethnic social ties and social networks could be described as social capital only if they can be mobilized effectively (pp. 801-802). She refers to Putnam who said that social ties and ethnic networks are categorized as social capital as they directly connect social relations which are expressed through common values (p. 792). The DNT system has maintained the Batak society by creating social trust, social help and social bonding among its people across the generations. This is what Alejandro Portes (1995) refers to as *Linear Ethnicity*, whereby cultural patterns are passed through generations and communications within the ethnic community members (Giorgas, 2000, p. 4).

The transformation of the ethnic capital connoted by the DNT system to become the social capital of the Bataks is indicated in its ability to handle social problems and to create social ties, social networks and social trust among the people. The study of Dannerius Sinaga (1993) on the Bataks who have jobs as booksellers in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, could explain this phenomenon. Sinaga and Bruner say that most of the time the primary reason for internal migrations of the Bataks from the Batakland to Jakarta is economic (Bruner, 1959, p. 57; Sinaga, 1993, p. 38). However, the DNT system has motivated the Bataks in the village to follow the footsteps of their relatives to live and work in Jakarta to get a better life (Sinaga, 1993, p. 43). The DNT system
has become the invisible hand to attract the Bataks to migrate to Jakarta and to improve their financial situation.

Bruner believes that this ethnic tie among the Bataks who migrated to Medan has not only improved their financial prospects but also the political support from their own community members.

In North Sumatran cities most political leaders are dependent upon a support group consisting of members of their own ethnic group, and each urban political party does tend to represent an ethnoreligious group, e.g. the Parkindo party the Christian Toba Batak, the Masjumi party the Moslem Mandailing Batak and the PNI [Indonesia National Party] the Javanese (Bruner, 1974, in Cohen, p. 260).

What we can learn from this discussion is that the transformation of DNT as social capital among the Bataks in Medan has created social norms. It has created not only strong ties (bonding social capital) among the three pillars of DNT – *Hula-Hula, Boru* and *Dongan Tubu* – but also weak ties (bridging social capital) among the non Bataks (the *Sihal-sihal*). This assumption is supported by Leonard and Onyx (2003) who say that,

… bridging social capital it theorized to be associated with large, loose networks, relatively strict reciprocity, perhaps a thinner or different sort of trust, greater risk of norm violation, and more instrumentality. Bonding social capital is associated with dense, multiplex networks, long term reciprocity, thick trust, shared norms and less instrumentality (p. 193).

In addition, Mark Granovetter (1973), in his theory, *The Strength of Weak Ties*, argues that weak ties are more necessary than strong ties for integration in the modern world (p. 1373). He finds that acquaintances – not friends – were the greatest source of new ideas and information (1973, pp. 1368-69) and that people were nearly three times as likely to have found their job through a ‘personal contact’ who they saw ‘occasionally’ than through ‘formal means’ (1973, p. 1371). For him, weak ties will
fully serve if flexible 'bridging' or 'transitivity' (the tendency of one's friends' friends to be one's friend as well) operates to bridge one weak tie to another (1983, p. 229).

From the individual's point of view, then, weak ties are an important resource in making possible mobility opportunity. Seen from a more macroscopic vantage, weak ties play a role in effecting social cohesion. When a man changes jobs, he is not only moving from one network of ties to another, but also establishing a link between these. Such a link is often of the same kind which facilitated his own movement. Especially within professional and technical specialties which are well defined and limited in size, this mobility sets up elaborate structures of bridging weak ties between the more coherent clusters that constitute operative networks in particular locations. Information and ideas thus flow more easily through the specialty, giving it some "sense of community," activated at meetings and conventions. Maintenance of weak ties may well be the most important consequence of such meetings (p. 1373).

Granovetter (1973) begins by looking at the West End of Boston, a largely Italian neighbourhood that was unable to resist the redevelopment project in the 1960s. The project was widely opposed by the community, and yet they failed to prevent it from going forward because of the absence of weak ties within the West End. At the time, the neighbourhood was dominated by strong ties:

Imagine, to begin with, a community completely partitioned into cliques, such that each person is tied to every other in his clique and to none outside. Community organization would be severely inhibited. Leafletting, radio announcements, or other methods could insure that everyone was aware of some nascent organization; but studies of diffusion and mass communication have shown that people rarely act on mass-media information unless it is also transmitted through personal ties (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955; Rogers 1962); otherwise one has no particular reason to think that an advertised product or an organization should be taken seriously. Enthusiasm for an organization in one clique, then, would not spread to others but would have to develop independently in each one to insure success. (1973, pp. 1373-74)

For Granovetter (1973), weak ties play a seminal role in building trust among a large group of loosely affiliated members, which is essential for rallying behind a cause. He then compares the case of the West End to Charlestown, which was full of 'bridging
weak ties’ and successfully fought off a massive urban renewal project (p. 1375). In other words, the study of Granovetter (1973) on the importance of weak ties suggests that DNT can be considered a form of the Bataks’ social capital. It bridges the Bataks to shift from getting by to getting ahead and, as a result, will enhance the quality of life of the Bataks (Leonard & Onyx, 2003, p. 193)

Summary

This chapter has shown the history of the definition of social capital. Although some scholars are still struggling to define social capital, this study relies on the most common understandings to be found among the scholars. Social capital is the social process where people can find social trust, social help and social networking in their community to enhance their financial situation and to accomplish things at the level of individuals and groups.

This chapter describes how DNT as a form of the Bataks’ social capital helps them to enhance their quality of life as well. The DNT system facilitates the Bataks to improve their social interactions through social bonding with siblings and with outsiders or foreigners through social bridging. This role of DNT in the Bataks’ social system should be regarded as the Bataks’ social capital. In the next chapter, this study will discuss what causes interreligious disharmony and how to promote interreligious encounters. This discussion will bring the Bataks’ social capital of DNT to the fore.
Chapter Four

Perspectives on Interreligious Relationships

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the discussion was primarily focused on the form of DNT as the Bataks’ social capital. This chapter will look at, first, the meaning of religion in society. It is a general discussion on religion from the point of view of Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber. The next part is a discussion of the sources of interreligious conflict in Indonesia. This part will discuss what issues trigger the conflicts. Some issues are related to religion but some are not. Next is a discussion of what other issues besides religion can cause interreligious conflicts in Indonesia. This chapter concludes with a discussion of promoting interreligious encounters in Indonesia.

Religion in Society

Why do people want to be religious? What are the conditions or circumstances that influence them to be followers of a certain religion? Finke and Stark (2005) studied the growth of the church in the United States of America and indicated that Americans’ participation in religious or church activities grew gradually from seventeen percent in 1776 to sixty two percent in 1980 (p. 22). According to Finke and Stark (2005), the carefulness of the church’s leader to “sell his products” to the “market” or the people might influence the people’s participation in the church (pp. 3-4). As they said, religious

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economies are like commercial economies. The success of religious bodies will depend on their polity, their clergy, their religious doctrines, and their evangelization techniques (pp. 8-9).

In society, scholars of social science interpret the role of religion differently. In general, according to James Beckford (1989), their interpretations are divided into three views (p. 7). First, religion unifies society. Second, religion acts as the fuel for social change. Third, religion is used as the symbol of self interest of groups in society. Hisanori Kato (2002) classifies Emile Durkheim in the first group, Karl Marx in the second group and Max Weber in the third group (p. 23).

In Emile Durkheim’s definition, as quoted by Kato (2002), religion is not just a system of imagination; above all it is a system of power (p. 23). Durkheim views that all primary social institutions come from religion. This means that society is the soul of religion. As a consequence, society is a community of moral beings. M. B. Hamilton (1995) disagrees with Durkheim’s definition of religion as it only applies to a small community. In a plural society, a majority religion will impose its values on all society members and it will cause conflict to those who adhere to different religious values (Kato, 2002, pp. 24-26).

Karl Marx claimed that religion is the opiate of the people. For him, religion was seen as a vehicle for the working class to blind itself to injustice and the hopelessness of its economic situation (Kato, 2002, p. 26). As a result, the working class is weakened in struggling to change the situation, so providing the capitalists with an advantage in that the worker’s religious beliefs are exploited in extracting additional productivity. In this sense, religion is an escape rather than a solution from the problems. In eradicating this economic exploitation, Marx proposed communism as the real solution. Again, Hamilton (1995) criticizes the definition of religion as the opiate of the people as the
problems of human beings are not able to be reduced to merely economic problems but are also to be found in other non-economic dimensions (Kato, 2002, p. 28). Those non-economic dimensions could better explain the role of religion rather than merely via a materialistic interpretation.

The two scholars, Durkheim and Marx, focussed on definitions of religion as a kind of social cement and opiate for the people, respectively. For Max Weber, the definition of religion focusses on its function as the provider of meaning to life (Kato, 2002, p. 29). The consequence of definitions like this covers many dimensions of religion such as its: (1) supernatural powers; (2) charismatic manifestations; (3) symbolic expressions; (4) various forms of religious response; (5) various types of religious leaders; and (6) the patterned behaviour of the lay people of the community (Kato, 2002, pp. 30-32). In this definition of religion, Weber admits that religion interacts with society. With all of this information about religion and its definition, it becomes clear that the human being is a “homo religiosus” (humans as religious beings). Their experience of the sacred is the experience of what Rudolf Otto called “mysterium tremendum et fascinans”, the experience of the Holy manifested in an experience of humans that renders them both trembling and fascinated (Twiss & Conser, 1992, p. 78).

Causes of Christian-Muslim Disharmony

The history of Christian Muslim encounters, particularly in the last two decades, has seen an escalation of difficult encounters. It has been a history of conflict and even killing. Religious hardliners or the fundamentalists of both religions, in the name of God, have resorted to killing people who opposed their religious values. The tragedy of
9/11 in New York City and Washington DC, the Kuta-Bali bombing in 2002, conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Poso (2004-2006) and in many other places are just some of the many examples to be found of difficult interreligious encounters across the world.

For Indonesia, a country with five major religions and where all the people embrace religion, the issue of interreligious encounter is an imperative and urgent one. It is important and urgent as religion to Indonesians is an essential and sensitive matter. Indonesia, which prior to 1997, was expected to become one of the Asian Tiger nations, but suddenly it became a very frightening country for foreign investors (Sumartana et al., 1999, p. 5). Collective violence in the form of interreligious and ethno-cultural conflicts has been widespread in Indonesia since 1997. Many foreign investors left Indonesia and this gave birth to economic crises and political instability in the country. Social inequalities which, in the beginning, were suspected as the cause of the financial crisis, gave birth to riots and collective violence related to ethno-culture and religious plurality in the country. This situation has been of serious concern to both local and international communities, according to a number of scholarly researchers (Arifianto, 2009; Baron et al., 2004; Bertrand, 2004; Collins, 2002; Kreuzer, 2002; Treverton, 2005).

In general, the sources of Christian-Muslim disharmony are related to theological issues. Freedom of worship, missionary activity and differing attitudes towards modernism and these are some basic problems of Christian-Muslim relations (Nasr, 2000, pp. 214-225). Oliver McTernan (2003) adds to the list by saying that some Muslims believe that the world system, such as relativism and individualism, have weakened their original divine call and threatened their personal, social and religious identity (p. 12). So, the sources of Christian Muslim disharmony could come from
religious related issues or from secular ideological issues.

Misperceptions of each other’s religion can cause conflicts between Christians and Muslims. This misperception is inevitable especially when religious adherents of both religions lock themselves away from each other. For example, there is an element of discrimination against other religions, such as Christianity, in forms of Islam. This element of exclusivism in Islam, according to A. M. Ghazali (2009), can lead to some Muslims regarding other religions negatively (pp. 9-12). There are similar elements of exclusivism and ‘blind spots’ among forms of Christianity. That is why Howard Singer (1987) argues that searching for common ground between Christians and Muslims is not a simple thing to do. It is hard, particularly when the relationship is the “dialogue des sourds, a dialogue of the deaf, in which both Christians and Muslims speak, but neither hears the other” (p. 50).

The trend of being deaf towards each other’s religion is likely to occur as the people of both religions lock themselves into their own absolute religious truths. This is why Singer (1987) believes that there may be many factors contributing to this lack of true dialogue but in general they can be categorized into two parts: the vested interests of each religion and the doctrinal factors (p. 54).

Kimball (2002) agrees with Singer (1987) that hard encounters take place due to both religions claiming absolute religious truth for themselves (p. 41). He says that once religious adherents embolden themselves as God’s agents, they are capable of committing violence and destruction in the name of religion (p. 70). Kimball (2002) believes that this point of view will make religion a problem to society (pp. 26-27). It is “a sure sign of religion becoming evil” (p. 83). For example, some people use religion in their political campaigns to create global war on terror or global conflict between Islam and the West; some Muslims portray their religious struggle as Jihad against
Kafir, the pagans, or some Christians refer to the Islamic nations as an ‘axis of evil’ (Kimbal, 2002, p. 155).

Besides these three sources of religious conflict between Christians and Muslims, namely, misperceptions about each other, being deaf towards each other and claiming absolute truth for one’s own each religion to the exclusion of all others, there are still some other factors relevant to the conflicts. Mohammed (1999) suggests three main reasons for Muslims’ reluctance to have encounters with Christians (pp. 71-72).

First, in Muslim experience, Christian evangelization has not always been perceived as something sacred and worthy, especially as they have attempted to proselytize Muslims. This is why Muslims look suspiciously at interreligious dialogue with Christians; they too often see the motivation as less than pure. Second, people are often not prepared for interreligious dialogue. This can apply especially to Islamic populations where theology of dialogue has not developed. According to Mohammed (1999), Muslims know that amidst the pressure from an increasingly interdependent world, Christians are better prepared for dialogue than they are. The pressure of contestation in each age has forced some major forms of Christian theology to ponder their own values and be enriched by the changes that such pressure has impelled (p. 72). Most forms of Muslim theology, on the other hand, have been less subjected to such contestation and its pressures for change. For this reason, there is an unequal preparedness between the Muslim and the Christian world. Third, Muslims feel that they are treated unfairly by Christians. For example, they feel they are being treated unjustly when it comes to deciding on Islamic religious holidays, dietary restrictions and dress codes. These issues can impact negatively on Muslims feeling positive about interreligious dialogue, especially with Christian populations.

Moreover, Ovey N. Mohammed (1999) says that Islam recognizes that other
religions bring salvation to their people. Such recognition among Muslims allows for openness to dialogue, even if they believe, like most Christians, that the final and definitive revelation of God is in their own religion. Adherents of both religions, Muslims and Christians, are instructed to carry out their religious mission either in the form of Islamic *dakwah*\(^9\) or in spreading the Gospel and baptizing the people. Such evangelical stances have become the greatest enemies of effective interreligious encounter between Christians and Muslims (Mohammed, 1999, p. 69).

Muslims feel that the Christians’ mission of spreading the Gospel is a camouflage to expand the West’s colonialism or ideology as their primary goal is to proselytize people who are not Christian. In Islam, the purpose of the *dakwah* mission is not to proselytize but rather it is an invitation to Islamic faith through their testimony and the proclamation of the Islamic teachings (Mohammed, 1999, p. 71).

**Causes of Christian-Muslim Disharmony in Indonesia**

Indonesia became a nation in August 17, 1945. Before becoming a nation, Indonesia was known as Netherlands Indies which was established about 1910 based on the findings of G.J. Resink (Soedjatmoko, Mohammad, Resink & Kahin 1965, p. 7). The Dutch colonized the East Indies that then became Netherlands Indies when the power was transferred from the East India Company (VOC). The VOC occupied the East Indies archipelago from 1511 CE.

\(^9\) *Dakwah* means the preaching of Islam.
Opposing Colonialism Equals Opposing Christianity

Among the scholars, there is still controversial as to who first brought Islam to the East Indies archipelago. James L. Peacock (1973) asserts that Islam was brought to the archipelago by Muslim merchants and traders by converting firstly the kings of each region (p. 23). Sjamsudduha (1987) believes that they came in the 7th century CE (1st Hijriyah [Islamic Year]) and the spread of Islam aroused intensified in the 13th century CE (pp. 21, 165).

Peacock (1973) says that the reason why the rulers converted to Islam was merely for political and economical purposes (p. 23). The Hindu kings wanted more Muslim traders to come to their place and the easiest way to attract them was by becoming an Islamic Sultan. They needed more support and power from the Muslim traders to fight the Portuguese who were engaging in unfriendly trade with them.

Furthermore, Peacock (1973) argues that another theory for the conversion to Islam was that Islam was carried to them by the Sufis by whom Islam was spread vigorously after the fourteenth century (p. 24). These small Muslim communities existed in the main parts of Jawa and Sumatera. The Hindu and Buddhist rulers of that area were tolerant of them and allowed them to preach Islam.

In Indonesia, the Pesantren type of Islam is the biggest community. B.J. Boland (1971), who focuses on the struggles faced by Muslims in Indonesia since the time of independence, says that Islam has grown in the Islamic boarding school culture (Pesantren) (p. 5). He agrees with Harry J. Benda (1958) who says that the history of Islam in Indonesia is the history of the santri civilization. This civilization started since the days the Japanese invaded Indonesia in March, 1942 (p. 5).

All scholars seem to agree that Islam entered Indonesia peacefully without holy wars or rebellions (Sjamsudduha, 1987, p. 165; Mujiburrahman, 2008, p. 301). They
migrated to Indonesia for centuries and many Indonesians were converted.

In contrast, the history of the arrival of Christianity in Indonesia is different from that of Islam. Aritonang and Steenbrink (2008) say that Christians from the West first came to the Indonesian archipelago in 1509, and established themselves in Indonesia for the first time as the Protestant missionaries in Minahasa – Sulawesi (pp. 9-10). They founded a *Kweekschool* (a school for teachers) and *Hulpzendingen* (a school for the Bible teachers). They were funded by *Nederlandse Zendelinggenootschap*, a Protestant Mission organization in Rotterdam which was founded in 1787. In 1840, the mission went westward of Indonesia. They settled in North Sumatera, and Eastern and Central Java with primary ministries in health and education (pp. 528-530).

Similarly, Catholicism came to Indonesia in the 16th century. The missionaries, led by a Jesuit priest - Francis Xavier, went to Maluku, Ambon, Ternate, Solor and Nusa Tenggara in 1546 (Steenbrink, 2006, p. 11). When the Dutch took over almost all the Indonesian archipelago, the Catholic mission was gradually handed over to the Dutch missionaries (Steenbrink, 2006, p. 12). At this time, many Muslims were converted to Catholicism through their ministry in education, health and charity.

The presence of Christianity is seen as a threat to many Muslims’ faith because they associate it with colonialism. This is why, in many regions in Indonesia, Muslims keep trying to block the spread of Christianity. For them opposing it means opposing colonialism.

**Issues of Religious Proselytizing**

In history, the battle between Christians and Muslims in Indonesia as a nation began overtly two decades after the Independence proclamation in 1945. Based on
studies by the United Nations (Tadjoeddin, 2002) and the World Bank (Baron, Kaiser & Pradhan, 2004), amidst the social violence in Indonesia in the last two decades was some related to ethnicity and some more to religion. Such conflict has been referred to as “the Clash of Civilizations” (see Samuel Huntington, 1993, pp. 25-27). Huntington believes that the clash of civilization represents the battle lines being drawn along ‘civilization fault lines’.

On the contrary, Freek Colombijn and Thomas Linbald (2002) do not seem to agree with Huntington’s theory of the Clash of Civilizations. They believe that Indonesia is fundamentally a violent country. The reason is that, very often, Indonesians, regardless of their religion, are committed to violence. Colombijn and Linbald (2002) believe that Christian-Muslim conflicts occur mainly because “there may be a very stubborn culture of violence (or perhaps it is better to speak of cultures of violence)” (p. 3). Elizabeth Collins (2002) disagrees with this view. She said that the claim that Indonesia is a violent country is “a political claim” that is being used to argue for the return of an authoritarian rule and to legitimize state violence (pp. 603-604).

In his study on Christian-Muslim encounters, Mujiburrahman (2008) says that the adherents of Islam and Christianity in Indonesia in fact are equally threatened by each other. The Muslims are threatened by the issue of proselytizing to Christianity, and Christians are threatened by the establishment of an Islamic State (pp. 244-253). As mentioned previously, Islam does not embrace proselytizing, while in Christianity preaching the Gospel to everybody is regarded as the responsibility of every Christian (Boland, 1971, p. 233)

Furthermore, B.J. Boland (1971) believes that not all people were converted to Christianity from proselytizing. He claims that, after the Communists fell in 1965, hundreds of thousands of the Karo Batak people (one of the Batak sub-groups) and
millions of the passive Muslims converted to Christianity voluntarily (pp. 224-226). However, although proselytizing is not always the case, Muslims in Indonesia see themselves as the main target for conversion to Christianity.

Moreover, A.R. Arifianto (2009) suggests that the fear of systemic proselytizing ‘Kristenisasi and Islamisasi’ since the Dutch colonial period resulted in Christian-Muslim conflicts (p. 75). The conflicts were the explosion of a long process which should not just be seen as a collective or institutional conflict. He disagrees with Collins (2002) and J. Bertrand (2004) who argue that the paramilitary units in Islam which are often associated with the Indonesian military force and the political parties were the cause of interreligious conflicts.

For this issue of religious proselytizing, Mujiburrahman (2008) agrees that it is necessary to hold a common discourse, namely interreligious dialogue between Christianity and Islam (pp. 370-371). He believes that when Muslims choose to dialogue with Christians, it will in turn strengthen the democratic system in Indonesia. He concludes, by quoting Peter L. Berger (1999), that Muslims in Indonesia have two options to face the challenge of religious pluralism; that is, the reconquista (the conquest of unity in diversity) or alienating themselves from the diversity (pp. 1-18).

**Socio-economic and Political Issues**

Jacques Bertrand (2004) and Patrick Barron (2004) believe that religious differences do not necessarily provoke interreligious conflicts. They say that the government and the chaotic political situation in Indonesia may be more to blame for the religious violence among citizens. Baron P. et al. (2004), for example, agree that changes in economic conditions and unemployment can cause conflict in Indonesia.
These authors conclude that poverty and ethnic diversity do not seem to cause civic conflict (p. 31). In addition, Bertrand (2004) takes the view that economic displacement by the Javanese migrants (domestic migration), perceived threats to group identity and grievances over rights to religious practices can cause conflict as well (pp. 133-134).

While some scholars try to find causes of interreligious violence in Indonesia, in contrast to Huntington’s and Colombijn’s statement above, Sumartana et al. (1999) strongly argues that the Indonesian government should be blamed for Christian-Muslim conflicts in the country (p. 7). The government has failed to remind the public to avoid the SARA problems (*Suku-Agama-Ras-Antargolongan*: an acronym referring to ethnic, religious, racial and tribal issues that should not be discussed publicly).

Sumartana et al. (1999) suggest several reasons that explain the government’s failures. First, the government had the wrong perception about what is religion and ethnic identity. If their concept on avoiding SARA was correct, it would automatically make people more open to interreligious dialogue (p. 7).

Second, the government had a wrong perception about the concept of “the unity in diversity”. This concept was interpreted to mean that everything should be completely in uniformity and in harmony. It was a single principle which was likely to lead to silencing different views. By this wrong perception, the government actually shut the door on growth in an open and dialogical society. Third, the government understood religious-ethnic identity and inter religious-ethnic relations more at the collective or institutional level. In other words, the meaning of harmony was intended as harmony among the religious-ethnic leadership.

Finally, the government was obsessed with achieving success in economic development. The government’s propaganda of “dynamism in stability” was meant as stability in politics, social, cultural and economic, but not about the stability and
dynamics of all aspects of human life (Sumartana et al., 1999, pp. 7-8).

Peter Searle (2002) takes the view that the chaotic political situation in Indonesia was the cause of civic violence, particularly in places such as Aceh, Irian Jaya, Maluku, Kalimantan, and “the Chinese problem” (p. 6). In his conclusion, he proposed some factors that would trigger civic violence in Indonesia. Those factors are: first, Indonesia’s chronic ongoing national crises; second, the economic marginalization and social segregation; third, the presence or absence of external factors such as Islamic revivalism to contain or promote the conflict; and, fourth, the ability and the success of the nation to manage democratic transition (pp. 8-9). In short, interreligious conflict or disharmony in Indonesia was triggered by many factors. It is a complex problem. It becomes more complex, particularly as all Indonesians are embracers of religion, as required by the Constitution.

Promoting Christian-Muslim Encounters

Strengthening Religious Belief

There are different ways of promoting Christian-Muslim encounters. Leonard Swidler (1998) asserts that interreligious encounters operate in three different areas: “the practical, where we collaborate to help humanity; the depth of spiritual dimension, where we attempt to experience the partner’s religion or ideology from within; the cognitive, where we seek understanding of the truth” (p. 28). Although people may abuse the negative side of religion or, quote and interpret controversial verses from Holy Scripture, religion still consists of its positive side. Abdulaziz Sachedina (2001), for example, reminds Muslims of the positive side of Islam by looking at the universal message that it brought.
As the conflict of 1990-91 unfolded, many feared disastrous consequences for the entire region. I turned my attention to the universal discourse of Islam, which at different times in history has engendered a commitment to uphold justice and maintain peace in a plural Muslim society. However, as the crisis dragged on, it became evident that in view of the human obstinacy and pettiness so aptly described in the Koran (K.70:19-21), the universal message of Islam to “submit to God” in order to live in peace and security was almost forgotten (p. 53).

What often takes place, according to David Smock (2002), is that in interreligious encounters, people are likely to carry a set of preconceptions and prejudices regarding the beliefs and practices of the other religious community. He suggests that differences in religious belief and practice should be minimized and to maximize the use of principles from religion to overcome obstacles to effective interreligious encounters (p. 9).

**Good Social Welfare**

Mujiburrahman (2008) says that Indonesia so far has not had a good social welfare system to help the unemployed; many children who are displaced or not assisted, elderly or people with low incomes and the poor who do not have health insurance (p. 318). In other words, as an emerging democratic country, Indonesia has not established itself yet what Harold L. Wilensky (2002) and Fawcett, Goodwin, Meagher and Phillips (2010) called “rich democracies”. It is a term they use to refer to countries that have advanced welfare systems, high incomes per capita and meaningful government and parliamentary democratic systems for their citizens (Fawcett, Goodwin, Meagher & Philips, 2010, pp. ix, 204-205). Mujiburrahman believes that all these poverty related problems could be a threat to the democratic political system in Indonesia which perpetuates political and religious conflicts.
A poor social welfare system ultimately leads to social Darwinism whereby the powerful always win, while the weak become marginalized or perish (Mujiburrahman, 2008, p. 318). It creates a situation whereby an elite group, never the masses, controls the state’s resources. As a result, political liberalization which also requires economic liberalization would not strengthen. On the contrary, it would weaken democracy. So, a good social welfare system is important to ensure the sustainability of democracy in Indonesia.

Interreligious encounter could also take place when people are satisfied with their financial achievements. Mujiburrahman’s suggestion above is important to promote interreligious dialogue in Indonesia. In other words, interreligious encounter is promoted when the people no longer feel threatened about their basic living conditions.

**Distinguishing Ideological Orientations**

Another way of promoting interreligious encounter is by recognizing the different types of ideology orientation in each religious tradition and knowing the people who subscribe to each type. In Indonesia, the major branches of Islam are Sunni: Muhammadiyah and Nahdhatul Ulama (NU). Muhammadiyah was founded in November 18, 1912 by Kyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. The purpose of this Islamic organization was to spread the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad to the native people and the founder, Ahmad Dahlan, wanted to teach them the ‘original teachings’ of the Prophet (Fajar Riza Ulhaq, 2004, pp. 112-113). Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) was founded in January 31, 1926. NU was known before as Nahdhatul Wathan, the name of an Islamic boarding school in Surabaya established by Kyai Wahab because most of the NU members went to that boarding school for education. NU members call themselves
Traditionalist Muslims (Andree Feillard, 2008, pp. 8-11). These two branches are known as moderate Islamic groups.

Achmad Jainuri (2004) suggests four types of ideological orientations in religion, namely: traditionalism, fundamentalism, secular-modernism, reform-modernism. The traditionalists are also known as the followers of conservatism. In Islam, this movement started in the 19th century among the Ulamas (Islamic religious leaders), Sufis and peasants. Most of them live in Central Asia and Afghanistan (Jainuri, 2004, pp. 66-67). They do not like modern interpretations of the Qur’an and its practices. The Westerners are Kafir. For them, Islam is a complete religion and social problems are not problems that occur in Islam (Jainuri, 2004, p. 68).

The fundamentalists are also known as the followers of conservatism and evangelism. In Protestantism, this movement started in the early 20th century, focusing on de-modernization of religious teachings particularly from Darwinism (Jainuri, 2004, p.71). In Islam, the fundamentalist movement was started in India by Ahmad Sirhindi in the 17th century by eliminating the influence of Hinduism in Islam (Jainuri, 2004, p. 74). In general, fundamentalism is a reaction to the demoralization of modernism by going back to the absolute truth of Holy Scripture. The strongest supporters of this movement are people who live in the city and receive a modern education (Jainuri, 2004, p. 83).

Secular-modernism is a religious movement which accepts non religious laws and socio-political elements in public spheres (Jainuri, 2004, p. 88). Turkey is an example of this movement that sees the state taking control of religion and implementing it for capital gain. In Islam, the followers of this movement are not as numerous as in the other religious movements.

The last type of ideology orientation in religion is referred to as ‘reform modernism’ which started in the early 20th century. This movement has goals to make
religion the foundation of all human activities (Jainuri, 2004, p. 101). This movement accepts social changes to improve the quality of human life, has a rational view of reality and high mobility. By recognizing the type of ideology orientations in religion, students of interreligious dialogue would know the person with whom they are speaking and so will be able to measure how much effort they need to expend in promoting interreligious encounters.

**Interreligious Dialogue on Global Issues**

There are a number of Islamic scholars, like Hasan Askari, Khalid Duran, Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im and Mohamed Talbi, who had started thinking about the issues surrounding interreligious relationships. According to Mohammed (1999), the secularism issue made them look at the joint development of a God-centred ethics and global ethics which was also an issue for Christians (p. 73). So, changing the focus of discussions from ancient quarrels to religious values has potential to be more complementary for both Christians and Muslims.

In Protestant Christianity, the World Council of Churches (WCC) formed DFI (Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies) in 1971 to anticipate the movement of interreligious dialogue with Islam. Such innovations among the Protestant Churches have been under pressure from exclusivist members who disagree that Islam offers salvation. Christianity everywhere is still struggling to find a better way to transform its fundamentalist beliefs in order to make it more accepting of Islam. Schumann believes that, despite all the efforts that the Church has made in implementing and promoting interreligious dialogue, one question remains: is Christianity merely one of the many religions in the world? Or, is it the only religion in
the world that dominates all other religions? (Schumann, 2008, p. 548).

The Roman Catholic Church acknowledged the “seed” of faith in the world religions in *Lumen Gentium*, the Second Vatican Council 1962-1965. The Council stated clearly that God’s “plan of salvation includes those who acknowledge the Creator” (*Nostra Aetate*, no.3). During his leadership, John Paul II developed a theology centred on Abraham: “Your God and ours is the same, and we are brothers and sisters in the faith of Abraham” (Mohammed, 1999, p. 77).

This theology, however, does not reduce the Church’s evangelizing mission as the Church is the ordinary means of salvation (*Redemptoris Missio* no.55). Conversion to Christianity is a gift of God and should take place without pressure of any kind (Mohammed, 1999, p. 79). In promoting interreligious dialogue, the Church suggested four types of dialogue that were possible: the dialogue of theological exchange; the dialogue of religious experience; the dialogue of action; and, the dialogue of life (Mohammed, 1999, p. 79).

**To Forgive and to Forget**

Another notion to promote interreligious encounters is to diminish ancient enmities between Christianity and Islam. Abdul Moqsith Ghazali (2009) has made a study of religious plurality content in the Qur’an. He says there are three reasons for religious plurality in the Qur’an. First, the Prophet Muhammad did not consider religion before Islam as a threat (p. 393) because Islam is the continuation of the previous Abrahamic religions. The Qur’an acknowledges people of other faiths (especially

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10 In Islam, the Qur’an says: “For each one of you We have appointed a Law and a Way of conduct. If God had so willed He would have made you all one community. But it is His wish to test you in what He has given you; so compete in goodness” (Q 5:48).
Judaism and Christianity) as constituting the People of the Book. This points to a
doctrine of religious tolerance and freedom. He concludes that the Qur’an recognizes
the existence of other religions and calls on Muslims to coexist peacefully with other
people (p. 394).

Second, the Qur’an is dynamic and fluid in its socio-political teachings. There
was a time when the relationship with other religions is seen as intimate but, at other
times, to be in conflict. According to Ghazali (2009), Islam is not a religion that
commands its followers to offer the left cheek when slapped on the right cheek.
Defending themselves and fighting injustice is justified in Islam (p. 398). Basically, this
is the popularly understood justification behind using Jihad to fight against injustices.

Third, the Qur’an does not see the teaching of religion before Islam as a threat,
Ghazali (2009) believes that this does not mean that all religions are equal (p. 399). In
Islam, all religions have a common purpose to worship God and do good. This is why
the Prophet Muhammad called them brothers and fellow Jews and Christians the People
of the Book.

In the context of promoting interreligious encounters in Indonesia, Ghazali
suggests two strategies (pp. 400-401). First is to build a common understanding
(kalimat sawa) between Christians and Muslims. Muslims, for example, should work at
interpreting the Qur’an in ways more accommodating of other religions. The exclusivist
interpretations of the Qur’an tend to discriminate against the people of other religions;
in turn, this militates against the ideal of living together peacefully.

Second is to avoid stigmatization and misleading generalizations about people of
other religions. Third is to protect and guarantee religious freedom and beliefs in
Indonesia. Muslims need to build religious tolerance as they follow in the footsteps of
the prophet Muhammad.
The Theory of Multiculturalism and A Good Society

The theory of multiculturalism is a theory that many scholars discuss as the most useful theory for enlightening researchers on studying cultural differences such as interreligious conflicts. Bikhu Parekh (2000) believes that in multicultural societies or cultural diversity people can engage in a dialogue that benefits them mutually (p. 168). On the contrary, people in a culturally homogenous society have a tendency to become closed, intolerant, averse to change, claustrophobic and oppressive and to discourage differences (Parekh, 2000, p. 170).

Numerous studies have highlighted the positive contributions of religious tolerance in promoting interreligious encounters (Sachedina, 2001; Hamim, 2007; Schumann, 2008; Zada, 2008; Ghazali, 2009). Zada (2008) argues that there are three different types of tolerance. Those types are normative tolerance, demonstrative tolerance and participative tolerance (pp. 58-63). These types of tolerance, ranging from the least tolerable type (normative tolerance) to the most tolerable type (participative tolerance) will accommodate interreligious encounters to maximize peaceful coexistence in a plural society. So, one of the main contributions of this study, where religious teachings are prioritized, is a peaceful coexistence associated with religious tolerance toward each other (Muda, 1992; Abdulaziz, 2001; Saiful, 2003; Akbarzadeh, 2005; Sianipar, 2005; Mujiburrahman, 2008).

Priority on cultural values is employed in the study of interreligious conflicts when it is believed that religious teachings will have minimal impact on the situation. Cultural priority is based on the socio-cultural values or communal norms for a peaceful coexistence when the government or the national legal systems fail to resolve interreligious conflicts (Hasselgren, 2000; Thontowi, 2007; Sirtha, 2008). For example, Hasselgren (2000) states that the migrant Bataks from the Batakland in the 1920s
collected all their ethnic resources to establish their existence in Medan by working together with the Bataks of different denominations and with the Batak Muslims. He strongly argues that the Batak identity played a large role in the Bataks’ unification among the Muslim and the Christian Bataks in Medan in the 1920s (Hasselgren, 2000, p. 415). All religious fanaticism and differences were put aside and the ethnic cultural values and norms were stressed.

Furthermore, Dimitria Giorgas (2000) believes that when communal sense plays a major role within the family, social capital is more likely taking place. In contrast, where individualism is stressed, social capital is more likely under invested (pp. 2-4, 9). In other words, the theory of multiculturalism suggests that social capital could contribute to a peaceful co-existence between people of different religions.

Figure 4.1 below shows the proposed model of interreligious encounters based on the theory of multiculturalism with two different priorities: Religious Priority and Cultural Priority. There were three different sources of interreligious disharmony in Indonesia found in the literature review. In this study, all the causes were considered as the main causes of interreligious conflicts in Indonesia without ignoring the possibility that there were many more causes that were not uncovered. Those causes were: opposing colonialism equals opposing Christianity; issues of religious proselytizing, and; socio-economic and political issues. These causes had created interreligious disharmony in Indonesia. The government leaders, the upper-class society and the Indonesian-Chinese descendants suffered from these conflicts (vertical effects), and the society in general suffered the detrimental effect of the conflict (horizontal effects).

In the current study, the two priorities, Religious Priority and Cultural Priority, were employed as a framework in which to investigate the conflicts with the aim of identifying possible solutions. The two priorities have their own values and norms
which are expected to help resolve the conflicts. Religious Priority employs primarily interreligious dialogue and interreligious tolerance to promote interreligious harmony.

As discussed above, this study proposes that interreligious disharmony in Indonesia would be reduced when: first, religious adherents of both religions, Christianity and Islam, know the type of religious orientation of people in the society and which people subscribe to each type of orientation. The second is by performing interreligious dialogue focused on global or ethical issues. The third is by forgiving your enemies and forgetting their faults. So, for this theory, the intervening variables to reach interreligious encounter are: Interreligious Dialogue and Interreligious Tolerance.
FIGURE 4.1
The Theoretical Model of Interreligious Encounter in Medan.

- **Causes**
  - Opposing colonialism equals opposing Christianity
  - Issues of religious proselytizing
  - Socio-economy and political issues

- **Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia**

- **Effects**
  - Vertical: conflict with political leaders; the elites; the rich; the Chinese
  - Horizontal: conflict with fellow citizens

- **Religious Priority**
- **Cultural Priority**

- **Multi-culturalism Theory**

- **Dialogue**
  - Religious Priority
  - Social Security
  - Knowledge
  - Dialogue
  - Forgiving

- **Strong Faith**
- **INTERRELIGIOUS ENCOUNTER IN MEDAN**
  - Networks
  - Trust
  - Reciprocity
Cultural Priority posits ethnic cultural values and norms (*adat*) to promote interreligious encounters. DNT value is suggested to be the social capital of the Bataks in Medan. As discussed in Chapter Three, Leonard and Onyx (2004) have proposed that social capital consists of social networking, social trust and social reciprocity (pp. 181-200) to improve financial and human development. The kinship system in DNT and its value is believed to support and improve the Bataks’ financial and human development. This idea of supportive DNT for the Bataks agrees with Mujiburrahman’s (2008) suggestion above that interreligious harmony will take place once good social welfare exists (p.318). In other words, DNT helps the Bataks in their social welfare and, thus, this could support the existence of interreligious harmony. So, for this theory, the intervening variables to reach interreligious encounter are: Social Networking, Social Trust and Social Reciprocity.

Both priorities above, religious and cultural priorities, share the meaning of the theory of multiculturalism of Bikhu Parekh. He says that the theory of multiculturalism is about cultural diversity or culturally embedded differences (Parekh, 2000, p. 3). In Parekh’s opinion, cultural diversity takes many forms but the common forms are threefold. First, society’s members share a broadly common culture. For them, the life style such as Gays, Lesbians, fishermen, and artists does not represent an alternative culture but just sub-cultural diversities which seek to pluralize society. Second, some society members move away from the dominant principles in society; for example, feminists, religious people and environmentalists. This type of cultural diversity is called perspectival diversity. The third is communal diversity. This group lives out their own different systems of beliefs and practices and through a less well organized community (Parekh, 2000, pp. 3-4). In summarizing his views on multiculturalism in its bearing on a good society, Parekh (2000) says that,
from a perspective of multicultural perspective the good society does not commit itself to a particular political doctrine or vision of the good life and ask how much diversity to tolerate within the limits set by it, both because such a doctrine or vision might not be acceptable to some of its communities and because it forecloses its future development. Instead, it begins by accepting the reality and desirability of cultural diversity and structures its political life accordingly. It is dialogically constituted, and its constant concern is to keep the dialogue going and nurture a climate in which it can proceed effectively, stretch the boundaries of the prevailing forms of thought and generate a body of collectively acceptable principles, institutions and policies (p. 340).

Parekh believes that a multicultural society creates a good society as it appreciates individuals’ basic rights and liberties and integrates them in the continuous culture of dialogue. It sees itself as part of a community and, thus, it is communally embedded and attached individually (Parekh, 2000, p. 340). This spirit of a good society in Parekh’s understanding is similar to that of Amitai Etzioni’s definition of a good society. A good society builds and reinforces the moral infrastructure which in turn reinforces the character of individuals (Etzioni, 1996, p. 187).

Although Etzioni stresses, the role of morality in creating and sustaining a good society does not necessitate that religious values are prioritized. Although some scholars (Colson, 1993; Robertson, 1993) argue that moral values from religion are the true legitimate sources, Etzioni (1996) strongly believes that a good society does not necessarily take its values from religions. He gives an example from the work of Robert Wuthnow who, in 1992, engaged in a comprehensive study of religious and secular behaviour between weekly churchgoers and the population at large. Wuthnow’s study concluded that weekly churchgoers’ behaviours were only slightly different from those of the general population. In Etzioni’s (1996) own words, “being religious does not guarantee virtue” (p. 254).

A good society takes its core values from both religious values and secular
sources and then shares them. What makes it a good society is that the people are committed to the shared or core values (Etzioni, 1996, p. 255). A communitarian society is one wherein there is agreement to tolerate each other in spite of religious, cultural or other important differences. Those differences, according to Etzioni, are not the issue here. The concern of the core values of a good society is to bring those differences into consensus values and affirm them (Etzioni, 1996, p. 256). A communitarian society is a society where a profound commitment to moral order takes place voluntarily and the social order is well balanced (Etzioni, 1996, p. 257).

Summary

This chapter has discussed what factors could trigger interreligious conflicts or disharmony in general and interreligious conflicts or disharmony between Christians and Muslims in Indonesia, in particular. This study shows that, in some circumstances, religions tend to provoke rather than resolve conflict. Problems of interreligious disharmony between Christians and Muslims in Indonesia were not caused only by theological differences but also by socio-political issues such as the chaotic political situation, unemployment and lack of social security. This is why some scholars suggested the need to promote interreligious harmony between Christians and Muslims by handling the socio-economic and political problems first and only then engaging in interreligious dialogue.

In the next chapter, the focus is on the methodology employed for this study, while the remaining chapters focus on analysing the quantitative and qualitative data on interreligious encounters among the Muslim and Christian Bataks in Medan. The aim of this study is to better understand how DNT as the Bataks’ social capital functions among Christian and Muslim Bataks in Medan.
Chapter Five
Methodology

Introduction

This study aims to increase the understanding of interreligious encounters among the Muslim and Christian Bataks in Medan. In the encounters, the Bataks appear to employ the traditional values that lead to peaceful co-existence in Medan. To explore this phenomenon, this study followed methodological steps designed to suit its aims. First, the explanation of the research design will be outlined. The study used mixed methods in order to explore the research questions. Second, the chapter outlines the particular theory of Multiculturalism employed in the study and its ramifications for the design. Description of the participants and the ethical considerations implied by their participation are presented next. The chapter concludes by outlining the process of data collection and analysis.

The Research Design

This study was conducted in order to explore the contribution of DNT, the Bataks’ cultural approach to interreligious encounters, among Christian and Muslim Bataks in the plural city of Medan. It employed a concurrent mixed methods research design. Quantitative and qualitative methods of collecting the data were employed together in order to collect sufficiently comprehensive and rich data to allow for informed answering of the research questions. Quantitative and qualitative methods of
data collection included surveys, in-depth interviews and guided small group discussions.

The concept of mixing methods is attributed to Donald Campbell and Donald W. Fiske (Campbell & Fiske, 1959) who encouraged researchers to use the multitrait-multimethod matrix to analyze data in their studies: “we are advocating a multiple operationalism, a convergent operationalism . . ., a methodological triangulation . . ., an operational delineation . . ., a convergent validation” (p. 101). As a result, this mixed methods research prompted others to combine quantitative and qualitative methods (Creswell, 2003, p. 15). One of the benefits of using mixed method is in its ability to capture the best of quantitative and qualitative approaches (Creswell, 2003, p. 22). The challenges for this form of research include the need for extensive data collection, the time-intensive nature of analyzing both text and numeric data, and the requirement for the researcher to be familiar with both quantitative and qualitative forms of research (Creswell, 2003, p. 23).

This study uses a survey as a tool to describe and examine the trends, attitudes and opinions of the Bataks in Medan towards interreligious relations (Creswell, 2003, p. 153). The use of survey signifies the assumption that human actions can be explained by what is known as "social facts", which can be studied by methodologies that employ "the deductive logic of the natural sciences" (Horna, 1994, p. 121). In short, quantitative investigations look for "distinguishing characteristics, elemental properties and empirical boundaries" (Horna, 1994, p. 121) and tend to measure "how much", or "how often" and to explain what has occurred or what will occur in the future (Nau, 1995, p. 3).

Furthermore, a quantitative research design permits elasticity in handling the data in terms of comparative analyses, statistical analyses, and repeatability of data
collection in order to verify reliability. The weakness of a survey lies mainly in its failure to ascertain deeper underlying meanings and explanations of the social capital of DNT and how it operates in interreligious relations, even when it is significant, reliable and valid. Consequently, in-depth interviews and guided small group discussions were employed as well.

By using in-depth interviews and guided small group discussion, the theme of interfaith encounters among the Bataks in Medan was deepened, made credible and confirmed in the process of collecting the data. In other words, the qualitative approach is strong in areas that have been identified as potential weaknesses within the quantitative approach. It takes the natural setting to collect the data (home or office) which enables the researcher to be more involved in gathering all the details provided by the informants; it is more humanistic and interactive; it is emergent rather than tightly prefigured and it is fundamentally interpretive in that the researcher ultimately provides the final interpretation of the data (Creswell, 2003, pp. 181-182).

Having discussed the strength and the weakness of both methods, it was hoped that the benefit of using mixed methods would maximize the results of this study. Table 5.1 presents a matrix of different strategies of analyzing data for mixed methods from J.W. Cresswell (2003). As indicated in the implementation section of the table, there are three options for collecting the data from the field of study. In the priority section, the researcher has three choices about which type of data will be given priority in the study design. It depends on whether the researcher wants to emphasize quantitative or qualitative information or whether each type of data will be treated equally. In the integration section, the researcher is given four choices to integrate the data of both methods when analyzing them. The last section concerns consideration from the researcher about whether the theoretical perspective of the study guides the entire
design implicitly or explicitly.

TABLE 5.1

*The Matrix of Strategies for Mixed Methods.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Implementation</th>
<th>Priority</th>
<th>Integration</th>
<th>Theoretical Perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No Sequence</td>
<td>Equal</td>
<td>At Data Collection</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concurrent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequential –</td>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>At Data Analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative first</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantitative first</td>
<td>Quantitative</td>
<td>At Data Interpretation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>With Some Combination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Implicit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Creswell, 2000, p. 211.

For this study, as shown in the unshaded columns of the table, the implementation of the quantitative and qualitative data collection from the field of study was performed at the same time (concurrent) because the nature of this study was to explore how DNT as the Batak social capital operates as an integrated social function among the research subjects. The exploration therefore had to be a single operation,
albeit with two sets of lenses. In the study design, priority was given to quantitative analysis as it gave more opportunity for elaboration on the data in a statistically plausible way. At the same time, interreligious encounters were explored using in-depth interviews and small group discussions with 33 informants in Medan. Hence, both data sets, quantitative and qualitative, were integrated in the data analysis at the interpretation phase. This integration enriched the meaning of the results from both methods. Finally, the research was guided by a theoretical framework developed from the theory of multiculturalism.

The Research Questions

As suggested at the outset, the study aimed to answer the following questions:

1. What theoretical model can best explain the Christian-Muslim relationships in Medan?
2. What is the relationship of religion and social capital with interreligious encounters?
3. Does religion or culture play the predominant role in promoting interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan?
4. How does DNT play a role as social capital among the Bataks in Medan?

Participants

The Survey Respondents

In order to explore how the social capital of DNT plays a role in interreligious
encounters among the Bataks in Medan, a total of 2,250 respondents (1,125 adherents of each religion) were asked to participate in the surveys. The survey was a self-completed and anonymous survey conducted in the Indonesian language. To elicit pertinent information, certain inclusion criteria were imposed. The respondents qualified for sample selection had to be married Bataks whether their partner was a Batak or not. This qualification ensured that the respondents understood and lived out the Bataks’ traditional values in the form of DNT and had sufficient maturity to discuss issues of interreligious encounters, so making the survey items easy for them to accomplish. The respondents were selected from 21 Kecamatan (districts) in Medan city.

Quota sampling was the method used for the survey sampling selection (Babbie, 2000, p. 180; Sarantakos, 2005, pp. 164-165). This sampling method was conducted by first making a matrix to determine the proportion of Muslim and Christian populations in each of the 21 districts in Medan. This gave the ratio of the two groups: Christian and Muslim respondents. The process was repeated for all 21 districts in Medan until the sample size of 1,125 for each religion (Christian and Muslim) was reached. Table 5.2 shows the proportions of Christian and Muslim Bataks in each district and the number of participants of each religion selected for the study from the 21 districts.

The Respondents’ Socio-demographic Data

In May 2010, a total of 1,539 questionnaires had been returned. This result gave a response rate of 68 percent of the survey. The questionnaire contained six sections and each section had twenty five to thirty items to answer on average. The respondents of the survey consisted of 47% Males and 50% Females. Most of the respondents’ ages ranged from 40 to 49 (35%), followed by an age range from 30 to 39 (22%). The youngest respondents ranged from 20 to 29 years of age (14%) and the oldest from 60 to
78 years of age (3.2%). The respondents had completed education at University level (39%), Secondary school (26%) and Primary school (5.7%). In regard to their social class, most of the respondents were from middle, lower and labour classes (44.3%) and the upper and middle classes constituted the smallest participation (3.2%).

**TABLE 5.2**

*Sample Distribution of the Survey Respondents in 21 Districts in Medan – Indonesia Based on Religious Adherents Population*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Muslim Population</th>
<th>Sample Distribution</th>
<th>Christian Population*</th>
<th>Sample Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Medan Tuntungan</td>
<td>29,991</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25,311</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Medan Selayang</td>
<td>42,558</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>21,393</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Medan Johor</td>
<td>54,843</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18,145</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Medan Ampras</td>
<td>77,026</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>23,449</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Medan Denai</td>
<td>74,656</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>32,507</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Medan Tembung</td>
<td>96,411</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>21,616</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Medan Kota</td>
<td>42,338</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>26,677</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Medan Area</td>
<td>74,829</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>15,354</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Medan Baru</td>
<td>21,506</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26,336</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Medan Polonia</td>
<td>29,119</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11,384</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Medan Maimun</td>
<td>32,950</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5,462</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Medan Sunggal</td>
<td>57,253</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>24,035</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Medan Helvetia</td>
<td>90,242</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>24,727</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Medan Barat</td>
<td>52,785</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>13,343</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Medan Petisah</td>
<td>39,506</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27,342</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Medan Timur</td>
<td>73,882</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>19,783</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Medan Perjuangan</td>
<td>63,886</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>30,300</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Medan Deli</td>
<td>95,549</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>4,696</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Medan Labuhan</td>
<td>47,905</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>12,417</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Medan Marelan</td>
<td>61,952</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4,220</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Medan Belawan</td>
<td>61,647</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>19,610</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,220,834</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,125</strong></td>
<td><strong>408,017</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,125</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**The Respondents’ Identity as Batak**

As noted above, Batak is an ethnic group in North Sumatera that consists of six
sub-groups. In this study, those respondents who self reported as Batak Toba were 58% 
(n = 857), Karo 18% (n = 266), Mandailing 12% (n = 177), Simalungun 6% (n = 93), 
Angkola 4% (n = 60) and Pakpak 2% (n = 24). The respondents self-reported as 87% (n 
= 1,302) descendants of the Bataks and 13% (n = 191) non- Bataks. There were two 
reasons for the non-Bataks to be included in this study. First, because their partner was a 
Batak (78%, n = 1,110), or because their mother was a Batak (81%, n = 1,206). Second, 
because the children’s family had married a Batak (90%, n = 1,300). In the Batak 
kinship system, a non-Batak is accepted formally in the tribe by giving the person a 
Batak’s clan name in an initiation rite.

*The Respondents’ Religious Preference and Their Practice*

The respondents were 40% Muslim (n = 605) and 60% Christian (n = 895). They 
had joined their religion as a baby (85%), a teenager (6%), an adult (3%) or when they 
got married (6%). Of the Muslim respondents 51.3% were members of *Nahdhatul 
Ulama* (NU), a traditional Ulama Organization of about 20 million members 
(Bruinessen, 1994, p. 1), 34% were members of Muhammadiyah and 15% were 
members of other Islamic organizations.

In faith formation, Islamic boarding schools and Seminaries are the most 
prestigious places to acquire religious knowledge. In the survey, the respondents were 
asked if they had ever gone to boarding religious schools. Of the Muslim respondents 
24.6% had education in Islamic boarding schools and the length of time they were at 
boarding schools ranged from one year (12%), two years (29%), three years (17%) and 
six years (20%). In contrast, only 12% of the Christian respondents had education at the 
Seminaries for either one year (17%) or three years (31%).
In regard to daily practice of religion, 80% of the respondents said that praying every day was very important and 18% of the respondents said it was important. Then, when they were asked how many times a day they prayed, the majority of Muslims’ answers varied between five times a day (52%), three times a day (12%), twice a day (7%) and once a day (3%). The majority of Christians prayed twice (14%), three (29%) or five times a day (21%), while a smaller proportion prayed less frequently (8% prayed once a day) or more frequently (6% prayed six times a day). Furthermore, 88% of the respondents believed that there is eternal life, and 90% said that they found comfort and strength from religion. Lastly, the respondents were asked their ideological orientations in performing religious practices. The Muslim respondents said that 36% of them were fundamentalists, 39% were moderate and 25% were liberal. The Christian respondents were 30% fundamentalists, 48% were moderate and 22% were liberal.

The Respondents’ Participation in Organisations

When the respondents were asked to choose three organizations they often attended, the first choice reported was that 27% of them attended the neighbourhood organizations with very active involvement, and 22% of them were somewhat active. In the second choice, 25% of respondents attended actively religious organizations and 15% of them were somewhat active. Lastly, in the third choice, the respondents attended familial organizations with 24% being active and 22% were somewhat active.

The Informants

For qualitative data sampling, purposive or judgmental sampling was used
(Babbie, 2000, pp. 179-180; Sarantakos, 2005, pp. 164-165). In this method of data collection, a sample is selected on the basis of knowledge of a population and the purpose of the study. So, in order to explore the phenomenon of interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan, nine influential leaders in Medan from both religions were invited to take part in an open ended personal interview. In the researcher’s view, these people could offer adequate and useful information that would provide an informed account of interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan.

They were invited for in-depth interviews of 30-45 minutes. They were asked to respond to the questions from the interview schedule (see Appendix F). The interviews were digitally audio-recorded and conducted informally in their own house, office or place of their choosing. One interview with a policeman was unrecorded during the interview. Table 5.3 describes the socio-demographic of the nine interviewees.

### TABLE 5.3

*Religious Preference, Occupation, Sex and Age of Informants for In-depth Interview*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Sex/Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Chair of an Islamic organization</td>
<td>M/48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Retired Lecturer</td>
<td>M/75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Lecturer – Council Member of Islamic organization</td>
<td>M/48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Retired Provincial Leader</td>
<td>M/72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Retired State Official</td>
<td>M/70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Member of FORKALA (Inter-Ethnic Association)</td>
<td>M/59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>M/61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Lecturer and the President of a private University</td>
<td>M/59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Writer and Retired Physician</td>
<td>M/61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: M = Male

Furthermore, approximately 50 people were invited for guided small group discussion. However, only 24 informants responded to the invitation. They were asked to respond to the questions from the discussion schedule (see Appendix H). Christians
and Muslims were separated into groups and each group contained of two to four persons from the same profession; teachers, policemen, businessmen and workers.

These professions were chosen as their opinions were considered to be relevant to the study, granted that these jobs gave them experiences of dealing with people in a service capacity, including across religious boundaries. All groups, both Christians and Muslims, were asked the same questions. It took about one hour for each discussion and it was digitally video-recorded. The socio-demographic description of the 24 discussion group participants is presented in Table 5.4.

**TABLE 5.4**

*Religious Preference, Occupation, Sex and Age of Informants for Guided Small Group Interview*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Sex/Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>F/47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>F/53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>F/29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>F/39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>M/52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>M/42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>F/54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>M/49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>M/45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>F/52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>M/35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Small Business</td>
<td>M/29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>M/50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>M/38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>M/42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>M/49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>M/47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>M/44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>M/41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>M/31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>F/50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>F/52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>M/45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Christianity</td>
<td>Worker</td>
<td>F/30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: M = Male; F = Female
The Research Instruments

The survey questionnaire was used as the main data-gathering instrument for this study (see Appendix B). Some items in the survey were taken from the survey in 2008 of the Center for Islamic and Society Studies (*PPIM*) at Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta (items in Part Two and Five); European and World Values Survey Four Wave Integrated Data File 1981-2004 (some items in Part One, Three and Four) and; General Social Survey (GSS) data file 1972-2000 (some items in Part One, Three and Four).

The questionnaire was divided into six parts: Part 1: items related to DNT as the Batak traditional culture and as Social Capital for the people. Part 2: items related to the respondents’ understanding about their own religion. Part 3: items related to the respondents’ understanding of the other religion, that is, Muslims’ understanding of Christianity and vice versa. Part 4: items related to the measurement of the respondents’ relationships with people of a different religion. Part 5: items related to the level of tolerance towards people of a different religion. Part 6: items related to socio-demographic and other background information about the respondents such as age, gender, religious preference, job, education, and marital status.

The items were structured mostly using closed and some open-ended questions. The closed questions employed the Likert format and dichotomous questions (Babbie, 2000, pp. 166-167). In the Likert format (see Table 5.4), five or four choices were provided. Some of the choices ranged from 1 to 10. For dichotomous and open-ended questions, the choices were: Yes or No answers and, fill in the blank. The choices represented the degree of agreement that each respondent indicated on the given question.
Table 5.5

*The Likert Format*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range</th>
<th>Interpretation I</th>
<th>Interpretation II</th>
<th>Interpretation III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 – 1</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree; Never;</td>
<td>Not at all Important</td>
<td>Not important at all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 – 2</td>
<td>Disagree; Seldom</td>
<td>A little Important</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 – 3</td>
<td>Agree; Often</td>
<td>Somewhat Important</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 – 4</td>
<td>Strongly Agree; Always</td>
<td>Important</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 – 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Very Important</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 – 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 – 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 – 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 – 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 – 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Absolutely important</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The researcher twice pre-tested the questionnaire used for the study. For the first time, 10 respondents (5 Muslims and 5 Christians) living in Medan were chosen randomly. After the questions were answered, the researcher asked the respondents for any suggestions or any necessary corrections in the paper that had been attached to the pilot survey in order to ensure further improvement of the instrument. For the second time, the revised survey was given to five different respondents. After the questions were answered, the researcher again asked the respondents for any suggestions or any necessary corrections to ensure further improvement and refinement of the items. The researcher revised the survey questionnaire based on the suggestions of the respondents. The researcher then excluded irrelevant questions and changed difficult terminologies into simpler ones in order to insure comprehension. These respondents and their answers did not constitute part of the actual study process, only being used for testing purposes.
Ethical Considerations

As this study required the participation of human respondents, certain ethical issues were addressed. The consideration of these ethical issues was necessary for the purpose of ensuring the privacy as well as the safety of the participants. Among the significant ethical issues that were considered in the research process, consent and confidentiality were paramount. In order to secure the consent of the selected participants, the researcher relayed all important details of the study, including its aim and purpose. By explaining these important details, the respondents were able to understand the importance of their role in the completion of the research (see Appendix A for survey, Appendix E for interview, and Appendix G for guided small group discussion).

The respondents were also advised that they could withdraw from the study at any stage. The confidentiality of the participants was also ensured by not having their names disclosed. Only relevant details that helped in answering the research questions were included.

Data Collection

The research was conducted in the Indonesian language which is understood and used by all the respondents and informants of this study. The collection of the data was conducted in an atmosphere that was safe and familiar to the participants. No personal or private questions were asked or issues addressed during the in-depth interviews and small group discussions. Permission to conduct data collection was sought by first

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11 Ethical issues for this study had been approved by the University of Newcastle with Ethics Number: H-2009-0218, Approved in September 18, 2009.
approaching the Regional Interfaith Forum of North Sumatra (Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama [FKUB]) which is located in Medan. Data collection would not proceed unless permission was given to the researcher. The rights to refuse participation in the study and withdraw by any of these respondents and informants were respected.

It is also acknowledged that the research must be conducted in ways that are appropriate for the respondents and informants, and that make them feel comfortable and not threatened by the researcher or the data collection instruments. In this study, the researcher is a participant observer because he belongs to the Batak ethnic group and grew up in the city of Medan. So, he has an excellent understanding of this particular ethnic group. The selected organizations and groups, after being informed for at least a week by the key person in each group such as church pastors, mosque imams, organization secretaries, or active volunteers from the schools, were asked to permit the researcher to visit their regular meetings. Members of each visited group were asked to complete the survey.

The overall steps that were taken to select the potential participants were as follows:

1. The Regional Interfaith Forum of North Sumatra (FKUB) which is located in Medan agreed to assist with recruitment for the study. The representative of both religions in the Forum helped the researcher to find the potential participants.

2. The representatives in the Forum selected community groups and organisations of each district that were appropriate for involvement in the study. The representatives also gave some advice regarding other potential participants.

3. The researcher made contact with the leaders of each group, organisation and school, to set up meetings for collecting the data.

The data collections were carried out within six months. During the fieldwork
research, the researcher stayed in Medan to collect the questionnaires and to conduct the in-depth interviews and the guided small group discussions.

**Data Processing and Analysis: Quantitative and Qualitative**

**Quantitative Data and Analyses**

The collected data from the survey, in-depth interviews and small group discussions were processed to make them suitable for analysis. The survey data were translated by coding the responses. All open-ended questionnaire items were coded numerically, while items with more than one answer in the survey were coded according to the categories devised by the researcher. Once all the data were coded, they were ready for data entering.

The survey data were handled and analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) for Windows software version 19. Each survey was assigned with an identity number in the program during the data entry. The first step before data analysis was data cleaning because some errors during data entry are inevitable. The errors may result from incorrect coding or from incorrect reading of written codes. Data cleaning is the process of detecting and correcting the errors. In this study, the researcher used “possible-code cleaning” and “contingency cleaning” (Babbie, 2000, p. 393).

Code cleaning is done by locating the error through examination of each column in the distribution of responses. For example, males were coded as 1 and females as 2. Therefore, all coded numbers that were not 1 or 2 were suspected of error. Contingency cleaning means examining items to ensure that the data have been distributed correctly. For example, in the survey (Part VI) all Muslim respondents should responded items 13-16, but no Christian respondents should answer them. On the contrary, the Christian
respondents should answered items 17-18 and no Muslim respondents answered them.

Missing data, when doing research with human beings, is common (Pallant, 2007, p. 56). The missing data were not owing to ignored or censored data but to the failure of some respondents to complete every question in the questionnaire. Obviously, in this case, the researcher has little control over the missing data. Pallant (2007) recommends using the listwise option to handle the missing data. The listwise option only includes cases with a full data set in the analysis. This option will totally exclude a case from the analysis if it has lost even one piece of information (Pallant, 2007, p. 57). Because of the large sample in this study, the listwise option was likely to have minimal effect on the results of the analyses.

Finally, the survey data were analyzed using Exploratory Factor Analysis, Multiple Regression Analysis and Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). This study is a preliminary investigation to discover a model of interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan. So, an exploratory method is helpful in gathering all the information needed to find the inter-relationships among the selected variables. This is why exploratory factor analysis was used as the first step in the data analysis. Additionally, the large number of respondents and variables involved in this study’s exploratory factor analysis was employed in order to make the data manageable.

The composite variables formed from the factor analysis were employed first in a multiple regression analysis in order to examine the proposed relationships among the independent and dependent variables. Then, a more refined conceptual model was proposed for testing using Structural Equation Modeling. Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) is one of the most recent developments in social science research which can be used to test causal or hypothesized models with latent or unobserved variables. The benefit of using this type of path analysis is that it allows measurement of specific a
priori hypothesized relationships among the latent variables (Hatcher, 1994, p. 251).

**Qualitative Data and Analyses**

The data from in-depth interviews and small group discussions were digitally audio and video recorded (with the participants’ permission) and then transcribed. The transcriptions were analyzed in the Indonesian language using NVivo software version 9 for handling the data without converting them to a numerical format. The transcriptions were coded in the Indonesian language and representative passages and key quotations were translated into English. The purpose of coding the data is to identify themes in the text as it assists conceptualization.

The name of codes, themes and nodes of the qualitative data analysis in this study were taken from the composite variables produced by factor analysis of this study. As Creswell (2003) suggests, one way of integrating data obtained through mixed methods is in the data interpretation, through the use of the themes’ or the constructs emerging from the factor analysis; this therefore constituted an endorsed way forward. Thus, once the coding was finalized, the data were ready to be analyzed. The purpose of coding the data was to identify whether the constructs derived from the factor analysis were reflected as themes in the text, thus assisting in conceptualization. Subsequently, from these conceptualization steps, the researcher is taken from analyzing to theorizing (Bazeley, 2008, p. 66).

**Summary**

This chapter briefly reviewed the conceptual framework of the study, being to
gain better understanding of how DNT operates among the Christian and Muslim Bataks in Medan. Surveys, in-depth interviews and guided small group discussions, constituting a concurrent mixed methods approach, were the methods of data collection chosen to serve this purpose. A discussion of relevant theoretical approaches and a detailed description of the participants of this study were included, followed by discussion of the instruments used in the research and the data collection procedures. A brief outline was provided of the ethical considerations and how these were addressed, and the chapter concluded with a description of the processes employed to analyze the quantitative and qualitative data.
Chapter Six
Quantitative Analysis

Introduction

As identified above, the study employed a mixed methods approach to addressing the research questions (see Chapter Five, p. 84). It employed both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection, including surveys, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. In this chapter, the results of the quantitative analyses of the survey data will be presented. First, the results of the factor analysis are presented, followed by the results of the multiple regression analyses which were used as a preliminary investigation of the proposed relationships among the variables, according to the hypothesized model. The last section of the chapter reports the results obtained from the structural equation model analyses which were used to test how well the proposed model fitted the data.

Factor Analysis

As discussed in the Methodology chapter, the 148 survey questions were designed to provide information about six aspects of interreligious relationships among the Batak Muslims and Christians in Medan. These aspects included DNT and social capital, religious knowledge, interreligious encounters and tolerance and, lastly, the socio-economic background of the respondents. The survey was divided into six parts
with each part containing the questions relevant to that aspect (see Appendix B).

Part 1: Questions related to DNT as the Bataks’ traditional culture and as Social Capital for the people. There were 48 questions included in this part. Some questions were left out of the quantitative analysis. Those questions were: questions 17 and 18 which were open ended questions and the following three questions (19 through 21) which were related to the preceding open-ended questions. This left Part 1 with a total of 43 questions in the quantitative analysis.

Part 2: These questions related to respondents’ understandings about their own religion. There were 21 questions in this part and all questions were included in the analysis.

Part 3: These questions related to the measurement of the respondents’ understanding of the other religion, that is, Muslims’ understanding of Christianity and vice versa. In this part, 16 questions were included in the analysis. Questions 3 and 4 were not included in the quantitative analysis as they were open ended questions.

Part 4: These questions related to the measurement of the respondents’ relationships with people of a different religion. In Part 4, all nine questions were included in the analysis.

Part 5: These questions related to the measurement of tolerance towards people of a different religion. All 20 questions were included in the factor analysis.

Part 6: None of the questions in this part were included in the factor analysis as the
questions were designed to gather demographic and other background information about the respondents. The responses to these questions were discussed in the Methodology chapter.

The exploratory nature of this study meant that a large number of items were included in the survey in order to try and capture the many salient factors identified in the literature. As indicated in the literature review in this study, some probable factors contributing to interreligious encounters in Medan have been identified. However, there are no existing surveys that have been developed and validated to measure these aspects. Thus, in order to develop reliable measures of each aspect to include in the subsequent testing of the theoretical model, exploratory factor analysis was used as the first step in the statistical analysis.

Factor analysis (FA) is a statistical method to reduce a large number of observed variables into a smaller set of variables, or factors, that have common characteristics (Pett, Lackey & Sullivan, 2003, p. 2). Tabachnick and Fidel (2007) describe the meaning of a factor as “to reflect underlying processes that have created correlations among variables” (p. 601). Pett et al. (2003) summarize the idea of a factor as “a linear combination or cluster of related observed variables that represents a specific underlying dimension of a construct, which is as distinct as possible from the other factors included in the solution” (p. 2-3). In the present study, factor analysis was employed to reveal whether the selected questions reflected the five broad aspects of interest, that is, DNT as social capital, understanding of one’s own religion, understanding of other religions, interactions with people of another religion and tolerance towards other religions. The resultant factors could then be used to test the hypothesized model (Tabachnick, 2007, p. 26).
Despite the benefits of factor analysis in data reduction and model simplification there are a number of limitations connected with using FA in managing the data. Tabachnick and Fidel (2007) describe at least three problems (pp. 608-609). The first problem relates to the absence of external criterion to test the solution. In regression analysis, there are the dependent variable (DV) and the DV scores to test the solution, and in Multiple Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) there is the fit criterion of group membership to test the solution.

A second problem is related to the availability of an infinite number of rotations and the decisions made by the researcher. Because of this variability and the subjectiveness of the decisions that can be made it is possible for different researchers to achieve different solutions when analysing the same data. So, the result cannot be replicated exactly.

Thirdly, FA has been described as the last resort of poorly conceived research. However, as Tabachnick and Fidel (2007) acknowledge, in exploratory research it is not unusual to discover relationships between variables that had not been recognised a priori. “In exploratory FA, one seeks to describe and summarize data by grouping together variables that are correlated. The variables themselves may or may not have been chosen with potential underlying processes in mind” (Tabachnick & Fidel, 2007, p. 609).

Despite the problems discussed above, exploratory FA was used as the first step in the data analysis. Because this study is a preliminary investigation to discover a model of interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan, an exploratory method is helpful in gathering all the information needed to find the inter-relationships among the selected variables.

This study used principal component analysis (PCA) as the method of
Tabachnick and Fidel (2007) comment that PCA is “the solution of choice” if a researcher’s primary intention in running FA is to reduce a large number of variables into a smaller number. Further, they conclude that using PCA is better than any other approach to get an empirical summary of the data because it provides each variable’s contribution “to the positive diagonal of the correlation matrix” (pp. 634-635).

While PCA was used as the method of extraction, this study used varimax as the method of rotation. The reason why varimax rotation was used primarily is because “varimax maximizes the variances of the loadings within the factors while also maximizing differences between the high and the low loadings on a particular factor” (Pett, 2003, pp. 141-143). In short it makes higher loadings higher and lower loadings lower.

Missing data when doing research with human beings is common according to Pallant (2007, p. 56). The case of missing data in this study was not owing to ignored or censored data from the sample population but to the failure of some respondents to complete the entire questionnaire (Hair, 1998, pp. 46-49).

In cases such as the present study where the researcher has little control over the missing data process and where the missing data were found randomly, Pallant (2007) recommends using the listwise option to handle the missing data. The listwise option operates in a way that it only includes cases with a full data set in the analysis. This option will totally exclude a case from the analysis if it has lost even one piece of information (Pallant, 2007, p. 57). In a large sample like the data set of this study, the listwise option was likely to have minimal effect on the results of the analysis.
Results

In this section, the results of a FA of each part of the survey are presented. First of all, full analysis with all the questions from Part 1 through Part 5 was run. The result of the analysis came up with 32 factors. Then, in the second attempt full analysis was re-run and forced them into 5 factors based on the number of the parts of the survey. The result did not yield meaningful factors.

The next attempt was to run the FA on each part of the survey. Each of the five parts of the survey was subjected to a separate factor analysis as the questions in each part were grouped to represent the five aspects identified from the literature as being possible contributors to religious harmony. FA was conducted on each part in order to identify the underlying structure of each set of indicator variables. Once the survey questions in each part were collected into meaningful factors, then a name was given to each factor based on the underlying idea from each group of questions.

Dalihan na tolu (DNT) as Social Capital

Before running the analysis, the factorability of the 43 items in the first section of the survey was examined. Several well-recognised criteria for the factorability of a correlation were used. First, there were 77 items with significant correlations (see Appendix I) greater than 0.10 with at least one item. Second, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.68, slightly above the recommended value of 0.60 (Pett, 2003, p. 78), and Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant ($\chi^2 (1225) = 4257.931, p < .01$). Third, the communalities, that is, the proportion of variance explained by the extracted factors, were all above 0.40 (see Table 6.1, p. 107) further confirming that each item shared some common variance with the other items. Given
these overall indicators, factor analysis was conducted with all 43 items.

The primary purpose of using FA in Part 1 of the survey was to identify and compute composite scores for the questions related to DNT as the Bataks traditional culture and as Social Capital to the people. The initial eigen values showed that the first factor explained 10% of the variance, the second factor 7% of the variance, and the third factor 5.9% of the variance. The fourth and the fifth explained 5% and 4% of the variance respectively. The sixth through the eighth factors had eigen values explaining 3%, whereas the ninth through the sixteenth factors had eigen values explaining 2% and the seventeenth through the thirty-fourth factors had eigen values explaining 1%. Two, three, four, five and six factor solutions were examined, using varimax rotations of the factor loading matrix.

After inspecting each of these solutions, FA was re-run and ‘forced’ a three factor solution. The three factor solution, which explained 23% of the variance, was preferred because of its theoretical support, the ‘levelling off’ of eigen values on the scree plot after three factors and the insufficient number of primary loadings and difficulty of interpreting the fourth and subsequent factors.

After several steps, 16 of the 43 items were eliminated because they did not contribute to a simple factor structure and failed to meet a minimum criteria of having a primary factor loading of 0.40 or above, and no cross-loading of 0.40 or above. This cut-off value is recommended, as items with factor loadings below 0.30 have less than 10 percent of variance in common with the factor (Comrey, 1973, p. 225). A principle-components factor analysis of the remaining 27 items, using varimax rotation was conducted, with the three factors explaining a total of 23% of the variance. The three factors identified were Social Trust (10%), Social Help (7%) and Social Bonding (6%).
**Internal Reliability**

The internal consistency for each of the factors was examined using Cronbach’s alpha. Initially the alphas were 0.74 (10 items), 0.60 (9 items) and 0.46 (8 items) for Social Trust, Social Help and Social Bonding respectively. In order to get the most reliable measures, eight items that did not add to the factor’s internal consistency were eliminated. Six of the nine items were eliminated from the Social Help factor and two of the eight items were eliminated from the Social Bonding factor leaving a total of 19 items. The final alphas were all above 0.70 indicating a moderate internal reliability (Pett, 2003, p. 186). The factor loading for each question and the alpha coefficients for each factor are presented in Table 6.1.

**Social Trust**

The factor Social Trust consisted of items relating to the extent to which the respondents trusted other people including, people of the same or different religion, people of the same or different ethnicity, and foreigners. Those items asked questions such as “Could you tell me how much you trust people you meet first time, your fellow Muslims or Christians ...” (see Table 6.1). These items were items 16d, 16e, 16f, 16g, 16h, and 16i. They were measured in the Likert format with the choices ranging from 1 through 4: “Don’t trust at all” to “Trust completely”. The choice of number 1 in these items indicated low in social trust while the choice of number 4 represented high in social trust.

There were some items included in the factor which implicitly had the notion of Social Trust underlying the items such as the use of DNT to help solve conflicts among the Bataks, or seeking help from the clan leaders to solve conflicts. Item 23 asked the
respondents the question “Has DNT ever helped solving conflicts ...” (see Table 6.1).

TABLE 6.1

Factor loadings, item communalities and alpha coefficients for the three factors of Social Capital (N = 1539)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Social Trust $\alpha = .74$</th>
<th>Loading</th>
<th>Comm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16d. Trust people that you have met once</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16e. Trust people of the same religion</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16f. Trust people of different religion (Christians or Moslems)</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16g. Trust people of the same ethnic (Batak)</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16h. Trust people of different ethnic (Javanese, Acehnese, Minangkabau, Chinese)</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16i. Trust people from other nations</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. In your experience, has the Dalihan Na Tolu principle ever helped solving conflicts among Batakinese people of your group?</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-2. Suppose two people in your group had a fairly serious dispute with each other. Who do you think would primarily help resolve the dispute? 2 answers</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-3. Suppose two people in your group had a fairly serious dispute with each other. Who do you think would primarily help resolve the dispute? 3 answers</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29d. How are these problems usually handled? Clan leaders Mediate</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Social Help $\alpha = .71$</th>
<th>Loading</th>
<th>Comm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Kind of help given to you by your family</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Kind of help given by you to your family</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Do families in your groups contribute time and money toward common development goals?</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Social Bonding $\alpha = .74$</th>
<th>Loading</th>
<th>Comm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27a. Different level of education separates?</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27b. Different wealth separates?</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27c. Different inheritance separates?</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27d. Different social status separates?</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27e. Different ethnicity separates?</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27g. Different religion separates?</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Comm. = Communality
Item 23 was measured in the Likert format with the choices ranging from 1 through 4: “Never” to “Always”. The choice of number 1 in this item indicated low in social trust while the choice of number 4 represented high in social trust.

Item 24 with 2 and 3 answers asked the question: “Who would primarily help resolve the dispute ...” (see Table 6.1). The items were measured in rank order format with choices ranging from 1 through 8: “No one” to “Family/Household members” with the instruction to choose a maximum of 3 answers. The answer represented the accumulation of the choices made by the respondents. A low number of choices indicated low levels of social trust while a higher number of choices indicated high levels of social trust.

Item 29d asked the respondents: “How the problems were handled ...” (see Table 6.1). This was a dichotomous item with a choice of Yes or No as the answer. The choice of “No” indicated low in social trust and the choice of “Yes” indicated high levels of social trust. In general, Social Trust measured the respondents’ trust relationships with different people and the extent to which DNT influenced that trust.

**Social Help**

The factor of Social Help consisted of Items 10, 11 and 12. Items 10 and 11 were in the contingency question format with the response to Item 9 (Have you ever helped or been helped by your family?) determining whether or not Questions 10 and 11 should be answered. Question 9 asked whether the respondents had the opportunities to help or have been given help, or not to their families while Questions 10 and 11 asked the respondents in details about the help. If the response to Question 9 was 2 (Seldom), 3 (Often) or 4 (Always) which means they had the opportunities, then respondents were
directed to questions 10 and 11. Questions 10 and 11 asked the respondents what kind of help they had given or had been given: “What kind of help ...” (see Table 6.1). These items were measured in the number of ways that help had been received or had been given. The choices ranged from a minimum of 1 through to a maximum of 6 with the instruction to choose all that apply. The answer represented the accumulation of the choices made by the respondents. A low number of accumulated choices indicated lower levels of social help while a higher number of choices indicated higher levels of social help.

Item 12 asked the respondents: “Do members of your family contribute time and money ...” (see Appendix B, p. 231). This item was measured in the Likert format with choices ranging from 1 through 3: “Nothing” to “They contribute a lot”. The choice of number 1 in the scales indicated a low level of social help while the choice of number 3 indicated a higher level of social help.

**Social Bonding**

The questions in the third factor asked about threats to Social Bonding. The items in this factor, required respondents to identify what aspects might cause separations within their family such as the level of education, being rich or poor, inheritance, the level of social status, ethnicity and religion. Those items were items 27a, 27b, 27c, 27d, 27e and 27g. These items asked: “To what extent do differences such as ... tend to divide your people ...” (see Table 6.1). These items were measured in the Likert format with reversion of choices from 1 through 3: “Very much” to “Not at all”. The choice of number 1 (in favour of very much influence) indicated high threats to social bonding while the choice of number 3 (in favour of no influence at all)
indicated a low level of threat to social bonding. Thus, high scores indicated higher levels of Social Bonding.

Composite scores were created for each of the three factors, based on the means of the items from each factor. Social Trust had a slightly negative kurtotic distribution and a slightly positive skewness. Social Help had considerably less kurtosis and a positively skewed distribution. Lastly, Social Bonding had a negative kurtosis and slightly positive skewness. Descriptive statistics for each factor are presented in Table 6.2.

**TABLE 6.2**

*Descriptive statistics for three composite factors of Social Capital (N = 1539)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of items</th>
<th>M (SD)</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Trust</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.57 (.49)</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Help</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.12 (.82)</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Bonding</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.99 (.51)</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>-0.69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The skewness and kurtosis were within a tolerable range for assuming a normal distribution and examination of the histograms suggested too that the distributions looked normal. There were weak correlations among the composite factors with correlations of \( r = 0.01 \) between Social Trust and Social Help, \( r = 0.50 \) between Social Trust and Social Bonding and \( r = -0.07 \) between Social Help and Social Bonding (see Table 6.12, p. 134).

Overall, these analyses indicated that three distinct factors were underlying the 19 items measuring DNT as Social Capital and that these three factors were moderately internally consistent. The normal distribution of these composite score data in this study suggested that the data were well suited for further parametric statistical analyses.
Religious Behaviour

The 21 items in Part 2 of the survey were examined for their factorability. Several well-recognised criteria for the factorability of a correlation were used. First, there were 45 items with significant correlations (see Appendix J) greater than 0.10 with at least one item. Secondly, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.67, slightly above the recommended value of 0.60, and Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant ($\chi^2 (210) = 1744.328, p < .01$). Thirdly, the communalities were all above 0.40 (see Table 6.3) further confirming that each item shared some common variance with other items. Given these overall indicators, factor analysis was conducted with all 21 items.

The primary purpose of using FA in Part 2 of the survey was to identify and compute composite Religious Behaviour scores for the questions related to respondents’ understanding about their own religion. The initial eigen values showed that the first factor explained 14.3% of the variance, the second factor 9.2% of the variance, the third and the fourth factors 7.6% and 6.1% of the variance respectively. The fifth through the seventh factors had eigen values explaining 5%, whereas the eighth factor had eigen values explaining 4.8%. Two, three, four, five and six factor solutions were examined, using varimax rotations of the factor loading matrix.

After inspecting each of these solutions, FA was re-run and ‘forced’ a three-factor solution. The three-factor solution, which explained 31.3% of the variance, was preferred because of its theoretical support, the ‘levelling off’ of eigen values on the scree plot after three factors and the insufficient number of primary loadings and difficulty of interpreting the fourth and subsequent factors.

After several steps, 5 of the 21 items were eliminated because they did not contribute to a simple factor structure and failed to meet a minimum criteria of having a
primary factor loading of 0.40 or above, and no cross-loading of 0.40 or above. A principle-components factor analysis of the remaining 16 items, using varimax was conducted, with the three factors explaining 31% of the variance. The three factors were Faith Implementation (14%), Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs (9%) and Religious Commitment (8%).

**Internal Reliability**

The internal consistency for each of the factors was examined using Cronbach’s alpha. Initially the alphas were 0.41 (7 items), 0.62 (4 items) and 0.48 (5 items) for Faith Implementation, Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs and Religious Commitment respectively. In order to obtain the most reliable measures, a number of items that did not add to the scale’s internal consistency were eliminated. One of the seven items was eliminated from the Faith Implementation factor giving a final alpha coefficient of 0.62, and two of the four items were eliminated from the Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs factor giving a final alpha coefficient of 0.83.

It was not possible to obtain an adequate reliability for Religious Commitment. The items in this factor (Questions 14, 15, 17, 20 and 21) asked respondents their opinions about the absolutism of one true religion that would make the respondents sacrifice their lives for this religion and persuade others to adhere to it. Another question (Questions 21 and 21) asked the respondents if they thought their religious leaders were skilful in doing their jobs and therefore they obeyed whatever they said. Religious Commitment measured the respondents’ belief in a singular religion and the depth of their devotion to their own faith. However, owing to the poor reliability, this factor was eliminated. The item loadings for each question and the alpha coefficients for
the two factors measuring Religious Behaviour are presented in Table 6.3.

TABLE 6.3

Factor loadings, item communalities and alpha coefficients for the two measures of Religious Behaviour (N = 1539)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Faith Implementation  α = .62</th>
<th>Loading</th>
<th>Comm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. How important is it to pray daily?</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. How important is giving a donation to the poor or the hungry?</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Besides attending routine worship services in your place of worship, are you involved in any other religious activities?</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Religion is the source of law</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Religion is the source of peace and love</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. You are well informed theologically</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. The content of religious education at school contributes to religious extremism</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The content of religious education at the place of worship contributes to religious extremism</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Comm. = Communality

**Faith Implementation**

The factor Faith Implementation measured the extent to which respondents engaged in religious acts such as daily prayers, donations to charity and familiarity with and observance of their own religious teachings. Items 1 and 2 in this factor asked the respondents: “How important to pray ... to give donation” (see Table 6.3). They were measured in the Likert format with choices ranging from 1 through 5: “Not at all important” to “Very important”. The choice of number 1 in the scales indicated low in implementing faith while the choice of number 5 in the scales indicated high in faith
implementation.

Item 4 asked the respondents: “Do you involve actively ...” (see Table 6.3). This was a dichotomous item with a choice of either a Yes or No answer. The choice of “No” indicated low in faith implementation and the choice of “Yes” indicated high in implementing faith.

Item 5 and 6 were the questions that asked: “Religion is the source of ...” and, Item 12 asked the respondents: “Are you well-informed theologically” (see Table 6.3). They were measured in the Likert format with choices ranging from 1 through 4: “Strongly disagree” to “Strongly agree”. The choice of number 1 in the scales indicated lower levels of faith implementation while the choice of number 4 in the scales represented a higher degree of commitment in implementing faith. One item (Part 2 item 13: All religions have truth and meaning) was removed from Faith Implementation to make the factor more reliable (see discussion on internal reliability on p. 112).

**Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs**

The items comprising Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs asked the respondents whether or not in their opinion schools or places of worship contributed to religious extremism. The original four items were questions 7, 8, 9, and 11. Two items in this factor were eliminated for the sake of the factor’s reliability. Those items were Item 11 which asked if religions should have paramilitary units and Item 9 which asked if religion limited the democratic processes in society. The compound items (7 and 8) in this factor asked: “If the content of religious education contributes to religious extremism ...” (see Table 6.3). This factor was measured in the Likert format with choices ranging from 1 through 4: “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”. The choice
of number 1 in the scales indicated that schools and places of worship were the sources of religious extremism while the choice of number 4 in the scales indicated that schools and places of worship were not sources of religious extremism.

Composite scores were created for each of the two factors, by adding the means of the items forming each factor. Faith Implementation had a leptokurtic (kurtosis value greater than 3.0) distribution and small positive skewness. Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs had a slightly negative kurtosis and slightly positive skewness. Descriptive statistics for each factor are presented in Table 6.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 6.4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Descriptive statistics for two composite measures of Religious Behaviour (N = 1539)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of items</th>
<th>M (SD)</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faith Implementation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.55 (.39)</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>4.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.27 (.82)</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>-0.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The kurtosis value of Faith Implementation was small but still under the cut off value of 8.0 (Kline, 2005, p. 50). The other scale’s kurtosis and the skewness of both factors were within a tolerable range for assuming a normal distribution and examination of the histograms suggested too that the distributions looked normal. There was a weak positive correlation (r = 0.17) between the composite factors Faith Implementation and Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs (see Table 6.12, p. 134).

Overall, these analyses indicated that two distinct factors were underlying the eight items measuring Religious Behaviour and that these two factors were moderately internally consistent. The distribution from the composite score data in this study
suggested that the data were well suited for further parametric statistical analyses.

**Interreligious Knowledge**

The factorability of 16 items in Part 3 of the survey was examined as the first step. Several well-recognised criteria for the factorability of a correlation were used. First, there were 37 items with significant correlations (see Appendix K) greater than 0.10 with at least one item. Second, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.89, above the recommended value of 0.60, and Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant ($\chi^2(120) = 7945.419, p < .01$). Third, almost all the communalities were above 0.35 except for Item 1 (0.34) and Item 16 (0.09), further confirming that each item shared some common variance with other items. Given these overall indicators, factor analysis was conducted with all 16 items.

The primary purpose of using FA in Part 3 of the survey was to identify and compute composite interreligious knowledge scores for the factors underlying the respondents’ knowledge of each other’s religion. The initial eigen values showed that the first factor explained 31.16% of the variance, the second factor 14.20% of the variance, the third and the fourth factors 8.15% and 6.50% of the variance respectively. Two, three, four, five and six factor solutions were examined, using varimax rotations of the factor loading matrix.

After inspecting each of these solutions, FA was re-run and ‘forced’ a three-factor solution. The three-factor solution, which explained 53.50% of the variance, was preferred over the four-factor solution because of its theoretical support, the ‘levelling off’ of eigen values on the scree plot after three factors and the insufficient number of primary loadings and difficulty of interpreting the fourth and subsequent factors.
Three items in the second factor cross loaded negatively on the first factor. Those cross loaders were items 12 (-0.58), 13 (-0.59) and 14 (-0.48). All three cross loading items were eliminated as they did not make any contribution in meaning to the first factor Knowledge of Christianity. After several steps, 4 of the 16 items were eliminated because they did not contribute to a simple factor structure and failed to meet a minimum criteria of having a primary factor loading of 0.40 or above, and no cross-loading of 0.40 or above. Items 1, 17 and 18 were eliminated because they were not reliable as one factor and Item 16 was eliminated as it had a factor loading below 0.40.

A principle-components factor analysis of the remaining 12 items, using varimax was conducted, with the three factors explaining 53% of the variance. The three factors were Knowledge of Christianity (31%), Knowledge of Islam and other Religions (14%), and Violence in Religion (8%).

**Internal Reliability**

The internal consistency for each of the factors was examined using Cronbach’s alpha. Initially the alphas were 0.91 (5 items), 0.76 (7 items) and 0.27 (3 items) for Knowledge of Christianity, Knowledge of Islam and other Religions, and Violence in Religion respectively. In order to obtain the most reliable measures, all items from the third factor were eliminated. The items in this factor were concerned with violence and hatred in religions and whether or not the respondents had friends of different religions. The poor internal consistency of this factor was unsurprising given that the items loading on this factor measured two distinct and almost contradictory aspects. The final alpha for the Knowledge of Christianity factor was above a moderate internal reliability, whereas the final alpha for the Knowledge of Islam and other Religions factor was
above 0.70 indicating a moderate internal reliability. The item loading for each question and the alpha coefficients for these two reliable measures of interreligious knowledge are presented in Table 6.5.

**Knowledge of Christianity**

The factor Knowledge of Christianity was comprised of five items that asked respondents about their knowledge of fundamental religious teachings in Christianity such as baptism, Holy Trinity, Jesus as the Son of God, Easter and the Eucharist. Thus, Knowledge of Christianity measured understanding of the teachings and practices of Christianity. Respondents were asked questions such as: “Do you understand the reason why Christians call Jesus ...” (see Table 6.5) and the response options were measured in a semi dichotomous format with three choices (Not at all, Yes, some understanding and, Yes, good understanding). The choice of “Not at all” indicated no knowledge of this aspect of Christianity and the ‘Yes” choices indicated a greater degree of knowledge about the aspect of Christianity. Scoring was reversed on these items so that higher scores indicated greater knowledge about Christianity.

**Knowledge of Islam and other Religions**

Knowledge of Islam and other Religions included seven items about Islam such as star and crescent, Ied feast, jihad and hajj pilgrimage as well as items about the symbols and teachings of other religions. Thus, Knowledge of Islam and other Religions measured the respondents’ understanding of the practices of Islam and basic knowledge of other religions.
TABLE 6.5

Factor loadings, item communalities and alpha coefficients for the two measures of Interreligious Knowledge (N = 1539)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Knowledge of Christianity</th>
<th>α = .91</th>
<th>Loading</th>
<th>Comm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Do you understand the reason why Christians call Jesus as the son of God?</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Do you understand the meaning of the Eucharist in Catholic Church?</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Do you understand the meaning of baptism in the Church?</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Do you understand the meaning of the Holy Trinity in Christianity?</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Do you understand the meaning of Easter in Christianity?</td>
<td>.83</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Knowledge of Islam and other Religions</th>
<th>α = .76</th>
<th>Loading</th>
<th>Comm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Do you know the teachings of the other religion?</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Do you understand the meaning of religious symbols and ceremonies in the other religion?</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Do you understand the meaning of holy days of the other religion?</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Do you understand the meaning of the Star and the Crescent on the top of mosques?</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Do you know the reasons why in Islam the Hajj pilgrimage is a necessary?</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Do you understand the meaning of Jihad and all it kinds?</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Do you understand the meaning of Ied (The feast after a month of fasting)?</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Comm. = Communality

Item 2 asked the respondents: “Do you know the teachings of ...” (see Table 6.5). This item was a dichotomous item with a choice of a Yes or No answer. The choice of “No” indicated no knowledge of Islam and other religions and the choice of “Yes” indicated the existence of that knowledge.

Items 5, 6, 12, 13, 14 and 15 asked the respondents: “Do you understand the
meaning of ...” (see Table 6.5). The response options comprised a semi dichotomous format with three choices (Not at all, Yes- some understanding, and, Yes - good understanding). The choice of “Not at all” indicated no knowledge of Islam and other religions and the “Yes” choices indicated relatively greater knowledge of those aspects.

Composite scores were created for each of the two factors, by adding the means of the items forming each factor. Knowledge of Christianity had a slightly negative kurtosis and skewness distribution, while Knowledge of Islam and other Religions exhibited considerably positive skewness and negative kurtosis. Descriptive statistics for each factor are presented in Table 6.6.

**TABLE 6.6**

Descriptive Statistics for two composite measures of Interreligious Knowledge (N = 1366)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of items</th>
<th>M (SD)</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Christianity</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.30 (.70)</td>
<td>-0.61</td>
<td>-1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Islam and other Religions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.84 (.45)</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The skewness and kurtosis were within a tolerable range for assuming a normal distribution and examination of the histograms suggested too that the distributions looked normal. There was a low negative correlation between the composite factors Knowledge of Christianity and Knowledge of Islam and other Religions (r = -0.37, see Table 6.12, p. 134). This negative correlation indicates that people who knew more about one religion knew less about the other.

Overall, these analyses indicated that two distinct factors were underlying the
eight items measuring Interreligious Knowledge and that these two factors were moderately internally consistent. The normal distribution of the composite score data for these factors suggested that the data is well suited for further parametric statistical analyses.

**Interreligious Encounter**

Before running the analysis the factorability of the eight items in Part 4 of the survey was examined. Several well-recognised criteria for the factorability of a correlation were used. First, there were 14 items with significant correlations (see Appendix L) greater than 0.10 with at least one item. Second, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.79, above the recommended value of 0.60, and Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant ($\chi^2 (36) = 2321.011, p < .01$). Third, all the communalities were all above 0.4, further confirming that each item shared some common variance with other items. Given these overall indicators, factor analysis was conducted with all nine items.

The primary purpose of using FA in Part 4 of the survey was to identify and compute composite Interreligious Encounter scores for the questions related to the measurement of the respondents’ relationships with people of a different religion. The analysis yielded two clear factors explaining a total of 45.98% of the variance for the entire set of variables. The initial eigen values showed that the first factor explained 32.15% of the variance and the second factor 13.83% of the variance.

After several steps, one item (Item 1) was eliminated because it did not contribute to a simple factor structure and failed to meet a minimum criteria of having a primary factor loading of 0.4 or above, and no cross-loading of 0.4 or above. A principle-components factor analysis of the remaining eight items using varimax was
conducted with the two factors explaining 46% of the variance. The two factors were Encounter in Civic Engagement (32%) and Encounter in Civic Discussion (14%).

**Internal Reliability**

The internal consistency for each of the factors was examined using Cronbach’s alpha. The final alpha for Encounter in Civic Engagement was 0.77 indicating a moderate internal reliability. To reach this final alpha, two items were eliminated from the factor (Items 2 and 9). Item 2 asked the respondents: “Do you dislike being with people of different religion ...”, while Item 9 asked: “Do you think that religion in the future ...” (see Appendix B, p. 239). These two items were eliminated as they asked about the respondents’ like or dislike of being around people of different religions and forecasting the importance of religion in the future. They did not align with the idea of interreligious encounters.

The final alpha for Encounter in Civic Discussion was 0.60 slightly below a moderate internal reliability even after eliminating Item 3 from the factor. Pett et al. (2003) says that there are two possible reasons for a low alpha: the size of correlation among the items and the number of items in the set (p. 186). Although its internal reliability was undesirable this factor was kept as both items fitted well together and was solid theoretically (Pett et al., 2003, p. 201). The item loading for each question and the alpha coefficients for each factor are presented in Table 6.7.

**Encounter in Civic Engagement**

Encounter in Civic Engagement originally comprised five items which measured the respondents’ engagement in civic events and issues involving a religion other than
their own, such as involvement in religious festivals or celebration of the other religion, participating in group discussions on religious matters or advising the local authorities on the needs of people of the other religion.

TABLE 6.7

*Factor loadings, item communalities and alpha coefficients for the two measures of Interreligious Encounter (N = 1539)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Encounter in Civic Engagement ( \alpha = .77 )</th>
<th>Loading</th>
<th>Comm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Have you ever invited and celebrated religious festivals of the other religion?</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Have you ever participated in group discussions on religious matters or local incidents such as attacks on places of worship or cemeteries?</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Have you ever advised the local government, the police, hospitals and other public services on religious issues and the needs of the other religion?</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. Encounter in Civic Discussion ( \alpha = .61 )</th>
<th>Loading</th>
<th>Comm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. When you get together with people of different religion in public places would you discuss political or social matters?</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. When you get together with people of different religion in public places would you discuss religion?</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Comm. = Communality

As described in the section on internal reliability, two items (Items 2 and 9) were eliminated leaving Items 6, 7 and 8. These questions were presented in the format: “Have you ever invited ...” (see Table 6.7). They were measured in the Likert format with choices ranging from 1 through 4: “Never” to “Always”. The choice of number 1 in the scales indicated no experience in civic engagements while the choice of number 4 in the scales indicated the respondents had experience in civic engagements.
Encounter in Civic Discussion

Encounter in Civic Discussion measured the extent to which respondents engaged in discussions about potentially contentious issues with people of another religion. As discussed previously, Item 3 was eliminated from the factor for the sake of internal reliability (see p. 122) The remaining two items questioned whether respondents: “Have ever encountered and talked ...” (see Table 6.7). They were measured in the Likert format with choices ranging from 1 through 3: “Never” to “Frequently”. The choice of number 1 in the scale indicated no participation in civic discussions while the choice of number 3 in the scales indicated more participation in civic discussions.

Composite scores were created for each of the two factors, by adding the means of the items which formed each scale. Encounter in Civic Engagement had a slightly positive kurtosis and skewness distributions. Encounter in Civic Discussion had a slightly positive skewness and negative kurtosis. Descriptive statistics for each factor are presented in Table 6.8.

TABLE 6.8

Descriptive Statistics for two composite measures of Interreligious Encounter (N = 1461)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of items</th>
<th>M (SD)</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Encounter in Civic Engagement</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.79 (.73)</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encounter in Civic Discussion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.80 (.53)</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>-0.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The skewness and kurtosis were within a tolerable range for assuming a normal distribution and examination of the histograms suggested too that the distributions
looked normal. There was a low correlation \( r = 0.46 \) between Encounter in Civic Engagement and Encounter in Civic Discussion (see Table 6.12, p. 134).

Overall, these analyses indicated that two distinct factors were underlying the five items measuring Interreligious Encounter and that these factors were moderately internally consistent. The normal distribution from the composite score data of these factors suggested that the data are well suited for further parametric statistical analyses.

**Interreligious Disharmony**

The factorability of the 20 items in Part 5 of the survey was examined as the first step. Several well-recognised criteria for the factorability of a correlation were used. First, there were 73 items with significant correlations (see Appendix M) greater than 0.10 with at least one item. Second, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.86, above the recommended value of 0.60, and Bartlett’s test of sphericity was significant \( \chi^2 (171) = 7764.367, p < .01 \). Third, almost all the communalities were all above 0.40, further confirming that each item shared some common variance with other items. Given these overall indicators, factor analysis was conducted with all 20 items.

The primary purpose of using FA in Part 5 of the survey was to identify and compute composite Interreligious Disharmony scores for the factors underlying the questions related to the measurement of tolerance towards people of a different religion. The initial eigen values showed that the first factor explained 28.16% of the variance, the second factor 10.50% of the variance, the third and the fourth factors 8.44% and 6.13% of the variance respectively. The fifth and sixth factors explained 5% of the variance. Two, three, four, five and six factor solutions were examined, using varimax
rotations of the factor loading matrix.

After inspecting each of these solutions, FA was rerun and ‘forced’ a four-factor solution. The four-factor solution, which explained 47.10% of the variance, was preferred because of its theoretical support, the second ‘levelling off’ of eigen values on the scree plot after five factors and the insufficient number of primary loadings and difficulty of interpreting the fifth and subsequent factors.

Items 19 and 20 were eliminated because they failed to meet a minimum criterion of having a primary factor loading of 0.40 or above. A principal-components factor analysis of the remaining 18 items, using varimax rotation was conducted, with the four factors explaining 53% of the variance. The fours factors were Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia (28%), Interreligious Disharmony in Medan (11%), Trust in Public Services (8%) and Responsibility and the Leaders (6%).

**Internal Reliability**

The internal consistency for each of the four factors was examined using Cronbach’s alpha. The alphas for Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia and Interreligious Disharmony in Medan were above a moderate internal reliability ($\alpha = 0.86$ and 0.78 respectively). However, the other two factors had alpha coefficients below the desired cut-off level of 0.7 (Pett, 2003, p. 186). The Responsibility and the Leaders factor concerned with identifying who is responsible for generating tolerance in younger generations and what the leaders (government and religious leaders) should do regarding religious matters. This factor was omitted partly as the three items loading on this factor did not yield an adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.56$) and partly because the compound items did not reflect the theme of interreligious disharmony issues.
Although the alpha for Trust in Public Services was below a moderate internal reliability ($\alpha = 0.61$) this factor is kept as both items fitted well together and they were solid theoretically (Pett et al., 2003, p. 201). The item loading for each question and the alpha coefficients for the three reliable factors are presented in Table 6.9.

*Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia*

Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia provided a measure of what causes interreligious disharmony in Indonesia. The items ranged from national issues of interreligious disharmony such as a non-Muslim being prevented from leading the country or *Shariah* laws being the foundation of laws in Indonesia, to personal issues of interreligious disharmony such as objecting to the presence of a place of worship of another religion in the respondents’ neighborhood.

Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia measured the respondents’ views on the causes of interreligious disharmony with items comprising questions such as: “Do you agree that places of worship built without permits ...” (see Table 6.9). This factor was measured in the Likert format with choices ranged from 1 through 4: “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”. The choice of number 1 in the scales indicated that the respondents experienced interreligious disharmony while the choice of number 4 in the scales indicated that they experienced no interreligious disharmony.
TABLE 6.9

Factor loadings, item communalities and alpha coefficients for the three measures of Interreligious Disharmony (N = 1539)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Loading</th>
<th>Comm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia α = .86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with my religion</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Do you agree that places of worship built without permits should be destroyed or closed?</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Do you agree that places of worship of the other religion should not be in their neighbourhoods?</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Do you agree that people of your own religion should not be allowed to extend greetings for the other religions’ holidays?</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Islam requires that a country with a majority of Muslims be governed by men of Islamic learning</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Do you agree that non-Muslims should not be allowed to be the head of state?</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Do you agree that the <em>Shariah</em> laws are used as the standards for Indonesia’s morality?</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Do you agree that the adoption of the <em>Shariah</em> laws in the country will help to fight crimes?</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Have you ever involved, direct or indirect, in the destruction or closing places of worship of the other religion?</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Interreligious Disharmony in Medan α = .78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Christianisation or Islamisation is the source of interreligious conflicts in Medan</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The gap of the standard of living is the source of interreligious conflicts in Medan</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The politicisation of religion is the source of interreligious conflicts in Medan</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Religious pluralism is the source of interreligious conflicts in Medan</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Trust in Public Services α = .61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. It would be better for this country if more people with strong religious belief of my own held public office.</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. It would be better for this country if more people with strong religious belief held public office</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Comm. = Communality
**Interreligious Disharmony in Medan**

Interreligious Disharmony in Medan probed more specifically about the respondents’ views on what might cause interreligious disharmony in their immediate society. This factor was comprised of items about Christianisation or Islamisation, the politicisation of religion, religious pluralism and the gap in living standards owing to social status. The items in this factor were similar to those in the first factor – Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia, but measured the extent to which the four main national interreligious issues in Indonesia took place among the people of Medan.

Those items in this factor were Items 6 through 9. They asked the respondents questions: “Christianisation ... is the source of ...” (see Table 6.9). This factor was measured in the Likert format with choices ranging from 1 through 4: “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”. The choice of number 1 in the scales indicated that the respondents experienced interreligious disharmony in Medan while the choice of number 4 in the scales indicated they had no experience of interreligious disharmony.

**Trust in Public Services**

The last factor, Trust in Public Services, was comprised of two items asking respondents about whether the public good would be better served if people in public offices had the same faith or religion as the respondents. Those items were items 16 and 17. They asked the respondents: “It would be better ... if more people with strong religious belief ...” (see Table 6.9). This factor was measured in the Likert format with choices ranging from 1 through 4: “Strongly agree” to “Strongly disagree”. The choice of number 1 in the scales indicated low trust in public services if faith is involved while the choice of number 4 in the scales indicated high trust in public services when faith is
not involved.

Composite scores were created for each of the three factors, by summing the means of the items loading on each respective factor. Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia had a slightly positive skewness and negative kurtosis. Interreligious Disharmony in Medan had a slightly negative skewness and kurtosis. Trust in Public Services had a slightly positive skewness and negative kurtosis. Descriptive statistics for each factor are presented in Table 6.10.

TABLE 6.10

Descriptive statistics for three composite measures of Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia (N = 1358)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>No. of items</th>
<th>M (SD)</th>
<th>Skewness</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.94 (.63)</td>
<td>-0.69</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interreligious Disharmony in Medan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.71 (.65)</td>
<td>-0.23</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust in Public Services</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.11 (.76)</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>-0.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The skewness and kurtosis were within a tolerable range for assuming a normal distribution and examination of the histograms suggested too that the distributions looked normal. There was a low positive correlation between Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia and Interreligious Disharmony in Medan (r = 0.43). In addition, there were weak correlations between Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia and Trust in Public Services (r = 0.18) and between Interreligious Disharmony in Medan and Trust in Public Services (r = 0.18) (see Table 6.12, p. 134).

Overall, these analyses indicated that three distinct factors were underlying the 15 items measuring Interreligious Disharmony and that these factors were moderately
internally consistent. The normal distribution from the composite score data in this part of the survey suggested that the data are well suited for further parametric statistical analyses. The means of inter-item correlations and the percentages of variance of each composite variable are provided in Table 6.11.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Part</th>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>No. of Items</th>
<th>Mean Inter-Item Correlation</th>
<th>% of Variance</th>
<th>Range of Factor Loadings (Average)</th>
<th>Reliability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Capital</td>
<td>1. Social Trust</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>9.51</td>
<td>.40 - .72 (.57)</td>
<td>.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Social Help</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>6.90</td>
<td>.43 - .51 (.48)</td>
<td>.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Social Bonding</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>6.85</td>
<td>.42 - .58 (.51)</td>
<td>.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Behaviour</td>
<td>1. Faith Implementation</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>12.51</td>
<td>.42 - .73 (.55)</td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>9.91</td>
<td>.79 - .80 (.80)</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interreligious Knowledge</td>
<td>1. Knowledge of Christianity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>29.59</td>
<td>.79 - .88 (.84)</td>
<td>.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Knowledge of Islam and other Religions</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>15.63</td>
<td>.54 - .57 (.59)</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interreligious Encounter</td>
<td>1. Encounter in Civic Engagement</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>26.66</td>
<td>.65 - .76 (.71)</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Encounter in Civic Discussion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>19.33</td>
<td>.62 – 75 (.68)</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interreligious Disharmony</td>
<td>1. Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>22.10</td>
<td>.47 - .78 (.65)</td>
<td>.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Interreligious Disharmony in Medan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>14.21</td>
<td>.72 - .80 (.74)</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Trust in Public Services</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>7.87</td>
<td>.80 - .82 (.81)</td>
<td>.61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Correlations among the Composite Variables

Before investigating the proposed relationships among the variables, the correlations among the 12 composite variables were examined and are shown in Table 6.12. For determining the strength of the relationship, Pallant (2007) suggested values between 0.10 to 0.29 are considered a small correlation; 0.30 to 0.49 a medium correlation; and 0.50 to 1.0 a large correlation (p. 132). The negative sign points to the direction of the relationship. Pett et al. (2003) suggested in more precise categories: values from 0.00 to 0.29 is considered weak; 0.30 to 0.49 a low correlation; 0.50 to 0.69 a moderate correlation; 0.70 to 0.89 a strong correlation; 0.90 to 1.00 a very strong correlation (p. 60). This study will follow Pett’s categories of correlation.

Social Capital

Table 6.12 shows that among the three measures of Social Capital the correlation between Social Trust and Social Bonding (r = 0.05) and the correlation between Social Help and Social Bonding (r = -0.07) were weak. These very low correlations indicated that Social Trust, Social Bonding and Social Help were three independent measures of Social Capital.

In general, there was almost no association of the composite factors under Social Capital with the composite factors under Religious Behaviour. The associations ranged from r = 0.03 to -0.11. All six associations of those factors showed near zero scores except one weak association between Social Help and Faith Implementation (r = -0.11). This indicates that the factors in Social Capital and the factors in Religious Behaviour were independent of each other.
### TABLE 6.12
The Correlations of Composites Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Social Capital</th>
<th>Religious Behaviour</th>
<th>Interreligious Knowledge</th>
<th>Interreligious Disharmony</th>
<th>Interreligious Encounter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Social Trust</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.05*</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>-0.07**</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Social Help</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.07**</td>
<td>.09**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Social Bonding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.05*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Faith Implementation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>-.17**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Knowledge of Christianity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.37**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Knowledge of Islam and other Religions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>-.37**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.45**</td>
<td>-.17**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Interreligious Disharmony in Medan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.40**</td>
<td>-.19**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Trust in Public Services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Encounter in Civic Engagement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.46**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Encounter in Civic Discussion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N=1539
The associations between Social Capital and the composite factors under Interreligious Knowledge were weak and ranged from $r = -0.02$ to $0.23$. The strongest relationship was between Social Bonding and Knowledge of Islam and other Religions. This finding indicates that those with greater knowledge of Islam and other religions identified a higher level of social bonds. Conversely, Social Bonding had a weak negative correlation with Knowledge of Christianity ($r = -0.18$). A possible explanation of this negative correlation is that greater understanding of Christianity did not lead the respondents to have strong social ties.

The composite factors under Social Capital associated weakly with composite factors under Interreligious Disharmony and ranged from $r = 0.00$ to $-0.26$ with the highest association between Social Bonding and Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia. This latter association was also the highest association of Social Capital with any other composite factor in this study. The negative correlation indicated that social bonds were lower among those who experienced interreligious disharmony.

**Religious Behaviour**

There was a weak positive correlation ($r = 0.17$) between the two variables measured in Religious Behaviour: Faith Implementation and Religious Extremism. This weak association of both factors informs that Faith Implementation and Religious Extremism are independent of each other.

The composite factors under Religious Behaviour were associated weakly with the composite factors under Interreligious Knowledge, with correlations ranging from $r$
The highest correlation was between Faith Implementation and Knowledge of Islam and other Religions (r = -0.13). This negative correlation indicated that the more the respondents were implementing their faith the less they knew about Islam and other Religions.

The association of Religious Behaviour with the composite factors under Interreligious Disharmony were also weak with correlations ranging from r = 0.05 to 0.18. The strongest relationship was between Faith Implementation and Trust in Public Services, indicating that those who had a higher degree of implementing faith also had a higher trust in public services when faith was not involved in running the services.

Similarly, Religious Behaviour correlated weakly and negatively with factors under Interreligious Encounter with correlations ranging from r = -0.02 to -0.23. The strongest association was between Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs and Encounter in Civic Engagement. It was the highest association of Religious Behaviour with any other composite factors in this study.

This negative correlation indicated that the more respondents participated in civic engagements, such as attending religious festivals, participating in local issues or helping the local government in solving problems related to religious beliefs the less they believed that religious education taught at schools or places of worship contributed to religious extremism. In other words, a higher level of civic engagement affected the respondents’ belief that schools or places of worship were the sources of religious extremism. Overall, Religious Behaviour had weak associations with the composite factors under Interreligious Knowledge, Interreligious Disharmony and Interreligious Encounter.
**Interreligious Knowledge**

The correlation between Knowledge of Christianity and Knowledge of Islam and other Religions was low and negative \( (r = -0.37) \). This negative correlation implies that respondents who had relatively greater knowledge of Christianity knew relatively less about Islam and other religions.

The composite factors under Interreligious Knowledge had virtually no association with the two composite factors under Religious Behaviour (the \( r \) ranged from -0.03 to -0.13). The highest association was Knowledge of Islam and other Religions with Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia \( (r = -0.45) \) followed by Knowledge of Christianity with Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia \( (r = 0.37) \). These findings mean that the respondents with greater knowledge of Islam and other religions had more experience with interreligious disharmony. On the contrary, greater knowledge of Christianity was associated with lower levels of interreligious disharmony.

The factors of Interreligious Knowledge associated relative weakly with the composite factors under Interreligious Encounter with the highest association between Knowledge of Islam and Other Religions and Encounter in Civic Discussion \( (r = 0.24) \). This finding suggests that those with greater knowledge of Islam and other religions were more likely to engage in civic discussions about religious matters.

**Interreligious Disharmony**

The associations among the composite factors of Interreligious Disharmony were weak to low \( (r = 0.18 \text{ to } 0.43) \) with the highest association between Interreligious
Disharmony in Indonesia and Interreligious Disharmony in Medan. This is not surprising given that the items in each factor reflected similar causes of disharmony.

The associations of the composite factors under Interreligious Disharmony with Interreligious Encounter were weak to low ($r = -0.00$ to $-0.40$). Trust in Public Services had a negligible relationship with both types of encounters, while the largest correlation was between Encounter in Civic Engagement and Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia ($r = -0.40$) and the second largest was with Interreligious Disharmony in Medan ($r = -0.32$). These correlations imply that the more respondents had experience in civic engagements, the less they experienced interreligious disharmony in Indonesia and in Medan.

**Interreligious Encounter**

There was a low and positive relationship between the two composite factors under Interreligious Encounter. This association of Encounter in Civic Engagement and Encounter in Civic Discussion where $r = 0.46$ implies people who engage in social activities with those of another religion are more likely to discuss socio-political and religious issues.

**Multiple Regression Analysis**

This study hypothesized that there were three different causes of interreligious disharmony in Indonesia based on the literature review: Opposing colonialism means opposing Christianity; Issues of religious proselytizing; and Socio-economic and
political issues. The theory of multiculturalism with two distinct priorities: Religious Priority and Cultural Priority were identified to help find an explanation of and possible solutions for the interreligious disharmony issues. Religious Priority employs the Holy Scriptures, religious dogmas and theology reflections to promote interreligious dialogue and to create tolerant behaviours among its people toward interreligious encounters in society. Cultural Priority exerts ethnic values and norms (adat) to sustain social networks, social trust and social reciprocity which in turn will support people to live harmoniously in a society despite religious differences (see further explanation of this in Chapter Four).

In accord with the theoretical framework of this study, the seven composite variables, Knowledge of Christianity, Knowledge of Islam and other Religions, Faith Implementation, Trust in Public Services, Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs, Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia, and Interreligious Disharmony in Medan were used to reflect Religious Priority, while the three composite variables of Social Trust, Social Help and Social Bonding were employed as measures of Cultural Priority. All these 10 variables became the independent variables of this study.

Two variables from the results of FA: Encounter in Civic Engagement and Encounter in Civic Discussion were considered as the dependent variables of this study. In the theoretical framework of this study, promoting interreligious encounter is the final goal in solving interreligious disharmony. Thus, the model of regression analysis was created in a similar model of the theoretical framework of this study. Multi regression analysis was employed to compare the relative contributions of variables reflecting Religious Priority with the contribution made by variables reflecting Cultural Priority to interreligious relationships among the Bataks in Medan.
Since no *a priori* hypotheses had been made to determine the order of entry of the predictor variables, a stepwise regression method was used for the multiple regression analyses. Stepwise regression method is the most sophisticated method among other methods in multiple regression. In this method, each variable is entered in sequence and its values assessed (Pallant, 2007, p. 148). If adding the variable contributes to the model then it is retained, but all other variables in the model are then re-tested to see if they are still contributing to the success of the model. If they no longer contribute significantly they are removed (Hair, 1998, p. 147). In addition, a backward method was used to see if the regression obtained by both methods was different.

**Multiple Regression of Encounter in Civic Engagement**

The ten variables produced an adjusted $R^2$ of 0.31 [$F (10,1528) = 24.31, p < .0005$] for the prediction of Encounter in Civic Engagement. All ten factors were significant predictors of Encounter in Civic Engagement. Together, these ten predictors shared thirty one percent of the variance as a whole. The strongest predictor was Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia ($\beta = -0.31$), followed by Knowledge of Christianity ($\beta = 0.24$). The standard error of the regression coefficients (beta) showed that the prediction was reliable. The backward method produced identical results.
TABLE 6.13
Standardized (Beta) and Unstandardized (b) Regression Coefficients and Standardized Errors for the Regression Model of Encounter in Civic Engagement on the Ten Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Encounter in Civic Engagement</th>
<th>Regression Model</th>
<th>Predictors</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>SE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia</td>
<td>- .31***</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.37</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Christianity</td>
<td>.24***</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs</td>
<td>-.17***</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interreligious Disharmony in Medan</td>
<td>-.16***</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Bonding</td>
<td>.13***</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Islam and other Religions</td>
<td>.12***</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faith Implementation</td>
<td>.11***</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust in Public Services</td>
<td>.07**</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Help</td>
<td>-.07**</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Trust</td>
<td>.06*</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05.  **p < .01.  ***p < .001.

In the Encounter in Civic Engagement model the largest beta weight was -0.31, which was for Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia. This means that for a one unit increase of Encounter in Civic Engagement, Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia would decrease .31 units. The second largest beta weight was 0.24, which was for Knowledge of Christianity. Both variables were significant at \( p = 0.001 \). Encounters in Civic Engagement in Medan were also positively influenced by Social Bonding, Knowledge of Islam and Faith Implementation. In other words, better knowledge of Islam and of Christianity, or stronger bonding among the Bataks, or stronger faith among the Bataks were associated with more favourable Christian Muslim relationships among the Bataks in Medan.
Multiple Regression of Encounter in Civic Discussion

Similarly, a stepwise estimation method was used for the multiple regression analyses on Encounter in Civic Discussion. As mentioned earlier, a backward method was used to make sure that there was no difference between the regression coefficients of these two methods. The ten independent variables produced an adjusted $R^2$ of 0.12 [$F(8,1530) = 26.89, p < .0005$] for the prediction of Encounter in Civic Discussion. Eight of the ten factors made a significant independent contribution to Encounter in Civic Discussion (see Table 6.14). Together, these eight predictors shared twelve percent of the variance as a whole. The strongest predictor was Knowledge of Islam and other religions ($\beta = 0.24$), followed by Knowledge of Christianity ($\beta = 0.19$). The standard errors (SE) of the standardized regression coefficient (beta) of each variable were small as expected which imply “more reliable prediction” (Hair, 1998, p. 199). The backward method yielded similar results.

TABLE 6.14

*Standardized (Beta) and Unstandardized (b) Regression Coefficients and Standardized Errors for the Regression Model of Encounter in Civic Discussion on the Ten Variables*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Encounter in Civic Discussion</th>
<th>Regression Model $R^2 = .12$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Predictors</td>
<td>Beta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Islam and other Religions</td>
<td>.24**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Christianity</td>
<td>.19***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia</td>
<td>-.10**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs</td>
<td>-.08***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interreligious Disharmony in Medan</td>
<td>-.07***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Trust</td>
<td>.06***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Bonding</td>
<td>.05***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust in Public Services</td>
<td>.05*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05.  **p < .01.  ***p < .001.
In the Encounter in Civic Discussion model the largest beta weight was 0.24, which was for Knowledge of Islam and other Religions. The second largest beta weight was 0.19, which was for Knowledge of Christianity. This means that two variables in Interreligious Knowledge made the strongest unique contribution to explaining Encounter in Civic Discussion.

Identifying Multicollinearity

The associations among the independent variables and between the independent variables and the dependent variables were further examined to detect any multicollinearity. According to Hair, the effect of multicollinearity “is to reduce any single independent variable’s predictive power by the extent to which it is associated with the other independent variables. As collinearity increases, the unique variance explained by each independent variable decreases and the shared prediction percentage rises” (pp. 156-157). In other words, when multicollinearity occurs the effect of each individual variable becomes more difficult to separate and the effects of the independent variables are conflated (Hair, 1998, pp. 188-189). For this reason it was important to determine whether the degree of multicollinearity among the independent variables was likely to obscure or conflate their unique influence on the dependent measures (Pallant, 2007, p. 149; Tabachnick, 2007, pp. 88-91).

The two dependent variables of this study were Encounter in Civic Engagement
and Encounter in Civic Discussion. The multiple regression analysis reported the multicollinearity and the homoscedasticity of the two variables with each of the ten independent variables in the analysis output.

The homoscedasticity of Encounter in Civic Engagement was examined via tolerance values and its inverse variance inflation factor (VIF), normal probability plot of the regression standardised residual and the scatterplot. Tolerance values for Encounter in Civic Engagement were more than the cut-off point of 0.10, ranging from 0.6 to 0.9, whereas the VIF values were less than cut-off point 10, ranging from 1.1 to 1.7. These examinations indicated reasonable consistency of spread through the distributions (Pallant, 2007, pp. 156-157).

Meanwhile, the homoscedasticity of Encounter in Civic Discussion was examined via tolerance values, VIF, normal probability plot of the regression standardised residual and the scatterplot as well. The tolerance values ranged from 0.6 to 0.9, whereas the VIF values ranged from 1.1 to 1.7. The examinations reported reasonable consistency of spread through distributions. Overall, the analyses ensured there was no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, multicollinearity and homoscedasticity. This indicates that the results obtained from the multiple linear regression were not distorted or over-inflated because of multicollinearity problems.

Structural Equation Modeling Analysis

Structural equation Modeling (SEM) analysis is one of the most recent developments in social sciences research which can be used to test causal or hypothesized models with latent or unobserved variables. A latent or unobserved
A variable is a construct which cannot be measured directly but which represents one or more indicator variables (Hair, 1998, p. 581). Hair said that SEM can be used as “a means of estimating other multivariate models” such as regression and MANOVA (p. 584). Moreover, the benefit of using this type of path analysis with latent variables is that once the measurement model demonstrates an acceptable fit, we can test the specific hypothesized relationships between the latent variables (Hatcher, 1994, p. 251).

Hatcher (1994) found at least two important advantages of using SEM. First, it allows researchers to estimate the convergent and discriminant validity of the unobserved variables. Second, it gives reliable estimates of relationships between variables within the model as it separates the unwanted part of the observed variables (pp. 256-258). For the sake of this study, path analysis through structural equation modeling was employed using AMOS to portray a complete set of relationships among the variables. In relation to multiple regression (MR), Kline (1991) made his critical points in this statement,

Even though researchers distinguish criterion from predictor variables, MR is still a “theory weak” technique. The main drawback of MR is that it provides no information about how interrelations among the predictors may affect the criterion. ... Simple MR allows the researcher to assume that the predictor measures are correlated, but more specific (and more interesting) aspects of predictor interrelations are “unanalysed” (pp. 474-475).

As a consequence, SEM analysis was used in this study to further explore the proposed relationships among the composite variables obtained through exploratory factor analysis. As shown in Tables 6.11 and 6.12, there were two separate dependent variables – Encounter in Civic Engagement and Encounter in Civic Discussion. Each criterion had its own regression coefficients. The subsequent SEM analysis allows for both of these dependent variables to be combined in one model in order to investigate whether the hypothesized relationships in this study are evident in the data.
The Measurement Model for Interreligious Encounter in Medan

Figure 6.1 presents the measurement model of this study. It is the measurement model for interreligious encounter among the Bataks in Medan. The SEM model was used to examine the extent of interrelationships and covariation (or lack thereof) among the three latent constructs. As part of the process, factor loadings, unique variances and modification indexes were estimated to derive the best indicators of latent variables.

In the figure, the model consists of two components: the unobserved variables are represented by ovals and the observed variables by rectangles. For the purposes of this analysis the 12 composite variables obtained from the factor analysis were treated as observed variables and these were employed to represent the three ‘unobserved’ or higher order factors of Social Capital, Religious Influences and Interreligious Encounter.

A preliminary investigation of the full measurement model with all predictor variables included revealed an ill-fitting model, mainly owing to the moderate correlations among the predictor variables. Thus, the factors established through EFA were employed in the following SEM as ‘observed’ variables in order to examine the plausibility of the proposed conceptual model.

Based on the results of the multiple regression models presented in Tables 6.13 and 6.14 and the relationships between identified variables therein, the goal of the SEM analysis was to test an exploratory model of factors associated with interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan. In the proposed model, interreligious encounter is the dependent variable and this construct is represented by the two factors of Encounter in Civic Engagement and Encounter in Civic Discussion.
This study is based on the theory of the theory of multiculturalism (see Chapter Perspectives on Interreligious Relationships, p. 73) which posits that in order to identify the factors responsible for interreligious relationships in Medan, one should look not only at what a religion teaches its people about interreligious tolerance or dialogue but also at what ethnic norms and the people’s adat could contribute to interreligious harmony. In this sense, this study identifies Social Trust, Social Help and Social Bonding as aspects of Social Capital that emerged from the Bataks’ ethnic norms and adats.

This study hypothesized that the exogenous variable Interreligious Encounter among the Bataks in Medan depends on the endogenous variables of Social Capital and Religious Influences (see Figure 6.1). The conceptual model proposed a direct positive relationship between Social Capital (SOCIAL) and Interreligious Encounter (ENCOUNTER). Also, a direct positive relationship was expected between Religious Influences (RELIGION) and Interreligious Encounter. These direct positive relationships were based on the hypothesized theory that Religious Priority and Cultural Priority affect interreligious relationships.

Each path from the two endogenous variables would measure the variance values of each variable on Interreligious Encounter. In other words, the model from the hypothesized theory was similarly applied in the SEM analysis. Each independent variable in the figure consisted of three or more indicators although Hatcher (1994) advised four or five indicators to arrive at a well fitting measurement model (p. 260). This study chose maximum likelihood estimation because the data were normally distributed.
FIGURE 6.1
The Hypothesized Theoretical Model for Interreligious Encounter among the Bataks in Medan.
Before discussing the results of the path analysis, the criteria used to determine the effect size and the cut-off value interpretations are provided. Both Kline (2005, pp. 121-122) and Bollen (1989, pp. 137-138) suggest that a standardized path coefficient where the absolute values are less than 0.10 should be called a small effect; values around 0.30 a medium effect; and absolute values 0.50 and up a large effect.

Next, it is important to establish a minimal set of fit indexes that indicate how well the hypothesized model fits the data. Kline suggested some considerations when employing fit indexes (pp. 134-135). According to Kline, values of fit indexes portray only the average fit of a model. There is no single fit index in path analysis that provides the best standard for a model. He added that fit indexes do not guarantee that the results are theoretically meaningful.

The set of fit indices employed in this study are the chi-square ($\chi^2$), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), the goodness of fit index (GFI), and the comparative fit index (CFI). Chi-square is to measure whether a relationship exists between two categorical variables (Pallant, 2007, p. 212). In path analysis, chi-square reports a “badness-of-fit” index of the model as the higher the value, the worse the model in correspondence to the data (Kline, 2005, p. 135). Hatcher noted that in assessing the fit between a model and data the chi-square test is the most widely reported. In addition to that he stated that “If the null hypothesis is correct, then the obtained chi-square value should be small, and the $p$ value associated with the chi-square should be relatively large” (p. 189). In path analysis the cut-off $p$ value should be larger than the standard $p$ value of 0.01 or 0.05.

Root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) is used to measure the discrepancy in terms of population. Hair reports that “The value is representative of the goodness-of-fit that could be expected if the model were estimated in the population,
not just the sample drawn for the estimation” (p. 656). The critical value for RMSEA ranges between 0.05 to 0.08.

The normed-fit index (NFI) is an alternative index to the chi-square test and the goodness of fit index (GFI) represents the overall degree of fit. Higher values of NFI and GFI indicate better fit. The comparative fit index (CFI) represents a comparison between the modified model and the initial model. Higher values indicate higher levels of goodness-of fit (Hair, 1998, pp. 655-657) and values for NFI, GFI and CFI should be above .9 to be considered acceptable.

Overall, this study follows the criteria of an ideal fit suggested by Hatcher (p. 197):
  - The absolute values of the residual matrix should be no more than 2.00.
  - The $p$ value of the chi-square test should be more than 0.05 and closer to 1.00.
  - The NFI, GFI and CFI should bigger than 0.900 and closer to 1.00.
  - The $R^2$ value of each predictor should be relatively large.
  - The standardized path coefficient should exceed 0.05.
  - The RMSEA is within the range of 0.05 to 0.08.

Anderson and Gerbing (1988) suggested a two-step approach to test and to asses the construct validity of the measurement model prior to the estimation of the structural model (pp. 411-423). This two-step approach provides: (1) A test of the significance for all factors in the measurement model; (2) An assessment of acceptable fit for each factor; (3) An asymptotically independent test on the model of interest and; (4) A useful framework for formal comparisons of the model. Figure 6.2 provides an assessment of
Religious Influences as a one-factor model (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988, p. 422). The other two factors, Social Capital and Interreligious Encounter, unfortunately, were not well-suited to be assessed as one-factor models because the limited number of indicator variables in each factor meant these were saturated models. However, the factors of Social Capital and Interreligious Encounter were combined in order to test the second half of the measurement model.

**FIGURE 6.2**

The Factor of Religious Influences (RELIGION) as a One-Factor Model.

Figure 6.2 indicates that unobserved variable of religious influences (RELIGION) fitted well with the empirical data after the model was modified. The goodness of fit indices, the RMSEA, the GFI, the NFI and the CFI provided the level of
how well the proposed model fit the data. The unmodified model showed that the fit of the one-factor model was originally poor (see Table 6.15). Goodness of fit indices indicated RMSEA = .109; CFI = .790; NFI = .782. The RMSEA, the CFI and the NFI values of the unmodified model were below the critical points. By allowing the measurement error to be correlated between five pairs of variables as seen in Figure 6.2: Knowledge of Islam and Other Religions – Knowledge of Christianity; Knowledge of Christianity - Intercultural Harmony in Medan; Faith Implementation – Trust in Public Services; Faith Implementation – Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs; Faith Implementation – Intercultural Harmony in Indonesia, the modified model fitted the data well (see Table 6.15). The correlations indicated that there were some relationships of error of measurement occurring between these variables. According to Hair et al. (1998), the correlations of the measurement error could happen because of the respondents’ difficulties to understand the items in the survey or to measure a concept in the questions (pp. 585-586).

Social capital and interreligious encounter were not well-suited to be assessed independently as one-factor models and so were tested together in a combined measurement model. Figure 6.3 indicates that the model fitted well with the empirical data. The goodness of fit indices, the RMSEA, the GFI, the NFI and the CFI provided the level of how well the proposed model fit the data. The model shows that the Goodness of fit indices indicated GFI = .995; CFI = .972; NFI = .965 were above the critical points, whereas the RMSEA = .049 was slightly below the critical point of .050 (see Table 6.15).

Overall, the implementation of the two-step approach in this study: the one-
FIGURE 6.3

Testing of Social Capital (SOCIAL) and Interreligious Encounter (ENCOUNTER) as the Second Half of the Measurement Model.

TABLE 6.15

Fit Indices of the Separate Measurement Models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>NFI</th>
<th>RMSEA</th>
<th>GFI</th>
<th>CFI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One-factor Model of Religion</td>
<td>269.694</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.782</td>
<td>.109</td>
<td>.950</td>
<td>.790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modified Model of Religion</td>
<td>54.332</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.956</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.990</td>
<td>.963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Social and Encounter Model</td>
<td>18.862</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.965</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>.995</td>
<td>.972</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

factor model of religion and the test of the second half of the measurement model confirmed the construct validity of model. With those confirmations, the relationships between the hypothesized variables were then tested according to the path analysis in Figure 6.4.
FIGURE 6.4

The Theoretical Model for Interreligious Encounter among the Bataks in Medan; Standardized Path Coefficients Appear on Single-Headed Straight Arrows; All Path Coefficients Significant at p < 0.05 or lower.

Test Goodness Of Fit
Chi-Square=710.887
df=47
Probability=.000
NFI=.724
RMSEA=.096
GFI=.931
CFI=.736
The theoretical model of Interreligious Encounter among the Bataks in Medan tested in this study is presented graphically in Figure 6.4. The analysis of this model may be described as a path analysis with latent variables. Goodness of fit indices for the model appears in Table 6.16. However, the model shows that the Chi-Square of the theoretical model is large \( \chi^2 = 916.433 \). The CFI and NFI are under the required cut-off 0.90 (CFI = 0.67 and NFI = 0.64). The RMSEA is above the critical point in between 0.05 – 0.08 (RMSEA = 0.10) and the probability is smaller than the standard \( p \) value of 0.01 or 0.05 \( (p = 0.00) \). These goodness of fit indices indicated that there was in fact a problem with the model’s fit.

Numerous post-hoc modifications were made to gain a good fit for the measurement model, although these post hoc modifications are not recommended as they can compromise the validity of the model. However, the model of this study is an exploratory model so that for further study others can replicate the model using more robust indicators. By allowing some error terms to be correlated, the modified model showed values on the normed-fit index (NFI) = 0.908, the goodness-of-fit index (GFI) = 0.975 and the comparative fit index (CFI) = 0.920, indicating the modified model fit the observed data (Hair, 1998, pp. 655-657).

The modified version of the theoretical model is presented in Figure 6.5. The goodness of fit indices for the modified model is presented below in Table 6.16. For more of the goodness-of-fit indices of this modified model see Appendix N.
FIGURE 6.5
The Modified Model for Interreligious Encounter among the Bataks in Medan; Standardized Path Coefficients Appear on Single-Headed Straight Arrows; Correlations Appear on Double-Headed Curved Arrows; All Path Coefficients Significant at p < 0.05 or lower.
TABLE 6.16

The Summary of SEM Selected Goodness of Fit Indices for Interreligious Encounter among the Bataks in Medan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>NFI</th>
<th>RMSEA</th>
<th>GFI</th>
<th>CFI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Model</td>
<td>710.887</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.724</td>
<td>.096</td>
<td>.931</td>
<td>.736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modified Model</td>
<td>238.264</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.908</td>
<td>.060</td>
<td>.975</td>
<td>.920</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned earlier, the cause for the error correlations was most likely because the respondents had difficulties in understanding the items in the survey or the questions did not accurately measure a concept (Hair et al., 1998, p. 586). In other words, it happened not just because of inaccurate responses. According to Hair et al. (1998) error occurs when more abstract or theoretical concepts are used such as attitude, opinion or motivations for behaviour. The respondents may have been somewhat unsure about how to respond or might have interpreted the questions in a way that is different from what the researcher intended.

After some modifications to the theoretical model and allowing some error terms to be correlated, a test related to the investigation on the residuals of the modified model was performed. Table 6.17 contains the standardized residual covariance for the SEM modified model for interreligious encounter among the Bataks in Medan when estimated by AMOS. There were seven potential significant residuals which exceeded the threshold value of ± 2.58 (Hair, 1998, p. 641).

TABLE 6.17

Standardized Residual Covariance for SEM Model for Interreligious Encounter among the Bataks in Medan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faith Implementation</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encounter in Civic Engagement</td>
<td>5.230</td>
<td>.395</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encounter in Civic Discussion</td>
<td>.769</td>
<td>.300</td>
<td>.137</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of Interreligious Disharmony</td>
<td>-1.884</td>
<td>-1.111</td>
<td>1.157</td>
<td>.328</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent of Religious Extremism</td>
<td>4.074</td>
<td>-.184</td>
<td>.637</td>
<td>1.346</td>
<td>-.088</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources of Interreligious Disharmony in Medan</td>
<td>-.819</td>
<td>-.205</td>
<td>-.010</td>
<td>-.146</td>
<td>.772</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faith for Betterment</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>3.557</td>
<td>2.190</td>
<td>.705</td>
<td>-.916</td>
<td>2.232</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge on Christianity</td>
<td>2.706</td>
<td>.242</td>
<td>1.285</td>
<td>.131</td>
<td>.801</td>
<td>-.740</td>
<td>1.897</td>
<td>-.006</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge on Islam and other Religion</td>
<td>-2.256</td>
<td>-1.675</td>
<td>3.145</td>
<td>-.291</td>
<td>-.881</td>
<td>-.239</td>
<td>.213</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>-.155</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Help</td>
<td>-4.342</td>
<td>-.854</td>
<td>2.648</td>
<td>1.700</td>
<td>1.076</td>
<td>1.806</td>
<td>-2.028</td>
<td>3.619</td>
<td>-.793</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Trust</td>
<td>1.665</td>
<td>.747</td>
<td>1.870</td>
<td>.344</td>
<td>-.280</td>
<td>-.190</td>
<td>.148</td>
<td>1.942</td>
<td>-.767</td>
<td>-.179</td>
<td>.042</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Bonding</td>
<td>-1.527</td>
<td>.816</td>
<td>-.223</td>
<td>-.850</td>
<td>-2.118</td>
<td>-1.409</td>
<td>1.576</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>-.102</td>
<td>-.953</td>
<td>-.369</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Underlined values are residuals exceeding the suggested guideline of ± 2.58
This number, seven residuals, also exceeded the guideline of having only five percent of the modified residuals which was only 3.9 or 4 residuals altogether. So, this test indicated some more potentially significant model modifications.

Table 6.17 shows that Social Help was connected with a majority of the residuals ± 2.58. The concern of this study was would the elimination of Social Help create a substantial improvement in fit? When this modification was made, the chi-square value and degrees of freedom value increased to 263.128 and 37 respectively. As chi-square and degree of freedom increased, the number of standardized residuals increased to 10 as well. So, the exclusion of Social Help from the modified model did not make it fit the data better. On the contrary, it moved the modified residuals further away from the guidelines. So, this investigation indicated the significant of the measurement model as well.

As seen in Figure 6.5, the modification on the hypothesized theoretical model indicated that the goodness of fit indicies were adequate. Although the goodness-of-fit indices confirmed the hypothesized relationships the standardized residuals and the numerous correlated errors suggested that the measures were not robust. Social Capital and Religious Influences both had a statistically significant impact on Interreligious Encounter with Social Capital being a stronger predictor of Interreligious Encounter (standardized coefficient = 0.81) than Religious Influences (standardized coefficient = 0.56) (see Table 6.18). Thus, the results of the SEM analysis supported the hypothesized theory that the two competing Priorities, that is, Religious and Cultural Priorities, both make positive contributions to interreligious relationships.

These findings suggested that higher levels of social capital among the Bataks were associated with more frequent interreligious encounters. In a similar fashion, interreligious encounters were also associated with increased religious beliefs.
However, when both influences were considered simultaneously the effect of social capital was larger than the effect of religious influences. It should be noted that numerous post-hoc modifications were made to achieve an adequately fitting model.

**TABLE 6.18**

*Standardized (β) and Unstandardized (b) Regression Path Coefficients, Standardized Errors and R-square of the Theoretical and Modified SEM Models for Interreligious Encounter among the Bataks in Medan*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Capital</td>
<td>Religious Influences</td>
<td>Social Capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theoretical Model</strong></td>
<td>Interreligious Encounter</td>
<td>.595</td>
<td>.392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Modified Model</strong></td>
<td>Interreligious Encounter</td>
<td>.809</td>
<td>.548</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Summary**

Because of the exploratory nature of this study and the large number of respondents and variables involved, exploratory factor analysis was employed to make the data manageable. The factor analysis produced twelve composite variables: Social Bonding; Social Help; Social Trust; Knowledge of Islam and other Religions; Knowledge of Christianity; Faith Implementation; Trust in Public Services; Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs; Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia; Interreligious Disharmony in Medan; Encounter in Civic Engagement; and Encounter in Civic Discussion. The reliability of these factors was measured using Cronbach’s alpha.
coefficients. The alpha values of the variables Faith Implementation, Encounter in Civic Discussion and Faith in Public Services were slightly below the expected critical point of 0.70. However, the other nine variables were considered reliable measures with alpha coefficients ranging from 0.71 to 0.91.

The 12 composite variables formed from the factor analysis were employed first in a multiple regression analysis and subsequently in an SEM model. The results of the multiple regression analysis revealed some interesting relationships between the ten explanatory and two dependent measures. A decrease in Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia was associated with an increase in Encounters in Civic Engagement, while greater Knowledge of Christianity helped to improve Encounters in Civic Engagement. Similarly, an increase in interreligious encounters in civic discussion was associated with increased Knowledge of Islam and other Religions, and Knowledge of Christianity.

Then, a more refined conceptual model was proposed for testing using SEM. The results of the SEM analyses indicated a poor fit between the initial model and the observed data. Then, the theoretical model was modified according to the results provided by the residuals and modification indices. Despite the numerous adjustments to the original model the modified model appeared to support a plausible theory explaining the relative contributions made by social capital and religious influences to interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan.

The results from the quantitative analyses revealed that interreligious harmony among Christian and Muslim Bataks in Medan is positively associated with both religious influences and social capital. In comparison to Religious Influences, Social Capital made a higher contribution to Interreligious Encounters in this sample. The results suggest that the values of DNT in social capital among the Bataks in Medan may promote harmony among people of different religions.
Chapter Seven

Qualitative Analysis

Introduction

The quantitative analysis described in the previous chapter has uncovered a significant contribution being made by social capital – social bonding, social help and social trust – to interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan. It would seem that the Bataks’ social capital contributed more to positive interreligious encounters than did religious influences. To deepen and elaborate our understanding of the findings, this study included a qualitative component of interviews and guided small group discussions with informants in Medan. Although quantitative analysis can delineate such information, its appropriateness in explaining them in depth is limited. A further limitation of quantitative approaches lies in their tendencies to take a "snapshot" of a situation, that is, to measure variables at a specific moment in time. The value of DNT or the effect of DNT on interreligious relations may be affected by temporal changes which cannot be always identified within a single quantitative study whereas qualitative data can draw on people’s contextual knowledge of how the situation has changed over time.

In this chapter, the qualitative data which cast light on the relationship between DNT and social capital are discussed, followed by an exploration of the meaning of social trust. Before continuing to describe social help and social bonding, the next issue
concerns the role of DNT in solving conflicts among the Bataks. Subsequently, the chapter discusses what participants had to say about sources of extreme religious beliefs, encounters in civic engagement and interreligious disharmony in Indonesia in general and Medan in particular. This chapter concludes with the issues of encounter in civic engagement and of DNT and interreligious relationships in Medan.

Cultural Priority: Social Capital

_Dalihan na tolul as the Social Capital of the Bataks_

In the previous chapter about DNT, it is shown that DNT has three parts: _Hula-hula_, _Boru_ and _Dongan Tubu_. They are in an equal position, but in the same time _Boru_ should respect _Hula-hula_, and _Dongan Tubu_ is the housekeeper of the _adat_ event. Each part of DNT has its own definition, role and job descriptions in running the occasion in an _adat_ event. The role of _Hula-hula_, _Boru_ and _Dongan Tubu_ does not stop with _adat_ events, it continues to apply in the Bataks’ daily life. This study has explored what aspects of social capital constitute DNT and found three aspects of social capital. They were social trust, social help and social bonding.

_Social Trust_

As described in Chapter Six, the factor of social trust among the Bataks in Medan was based on several survey questions: the extent to which they trusted people from the same ethnic group; the same religion; people they met once and foreigners. Involvement in DNT and the importance of clan leaders in resolving disputes was also related to the level of social trust. The experience of giving and receiving more help in
times of difficulties (familial conflicts, the loss of family members, job loss) from
friends, clan leaders, or religious leaders also contributed to the formulation of social
trust.

Data from in-depth and group interviews illustrates the depth of trust between
the Batak people. In their daily life, the Bataks had more confidence in their fellow
Bataks because they understood each other’s character better. On the other hand, when
talking about religion, then the Bataks split into two between those who were Muslim
and those who were Christian. The qualitative data illustrates the way in which food
restrictions in Islam have the potential to create mistrust between Christian and Muslim
Bataks.

Informant 3 (Muslim teacher, Female/29) spoke about her extremely orthodox
parents-in-law when it came to haram (forbidden) and halal (permitted) foods. She said
when the family was visiting their Christian family (the familial relationship was not
explained), her mother-in-law always first investigated who cooked the meals at the
house of the family to be visited. She said her mother-in-law would only eat the food if
it was cooked by a caterer; otherwise she would not eat while visiting the Christian
family.

My mother-in-law was a Christian and then converted to Islam when
she married my father-in-law who is a Muslim. So, automatically we
still have Christians in our family from my mother-in-law’s side, and I
think it is a good custom to continue the tie of silahturahmi within our
family by visiting each other. In our family it becomes a routine. In the
New Year celebration, we visit the Christians and in Lebaran (Id),
they visit us. It feels like a habit in our family. It flows fluently. The
only problem is about food. When we are about to come to visit a
Christian house in our family, my mother-in-law investigates where
the food is coming from. If the food comes from a caterer, then she
likely eats the food at the house. But if not, she will find a way not to
eat there. Food is the only thing that matters. The family silahturahmi
continues. No problem at all. Because we think, our religion is our and
your religion is yours.
What we can learn from the story of informant 3 is that her story clearly shows not only the strictness but also the flexibility of religious practice among the Bataks’ kinship of different religions. In other words, there is a potential for less social trust in the community because of religious food restrictions but people make an attempt to overcome this.

Informant 11 (Christian Small Businessman who runs a campus cafeteria, M/35) spoke about his experience in the cafeteria on the campus of a Catholic University in Medan. The cafeteria served occasionally saksang – the Batak traditional food containing pork only on Saturday. The Muslim students sometimes ate in the cafeteria. He thought that those Muslim who ate in the cafeteria were not extremely strict as they knew the cafeteria was run by a Christian.

What I see, religion has a major impact on interreligious harmony especially in selling food business like myself. Obviously Muslims will not come to buy food from a Christian. That is the common sense. However, in my cafe, I have two or three Muslim students order and eat our food. I assume they are not extremely committed Muslims. They have choices to buy food from different cafes in the area, but they buy the food from us. So, I think, it goes back to the person. I assume they are not very strict about their religion.

This information illustrates the complexity and sensitivity of the food restrictions in a public space, namely the University canteen. The story about informant 3’s mother-in-law and the idea of visiting family of a different religion during religious holidays is hampered by religious food restrictions. In contrast, the presentation of food in a restaurant run by Christians did not inhibit the social trust relationship.

Religious differences did not always result in increased mistrust. For instance, Informant 5 (Christian teacher, Male/52) said that in his experience the trust relationship was not really based on ethnicity or religion. He said that his neighbours were Acehnese
and Javanese. However, every time when these neighbours had *kenduri* (a family event), his family was invited and he voluntarily participated in *marhobas* (a Batak word for work helping organize the party of one’s neighbour). In his opinion, this relationship was considered as a relationship of brotherhood.

Religious harmony depends on the person. Why did I say so? My next door neighbours are Acehnese and Javanese. The neighbour in front of my house is *Nasution* [a Muslim], to the right hand side is a Christian. But because we are friends and have time to hang out together, we are like family.

Further he said that the conversation about religion, particularly about religious doctrines, like the dogma of the trinity, were never initiated to avoid differences. For him, what was important was to talk with his neighbours about their needs to support life on a daily basis, their friendship and peaceful co-existence. While others said that the relationship of trust with people of different religions was difficult, it was not the case with this informant. He had a lot of friends of different religions and ethnicities although he agreed that food restriction is a barrier to social trust relationships.

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**Dalihan na tolu Helps Solving Conflict**

Although DNT did not emerge as the major factor that contributed to resolving conflicts in the quantitative analysis, in the qualitative analysis it emerged that it had a considerable role in conflict resolution. DNT was normatively regarded as a cultural value that should be kept and updated. Informant A (Chair of Islamic organisation, M/48) described how DNT helped him to make friends with a Batak he never met before.

DNT is a good thing among the Bataks. The kinship system it has is
truly amazing. I do not know about Batak Mandailing, but for me as a Batak Toba I feel DNT is present strongly among the Batak Toba. It does not contradict religion. It is a good point. DNT keeps what is good and accepts what is good too. I feel it personally. Wherever I go, if I meet a Batak I believe we will become friends. DNT teaches us to behave ourselves. Sometimes, I just do not understand why other people especially the youngsters complain about DNT. They said it is wasting time, too complicated, etc. But as I said, it helps me many times to make friends with people and we help each other.

Some informants admitted that at first DNT was not known to them but then as they grew older and had more opportunities to experience the Adat events the value of DNT became more familiar with them and mutual respect was growing among those people in the DNT pillars.

My parents taught me and introduced me to my family members. When we had adat events, my parents introduced me to my uncles and aunts even though I was a kid at the time. But as I grew up, I know more of my family members as we continue to meet during the Batak events (Informant 21 Muslim Worker, F/50).

Although I am a Muslim, I am a Batak too. So I have to learn the Batak traditions by myself. My father was a Muslim and I did not get a chance to learn them from him. So, I learn them by doing; by attending adat events. I learn them from there. There is no book to teach me (Informant 22 Muslim Worker, M/52).

Moreover, DNT was also considered as a value that was not degrading each other among the three pillars of DNT: Dongan Tubu, Boru and Hula-hula. Although within the DNT there were relatives of different religion, yet the kinship bond was thought useful.

In my opinion, DNT plays a role in Christian-Muslim relationships as we Bataks start from the birth, through to marriage and death the three pillars of DNT sit together discussing and solving the problems related to the ceremonies. They sit together to discuss without making any difference among people of different religions. They just respect and listen to each other” (Informant F Member of FORKALA, M/59).
With DNT you have to behave. You can do nothing when *Hula-hula* talks to you. Sometimes I feel that I could not express myself 100% as I have to listen to what other people think about other things. It really depends on the situations. We do voting to do things and we have to agree with the decisions (Informant 20 Muslim Worker, M/31).

Normally, when a Batak has an *Adat* Batak wedding ceremony, all people who belong to the DNT pillars will received an invitation. Each member in the DNT pillars has a role to play in the *Adat* ceremony. The ceremony itself does not distinguish the role based on religion. *Tulang* or *Hula-hula*, for example, should be respected without looking at what his religion is. DNT appeared to unify both religions, Islam and Christianity, in the *Adat* events.

I am talking from my ethnic Batak Karo point of view. Although I am a Muslim, I am still practicing my Batak traditions. I still respect my *Anak Beru* or *Hula-hula*. In an *adat* event, my *Hula-hula* normally sits on a white mat symbolizing respect (Informant 2 Muslim School Teacher, F/53).

Besides sitting on a white mat, when the *Hula-hula* comes to our house we serve them the good part of the meat. This symbolizes our respect, too (Informant 1 Muslim School Teacher, F/47).

Regarding religious food restrictions, the hosting of the *Adat* events normally provides meals for the Muslims separately. From this perspective, DNT is seen as a value that can resolve the conflict of relationship between Muslims and Christians.

I have to admit when it comes to religion the situation is really difficult for us. Sometimes it can be a problem, too. It is fortunate, although some fanaticism is growing among the Muslim Bataks, the friction between the two religions does not show badly. For example, when we invited the Muslims of our family members they came. What we did was to separate the food for them. Recently, the extremely committed Muslims really affects our relationships. They said if you are not Muslims then you are pagan. Then they conclude that Batak traditions are pagan, too (Informant B Christian Retired Lecturer, M/75).
What I experienced was with my brother who married a Muslim. When we invited him to come to adat events, they came just to do the adat parts. Nothing else. They did not want to come to the Church. They did not want to eat even though we separated the food just from them. What we did was to give the food in boxes to take it home. What important for them was to give ulos [(a Batak cloth) which symbolizes an acknowledgement to the couple] (Informant 23 Christian Worker, M/45).

DNT is valuable because it is regarded as the ultimate kinship regulator and has a role in resolve conflicts and regulating behaviour. The Bataks who take part in the study hold the value of never underestimating others:

We have our family name. We have Hula-hula and Boru and do not have conflicts because we call them Hula-hula or Boru although we never met them. But because we are Batak, then we assume that we are brothers from the same blood (Informant 20 Muslim Worker, M/31).

This applied across religious boundaries:

... we as Christians have to behave ourselves nicely toward my brother’s family [Muslims]. We should never hurt their feelings because our relationship is at stake. We need our harmonious familial relationships to continue although he looks like prioritizing his wife’s family needs (Informant 23 Christian Worker, M/45).

One informant summed up the position as follows:

The essence of DNT is the combination of kinship and social friendship. When DNT is truly applied in daily life then a Batak has to respect his Hula-hula, to express love towards his Boru and be cautiously with his Dongan Tubu. If a Batak forgets about these three principles, then there is a social consequence. Your life will wander around pointlessly. In our family group we believe that when a Boru comes to his Hula-hula’s house they should not leave the house crying. If they cry, you will get “sapata” (curse). We still hold this belief dearly. Even though I am a Muslim and practice the faith actively, I still believe in what our ancestors told us. I think this is what we call intuition. So, in my opinion DNT is a real cement for us Bataks within our families. It has a role when the Bataks have conflicts among them. In Sipirok¹², for example, no matter what your religion

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¹² Sipirok is a city outside of Medan. Geographically it is in the Southern part of the province. In the map, the North Sumatra province is in between two provinces – Aceh and West Sumatera – where Muslims are predominant. Sipirok is near the border to the West Sumatera Province. So, it is really a special for
is, DNT makes people practise their religion (Informant C Muslim Lecturer, M/48).

The ultimate principle is the DNT values. *Hula-Hula* deserves respect from *Boru*. It also teaches that people who become *Hula-Hula* will not be always *Hula-Hula*. There are times in different families’ *Adat* occasions when Hula-Hula becomes *Boru* who must respect their *Hula-Hula* as well.

If I am asked how big the role of DNT is, of course it has great impact on our culture. The three pillars of DNT are not a passive structure, but they are active and support us efficiently in the spirit of kinships. Why? Because in the DNT system, a philosophy ties the three pillars “*somba marhula-hula, elek marboru, manat mardongan tubu*” (respect the to *Hula-Hula*, express love towards *boru* and act cautiously and sensitively with *dongan tubu*). The three pillars must carefully practise this philosophy and if not, they will get sanctions from the community (Informant F Muslim Member of FORKALA, M/59).

In addition, household conflicts among the Bataks are resolved through *Adat* mechanisms. The conflicts are resolved in a way that satisfied both parties.

For example, in the household. When the couple has a fight, it seems the role of culture is more dominant than religion. When I did something wrong which upset my husband, then he would immediately take the case to the Hula-hula and the *Boru* of my family. The family would try to fix the problem. A divorce normally is not an option if the case can be fixed. When the problem gets fixed, often the relationship between husband and wife gets better. In this sense, *adat* plays an important role (Informant 2 Muslim School Teacher, F/53).

As Christians hold monogamy in marriage, consequently the kinship relations between both clans continue until the death separates them. The Muslim in contrast, although household conflicts most of the times were solved through *Adat* mechanisms, they accept divorce or separation through an *Ustadz* or the Islamic religious leaders’ decision.
When the problem can’t get fixed, then the family take the couple to an *Ustadz* for a divorce. This will be the last resort for the problem. Helping the couple to solve the fight first within the family is the priority (Informant 1 Muslim School Teacher, F/47).

In other words, if the household conflicts were taken to *Adat* events, then it could be solved by *Adat* mechanisms, especially when the marriage was performed in front of the clan leaders or all the DNT pillars. Conflicts between husband and wife in Batak society can be resolved through *Adat* or DNT mechanisms. However, if the conflicts are about religion, then the religious leaders or *Ustadz* should be involved in the decision making. This means that *Adat* mechanisms give opportunity to religion to take a role in solving the problem of divorce in the Batak family.

Another informant mentioned as well that many Bataks migrated to different places in Indonesia, and even when they married other Bataks they were no longer using DNT as a guideline in the wedding ceremony. Consequently, the settlements of household conflicts were made outside of the DNT mechanisms.

As I said previously, it depends on where the family lives. Although many Bataks live in Medan, most of them were born in the Batakland. So, those who came lately still practise *adat*. You still can see how they perform Batak Mandailing *adat* in a wedding ceremony. But most of those who do not practise *adat* were not born in the Batakland. Some of them are even eager to learn Batak *adats*. They have been living outside of the Batakland for 20 years, but still speak the Batak language. So, it really depends on the person (Informant E Muslim Retired State Official, M/70).

Another informant said that DNT is important, but when it came to Muslim and Christian relationship with the Bataks’ kinship, he said that there was little harmony. He mentioned that he hardly ever had contact with his siblings. He said the contact occurred only when there was a wedding, funeral service or any other *Adat* events. In short, the information above does not specifically describe how DNT resolves the
conflict relationship between Muslims and Christians.

The kinship ties with my brother still exist but not as good as when we were young. Now we hardly ever meet. We meet only when we have wedding, funeral service. We never go to see him in his house. He limits his time with us, then we do the same to him. He has many reasons to leave adat events as soon as possible. And when it is his turn to host adat events, we do the same as he did to us, leaving him as soon as possible (Informant 23 Christian Worker, M/45).

Overall, in general DNT helped the Bataks to build harmony because DNT was the ultimate kinship regulator of the Bataks. In practice, DNT values each member of the community in the sense that degrading the Batak members would be seen as “ndang maradat” (lawless). However, in anticipating conflicts among its member, DNT creates certain mechanisms to follow to help the Bataks to solve their problems.

**Social Help**

As described in Chapter Six, the factor Social Help refers to kinds of help the participants took and gave to their families and, the contribution (time and money) the family gave for common development goals.

The social help of DNT normally occurs when there is an event: wedding or funeral service. Informant D (Christian Retired Provincial Leader, M/72) said normally when a Batak family had planned to have a party, at first they would tell the plan to Dongan Tubu: "adong ulaon ta bah" (we are going to have a party). This information to Dongan Tubu is an appeal for support and help to make the party successful. Then, a Batak family would tell his Boru: "adong ulaon ta Ito, bantu Hamu" (we are going to have a party sister, please help us). Normally Boru has no choice when his Hula-hula
asks him for help. This is part of the Batak values. Only in this sense, we understand
why a Batak family goes to his Boru in the second place. The Boru will provide works
to carry out house keeping jobs at the party. Finally, the family goes to their Hula-hula:
"Amang naeng adong ulaon ta. Tuturi hamu hami" (Amang [= a Batak word to address a
respectful man] we are going to throw a party. Please give us some advice).

Informant 21 (Muslim Worker, F/50) agreed that although they were different in
religion, her brother wanted to help her when she held a wedding party, funeral service
and even parties when her sons were circumcised. She said that although she and her
mother-in-law were Muslims, they still helped them. Adat must be done. Another
informant talked about his neighbourhood where Muslims are the minority. He said
when they had a party they also invited their Muslim neighbours and served them with a
special halal food. On a sad occasion, such as when one of the family members passed
away, the Muslim neighbours would help them. Even during the wedding preparations,
the Muslims were helpful to them. This shows that the Bataks are helping each other.

Although DNT provides a high level of social help for Batak people, it is not
universal. In family settings, for example, some informants felt that although DNT helps
to promote harmony, they did not rely on DNT. An informant said that he was offered
financial help by his brother but did not accept it. He would rather ask for help from
friends than relatives.

Listen, if I asked my family, they would help me. But because we are
poor, I don’t want to ask for help from my family members, some of
whom are rich. If I need help, I will ask it from my friends or
colleagues (Informant 9 Muslim Small Businessman, M/45).

Similarly, another informant said that once he asked his brother to lend him
Rp.500,000 (AU $48) but his brother refused to do so although his wife and children
often came, ate and slept in his house. He felt it is better to have family not with your
own blood, but with people of your neighbours. He had neighbours of different ethnicities: Javanese, Batak and Nias.

DNT is one component of culture that could promote brotherly relationships not only in Adat events, but also in daily life. Informant A (Chair of Islamic Organisation, M/48) said that when he went to one of the Ministers’ headquarter offices in Jakarta for a business trip he had no idea whom to contact. But then he tried to see if there was a Batak in the office who could be contacted. He found a Batak in the office whom he did not know and had not previously met. He introduced himself as Tambunan – one of the clan names of the Batak tribe – and started to tell the person his family tree or tarombo to see if they both were family. At the end of the story, finally the informant found what linked them as a family based on the tarombo. Then they moved a step further by addressing the appropriate kinship term for each person based on the pillars of DNT. He said once they agreed on this appropriate term, this facilitated the relationship and the person was happy to help him accomplish his goals by giving information and suggestions as to what he should do to complete his business.

The informant did not mention whether their religions were different or not. It is possible that a Christian Batak would be less likely to help a Muslim Batak but as it was not mentioned, it appears that the kinship relationship was the most important.

This is not to say that there are not significant threats to intercommunal harmony in Indonesia. Informant D (Christian Retired Provincial Leader, M/72) felt that harmony and helping each other between Muslims and Christians were superficial and points to an example where Christians were still having trouble building a church. Despite this, he also said that DNT helped interreligious harmony.

This country acknowledges religious freedom. But in reality it is not true. If it is true, then why do some people experience difficulties in
building a church or in praying? Religious freedom is in our Constitution. Fr Von Magnis from Jakarta wrote that we do not need permission from the government to perform our religious services. He is right. Why do we need the government’s permission? It is wrong. DNT helps interreligious harmony. Because blood is born first, then religion is next. So, DNT binds the people first and then comes religion. This is why we have a peaceful interreligious relationship in Medan.

Informant B (Christian Retired Lecturer, M/75), for example, helped those who were Muslim to get jobs for which they were qualified. He once helped a mother whose son had an undergraduate degree and was looking for a job. He accepted the man to work as a clerk in his office at a private university in Medan. He considered the man was qualified to do the job and he needed the job as well.

I have been helping many people not only Bataks but also some (non Batak) Muslims to find jobs at the University. But they have to satisfy the conditions to apply for the job. Once I helped a young man to get a job. He was poor but his qualifications were good. So I accepted him to do the job. I am always willing to help people. I keep always the Lord’s teaching to love people. To love our neighbour should be the foundation of our life.

Moreover, Informant 13 (Muslim Policeman, M/50) said that helping each other between Muslims and Christians had been going well. In order to make the relationship even better, he suggested that both religious groups needed an environment or a forum where people could express such helpfulness such as MTQ (Musabaqah Tilawatil Quran [an annual competition of reciting the Quran nationally]) festivals. It is a festival where Christians could also take part. The Muslims could also show their helpfulness at Christmas celebration, said another informant (15, Muslim Policeman, M/42). He even proposed an idea of Christmas celebration in Medan where all important leaders in the region would be invited including the Police Chief, the Military Chief and the Governor. He said that it was part of social expressions of the leaders of the country to
religious adherents who were celebrating the feast.

A Christian police informant said that DNT helped to improve interreligious relationships in the city of Medan, for instance there are many organizations based on the clan group. These tend to unite the Bataks across religious boundaries. However, it is not only the Batak who have such organisations. He said, there was an organization among the Javanese in North Sumatera called PUJAKESUMA (Javanese born in North Sumatera) which has been a means of unity among them.

PUJAKESUMA probably has a philosophy similar to that of DNT. But what I am trying to say is that it is a medium to create peaceful relations. DNT helps the Bataks to promote interreligious relationships because in DNT there is no religion. This means that DNT can call together the members of the family from three or four religions. In our family, one of my sisters converted to Buddhism. She married a Buddhist Chinese. We still keep the relationship (Informant 17 Christian Policeman, M/47).

In short, the Bataks experienced the social help aspect of DNT on different occasions: to get business done, to promote interreligious harmony and, to help families in wedding or funeral services. There were some negative comments on the social help aspect of DNT related to family difficulties among the Bataks. Overall, the informants said that DNT helps them and provides bonds across religious boundaries.

**Social Bonding**

The third aspect of social capital was social bonding. Social bonding exists where there is a high degree of uniformity within the extended family in social status, ethnicity and religion. The description below describes the way in which the level of social bonding affects Christian and Muslim relationships in Medan.
Increasing diversity and changes in religious practice can have a negative effect on social bonding. Interreligious relationships between Muslim and Christian among the Bataks in Medan were going well because of DNT bonds despite the minority status of Christians in Medan. Informants felt that in the recent past there had been a change towards interpreting religious teachings more strictly and this was having an impact on interreligious relationships. For example, Informant I (Christian Writer and Retired Physician, M/61) said that he recognized the bonding created by DNT. But he felt that some Batak Muslims’ attachment to the Islamic laws limits their friendships with those of different faiths.

In following a religion, all followers should follow the same rules. If they believe that the religious teaching is true they should follow it. This what makes followers from one religion different from another religion. And it creates differences in the society, too. It is not a problem but it disturbs the society. The religious bond that ties people makes their relationship with people from different religion uneasy. For example, food restriction of not eating pork. It is not the intention of the Batak Muslims not to eat pork but it is the consequence of following Islam. This makes Christian Muslim relationships uneasy a little bit, but it is not in danger.

This informant feels that social bonds are weakened but not destroyed by modernization and changes in religious practice towards stricter observance. Some informants prioritized religious factors above cultural ones in creating interreligious harmony. A Muslim Informant (C Muslim Lecturer, M/48) said that social bonds between Muslims and Christians existed because both religions had a Holy Scripture that teaches them to never kill others and to love or be merciful to your enemies. He said that Muhammadiyah prioritised religious values above Adat. In Muhammadiyah, DNT was never used as a bond among its members as not everyone in the organization is Batak. For this reason, when his clan group asked him to be one of the leaders in the community, he refused because it is traditional for the Bataks to have pork when they
have meetings. He thought that he would not be able to handle this and other difference because of his membership of Muhammadiyah.

Nevertheless there are good examples of social bonding despite religious differences. For instance, Informant G (Muslim Lecturer, M/61) believed that relationship with DNT would reduce interreligious conflict. He gave an example about people in Sipirok, a place closer to Padang than Medan, where the majority people are Muslims, people married interreligiously and helped each other to build churches and mosques. In short, he said, there is interreligious harmony between Christians and Muslims in Sipirok.

In the region of Angkola, religious differences are not a problem. In Sipirok, churches and mosques are together. When people are cleaning the church, people from the mosque come helping them, and vice versa. Sipirok is one of the greatest examples for interreligious harmony.

It is important that social bonds within the nation should be retained and strengthened to preserve inter-communal harmony. Informant 11 (Christian Small Businessman, M/35) thought that it was important to help each other as citizens of a nation. He said that he had discussions on the issue of helping the Palestinians with his Muslim friends who felt that it was important to act on the basis of their religious ties or even undertake jihad. He thought it was better to help poor Muslims in the country than to go to Palestine. According to him, many people in Java, Sumatera, or the Melayu people in Medan from both religions, Christians and Muslims, needed help;

In my opinion, I don’t mind when my Muslim friends talk about jihad and the war in Palestine. Sometimes, the debate took place. And I could say nothing as it was their faith. But I said to them, what is the benefit of jihad to Palestine if our people need help from us?

His friendship with Muslims overcame religious differences, even when his
family was cooking pork; the friends did not feel disturbed although they did not eat pork. They regarded his family as their brothers and sisters and they would never have conflict just because of religious differences. This illustrates the way in which social bonding in Medan is carried out across religious lines, sometimes prioritizing cultural issues and at other times religious ones.

Religious Priority: Religious Influences

Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs

The cultural bonding section refers to the rise of more strict or extreme expressions of religious belief. One section of the survey asked participants what they thought were the origins of this social change and to what extent the practices of schools and places of worship were the origins of more extreme or restrictive religious practices. These were identified as a group in the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA). The qualitative data adds to the understanding of what people meant when they agreed with the statements about schools and places of worship in these questions. Informants discussed sources of inter-religious conflict and inter-communal disharmony. For instance, Informant F (Muslim Member of FORKALA, M/59) said:

Problems could occur when the Muslims at dawn are doing their morning prayer with loudspeakers in the neighbourhood where not all the residents are Muslims. Their morning sleep could be disturbed. Or, when Christians are having their prayers and choral singing in the house which disturbs the neighbors...

Apart from Christian and Muslim communities, Medan also has a distinctive Chinese Buddhist community. Informant F also said that Muslims and Christians did
not mingle closely, especially with the Chinese in Medan.

Moreover, conflict could also occur with the Buddhists (most of them are Chinese) as they live exclusively. They do not mingle with the native people. They send their children to an exclusive school just for Chinese people. The fences of the house are built tall up to the sky. They keep a security dog. When they have funeral service, the dead body is escorted with security cars to the cemetery which triggers social jealousy among some people.

This kind of behaviour or life style triggers social jealousy. So, he said it is important for the governments, the formal and non-formal leaders, to step in to avoid social conflict. The conflict may happen not because of religion but because of economic inequality.

Many informants discussed issues of inter-religious education and relationships in schools. In general, people felt that the students at schools were not taught the meaning of interreligious harmony, there was insufficient attention paid to the national slogan of Bhinneka Tungga Ika (Unity in Diversity) and that an area which should be strengthened is teaching about respect for the person. Informant 2 (Muslim, School Teacher, F/53) thought that it was important that moral education should be taught at schools and in order to build a strong civic society. The content of the lesson should integrate interreligious relations. She said the use of simple language to the students would engage them and they would understand the message of mutual respect and avoid extremism.

Our school stresses moral education to the students. They need it as we see now the students have easy access to internet at home. They can watch videos with their friends with no control from their parents. We put our efforts more on those issues. This school is not based on religion. So, we have to take care of Muslim and Christian students equally. We can’t be pro Islam or pro Christianity. We set up a lesson in class where Christians and Muslims can accept it without offending them.
Tensions emerged around some symbolically important issues such as the practice of greeting Christians at holiday times or the practice of schools marking Valentine’s Day which makes some people unwilling to send their children to Christian Schools. Informant 1 (Muslim School Teacher) spoke about the belief that it is *haram* to express Christmas greetings to Christians or for Muslims to send their children to Christian schools. She said also that celebrating Valentine was not allowed although she was not sure about the history of Valentine and why it is *haram* for Muslims. She said when Muslim students were required by the school to come to celebrate Valentine’s day, they came but did not really celebrate it. By contrast, Informant 2 (Muslim, School Teacher, F/53) who is a principal of a school in Medan said that all religious celebrations should be treated equally and for this reason she celebrates all religious holy days of each religion in her school.

Informant 1 added that she told the students if they wanted to live happily, quietly and peacefully, then they should respect each other and people of different religions. During *Ramadhan*, she said that she told the Christian students they should not eat in front of the Muslim students. Those Muslims students who ate during *Ramadhan* should be advised that "if you do not respect your own religion, let alone other people”. So, they then should fast during *Ramadhan*.

How do they respect each other? I said now is the time for Muslims to fast. I asked the Christian students not to eat in front of the Muslims. Some of the Muslim student cannot stand to do this religious obligation. So I said to them, if you alone cannot do your religious obligation how can people from a different religion respect your religion? So, you have to fast. They understood.

She continued to say that in their school every student was taught that all religions teach people how to be good and live in harmony and to contradict people who accuse Islam of being a violent religion.
...some students told me that their friends say that Islam is the religion of terrorists. I said no religion teaches bad things to its people. So, religion is not a bad thing. Probably it is the person that makes it bad. What makes a person a terrorist is not Islam, but the person itself.

The school principal concluded that schools do not teach the students to become extremists; every person has a chance to become a terrorist but no religion teaches its followers to do evil things, that depends on the person. She said, “By respecting each other we will live in peace”. She was aware that there were radical believers who did not want to come to a Christian house, did not want to give holiday greetings or did not want to eat and drink in the house of a Christian but she felt that such extreme practices made relationships among her students or friends very difficult.

She believed that for schools to promote interreligious harmony it is necessary for the students to have a subject on ethics, in which the students are taught to have mutual respect and to respect people of different religions and to understand issues such as Islamic food restrictions. Students should know that all religions are good and not think that his/her religion is the best.

DNT, from my perspective, helps us people of different religions to live in peace. But we cannot explain this to the student. They will not understand it. But what we teach them is ethics or moral lesson. The lessons will benefit the students in different practices or in the wider society (Informant 2 Muslim School Teacher, F/53).

Informant H (Lecturer and the President of a private university in Medan M/59) agreed with this point of view. He said that religious education in schools in Indonesia tends to be more ‘vertical’ in its teachings, that is that the schools teach theology and religious norms rather than ‘horizontal issues about ethics and relationships. He said if theology is stressed in schools then the students would not get a chance to know how to respect people of other religions.
The horizontal aspect of a religion is not about ritual service. It is about acts like to love your neighbour as you love yourself; or do not do harm to others if you do not want others to do harm to you. And I believe that the horizontal aspect from the Scripture is parallel with the values of DNT. However, if the vertical aspect is stressed what is important is just your relationship with God. We cannot get a free ride from friends to heaven. When I gave a conference to participants at the State Islamic University (IAIN) in Medan, I stressed the idea of horizontal aspect of religion to promote religious harmony. The values in DNT have the horizontal aspect of each religion.

As a consequence, he suggested that religious education in schools should not direct the students just to the theology of religion, but also to the horizontal dimension of social life such as how to help each other, ethics, and so forth. When the vertical dimension of religion is stressed, society will be divided, not only between Muslims and Christians, but also between Protestants and Catholics, as one informant experienced.

When I had a retreat, one of the participants, who was not a Catholic, told me that Catholics venerate Mary the mother of Jesus. [They said] You pray to a statue. There is no good in the Catholic Church. When I heard the statements I got offended. She hurt my feeling ... and then she added, you Catholics why do you kiss Jesus’ cross on Good Friday? Look at us, we have a new life in Christ already but you Catholics have not. I felt why do we discuss about this in a retreat? Since then my relationship with her became bad (Informant 4 Christian School Teacher, F/39).

So, as Informant H suggested if the ‘horizontal’ dimension is stressed in religious class in schools the society would become more united and it would encourage interreligious dialogue and intercommunal relationships.

*Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia*

The Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) also collected into one group the
questions from the survey which can be labelled as sources of interreligious disharmony. The conditions of interreligious relationships between Muslims and Christians in Indonesia used to be worse than at present. Informant E (Muslim Retired State Official, M/70) said that the Governor of North Sumatera asked the community leaders of each ethnic community in Medan to establish an inter-ethnic forum where leaders of each ethnicity meet each other and discuss programs to promote interreligious and inter-ethnic relationships.

Nevertheless, there are still significant sources of tension reported by informants in this study. For example, houses of worship or churches which were founded by Christians were often deemed illegal as the buildings are said not to have a license from the local government and Muslims feel that it is legitimate to destroy these unlicensed churches. Government regulations in Indonesia are challenging especially for Christians. One informant reported that,

In 2000 there was a problem with HKBP Binjai. The building construction was stopped as Muslims in the neighborhood disagreed with the presence of the church in their place. So, some Christians from Medan went to Binjai to support the construction. Then the local government banned the construction. We do not understand why the local government did that. I suspect the Muslims around the church pressed [lobbied] the government (Informant 11 Christian Small Businessman, M/35).

Some informants said that there were difficulties when they tried to build churches in neighbourhoods where there is a Muslim majority. Moreover, the difficulties will get harder as different denominations such as Gereja Kristen Indonesia (GKI – Indonesian Christian Church), Huria Kristen Batak Protestan (HKBP – The Batak Protestant Christian Church), Tiberias Church, etc. want to build their own churches because the denominational differences are not usually considered by the
Muslim neighbours who believe that a single church would be sufficient.

As already discussed, a major factor for disharmonious interreligious relationships in Indonesia is *haram* food. Nevertheless all informants in this research agreed to maintain mutual interreligious relationships as much as possible by exchanging visits during religious holidays (Christmas and *Id* celebrations) and participating in wedding ceremonies or funeral services, although the food was served separately for the Christians and the Muslims.

There is a range of views about *haram* food and people do not always like to be very open with their opinions, as it is a controversial issue. One informant said that any foods, even with no pork in the food at all, that are served by Christians are considered *haram* and should not be eaten by Muslims. Other Muslim informants deliberately ate the food served by Christians as long as it was not pork but they realized that others were more strict in their views.

Another issue is that of the celebration of festivals and the extent to which people can participate in each other’s community’s special occasions. Local governments, the religious and community leaders have conducted various programs to harmonize the interreligious relationship between Muslims and Christians in Medan. They have made an interreligious carnival, the celebration of religious holidays such as *Id* and Christmas celebrations, and seminars about interfaith relations. This was applauded by one participant:

> In my opinion, the local government and the people should work hand in hand to promote interreligious harmony. There are some religious groups who are unhappy when Christians and Muslims live in harmony. One of the political parties such as PKS fights to apply *shariah laws* in the country. We the minority have to fight this because if they win, then we will not have religious freedom anymore (Informant 11 Christian Small Businessman, M/35).
Despite the measures taken by local government and community leaders, the issue of celebrating Christmas is obviously a difficult one. Some informants said that their religious teacher or *Ustadz* prohibited them to express Christmas greetings to their Christian family members, neighbours and friends, which could cause offense amongst Christians. It is the true that Christmas greetings by Muslims to Christians are prohibited in Indonesia according to the MUI’s (*Ulama Conference of Indonesia*) *Fatwa* of March 7, 1981.

... we are not allowed to say Merry Christmas to Christians, or send our children to Christian schools. While teaching, I am a student at University of Sumatera Utara. Accidentally, I saw a flyer about the restrictions was posted on the wall at the University. The letter was written in Indonesian and in Arabic. It referred to the Quran. When I checked the Quran, it is true. Since then, I am convinced. One time I asked my colleague at school, she said it was just lip service. Then, I asked an *Ustadz* and he responded that it is true Muslims are not allowed to express Christmas greetings to Christians. He explained the laws from the Quran to me (Informant 1 Muslim School Teacher, F/47).

Then, another informant from the same group interview confirmed Informant 1 by saying,

In my opinion, as far as I know a Muslim is not allowed to express Christmas greetings to Christians .... If we do, then we agree with you as Christians. Because in Islam, Christianity is not a true religion. So, it is not right for us to say what is wrong (Informant 3 Muslim School Teacher, F/29).

There were some informants, however, who did not agree with the teaching, but they said nothing to oppose the teaching. Although his/her religion prohibits its people to express Christmas greetings, the person always greets his/her Christian neighbour as a gesture as he/she is afraid of committing a sin. She disagrees that Christmas greetings are considered *haram* (forbidden).
It depends on the persons. Because in Islam, there are many *Ustadz* that came to bring their own teachings about Islam. This means they differ among themselves. The teachings for sure are different. So, it really depends on the person. In my experience, probably because our families are mixed in religion, I say Merry Christmas to my family members who celebrate it. And of course, it is just my gesture. In my perception, it is like when we say *assalamualaikum*... So if saying Merry Christmas is prohibited, I disagree with it as it is just a gesture. Every year I send greetings to my colleagues. If my *Ustadz* were to say that it is *haram* for me to say this, I would ask where is it written in the Quran? (Informant 2, Muslim School Teacher, F/53).

One solution is the separate identification of Christmas and New Year. In Indonesia, as Christians celebrate Christmas and the New Year together, the New Year celebration has been considered as part of Christian celebrations. Lately, the modern Muslims did not consider it as part of Christian celebrations any more as Muslims now see that the New Year is celebrated by all people.

*Interreligious Disharmony in Medan*

The Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) grouped the questions of Part 5 of the survey, which can be labelled as sources of interreligious disharmony in Medan. These include items on the level of agreement that Christianisation or Islamisation, the gap of the standard of living, the politicization of religion and religious pluralism are the source of religious conflicts in Medan.

One of NU leaders in Medan said that the issue of Islamization or Christianization is not really an issue of interreligious conflict. Religious freedom is guaranteed in the Constitution so there should not be any issue about conversions. He admitted that some religious activities could be interpreted as Islamization or Christianization and that this is a sensitive issue. However, he believed that Islamization
or Christianization is not about religion but it is a social conflict labelled as religion.

This issue is a sensitive issue. Our concern is that this social conflict is labelled as religious conflict. There is no such a thing as Islamization or Christianization. Some actors have painted it to look as though it was interreligious conflict. We religious leaders understand that there is to be no more religious proselytizing. We have an agreement from the past not to do that anymore in this era. What we need to do is to educate our own people. So, there is no Islamization or Christianization.

Informant D (Christian Retired Provincial Leader, M/72) said that the government intervention in resolving disputes between religions is very weak. Christians as the minority religious group in Indonesia consider that the government regulations to build a church are too burdensome. They consider that respect for minority groups does not exist. Informant D said respect for minority religious groups was just on the surface alone. He believes that it is just a reflection that Indonesians do not recognize differences, especially differences in religious beliefs.

Teachers of both religions – Muslims and Christians – agreed that religious differences should be taught and accepted in their schools. Hence they disagreed with the idea that education or schools are considered as an agent of religious extremism. Tolerance and mutual respect between Muslims and Christians were taught in schools, and they were convinced that there was no fighting among the students triggered by religious differences.

The problem appears to arise when the students are outside of the schools. Do the students get more interreligious education in public spheres? The leaders of Nahdatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah said that tolerance is an important issue which will reduce interreligious conflict. The NU leader said,
NU tries to adopt local cultures into its values. We will keep the value as long as it supports religious values. We study and investigate which values from our ethnic traditions could benefit the people’s faith. For example, *manortor* or traditional dance has no problem with Islam. Some *Ulama* said that *manortor* contradicts Islam. It is not based on our study. This is one example of how Islam adopts traditional values in religion (Informant A Chair of Islamic Organisation, M/48).

The leader of Muhamadyah said that Muhamadyah gave much consideration to tolerance between Christians and Muslims. For example, the microphone on the minaret or on the roof top of each Muhammadiyah mosque is switched off when the people are reciting the Quran as it would disturb the neighbours. They use it only for prayer calls.

What Muhammadiyah has been doing to promote interreligious harmony is to use microphone and loudspeaker only for prayer calling. Other mosques switch on their loudspeakers 15 minutes before the prayer calling. In Muhammadiyah mosques it is used just for prayer calling (Informant C Muslim Lecturer, M/48).

The lack of respect for religious differences is still the source of conflict. Some informants gave some examples how the people in Medan are intolerant such as, the establishment of churches in Islamic environment, *mangandungi* or bewailing (a Batak tradition to mourn over the dead body), Christmas greetings, *haram* food, opening restaurants or not playing music during the days in the month of *Ramadhan*. Informant H (Christian Lecturer, M/59) suggested that we need to promote interreligious harmony in religious education which he called horizontal religious education.

**Encounter in Civic Engagement**

The next concept, which Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) has collected into
one group of questions from the survey was be labelled as encounter in civic engagement. This construct referred to the respondents’ participation in civic events and issues involving a religion other than their own, such as taking part in religious festivals or celebrations of the other religion, in group discussion on religious matters or advising the local authorities on the needs of people of the other religion.

In Batak culture, normally the host family invites the whole family to the wedding ceremony whether they are Muslims or not. For example, Informant B invited the Tampubolon’s Boru and Bere and all who are connected to him through blood and marriage when he has a wedding in his family. Those who were Muslims were invited also and they normally came. Their meals were separated from those of the majority who were Christians. However, lately he said religious extremism among the Muslim family members has become greater. This affected Christian family members to think twice before inviting the Muslims to the Adat events. The Christians are aware that some Muslims consider Christians as kafir or infidels which in turn hurt the feelings of the Christian family members.

Moreover, religious leaders, community leaders and the local governments in Medan had initiated attending each Adat party or religious festival of both religions to put more stress on harmonizing ethnic and religious differences. The local government through the seminar and ethnic festivals hosted by FORKALA (Communication Forum for inter Adat Institutions in North Sumatera) supported the use and understanding of ethnic values and customs. Through the seminar and ethnic festivals the mission was to enrich ethnic harmony among ethnic diversity in Medan and to value DNT as one of the cements within the society. Beside the seminar, FORKALA also held ethnic carnivals to which all ethnic leaders were invited. The Batak brought buffalo and the Chinese came with the Lion Dance in the carnival. So, this ethnic carnival had demonstrated how each
ethnicity in Medan was respected.

To harmonize ethnic relationships in Medan FORKALA hosted seminars about adat, ethnic harmony, and DNT. We also hosted traditional arts exhibition of each ethnic group in Medan and ethnic carnivals. When the Governor, Rizal Nurdin, celebrated his daughter’s wedding, the party was made in ethnic Melayu and Minang customs to accommodate his tradition and his daughter’s in-laws. But also, the other ethnic groups paraded their costumes and traditional arts during the celebration. This event made our inter-ethnic relationship stronger (Informant E Muslim Retired State Official, M/70).

Another informant said that interreligious encounters among the Bataks still existed and people invited family members from different religions to both wedding ceremonies and funeral services. But, he said, the interreligious encounters halted as soon as the Adat ceremony had finished. They rarely had contact with each other outside of the Adat events.

Informant B said that when it came to the issues of religion, it became complicated although he admitted that the Bataks society had not yet split up because of religion. In fact this opinion needs some investigation to prove whether the Bataks had split up or not. In an Adat ceremony, for example, both Muslims and Christians invited each other, but the food was served separately. He added that lately growing religious radicalism had arisen within the Muslims as they called non Muslims kafir.

Lately religious extremism created incidents among the Bataks. The call of non Muslims as kafir affects their views of Batak traditions (Informant B Christian Retired Lecturer, M/75).

What I have seen lately is that DNT plays its role really amazingly. Of course, the pressures from religion and the interpretation of the Holy Scripture have affected the relationship poorly. Some people become more fanatic than before. They just abandon DNT. However, in general, DNT is useful to promote interreligious relationship. As one of the members of interfaith forum in Medan, I would say that interreligious relationship in Medan is good (Informant C Muslim Lecturer, M/48).
Informant C described his experiences in Sipirok where Christians and Muslims were bonded by DNT values. He said DNT played a dominant role in maintaining interreligious harmony. Unfortunately, interreligious harmony could not be maintained as the government in 2006 had issued a rule that each religious community should have at least 90 adult members to have a place of worship: a church or a mosque. He was afraid that it could create an interreligious conflict with Muslim or with the other Christians who want to build their own church.

I have encountered a problem with HKBP (Batak ethnic church) when they were about to build a church in Denai. Across the place where they were going to build the church, about 200 meters there was a Catholic church and in between the two places there was a mosque. Some Muslims in the neighbourhood disagreed with the idea of having the HKBP and the Catholic churches close together. When we tried to solve the problem we realized that the HKBP people were not from the area. The government law on building a house of worship says that in order to build a place of worship the group has to have 90 adult people in the faith community and 60 household in the neighbourhood agree with the plan.

He added that although he was Batak, his priority was his religion (Muhammadiyah) – an Islamic branch which is more guided by religious teachings than culture values. He said as long as Adat was in line with or supported his belief then he would follow Adat. Otherwise, he would not tolerate Adat. For example, he said that, in the Batak tradition of having a family monument where the Bataks put all their former grandparents’ and parents’ bones in the monument was allowed. His religion, however, does not allow him to continue the tradition. As a result he prefers to follow his religion rather than the Batak culture.

Some informants in this study said that they preferred to avoid discussions of religion with their neighbours of different religion. They were more inclined to say what they believe without discussing the matter. Another informant shared her bad
experience when she discussed religion even though she discussed it with her fellow Christian from a different denomination. It led her to a tenuous relationship with the person. Another informant who had neighbours from different tribes and religions said that he could mingle with them easily and felt comfortable in social life with them. He said that they never talked about their differences and never wanted to offend each other religiously.

Dalihan na tolu and Interreligious Relationship in Medan

DNT is abundantly clear in the role of each pillar within the Adat ceremonies. It is very precise in job descriptions of Hula-hula, Dongan Tubu and Boru. As it is an ethnic value, DNT pays less attention to religious differences. On the surface, interreligious relationships between the Muslim Bataks and the Christian Bataks are going well. DNT has successfully bridged religious differences during Christmas and Ied celebrations. This means that when the Bataks were asked if they visit each other's religious holidays, the answer was they did.

Food is often a barrier to interreligious relationships especially when the Batak Muslims were invited to enjoy a meal together in a Christian house. In anticipating the food restriction, Muslims brought their own meals and ate them together at the meal time in the Christian house. For Christians, things like this are considered prejudice. When Christians invited Muslims to have meals in their house, they would know about this food restriction in Islam and they will not prepare and serve pork meat in the meals. To express Christmas greetings is also another barrier to interreligious relationships in Medan. This research did not investigate further whether this greeting prohibition is based on Islamic teachings or not.
The socialization of the religious leaders and the policy in promoting interreligious relationship among the people seems too weak. One of the NU leaders said that he did not focus on religious differences. Each person has religious freedom. When interreligious conflicts arise, then we should study them case by case. He said that in principle NU respects religious differences and it has become a policy in his organization. He said: "I was born in a family where the majority was Christian. And indeed, a lot of my family members are still non-Muslim. We get along as a family should. During the *Id* feast they came to my house, and when it was time for the New Year celebration we came to their house. It seems that there is no problem”.

Regarding interreligious conflict, in his view he said that it was a social conflict labelled as religious conflict, in reality it was not religious conflict. Furthermore, he said that NU respects the values of each culture. DNT did not conflict with his religious values. In fact, DNT was regarded as a value that must be maintained and has values that are considered able to unite the Muslim Bataks and the Christian Bataks. This is an example of the indirect role of DNT in promoting interreligious harmony. Although the DNT explanation focuses on the context of marriage relationships, *Adat* relationship and respect for each pillar in the DNT, indirectly supports interreligious harmony.

Similarly, a Christian informant said that DNT is successfully working to maintain interreligious harmony. DNT had existed before Islam and Christianity came to the Batakland. The values of DNT had been binding on the Bataks at first and then religion came in second place. DNT has made the Christians and the Muslims respect each other. He said, "One day one of my family members - a Muslim - came to my house. Then I asked him to cut the chicken for the meal. The reason why I asked him to do that was because I did not say *bismillah* ('in the name of God', a common word to initiate an action and to open a prayer in Islam), which he did when cutting the chicken.
If I had cut the chicken, he would have not eaten it. So, as a brother we can tolerate each other". He continued to say, "Although there are restrictions not to express Christmas greetings in Islam, however, in the Batak social system or in DNT it is impossible to express the greetings. In DNT it is unthinkable that you do not greet your Hula-Hula”.

The chairman of FORKALA who is a Muslim said that if DNT is genuinely implemented among the Bataks without considering if he/she is a Muslim or not, then interreligious mixed-marriage would not be a problem among the Bataks. On the contrary, it should promote interreligious harmony and not conflict.

The deputy secretary of FORKALA who is a Muslim shared his experience when conflict existed within a Batak family where the Boru were Muslims and the Hula-hula were Christians. He said where religion is different, sanctions are still applied. He said that in general all Bataks should understand that Adat sanctions should remain in force even though there are differences in religion. Religion should not play a role in Adat spheres.

A Muslim informant said that there were some Adat or traditions which were forbidden in Islam for example mangandungi (bewailing). Islam forbids mourning over the dead body. From the Adat point of view, bewailing is not a problem. From the Islamic perspective, however, bewailing is considered incompatible with religion. He said the reason for forbidding bewailing in Islam is because we can remember our beloved ones by praying for him/her or by giving a donation to the poor.

In Muhammadiyah, people should not bewail the deceased. Hence, this is the reason why bewailing in the Batakland has almost disappeared. In some other areas such a practice is still in use. The NU organization was not as strict as Muhammadiyah in the bewailing practice among the Bataks. In the past in Mandailing, he said people
left the dead at home for up to two days. Now the practice no longer exists. People who
die in the morning should be buried in the afternoon. This is the influence of Islam on
the culture.

He gave an illustration of interreligious practices in Angkola. The practice of
interreligious harmony in the region was a success. When the church had communal
work, the Muslims helped them, and vice versa. Sipirok and Angkola are good
examples of interreligious harmony.

When one of the Christian informants was asked what percentage of Christians
and Muslims practice the DNT, he did not know for sure. But he said that in fact
religion was very helpful to DNT. Religion with its verses and stories from the Holy
Scriptures could legitimize DNT and could even strengthen it. He gave an example that
in all religions the duty to care for or help others, to love your neighbour as you love
yourself, and not to hurt anyone else if you do not want to be hurt, were found to
strengthen DNT values.

So, he continued to say that the horizontal dimensions of each religion were
closely aligned with the values in DNT. In other words, the values in DNT were part of
both religions. However, if the vertical dimension of religion is stressed, then DNT is
not applicable. The vertical dimension is our relationship with God (religion, liturgy)
and the horizontal dimension is our relationship with our fellow human beings (DNT
and Adat ceremonies). So, we need to distinguish the concept between liturgy and
ceremony.

Therefore, he argued that religious education in schools should be non-
theological. Religious education in schools should not be directed to the vertical
dimensions of religion only but should also emphasize the horizontal aspects: how to
help each other, ethics and so forth. When the vertical dimension of each religion is stressed people of different religions will be separated. When he gave a lecture at IAIN (Islamic State University) he told the audience of the importance of the horizontal dimension of religion if we want to get along with people of different religions. So, DNT has the horizontal dimension of religion.

**Summary**

The purpose of this study is to show the contribution of DNT as Batak social capital in promoting interreligious harmony in the city of Medan. The quantitative analysis indicated that DNT (Cultural Priority) contributed more to positive interreligious encounters than religious influences (Religious Priority). This chapter aimed to deepen and elaborate understanding of the findings.

What this chapter has found is that the Bataks were flexible in implementing religious restrictions in their community; felt included in their neighbourhood as long as conversations on religious teachings were never initiated; trusted more their fellow Bataks than people from a different ethnicity or nationality and, in anticipating food restrictions, the Muslims brought their own meal or by investigating the cook when they visited a Christian Batak’s house. The Bataks admitted that DNT is the kinship regulator and brings closeness to the community members as they respect each other. The Bataks showed the respect in the way that they separated meals for the Muslims in an *adat* event and, prioritized *adat*’s rules to deal with problems in the community such as in the case of marriage or divorce.

Moreover, the Bataks experienced that DNT was more helpful in promoting interreligious encounters as the Bataks felt a relationship of brotherhood among them.
They felt this when they had wedding or funeral services. The Bataks were more open to help when they knew that the person who needed help was a Batak. The Batak community organized itself to have a faith-based or a clan-based routine meeting to promote unity and to build networking among their selves (see Chapter Five).

In terms of Religious Priority, the Bataks brought up the issues of Chinese problems, religious prohibition for the Muslims to celebrate Valentine’s Day and Christmas. They felt that blending together with people of different religions in residential areas was important to avoid ethnic or religious prejudice. Some informants who worked as teachers disagreed with the idea of prohibiting students from celebrating Valentine’s Day. Some informants believed that all students should be taught ethics or the horizontal aspect of religion to respect each other.

Some issues of interreligious disharmony in Indonesia appeared to be caused by the discriminating regulations of the governments and some from the religious teachings. Some informants admitted that the governments promoted interreligious harmony but in some areas their policies on building a Church were unclear. In Medan, the issue of Christianization or Islamization appears to be a social conflict labelled with religion. Overall, this chapter has explored the contributions of DNT and religion on interreligious encounters in Medan.
Chapter Eight

Discussion and Conclusions

Introduction

This study has addressed the influence of culture and religion in promoting interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan. In this final chapter, the research questions are employed as a framework for the discussion of the findings followed by the conclusions. The limitations of the study and suggestions for further study are then discussed and the chapter concludes with the final remarks about the study.

Discussion of the Findings

This study aimed to explore how DNT operates among the Christian and Muslim Bataks in Medan in relation to interreligious encounters. It was proposed that DNT acts as a form of social capital which promotes interreligious encounters. To test this assumption, this study used concurrent mixed methods. The data were collected from 1,539 survey respondents and 33 informants were interviewed through in-depth interviews or in guided small group discussions to provide responses to the four research questions.
Research Questions

The research questions of this study were:

1. What theoretical model can best explain the Christian-Muslim relationships in Medan?
2. What is the relationship of religion and social capital with interreligious encounters?
3. Does religion or culture play the predominant role in promoting interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan?
4. How does DNT play a role as social capital among the Bataks in Medan?

Research Question One

“What theoretical model can best explain the Christian-Muslim relationships in Medan?” A theoretical model of interreligious encounters in Medan was presented in Chapter One (see p. 8). The model was based on a framework derived from the theory of multiculturalism. It was structured to examine the pathways which might lead to interreligious encounters in Medan, a diverse city (a city with diverse cultures) in Indonesia. Three causes of interreligious disharmony were identified from the scholarly studies of Indonesia which suggested that interreligious disharmony in Indonesia was a complex problem. This means that any one solution to this problem would never be adequate. The problem requires a range of approaches to scaffold the people’s interreligious encounters so there can be more peaceful co-existence in the society.

For the reasons above, this study chose the theory of multiculturalism as scholars have suggested the theory could help people live harmoniously in cultural
diversity. For the purpose of this study, two approaches or priorities in promoting interreligious encounters were proposed, one prioritized religious influences and the other prioritized cultural influences. There were five elements in the religious priority (strong faith, social security, knowledge, dialogue and forgiving) that needed to be considered to promote interreligious encounters in Medan, whereas the cultural priority suggested three elements (networks, trust and reciprocity) for the same purpose.

**Research Question Two**

“What is the relationship of religion and social capital with interreligious encounters?” The survey data were analysed based on the theoretical model using Factor Analysis, Multiple Regression and Structural Equation Modeling. The results obtained from the quantitative data indicated that the hypothesized model could adequately explain the phenomenon of interreligious encounters of the Bataks in Medan. It explained that religious priority and cultural priority each had a unique impact on promoting interreligious encounter. This study could not compare the results with previous research. However, this study has successfully created an exploratory model of interreligious encounters among the Christian and Muslim Bataks in Medan.

The results obtained from the qualitative data helped to elaborate on the three types of social capital derived from the factor analysis of the survey data, that is, social trust, social help and social bonding.

*The Social Capital of Dalihan na tolu*

The cultural influences in the plausible model of this study - Social Trust, Social
Help and Social Bonding - were all independent measures of social capital. Data from interviews and guided small group discussions were analysed to find the answer from what informants had to say in the areas of Social Trust, Social Help and Social Bonding.

1. Social Trust

In social trust, informants described a higher level of trust between Bataks compared with people from different ethnic or national backgrounds and in most cases this transcended religious differences. They described a degree of flexibility in implementing religious restrictions in their community in order to maintain social trust. This phenomenon confirms the influence of emotional ties and strong ties within the sub-type of Gemeinschaft groups.

In terms of religious differences, some Christian Bataks felt excluded among family members but most of the time they felt included in their neighbourhood and said that conversations about religious teachings were avoided to prevent disrupting relationships. Although food restrictions caused tensions, these were negotiated, for instance, when Muslim Bataks anticipated food restrictions by bringing their own meal or by investigating the catering arrangements when they visited a Christian Batak’s house so that they could attend events and Christian Bataks made attempts to cater for their requirements.

Informants agreed that DNT is the kinship regulator of the Bataks in roles such as respecting their Hula-Hula (the wife-givers), to express love towards Boru (the wife-takers) and to act cautiously and sensitively with Dongan Tubu (the companions of the family in direct linear descent of Hula-Hula and Boru). These bonds brought closeness to the community members as the respect grew for each other. In other words, DNT taught the Bataks to never underestimate other people. The Christian Bataks showed
respect in the way that they separated meals for the Muslims in an adat event. The Bataks prioritized adat’s rules to deal with problems in the community such as in the case of marriage or divorce. Religious leaders were involved only when the religious leaders had no choice but separation.

2. Social Help

In terms of social help, the Bataks felt that DNT was more helpful than the government policy in promoting interreligious encounters. Helping relationships with each other were so strong among the Bataks that they felt DNT created brotherhood/sisterhood relationships among them. The strength of DNT was evident in the help received for wedding or funeral services. The Bataks tended to be more open to help when they knew that the person who needed help was a Batak. For example, a Muslim policeman experienced this kind of help from a Christian Batak when doing his duty in a remote area. In another example, the Bataks organized themselves to have a faith-based or a clan-based routine meeting to promote unity and to build networking in finding jobs. In this sense the Bataks helped each other.

3. Social Bonding

In social bonding, the Bataks felt that modernization could damage the familial ties in their community. For some Bataks, religious teachings were more important as a result of advances in religious education. This in turn made them prioritize religious teachings such as food restrictions or to reject advance role in the Batak community as the chairperson of the community. However, social bonding among the Bataks was kept alive because of the value of DNT.

From the phenomena of social trust, social help and social bonding activities
among the Christians and Muslims in Medan, the Bataks could be seen to value their ethnic capital as social capital and to mobilize it effectively. Bruner (1959) believed that DNT is not just an *adat* for the Bataks but also a value that mobilizes the people effectively. These values are kept, maintained and passed from one generation to another generation. Alejandro Portes (1995) referred to this as *linear ethnicity*. This means that Batak parents transfer their traditional values to the children and the children transferred them to their own children. The Bataks adjust to the values in their own situations, known as the process of *segmented assimilation*. This kind of assimilation, according to Nainggolan (2008), helps the Bataks to maintain their strong identity as Bataks.

**Religious Influences**

Contrasting with the primarily cultural approach of the social capital of DNT, the factor analysis also revealed religious influences which consist of seven distinct aspects divided into four groups of measurement. Faith implementation and Causes of Extreme Religious Beliefs measured religious behaviour of the respondents. Knowledge of Christianity and Knowledge of Islam and other Religions measured the respondents’ interreligious knowledge. Interreligious Disharmony in Indonesia, Interreligious Disharmony in Medan and Trust in Public Services measured interreligious disharmony. Lastly, Encounter in Civic Engagement and Encounter in Civic Discussion measured the respondents’ interreligious encounters. The SEM model revealed that factors related to Religious Influences contributed significantly to interreligious encounters in Medan. This finding suggested that higher levels of religious influences were associated with more frequent interreligious encounters.
In addition to the quantitative data, in the interviews and guided small group discussions, informants raised the issue of the place of Chinese Buddhists in the community and the practice of prohibiting Valentine’s Day celebrations in schools as examples of intercommunal tension. Informants saw that blending together with people of different religions in residential areas was important. People perceived problems with the Chinese in Medan because they live exclusively from the rest of the people and that caused ethnic and religious prejudices toward them. In schools, some informants disagreed with the idea of prohibiting students from celebrating Valentine’s Day. It was said that all students should be taught ethics or the horizontal aspect of religion to respect each other.

Some issues of interreligious disharmony in Indonesia, according to informants, came from the unfair regulations of the governments and some from the religious teachings. Although informants admitted that the government attempted to promote interreligious harmony, they felt that some of their policies were discriminatory, such as the policies which made it difficult to build a church. The increase of religious teachings on food restriction and Christmas greetings created religious tensions among the Bataks of different religions.

However, measures were taken to reduce inter-communal tensions, such as the ways in which Muhammadiyah mosques in Medan promoted interreligious harmony by only using loudspeakers for prayer calls, rather than broadcasting at other times. Some expert informants described the issue of Christianization or Islamization in Medan as being not an interreligious issue so much as a social conflict labelled as religion. This would bear out the contention of this study, namely, that it is intra-communal bonds which contribute most to inter-religious harmony in the communities under study.

Religious influences indeed affect interreligious encounters. Scholars have
studied the different roles of religion in society: for unity, for social change and for supernatural manifestations. These different roles of religions have caused problems in society. However, what became the interest of this study was to maximize the positive use of religion to create peaceful co-existence in society. Swidler’s (1998) suggestions for three different areas of interreligious encounters – in daily practices, in the depth of spiritual dimension and in academic settings (cognitive) should be put into greater practice during the encounters.

**Research Question Three**

“Does religion or culture play the predominant role in promoting interreligious encounters among the Bataks in Medan?” This study aimed to explore how DNT as the Bataks’ social capital operates in promoting interreligious encounters in Medan. The SEM model revealed that when considering the impact of cultural priority and religious priority simultaneously, the effect of social capital was larger than the effect of religion. This finding suggests that cultural approaches play a greater role than religious influences in promoting interreligious encounters among the Christian and Muslim Bataks in Medan.

The qualitative data obtained from the informants of this study confirmed that culture played a predominant role in promoting harmonious interreligious encounters. One example was from a retired Provincial leader who saw that interreligious harmony in some parts of Indonesia was superficial, granted the difficulties that people experienced in trying to build places of worship. Building a place of worship in some areas of the country was not easy even though the 1945 Constitution guarantees freedom of religion. Medan was one of the exceptions where he felt there was genuine
interreligious harmony among the people. For him, the priority of DNT promoted interreligious harmony more than religion, “Blood is born first then religion is next”.

Another example was seen in the experience of a policeman. It was an experience whereby DNT helped the unity among the Bataks across religious boundaries. It was common among the Bataks within the same family to meet regularly each month. This family meeting became a forum for the Bataks to share their experiences and feelings with each other as they felt they were one family. He said that “DNT helped the Bataks to promote interreligious relationships because, in DNT, there is no religion”. This means that DNT can call together the members of the family from three or four religions. The strong presence of culture overcame the influence of religion among the Bataks to promote interreligious encounters.

In short, the results of the SEM model and the qualitative data indicated that primarily cultural approaches (the social capital based on DNT) had significantly more impact on interreligious encounters in Medan than an approach based purely on the participants’ religious beliefs and practices. This finding demonstrates that a higher level of social capital is associated with more frequent interreligious encounters.

**Research Question Four**

“How does Dalihan Na Tolu play a role as social capital among the Bataks in Medan?” The culture of the Bataks appears to create emotional ties whether they know a person individually or not. Social bonds or social networkings are the result of these emotional ties. The interviews and small group discussions showed that religious differences were put aside when the Bataks were holding a cultural event. Although most of the time cultural ties create strong familial bonds the Bataks also have *sihal-*
*sihal* that allows them to create social bonds with outsiders (non-Bataks).

*Sihal-sihal* for the Bataks is a bridging social capital. It creates weak ties which according to Granovetter (1983), brings with it a tendency to allow people to extend their friendship networks by getting to know friends of friends. In other words, *Sihal-sihal* operates to bridge weak ties between a Batak and another Batak or non-Batak and make them friends of the family. In one example, informants mentioned the use of the word *kafir* (infidel) for Christians. The Batak Christians were aware that some Muslims considered Christians infidels. However, the Christian informants never mentioned that they were called *kafir* by the Muslim Bataks or non-Bataks, although they knew that Muslims avoiding eating non-halal food in Christian houses.

Another example of the role of *sihal-sihal* for the Bataks was the experience of one Christian informant when his neighbour had *kenduri* (a family event). His family was invited and he voluntarily participated in helping to organize the family’s *kenduri*. This *sihal-sihal* prepared him to consider the family of non Bataks as part of his own family. In other words, DNT’s social networking enabled the Bataks to form cultural relationships with different people outside of the family.

Moreover, the Bataks as an ethnic community do not relate strongly with only one religion. Religion does not define the Batak and, vice versa, Batak social system is reflected in the Batak traditional religious system. This means that the type of relationship between ethnicity and religion in Abramson’s typologies does not apply to the Bataks. On the contrary, the Batak community is an “open community” as is shown in the way that religious influences do not predominate in the way of life of its people and the Bataks accept outsiders into their community through the mechanism of *sihal-sihal* in the DNT system.

This study proposes that DNT operates as a strong form of social capital
amongst the Bataks in Medan. Evidence is that the social dynamics of the Bataks are impelled by the DNT system. Because DNT underpins the kinship system among the Bataks in Medan, everyone in the community knows each other and they interact with each other. These social interactions make every person in the community reliable in their obligations, based on the norms of DNT and the sanctions that apply for people who do not fulfil these obligations. The default in an interaction among members of the Batak community commonly brings down sanctions not merely from the victim but from the community on behalf of the victim.

The Batak community has created procedures to be followed when a member of the community engages in behaviour deemed to be wrong. The execution of the punishments is not judged by one person but by the assembly session called Partukkoan. This assembly decides what is best for the person who commits wrong behaviours. This practice of DNT among the Bataks fits the paradigm of social capital: a member of the community induces the community to motivate the second person in the community to do something for the first person. So, social capital is all about enabling community members to accomplish their goals at an individual level or at a communal level. This appears to help the Bataks to engage in and promote interreligious encounters effectively.

Limitations of the Study

This study has to acknowledge its limitations. First, the sample for the study came from only one city, Medan. A comparison of the city where the Bataks live in implementing DNT as social capital to promote interreligious encounter with another city where DNT is not a factor could enhance the usefulness of this study. Other
researchers such as Edward Bruner (1959) and Togar Nainggolan (2006) have studied the phenomenon of the Bataks in Bandung and in Jakarta where the Bataks migrated and lived in the cities. By comparing the cities where the Bataks live among different ethnicities would also enrich this study.

Second, the respondents and the informants of this study are limited to married Bataks living in Medan. By limiting the participants of this study, the chance to find the dynamic of social capital and interreligious encounter in Medan is even smaller. The trend among people of being single in modern society is automatically excluded from this study, which in turn limits its capacity to inform.

Third, social capital is understood as the social process by which society’s members accomplish at the level of individuals and groups. This study limits the group of participants the Batak community in Medan, and so the chance to study the social capital of other ethnicities was excluded. The inclusion of other ethnicities in the study of social capital among modernized people would also enhance the usefulness of this study.

Fourth, the analysis of the quantitative data revealed that some of the measures were not robust. Furthermore, numerous post-hoc modifications were made to the hypothesized model and these modifications compromised its validity. Future studies are required to refine the survey questions and administer it to another sample in order to produce more reliable and valid measures and to retest the model.

Suggestions for Further Research

The findings of this study suggested the importance of culture and religion in promoting interreligious encounters. It seems that cultural factors are enhanced when
both religion and wider factors are considered simultaneously. This study recommends
that, first, more longitudinal research of the same kind be implemented in order to
confirm the findings of this study. Second is to analyze the qualitative data in greater
depth rather than merely being used to support the quantitative measures. Third is to do
more comparative studies, such as to compare the relationships between other
Indonesian ethnicities’ cultural capital and interreligious encounters.

Conclusions

This study aimed to explore the role of DNT as a form of social capital of the
Muslim and Christian Bataks to promote interreligious encounters and harmony in
Medan. Interreligious disharmony or even interreligious conflicts have been taking
place in Indonesia. Medan city, however, has less experience of interreligious
disharmony and Medan has been able to preserve greater interreligious harmony even
though it is comprised of the population mix that would indicate potential interreligious
conflict.

The current study created a theoretical model to examine whether and how DNT
and its cultural values helped the Bataks in Medan to preserve interreligious harmony.
In the model, cultural and religious influences were included in order to explore the
relationship among these influences and the promotion of interreligious encounters in
Medan.

The results revealed that both culture and religion made a positive contribution
to promoting interreligious encounters in Medan. The implication of this finding means
that religion can play a role in creating peaceful co-existence in a society. This finding
suggests that it is important to examine the relationships between the phenomena of
religion and ethnicities in Indonesia in terms of how the people with different ethnicities relate or ‘translate’ their religious beliefs into practice on a daily basis.

This study has also found that the contribution of cultural influences, comprised of the three aspects of DNT as social capital, was greater than that of religion for interreligious relationships in Medan. It has pointed to the likely role of DNT in explaining this unexpected interreligious harmony. These findings suggest that a cultural approach to creating interreligious harmony in Indonesia may have greater impact than religious teachings as such.

This finding is important because Indonesia is seeking to find a better solution for preserving interreligious harmony and for implementing Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity) that is emblazoned on the national emblem of the country, Garuda Pancasila, in the attempt to establish a “good” society. The key for the solution is to acknowledge that, apart from the religious differences, each person naturally deserves respect because “we are one (family)”. In one (family), each member has an important role to play. The Bataks in Medan are in a strong position to establish and maintain a multicultural society. The heart of successful multiculturalism would seem to be in having the right to be different recognized and accepted.
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Appendices

Appendix A

Information Statement for Survey Participants

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Study on
Christian-Muslim Relationships in Medan
and the ‘Dalihan na Tolu’- A Social Capital Study
of Bataknese Traditional Values
and Their Effect on Interfaith Relationships

Conducted by Godlif Sianipar

Dear Survey participant,

You are invited to participate in the research project identified above which is being conducted by Godlif Sianipar, a PhD Student Researcher from the School of Humanities and Social Science at the University of Newcastle, Australia. The research is part of Godlif Sianipar’s PhD study supervised by Professor Terry J. Lovat and Ann Taylor Ph.D. from the School of Humanities and Social Science.

This is a study on interfaith relationship in Medan, North Sumatra – Indonesia. The main goal of this study is to look at the contribution of Dalihan Na Tolu, the Bataknese
primary familial and social relationship within its ethnicity, in creating a peaceful and harmony atmosphere in the plural city of Medan. Married Bataknese people of both religions, Christians and Muslims, who live in Medan will be the subject of this study. This study will use both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. If you would like to participate please read and answer, complete and return the survey. This survey is anonymous.

Please read this Information Statement and be sure you understand its contents before you consent to participate. Participation in this research is entirely your choice. Only those people who give their informed consent will be included in the project. Whether or not you decide to participate, your decision will not disadvantage you. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact Godlif Sianipar.

All the information that you provide will be kept confidential. You can withdraw from the project at any time without prejudice and you need give no reason or justification for such a decision. If you withdraw, the information you have provide will be destroyed, unless you agree otherwise.

I cannot promise you any personal benefit from participating in this research; nevertheless your views and opinions may help in understanding the Christian-Muslim relationship for the future benefit of the community in Medan and elsewhere in Indonesia.

If you would like further information about the project please contact Godlif Sianipar on Mobile +61 0412814882 or email Godlif.Sianipar@studentmail.newcastle.edu.au or Professor Terry J. Lovat, Ph: +61 02 49216445, email: Terry.Lovat@newcastle.edu.au and Dr Ann Taylor, Ph: +61 02 49216834, email: Ann.Taylor@newcastle.edu.au

Thank you for considering this invitation.

Professor Terry J. Lovat and Dr Ann Taylor
Project Supervisors Student Researcher

Note: This project has been approved by the University’s Human Research Ethics Committee, Approval No. H-2009-0218.

Should you have concerns about your rights as a participant in this research, or you have a complaint about the manner in which the research is conducted, it may be given to the researcher, or, if an independent person is preferred, to the Human Research Ethics Officer, Research Office, The Chancellery, The University of Newcastle, University Drive, Callaghan NSW 2308, Australia, telephone (02) 49216333, email Human-Ethics@newcastle.edu.au
Appendix B

Christian-Muslim Relationships in Medan and the ‘Dalihan na Tolu’ - A Social Capital Study of Bataknese Traditional Values and Their Effect on Interfaith Relationships

Introduction
This is a study on interfaith relationship in Medan, North Sumatra – Indonesia. The research is conducted by Godlif Sianipar, a PhD student researcher from the School of Humanities and Social Science at the University of Newcastle, Australia as part of his study supervised by Professor Terry J. Lovat and Ann Taylor Ph.D. from the University of Newcastle, Australia.

The main goal of this study is to look at the contribution of Dalihan Na Tolu, the Bataknese primary familial and social relationship within its ethnicity, in creating a peaceful and harmony atmosphere in the plural city of Medan. Married Bataknese people of both religions, Christians and Muslims, who live in Medan will be the subject of this study.

The purpose of this study is as follows:
- To describe the contribution of systems of beliefs of both religions to the problems in Christian-Muslim relationships.
- To explore how mutually interdependent factors of culture and religion can trigger inter-communal violence and persecution in all its forms.
- To describe and explore the significant contribution of the cultural values of the Bataknese “Dalihan na Tolu” among the people in Medan city.
- To examine the feelings of friendship and respect that Muslims and Christian can have toward each other in Medan.

This survey is anonymous. If you would like to participate please read and answer, complete and return the survey. I cannot promise you any personal benefit from participating in this survey; nevertheless your views and opinions may help in understanding the Christian-Muslim relationships for the future benefit of the community in Medan and elsewhere in Indonesia. Thank you!

I. These questions related to the Dalihan na Tolu as your traditional culture and as a social capital to the people

1. How important: building a prosperous society
   1 Very important 2 Important 3 Somewhat important
   4 A little important 5 Not at all important

2. How important is it for you to live in a country that is governed democratically? On this scale where 1 means it is “not at all important” and 10 means “absolutely
important” what position would you choose?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not important at all</th>
<th>Absolutely important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. How democratically is this country being governed today? On this scale where 1 means it is “not at all democratic” and 10 means “completely democratic” what position would you choose?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not democratic at all</th>
<th>Completely democratic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays in this country? Do you feel there is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 2 3 4 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 A great deal of respect for individual human rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Fairly much respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Not much respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 No respect at all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. How important: forming a happy secure family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 2 3 4 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Very important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Somewhat important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Not at all important</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Do you agree or disagree that people of your own Bataknese family look out mainly for the welfare of their own families and they are not much concerned with other families welfare?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 2 3 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Strongly disagree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Do you attend the Bataknese familial events (e.g. weddings, funerals) in their houses or public places?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 2 3 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Seldom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Do you attend the Bataknese familial events (e.g. weddings, funerals) in their place of worship?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 2 3 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Seldom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Have you ever helped or been helped by your family?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 2 3 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Seldom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Never</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. If yes, what kind of helps that your family had ever helped you? (Check all that apply).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 2 3 4 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Financial helps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Networking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Advices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Seeking jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Others: __________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. If yes, what kind of helps that you had ever helped your family? (Check all that apply).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 2 3 4 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Financial helps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Networking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Advices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Seeking jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Others: __________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Do families in your groups contribute time and money toward common
development goals?
1 They contribute some a lot 2 They contribute very little 3 Nothing

13. If you sad and want to talk to someone, to whom do you first usually turn to?
1 Parents 2 Neighbors 3 Spouse 4 Member of family in your group 5 Religious leader

14. Do you think that among your Bataknese family generally trust one another in matters of lending or borrowing?
1 Do Trust 2 Do not trust

15. Do you think over the last few years this level of trust has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?
1 Better 2 The same 3 Worse

16. I’d like to ask you how much you trust people from various groups. Could you tell me for each whether you trust people from this group completely, somewhat, not very much or not at all?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trust completely</th>
<th>Trust somewhat</th>
<th>Don’t trust very much</th>
<th>Don’t trust at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
a. Your family     | 1 2 3 4       |                       |                   |
b. Your neighborhood| 1 2 3 4     |                       |                   |
c. People you know well personally | 1 2 3 4 |                       |                   |
d. People you meet for first time | 1 2 3 4 |                       |                   |
e. People of your own religion | 1 2 3 4 |                       |                   |
f. People of another religion | 1 2 3 4 |                       |                   |
g. People of your own ethnic | 1 2 3 4 |                       |                   |
h. People of another ethnic | 1 2 3 4 |                       |                   |
i. People of another nationality | 1 2 3 4 |                       |                   |

17. Please name organizations that you belong to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation’s Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Level of participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Type of organization:**
1 = Neighborhood  
2 = Religious  
3 = Clan  
4 = Politics  
5 = Women  
6 = Parents  
7 = Professional  
8 = Non Governmental

**Level of participation:**
1. The chair  
2. Very active  
3. Somewhat active  
4. Not active

18. Which organization is the most important for your household? ______________

19. The member of the organization most of them are of your family:
   - Organisation 1  Yes  No
   - Organisation 2  Yes  No
   - Organisation 3  Yes  No

20. The member of the organization most of them are of your own religion:
   - Organisation 1  Yes  No
   - Organisation 2  Yes  No
   - Organisation 3  Yes  No

21. The member of the organization most of them are of your own gender:
   - Organisation 1  Yes  No
   - Organisation 2  Yes  No
   - Organisation 3  Yes  No

22. Compare to other Bataknese families, are the relationships among people in your groups more harmonious, the same or less harmonious than other groups?
   1 More harmonious  2 The same  3 Less harmonious

23. In your experience, has the Dalihan na Tolu principle ever helped solving conflicts among Bataknese people of your group?
   1 Always  2 Often  3 Seldom  4 Never

24. Suppose two people in your groups had a fairly serious dispute with each other. Who do you think would primarily help resolve the dispute? (Choose only three answers)
   1 No one; people work it out between themselves  
   2 Family/household members  
   3 Neighbors  
   4 Friends of the families  
   5 Religious leaders  
   6 The clan leaders  
   7 The court  
   8 The Police

25. Suppose someone in your group had something unfortunate happen to them, such as
235

a father’s sudden death. Who do you think they could turn to for help in this situation? (Choose three answers)
1. No one would help
2. Family
3. Neighbors
4. Friends of the families
5. Religious leaders
6. The clan leaders
7. The institution where you work

26. Suppose one person in your group suffered an economic loss, say crop failure or job loss. In that situation, who do you think would assist him/her financially? (Choose three answers)
1. No one would help
2. Family
3. Neighbors
4. Friends of the families
5. Religious leaders
6. The clan leaders
7. The institution where you work

27. Differences often exist between people living in the same familial group. To what extent do differences such as the following tend to divide people in your group?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differences</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Very much</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Differences in education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Differences in wealth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Differences in inheritance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Differences in social status</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Differences in ethnic traditions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Differences between generations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Differences in religious belief</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. How these problems are usually handled?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. People work it out between themselves</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Family/household members intervene</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Neighbours intervene</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Community leaders mediate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Religious leaders mediate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29. Do such problems ever lead to violence?
1. Yes
2. No
30. Would you say the harmonious principle, differences of roles within the family, respect towards each other and community life as inscribe in the Dalihan na tolu are applicable easily within a broader society in Indonesia?

II. These questions are to measure your understanding about your religion.

1. How important to pray daily?
   1 Very important  2 Important  3 Somewhat important
   4 A little important  5 Not at all important

2. How important giving donation to the poor or the hungry?
   1 Very important  2 Important  3 Somewhat important
   4 A little important  5 Not at all important

3. Which one is more important to you: to stick to one religion or to explore teachings of different religious traditions?

   To stick to one religions ______________________
   To explore teachings of different religious traditions
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. Besides attending routine worship services in your place of worship, do you involve actively in any other religious activities?

   Strongly agree  Agree  Disagree  Strongly disagree

5. Religion is the source of law.  1 2 3 4
6. Religion is the source of peace and love.  1 2 3 4
7. The content of religious education at school contributes to religious extremism.  1 2 3 4
8. The content of religious education at the place of worships contributes to religious extremism.  1 2 3 4
9. Religion limits democratic process.  1 2 3 4
10. Religion is a private business.  1 2 3 4
11. Each religion should have its own paramilitary units to supervise the implication of the teachings of each religion.  1 2 3 4
12. You are well informed theologically  
13. Truths and meanings in all religions  
14. Only one true religion  

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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. Apart from your family, in your opinion, is religious belief or God that you would consider worth sacrificing everything for, even risking your life if necessary?  

Yes  No  
1  2  

16. Apart from your family, in your opinion, is peace or religious freedom and justice that you would consider worth sacrificing everything for, even risking your life if necessary?  

Yes  No  
1  2  

17. When you, yourself, hold a strong religious opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives, or fellow workers of the same religion to share your views or not? If so, does this happen often from time to time or rarely?  

1 Often  2 From time to time  3 Rarely  

18. Apart from your family, in your opinion, is peace or religious freedom and justice that you would consider worth sacrificing everything for, even risking your life if necessary?  

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<table>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

19. If yes (refer to the question above), do you attend the program?  

<p>| | | |</p>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>

20. Would you obey all the scriptural comments from your religious leaders?  

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<tbody>
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</table>

21. Would you consider the religious leaders in your faith community are competent in their field?  

<p>| | | |</p>
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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III. These questions are to measure your understanding about the other religion

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Do you have a close friend from the other religion?  
2. Do you know the teachings of the other religion?  

3. Where did you get from information about the other religion’s teachings? Choose more than one:  

_____ Friends from another religion (1)  
_____ Television (2)
4. How many teachings of the other religion that you recognize? __________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Do you understand the meaning of religious symbols and ceremonies in the other religion?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Do you understand the meaning of holy days of the other religion?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Do you understand the reason why Christians call Jesus as the son of God?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Do you understand the meaning of the Eucharist in Catholic Church?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Do you understand the meaning of the rites of baptism in the Church?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Do you understand the meaning of the Holy Trinity in Christianity?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Do you understand the meaning of Easter in Christianity?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Do you understand the meaning of the Star and the Crescent on the top of mosques?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Do you know the reasons why in Islam the Hajj pilgrimage is a necessary?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Do you understand the meaning of Jihad and all its kinds?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Do you understand the meaning of <em>Idul Fitri</em> (The feast after a month of fasting)?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. Is the other religion is holy and true?  | Yes | No |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17. Do you support the idea that hatred and violence are promoted in each of the Scripture of each religion?  | Yes | No |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. Do you support the idea that the other religion is more violent than your religion?  | Yes | No |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IV. These questions are to measure your relationship with people of the other religion**

1. Do you have a family member from the other religion?  | Yes | No |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Yes</td>
<td>2 No</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Do you dislike being with people whose religion is different from you? Is that:  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very much</th>
<th>Quite a lot</th>
<th>Not very much</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Have you ever encountered and talked with people of the other religion (Christians or Muslims) in restaurants, markets, banks, public transportations or in the streets?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Always</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. When you get together with people of the other religion (Christians or Muslims), whether it is in restaurants, markets, banks, public transportations or in the streets, would you say you discuss political or social matters frequently, occasionally or never?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequently</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. When you get together with people of the other religion (Christians or Muslims), restaurants, markets, banks, public transportations or in the streets, would you say you discuss religious matters frequently, occasionally or never?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequently</th>
<th>Occasionally</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Have you ever invited and celebrated religious festivals of the other religion?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Always</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Have you ever participated in group discussions on religious matters or local incidents such as attacks on places of worship or cemeteries?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Always</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Have you ever advised the local government, the police, hospitals and other public services on religious issues and the needs of the other religion?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Always</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Seldom</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Do you think that religion in the future will be more important, less important, or equally important for people in this country?  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>More important</th>
<th>Less important</th>
<th>Equally important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. These questions are to measure your tolerance toward people of the other religion

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Democracy is a Western form of government that is not compatible with my religion.</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Do you agree that places of worship built without permits should be destroyed or closed?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Do you agree that places of worship of the other religion should not be in their neighborhoods?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Do you agree that people of your own religion should not be allowed to extend greetings for the other religions’ holidays?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Islam requires that a country with a majority of Muslims be governed by men of Islamic learning.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Christianisation or Islamisation is the source of religious conflicts in Medan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The gap of the standard of living is the source of religious conflicts in Medan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The politisation of religion is the source of religious conflicts in Medan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Religious pluralism is the source of religious conflicts in Medan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Do you agree that non-Muslims should not be allowed to be the head of state?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Do you agree that the Shariah laws are used as the standards for Indonesia’s morality?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Do you agree that the adoption of the Shariah laws in the country will help to fight crimes?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Do you agree that it is your duty to produce tolerant generations?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14. The government protects religious freedom.

15. Religious leaders should not influence government.

16. It would be better for this country if more people with strong religious belief held public office.

17. It would be better for this country if more people with strong religious belief of my own held public office.

18. Have you ever involved, direct or indirect, in the destruction or closing places of worship of the other religion?
   1 Always  2 Often  3 Seldom  4 Never

19. The neighbors that you would reject:
   1 Neighbors who have religion of my own
   2 Neighbors who are atheist
   3 Neighbors who have different religion from me
   4 Neighbors who are Hindus
   5 Neighbors who are Buddhists

20. Terrorism is everyday news. In principle, most people are against it, but there is still room for differences of opinion. Which of these two statements do you tend to agree with?
   A. There may be certain circumstances where terrorism is justified
   B. Terrorism for whatever motive must always be condemned.
      1 Agree with the statement A
      2 Agree with the statement B
      3 Neither of the statements

VI. These questions are about your background

1. How old are you? ________ years old of age.

2. How long have you been in Medan? _______ years

3. Are you happy living in Medan?
   1 Very happy  2 Somewhat happy  3 Happy or not happy
   4 Somewhat not happy  5 Not happy at all

4. What is your occupation? ________________

5. What is your gender? _________
   Yes No
6. Would you call yourself a Batakene?  
7. Is your mother a Batakene?  
8. Is your partner a Batakene?  
9. Which Batakene sub-group do you belong to?  
   1 Batak Toba  
   2 Batak Karo  
   3 Batak Simalungun  
   4 Batak Pakpak  
   5 Batak Mandailing  
   6 Batak Angkola  
10. Is the husband or wife of your children, brothers or sisters a Batakene?  
   1 Yes  
   2 Yes, some of them  
   3 Not at all  
11. What is your religion preference?  
   1 Islam  
   2 Christianity  
12. How long have you been in your religion?  
   1 Since I was a baby  
   2 Since I was a teenager  
   3 When I was a young adult  
   4 When I got married  
   5 Since _____ months ago  
For Muslims:  
13. If you hold Islam as your religion, which community do you belong to?  
   1 NU  
   2 Muhammadyah  
   3 Other _________  
14. Have you ever attended Pesantren boarding school?  
   1 Yes  
   2 No  
15. If yes, how long? _____ years  
16. Have you ever attended education at Madrasah, Islamic school?  
   1 Yes, primary school parallel  
   2 Yes, junior high school parallel  
   3 Yes, senior high school parallel  
   4 Yes, College parallel  
   5 Never  
For Christians:  
17. Catholics only: have ever attended minor or major seminary?  
   1 Yes  
   2 No  
18. If yes, how long? _____ years  
For both Muslims and Christians:  
19. What is the highest of educational level that you have attained? ____________  
20. How satisfied are you with the education you have now?  
   Completely dissatisfied  
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
   Completely satisfied  
21. How many times do you pray every day? _____ times
22. How many times in a month do you attend religious services in your place of worship? ______ times

23. Do you believe there is life after death?  
Yes  No

24. Do you find that you get comfort and strength from religion?  
Yes  No

25. As a follower of a religion, would you say your religion tendencies:  
1 fundamentalist  2 Moderate  3 Liberal

26. People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the  
1 Upper class  2 Upper middle class  3 Lower middle class
4 Working class  5 Lower class

27. Here is a scale of incomes. We would like to know in what group your household is, counting all wages, salaries, pensions and other incomes that come in.  
1 Low  2 Medium  3 High

28. How satisfied are you with the financial situation of your household?  
Completely dissatisfied ________________________ Completely satisfied  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

29. Are you legally married to this partner?  
Yes  No

30. Have you been divorced?  
Yes  No

31. Have you had any children? If yes, how many? ______

32. Would you say you are satisfied about life?  
1 Very satisfied  2 Rather satisfied  
3 Not very satisfied  4 Not at all satisfied

Thank you! Please return this survey to Godlif Sianipar.
Relasi Kristen dan Islam di Medan dan Dalihan Na Tolu

Pengantar:


Tujuan utamanya adalah meneliti peran sosial Dalihan na Tolu - unsur kekeluargaan yang utama dalam diri orang Batak dan dalam relasi sosial di tengah-tengah masyarakat - dalam menciptakan suasana yang penuh damai dan harmoni beragama di tengah-tengah kemajemukan masyarakat di kota Medan. Subyeknya adalah orang Batak yang telah menikah baik yang beragama Islam maupun Kristen yang berdomisili di Medan.

Sehingga penelitian ini akan meliput hal-hal:
- Meneliti modal sosial (social capital) “Dalihan na Tolu”.
- Menguraikan sumbangsih agama dan masalah-masalah sosial yang terjadi dari relasi orang-orang Kristen dan Muslim.
- Meneliti mengapa dan bagaimana kekerasan dan permusuhan terjadi di kalangan Batak Muslim dan Kristen.
- Meneliti perasaan kekerabatan dan saling menghormati diantara Batak Muslim dan Batak Kristen di kota Medan.


Saya tidak bisa menjanjikan apa-apa bahwa anda akan memperoleh keuntungan pribadi dari keterlibatan anda dalam penelitian ini. Akan tetapi keterlibatan dan pendapat anda ini akan membantu penelitian lebih lanjut dari relasi Kristen-Muslim untuk masa-masa mendatang di kota Medan maupun di Indonesia. Terima kasih!

I. Dalihan Na Tolu sebagai modal sosial.

1. Menurut anda, pentingkah dibangun masyarakat yang sejahtera?
   1 Sangat penting  2 Penting  3 Agak penting
   4 Kurang penting  5 Tidak penting sama sekali

2. Menurut anda, seberapa pentingkah hidup di negeri ini yang sistem pemerintahannya
adalah demokrasi? Pada skala dibawah ini dimanakah pilihan anda?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tidak penting sama sekali</th>
<th>Penting sekali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Seberapa demokratiskah negeri ini sekarang? Pada skala dibawah ini dimanakah pilihan anda?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tidak demokratis sama sekali</th>
<th>Demokratis sekali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Seberapa besar rasa hormat yang ditunjukkan oleh negeri ini terhadap perlindungan hak-hak asasi manusia? Apakah anda merasa:
1. Ada rasa hormat yang tinggi terhadap hak-hak asasi manusia
2. Ada rasa hormat terhadap hak-hak asasi manusia tetapi tidak begitu tinggi
3. Ada rasa hormat terhadap hak-hak asasi manusia tetapi sedikit sekali
4. Tidak ada rasa hormat sama sekali terhadap hak-hak asasi manusia

5. Menurut anda, apakah penting dibentuk satu keluarga yang bahagia?
1. Sangat penting
2. Penting
3. Agak penting
4. Kurang penting
5. Tidak penting sama sekali

6. Setujuakah anda, bahwa orang-orang di famili anda hanya peduli dengan kesejahteraan keluarga mereka sendiri?
1. Sangat setuju
2. Setuju
3. Tidak setuju
4. Sangat tidak setuju

7. Apakah anda menghadiri acara adat keluarga (misalnya pernikahan atau kematian) yang berlangsung di rumah atau di tempat-tempat umum?
1 2 3 4

8. Apakah anda juga menghadiri acara adat keluarga di rumah ibadat mereka yang berbeda agama dari anda?
1 2 3 4

9. Pernahkah anda dibantu dan membantu famili anda?
1 2 3 4

10. Kalau pernah, anda dibantu oleh famili anda dalam hal apa saja? (Pilihan anda boleh lebih dari satu).
1. Bantuan keuangan
2. Bantuan memperluas relasi (networking/jejaring)
3. Bantuan memberikan nasihat
4. Bantuan mencarikan pekerjaan
5. Bantuan tenaga/ketrampilan
6. Lain-lain: __________________________

11. Kalau pernah, anda membantu famili anda dalam hal apa saja? (Pilihan anda boleh
lebih dari satu).
1. Bantuan keuangan
2. Bantuan memperluas relasi (networking/jejaring)
3. Bantuan memberikan nasihat
4. Bantuan mencari pekerjaan
5. Bantuan tenaga/ketrampilan
5. Lain-lain: __________________________

12. Menurut anda, seberapa besarkah anggota-anggota famili anda menyumbangkan waktu dan uang untuk kemajuan famili?
   1 Banyak       2 Sedikit       3 Tidak sama sekali

13. Saat anda bersedih dan ingin berbicara dengan seseorang, siapakah yang pertama kali anda jumpai?
   1 Orang tua    2 Tetangga      3 Pasangan nikah anda
   4 Salah satu anggota famili  5 Pemuka agama

14. Menurut anda, apakah diantara famili anda ada rasa saling percaya satu sama lain dalam hal pinjam meminjam?
   1 Ada         2 Tidak ada

15. Menurut anda, apakah dalam beberapa tahun terakhir ini tingkat rasa saling percaya itu membaik, memburuk atau tetap pada tingkat yang sama?
   1 Membai      2 Sama atau Tetap 3 Memburuk

16. Kami ingin menanyakan rasa percaya anda terhadap orang-orang dari berbagai macam kelompok. Apakah anda mampu percaya sungguh-sungguh, agak percaya, sedikit percaya atau tidak percaya sama sekali terhadap orang-orang dari kelompok dibawah ini:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keluarga anda</th>
<th>Tetangga anda</th>
<th>Orang yang anda kenal baik</th>
<th>Orang yang baru pertama kali anda jumpa</th>
<th>Orang yang seagama dengan anda</th>
<th>Orang dari agama lain (Islam atau Kristen)</th>
<th>Orang dari sesama suku</th>
<th>Orang dari suku lain</th>
<th>Orang yang berkebangsaan lain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sangat percaya</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agak percaya</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurang percaya</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tidak percaya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sangat percaya = 1
Agak percaya = 2
Kurang percaya = 3
Tidak percaya = 4
17. Sebutkanlah nama-nama organisasi, arisan, PKK atau perkumpulan yang anda ikuti sekarang:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nama Organisasi</th>
<th>Tipe Organisasi</th>
<th>Tingkat Partisipasi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tipe organisasi:**
1 = Organisasi STM  
2 = Organisasi agama  
3 = Kumpulan marga  
4 = Organisasi partai politik  
5 = Organisasi Wanita  
6 = Perkumpulan Orang tua  
7 = Organisasi profesi  
8 = Organisasi Lembaga Swadaya

**Tingkat Partisipasi:**
1 = Ketua  
2 = Sangat aktif  
3 = Agak aktif  
4 = Tidak aktif

18. Dari antara perkumpulan tersebut, manakah yang paling penting untuk rumah tangga anda? _____________________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisasi 1</th>
<th>Organisasi 2</th>
<th>Organisasi 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Ya</td>
<td>1 Ya</td>
<td>1 Ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Tidak</td>
<td>2 Tidak</td>
<td>2 Tidak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. Apakah anggota organisasi/perkumpulan itu kebanyakan famili anda?

20. Apakah anggota organisasi/perkumpulan itu kebanyakan seagama dengan anda?

21. Apakah anggota organisasi/perkumpulan itu kebanyakan sejenis kelamin dengan anda?

22. Dibandingkan dengan famili marga lain, apakah hubungan satu sama lain dalam famili anda lebih damai-harmoni, sama, atau kurang harmoni satu sama lain?

1 Lebih damai-harmoni  
2 Sama  
3 Kurang damai-harmoni

23. Dari pengalaman anda, pernahkah Dalihan na Tolu membantu menyelesaikan
konflik atau perseteruan diantara orang-orang dalam famili anda?
1 Selalu 2 Sering 3 Jarang 4 Tidak pernah

24. Seandainya dua orang dari famili anda mengalami konflik personal yang agak serius, menurut anda siapakah yang dapat membantu mereka mengatasi konflik ini? (Pilih 3 jawaban anda):
1 Tidak seorangpun
2 Keluarga sefamili
3 Tetangga/Serikat Tolong Menolong
4 Teman-teman keluarga tersebut
5 Pemimpin agama
6 Pemimpin adat
7 Pengadilan
8 Polisi

25. Seandainya satu keluarga dari famili anda mengalami musibah, misalnya ayah dari keluarga itu meninggal tiba-tiba. Dalam situasi seperti ini, menurut anda, siapakah yang dapat membantu kemalangan keluarga tersebut? (Pilih 3 jawaban anda):
1 Tidak seorangpun
2 Keluarga sefamili
3 Tetangga/Serikat Tolong Menolong
4 Teman-teman keluarga tersebut
5 Pemimpin agama
6 Pemimpin adat
7 Pemimpin perusahaan

26. Seandainya seorang anggota dari famili anda menderita kesulitan ekonomi, mungkin gagal panen atau kehilangan pekerjaan. Dalam situasi seperti ini, menurut anda, siapakah yang dapat membantu keuangan orang tersebut? (Pilih 3 jawaban anda):
1 Tidak seorangpun
2 Keluarga sefamili
3 Tetangga/Serikat Tolong Menolong
4 Teman-teman keluarga tersebut
5 Pemimpin agama
6 Pemimpin adat
7 Pemimpin perusahaan

27. Perbedaan sering terjadi diantara sesama dalam satu famili. Menurut anda, perbedaan apa saja yang berpeluang memisahkan anggota famili anda?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. Perbedaan pendidikan</th>
<th>Tidak berpengaruh sama sekali</th>
<th>Kurang ada pengaruhnya</th>
<th>Sangat berpengaruh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>b. Perbedaan kekayaan</th>
<th>Tidak berpengaruh sama sekali</th>
<th>Kurang ada pengaruhnya</th>
<th>Sangat berpengaruh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>c. Perbedaan dalam memiliki jumlah warisan</th>
<th>Tidak berpengaruh sama sekali</th>
<th>Kurang ada pengaruhnya</th>
<th>Sangat berpengaruh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
d. Perbedaan dalam status sosial di masyarakat

e. Perbedaan adat/tradisi

f. Perbedaan antara generasi muda dan generasi tua

g. Perbedaan agama (Kristen dan Islam)

28. Kalau ya, dengan cara apa masalah tersebut diselesaikan?
   a. Masing-masing menyelesaikan masalah sendiri
   b. Campur tangan dari anggota keluarga
   c. Campur tangan dari tetangga
   d. Mediasi dari pemimpin adat
   e. Mediasi dari pemimpin agama

29. Apakah masalah tersebut memicu kekerasan?

30. Menurut anda, apakah prinsip-prinsip keharmonisan, perbedaan peran dan tanggung jawab, hormat menghormati serta penekanan pada hidup kebersamaan seperti yang terdapat dalam Dalihan na Tolu dapat diterapkan dengan mudah dalam masyarakat lain di Indonesia?

II. Kognitif anda tentang agama anda.

1. Apakah penting bagi anda berdoa setiap hari?
   1 Sangat penting
   2 Penting
   3 Agak penting
   4 Kurang penting
   5 Tidak penting sama sekali

2. Apakah penting bagi anda memberikan sedekah, zakat atau sumbangan materi/uang sebagai karitas?
   1 Sangat penting
   2 Penting
   3 Agak penting
   4 Kurang penting
   5 Tidak penting sama sekali

3. Manakah yang lebih penting bagi anda: setia pada satu agama atau mempelajari dan memahami agama-agama lain?

   Setia pada satu agama
   Mempelajari/memahami agama lain

   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

4. Disamping menghadiri peribadatan rutin di rumah ibadat, apakah anda juga terlibat aktif dalam kegiatan lain dalam agama anda?

   Setuju sekali  Setuju  Tidak setuju  Sangat tidak setuju
5. Agama adalah sumber hukum. 1 2 3 4
6. Agama adalah sumber damai dan kasih. 1 2 3 4
7. Isi pelajaran agama yang disampaikan di bangku sekolah/akademik turut menyumbang sikap ekstrim dalam beragama. 1 2 3 4
8. Isi ajaran agama yang disampaikan di rumah ibadat (Gereja atau Mesjid) turut menyumbang sikap ekstrim dalam beragama. 1 2 3 4
9. Agama membatasi proses berdemokrasi. 1 2 3 4
10. Agama adalah urusan pribadi anda. 1 2 3 4
11. Setiap agama seharusnya memiliki pasukan atau laskar yang akan mengawasi pelaksanaan perintah-perintah agama di tengah-tengah masyarakat. 1 2 3 4
12. Anda mengerti dengan baik paham-paham agama dan ke-Tuhanan dalam agama anda 1 2 3 4
13. Semua kebenaran dan perwujudan maknanya ada di dalam semua agama 1 2 3 4
14. Hanya ada satu agama yang benar 1 2 3 4

15. Selain keluarga, menurut pendapat anda, apakah pantas mengorbankan nyawa demi iman? 1 2 3
   Ya  Tidak  Ragu-ragu
16. Selain keluarga, menurut pendapat anda, apakah pantas mengorbankan nyawa demi perdamaian, kebebasan beragama dan keadilan? 1 2 3
17. Ketika anda yakin akan kebenaran agama anda, pernahkah anda berhasrat agar anggota famili dan teman yang seagama meyakini kebenaran yang sama juga? Kalau hasrat itu pernah terjadi, apakah itu terjadi selalu atau dari waktu ke waktu atau jarang? 1 Sering 2 Dari waktu ke waktu 3 Jarang
18. Apakah ada kursus agama rutin tahunan untuk orang dewasa di Mesjid atau Gereja anda? 1 2
   Ya  Ya, namun tidak semuanya  Tidak
19. Kalau ya, apakah anda mengikuti kursus agama tersebut?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ya</th>
<th>Tidak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20. Apakah anda meyakini dan menaati semua ajaran/kotbah dari pemimpin agama (Kiyai, Ulama, Pendeta, Pastor) anda?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ya</th>
<th>Tidak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. Menurut pendapat anda, apakah pemimpin agama anda adalah seorang yang trampil dalam menjalankan tugasnya?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ya</th>
<th>Tidak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### III. Kognitif anda tentang agama lain.

1. Apakah anda memiliki kenalan yang berasal dari agama lain (Islam atau Kristen)?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ya</th>
<th>Tidak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Apakah anda paham ajaran agama lain (Islam atau Kristen)?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ya</th>
<th>Tidak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Darimanakah anda memperoleh informasi tentang ajaran agama lain (Islam atau Kristen)? (Urutkan berdasarkan prioritas):

   - Teman dekat yang beragama lain
   - Televisi
   - Radio
   - Internet
   - Surat kabar
   - Buku-buku
   - SMS
   - Selebaran
   - Kitab Suci agama tersebut
   - Lainnya, seperti ___________

4. Berapa banyak jumlah ajaran agama lain (Islam atau Kristen) yang anda kenal?  

5. Apakah anda paham arti simbol-simbol religius dan upacara yang dipakai dalam agama lain (Islam atau Kristen)?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ya</th>
<th>Tidak sama sekali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Apakah anda paham arti hari-hari suci dalam agama lain?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ya</th>
<th>Tidak sama sekali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Apakah anda paham alasannya mengapa Orang Kristen/Katolik menyebut Yesus Kristus sebagai Anak Tuhan?  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ya</th>
<th>Tidak sama sekali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. Apakah anda paham arti perayaan Ekaristi/Misa dalam agama Katolik?  
9. Apakah anda paham arti Upacara Baptisan di dalam agama Kristen/Katolik?  
10. Apakah anda paham arti Tritunggal dalam agama Kristen/Katolik?  
11. Apakah anda paham arti Paskah dalam agama Kristen/Katolik?  
12. Apakah anda paham arti Bintang dan Bulan Sabit di atas atas Mesjid?  
13. Apakah anda paham alasannya mengapa dalam agama Islam naik Haji adalah suatu kewajiban bagi yang mampu?  
14. Apakah anda mengerti arti Jihad dan jenis-jenisnya?  
15. Apakah anda paham arti Idul Fitri dalam agama Islam?  

16. Menurut pendapat anda, apakah agama lain itu (Kristen atau Islam) kudus dan benar?  
17. Apakah anda setuju dengan pendapat yang mengatakan bahwa rasa benci dan kekerasan dimuat dalam Kitab Suci masing-masing agama?  
18. Apakah anda setuju dengan gagasan bahwa agama lain lebih menekankan kekerasan jika dibandingkan dengan agama anda?  

IV. Relasi anda dengan orang dari agama lain.

1. Apakah di dalam keluarga inti anda (anak-anak dan saudara-saudari) ada yang beragama lain (Islam atau Kristen)?  
   1 Ya 2 Tidak

2. Pernahkah anda membenci seseorang karena agamanya berbeda dari anda?  
   1 Sangat benci 2 Benci namun tidak selalu 3 Tidak begitu benci 4 Tidak benci sama sekali

3. Pernahkah anda bertegur sapa dengan orang beragama lain (Islam atau Kristen) di restoran, pusat pasar, bank, angkutan umum atau di jalanan?  
   1 Selalu 2 Sering 3 Jarang 4 Tidak pernah

4. Ketika anda bersama dengan orang yang beragama lain (Islam atau Kristen), entah
itu di restoran, pusat pasar, bank, angkutan umum atau di jalan, pernahkah anda berdiskusi soal sosial-politik dengan orang itu?


5. Ketika anda bersama dengan orang yang beragama lain (Islam atau Kristen), entah itu di restoran, pusat pasar, bank, angkutan umum atau di jalan, pernahkah anda berdiskusi soal agama dengan orang itu?


6. Pernahkah anda diundang menghadiri perayaan keagamaan dari agama lain (Islam atau Kristen)?

1 2 3 4

7. Pernahkan anda berpartisipasi dalam diskusi yang menanggapi masalah-masalah keagamaan lokal di lingkungan anda seperti pengrusakan/pembakaran rumah ibadat agama lain, atau kuburan?

1 2 3 4

8. Pernahkah anda memperjuangkan di tingkat kecamatan atau kotamadya, atau mengadu ke polisi atau tempat-tempat pengaduan yang sejenis berkaitan dengan masalah-masalah agama dan kebutuhan yang diperlukan oleh agama lain?

1 2 3 4

9. Menurut pendapat anda, apakah agama di masa depan akan menjadi lebih penting, kurang penting, atau sama pentingnya dengan yang lain untuk masyarakat di negara ini?


V. Toleransi anda terhadap orang lain.

1. Demokrasi adalah sistem pemerintahan Barat yang tidak sesuai dengan ajaran agama yang saya anut.

2 3 4

2. Rumah ibadat yang dibangun tanpa ijin seharusnya ditutup atau dirusak.

2 3 4

3. Rumah ibadat agama lain seharusnya tidak dibangun disekitar lingkungan rumah anda.

2 3 4

4. Umat yang seagama dengan anda seharusnya tidak diijinkan memberikan salam atau turut

2 3 4
merayakan hari raya agama lain.

5. Agama Islam menghendaki bahwa negara yang mayoritas penduduknya beragama Islam seharusnya dipimpin oleh orang yang beragama Islam.


8. Politisasi agama adalah sumber konflik agama saat ini di kota Medan.


10. Non-Muslim seharusnya tidak diperbolehkan menjadi pemimpin Negara.


13. Anda bertanggung jawab menghasilkan generasi penerus yang toleran.


15. Pemimpin agama seharusnya tidak mempengaruhi pemerintah.


17. Negara ini akan menjadi lebih baik jika jumlah orang-orang yang seagama dengan anda dan kuat keyakinan beragamanya diperbanyak untuk melayani kepentingan umum.

18. Pernahkah anda terlibat, langsung atau tidak langsung, dalam pengrusakan rumah ibadat agama lain?
   1 Selalu           2 Jarang          3 Pernah          4 Tidak pernah

19. Berikut ini adalah warga yang pasti akan anda tolak menjadi tetangga anda:
   1 Warga yang seagama
2 Warga yang ateis/komunis
3 Warga yang berbeda agama (Kristen/Katolik atau Islam)
4 Warga yang beragama Hindu
5 Warga yang beragama Budha


Pernyataan A. Dalam banyak hal, serangan teroris memang perlu dimaklumi

Pernyataan B. Serangan teroris, apapun motivasinya, harus dikutuk

1 Setuju dengan pernyataan A
2 Setuju dengan pernyataan B
3 Tidak setuju dengan kedua pernyataan tersebut

VI. Tentang latar belakang anda.

1. Berapa usia anda? __________ tahun

2. Sudah berapa lama anda tinggal di kota Medan? __________ tahun

3. Apakah anda senang tinggal di kota Medan?
   1 Sangat senang
   2 Agak senang
   3 Biasa-biasa saja
   4 Agak tidak senang
   5 Sangat tidak senang

4. Apakah pekerjaan anda sekarang? ______________________

5. Apakah jenis kelamin anda? 1 Wanita 2 Pria

6. Apakah anda ini orang Tapanuli/Batak? 1 Ya 2 Tidak
7. Apakah ibu anda orang Tapanuli/Batak? 1 Ya 2 Tidak
8. Apakah pasangan menikah anda orang Tapanuli/Batak? 1 Ya 2 Tidak

9. Anda berasal dari suku:
   1 Batak Toba
   2 Karo
   3 Simalungun
   4 Pakpak
   5 Mandailing
   6 Angkola

10. Apakah pasangan nikah anak-anak atau saudara-saudari anda orang Batak?
    1 Ya
    2 Ya, namun tidak seluruhnya
    3 Tidak sama sekali

11. Apakah Agama anda? 1 Islam 2 Kristen/Katolik

12. Sejak kapan anda memeluk agama anda yang sekarang ini?
    1 Sejak bayi
    2 Sejak remaja
    3 Sejak dewasa
    4 Sejak menikah
    5 Sejak ________ bulan yang lalu
Pertanyaan khusus untuk anda yang Muslim
13. Kalau anda beragama Islam, komunitas Islam anda?
   1 NU  2 Muhammadyah  3 Lainnya: 
   
14. Apakah anda pernah mengenyam pendidikan di pesantren?
   1 Ya  2 Tidak pernah

15. Kalau ya, berapa lama? __________ tahun

16. Apakah anda pernah mengenyam pendidikan di institusi agama Islam (Madrasah)?
   1 Ya, setingkat SD  2 Ya, setingkat SMP  
   3 Ya, setingkat SMA  4 Ya, setingkat Universitas  
   5 Tidak pernah

17. (Bagi anda yang Kristen/Katolik) Apakah anda pernah bersekolah di sekolah seminari atau teologia atau Kitab Suci (menengah dan tinggi)?
   1 Ya  2 Tidak pernah

18. Kalau ya, berapa lama? __________ tahun

19. Tingkat pendidikan terakhir anda? ________________

20. Apakah anda puas dengan tingkat pendidikan anda sekarang ini?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sangat tidak puas</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>Sangat puas</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

21. Berapakali sehari anda berdoa? _____ kali

22. Berapa kali sebulan anda menghadiri peribadatan di rumah ibadah anda? _________ kali

23. Apakah anda percaya ada kehidupan kekal/akhirat? 1 2 3

24. Apakah anda menemukan penghiburan dan kekuatan dari agama?

25. Sebagai seorang penganut agama, apakah anda ini seorang yang:
   1 Fundamentalis  2 Moderat  3 Liberal

26. Orang kadang-kadang mengelompokkan dirinya pada kelas buruh/pekerja, kelas menengah atau kelas atas, kelas bawah. Menurut anda, apakah anda ini berada dalam kelas:
   1 Kelas atas  2 Kelas atas menengah  
   3 Kelas menengah bawah  4 Kelas buruh/pekerja  5 Kelas bawah

27. Berikut ini adalah skala pendapatan anda. Kami ingin mengetahui tingkat pendapatan rumah tangga anda setelah menggabungkan seluruh pemasukan dalam
rumah tangga anda.
1 Pendapatan rendah  2 Pendapatan menengah  3 Pendapatan tinggi

28. Apakah anda puas dengan kondisi keuangan anda yang sekarang ini?
Sangat tidak puas  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10 Sangat puas

29. Apakah anda menikah secara sah dengan pasangan anda yang sekarang ini?  
Ya  1  2 Tidak
30. Apakah anda pernah bercerai?  
1  2
31. Apakah anda memiliki anak saat ini? Kalau ya, berapa jumlah anak anda? ________ orang

32. Menurut anda, apakah anda saat ini berbahagia?
1 Sangat berbahagia  2 Agak bahagia  3 Kurang bahagia  4 Tidak berbahagia

Terima kasih! Harap mengembalikan kuesioner ini kepada petugas.
Appendix C

The Medan City Map and Its Population in 2010

Appendix D

Population in Medan Since 1920

Table D.1
Population in Medan Year 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Indonesian</td>
<td>23,823</td>
<td>52.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>East Asian</td>
<td>18,297</td>
<td>40.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>3,128</td>
<td>7.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>43,248</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table D.2
Population in Medan Year 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Indonesian</td>
<td>41,270</td>
<td>53.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>27,287</td>
<td>35.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>4,293</td>
<td>5.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3,734</td>
<td>4.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>76,584</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table D.3
Population in Medan Year 1920 – 2009

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>43,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>76,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>479,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>635,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,378,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>1990</td>
<td>1,730,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>1,905,587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>2,083,256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>2,102,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2,121,053</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Beberapa Data Pokok Kondisi Kesejahteraan Rakyat dan Ekonomi Provinsi
Table D.4

*Number of House of Worships in Medan Year 1991 – 1995*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mosque</th>
<th>Small Mosque/Prayer Room</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Hindu Temple</th>
<th>Buddhist Temple</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table D.5

*Population in Medan Based on Ethnicity Year 2000*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Melayu/ese</td>
<td>125,557</td>
<td>6.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Batak Karo</td>
<td>78,129</td>
<td>4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Batak Simalungun</td>
<td>13,078</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Batak Toba</td>
<td>367,758</td>
<td>19.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Batak Mandailing and Angkola</td>
<td>178,308</td>
<td>9.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Batak Pakpak</td>
<td>6,509</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Nias</td>
<td>13,159</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Javanese</td>
<td>638,898</td>
<td>33.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Minangkabau</td>
<td>167,774</td>
<td>8.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>202,839</td>
<td>10.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Acehnese</td>
<td>53,011</td>
<td>2.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Foreigners</td>
<td>75,253</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,904,273</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table D.6

*Population in Medan Based on Religious Adherents Year 2000*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>1,291,751</td>
<td>67.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Catholicism</td>
<td>55,002</td>
<td>2.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Protestantism</td>
<td>345,310</td>
<td>18.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male Population</td>
<td>Male Percentage</td>
<td>Female Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>103,340</td>
<td>10.06</td>
<td>97,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>102,827</td>
<td>10.01</td>
<td>96,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>105,245</td>
<td>10.24</td>
<td>100,405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>119,440</td>
<td>11.62</td>
<td>122,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>113,386</td>
<td>11.03</td>
<td>128,253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>101,445</td>
<td>9.87</td>
<td>110,684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>89,145</td>
<td>8.68</td>
<td>90,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>73,317</td>
<td>7.13</td>
<td>74,296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>63,581</td>
<td>6.79</td>
<td>61,408</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>48,506</td>
<td>4.72</td>
<td>45,644</td>
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Appendix E

Consent Form for Interview Participants

Study on Christian-Muslim Relationships in Medan and the ‘Dalihan na Tolu’- A Social Capital Study of Batakese Traditional Values and Their Effect on Interfaith Relationships

Conducted by Godlif Sianipar

I, ________________________________ have read the information letter provided. I agree to participate in the above research project and give my consent freely.

Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in an interview, realizing that I may withdraw at any time without reason and without prejudice.

I understand that all information provided is treated strictly confidential. I have been advised as to what data is being collected, what the purpose is, and what will be done with the data upon completion of the research.

I give my permission for the researcher to audio-record the interview. YES/NO

I agree that data gathered in the study may be published provided my name or other identifying information is not used. YES/NO

I consent to being identified by a pseudonym in the report with quotes from my interview. YES/NO

Quotes from my interview may be used in the report. YES/NO

I wish to be provided with a transcript of my interview to review and/or edit. YES/NO

I wish to sight where in the report my quotes from the interview are used. YES/NO
Name : ________________________________

Address : ________________________________

                                             ________________________________

Phone No. : ________________________________

Signature: ________________________________    Date: ____________
Appendix F

Interview Schedule

Study on
Christian-Muslim Relationships in Medan
and the ‘Dalihan na Tolu’- A Social Capital Study
of Batakinese Traditional Values
and Their Effect on Interfaith Relationships

1. What is your background?

2. Do you know much about Dalihan Na Tolu? Do you think Dalihan na Tolu plays a role in Christian-Muslims relationship? How much is the influence? Why?

3. What is your position about the fact that many people think that violent conflicts between Christians and Muslims are authorized by their own Scriptures?

4. What is your opinion on the issue of Christian-Muslim relationship in Indonesia and in Medan? Does Medan have the issue of a different one?

5. In your understanding, what is the major obstacle of building genuine relationship between Christians and Muslims in Indonesia and in Medan?
Appendix G

Consent Form for Guided Small Group Discussion Participants

Study on
Christian-Muslim Relationships in Medan
and the ‘Dalihan na Tolu’- A Social Capital Study
of Bataknese Traditional Values
and Their Effect on Interfaith Relationships

Conducted by Godlif Sianipar

I, ______________________ have read the information letter provided. I agree to participate in the above research project and give my consent freely.

Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in a focus group discussion, realizing that I may withdraw at any time without reason and without prejudice.

I understand that all information provided is treated strictly confidential. I have been advised as to what data is being collected, what the purpose is, and what will be done with the data upon completion of the research.

I give my permission for the researcher to audio-record the focus group. YES/NO

I agree that data gathered in the study may be published provided my name or other identifying information. YES/NO

I consent to being identified by a pseudonym in the report with quotes from the discussion. YES/NO

Quotes from me in the discussion may be used in the report. YES/NO

I wish to be provided with a transcript of the focus group discussion to review and/or edit. YES/NO

I wish to sight where in the report my quotes from the discussion are used. YES/NO
Name : ________________________________________

Address : __________________

________________________________________________________________________

Phone No. : __________________________

Signature: ____________________________ Date: __________

Note: When you have finished, you may hand in this Consent Form directly to Godlif Sianipar or to the leader of your organization, or send it by mail to: Jalan H.M. Joni No 64A, Medan - 20217.
Appendix H

Guided Small Group Discussion Schedule

Study on
Christian-Muslim Relationships in Medan
and the ‘Dalihan na Tolu’- A Social Capital Study
of Batakese Traditional Values
and Their Effect on Interfaith Relationships

1. What is your experience and understanding with Christian-Muslim Relationship in Medan? What, in general, do people say about the relationship? What is your expectation of a genuine Christian-Muslim relationship?

2. What do you see as the most and the least beneficial aspects of promoting relationship between Christians and Muslims from the perspective of your career? What would you do differently to promote the relationship?

3. Do you think Dalihan Na Tolu could help the Batakense people building relationship between Christian and Muslim? What are the main aspects of Dalihan Na Tolu that will contribute to the relationship?

4. Who are the most responsible in doing dialog between Christian and Muslim in Medan? Why?
### Appendix I

**TABLE H**
*Correlations Factor of Social Capital*

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*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
a. Listwise N=290
Appendix J

TABLE I
Correlations Factor of Religious Behaviour $^a$

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**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
a. Listwise N=602
Appendix K

TABLE J
Correlations Factor of Interreligious Knowledge

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a. Listwise N=1310
Appendix L

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**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
a. Listwise N=1433
Appendix M

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\(^a\). Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N=1329
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Appendix O

Human Research Ethics Approval

Applicant: (first named in application)  Professor Terence Lovat
Co-Investigators / Research Students:  Mr Godlif Sianipar
                                           Doctor Ann Taylor
Protocol:  Christian-Muslim relationships in Medan and the 'Dalihan na Tolu' - A social capital study of Bataknese traditional values and their contribution on interfaith encounters.

5. In approving this protocol, the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) is of the opinion that the project complies with the provisions contained in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007, and the requirements within this University relating to human research.

6. Note: Approval is granted subject to the requirements set out in the accompanying document Approval to Conduct Human Research, and any additional comments or conditions noted below.

Details of Approval

<table>
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<th>HREC Approval No:</th>
<th>Date of Initial Approval:</th>
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<td>H-2009-0218</td>
<td>18-Sep-2009</td>
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Approved to: 17-Sep-2010

Approval is granted to this date or until the project is completed, whichever occurs first. If the approval of an External HREC has been "noted" the approval period is as determined by that HREC.
Progress reports due: Annually.

If the approval of an External HREC has been "noted", the reporting period is as determined by that HREC.

Approval Details

Initial Application
21-Oct-2009

Approved
The Committee ratified the approval granted by the Chair on 18 September 2009 under the provisions for expedited review

Authorised Certificate held in Research Services

Associate Professor Alison Ferguson
Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee
Appendix P

Consent Form for Various Religious Leaders

Study on
Christian-Muslim Relationships in Medan
and the ‘Dalihan na Tolu’- A Social Capital Study
of Batakese Traditional Values
and Their Effect on Interfaith Relationships

Conducted by Godlif Sianipar

I, ______________________ have read the information letter provided. I agree to participate in the above research project and give my consent freely.

Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this project, realizing that I may withdraw at any time without reason and without prejudice.

I understand that all information provided is treated strictly confidential. I have been advised as to what data is being collected, what the purpose is, and what will be done with the data upon completion of the research.

I consent to facilitate Godlif Sianipar to have access to the members of religious organisation under my leadership.

Name  : ________________________________
Address : ______________________________

Phone No. : ________________________________

Signature: ________________________________ Date: _____________
Appendix Q

Letter of Approval from FKUB North Sumatera

PROVINSI SUMATERA UTARA
FORUM KERUKUNAN UMAT BERAGAMA (FKUB)

Nomor: 58/FKUB-SU/VI/2009
Lampu: -
Hal: Penelitian

Medan, 15 Juni 2009

Kepada Yth:
Bapak Ketua Komisi Hubungan Antar Agama dan
Kepercayaan Keuskupan Agung Medan
di-
Medan.

Dengan hormat,

Salam dan do’a kami semoga Bapak senantiasa dalam keadaan sehat wal afiat serta sukses dalam menjalankan tugas.


Untuk kelancaran penelitian tersebut kami mempersilahkan untuk berkunjung ke FKUB Provinsi Sumatera Utara dan berdialog dengan pengurus.

Demikian kami sampaikan. Atas perhatian dan kerjasama yang baik, kami ucapkan terima kasih.

PENGURUS

Ketua,
DR. H. Maratua Simanjuntak

Sekretaris,
J. A. Ferdinandus

Tembusan:
Yth., Uskup Agung Medan di Medan
The English translation of Appendix Q

The Province of North Sumatra
The Interfaith Forum
Office: Amal St., Graha Kuswira No. 1 EE
Tel/Fax: +62-61 845 9050, Medan – 20128

No: 58/FKUB-SU/VI/2009 Medan, 15 June 2009
Re: Research

To: The chair of the Relationship Between Religion and Belief Commission
of the Archdiocese of Medan

Dear sir,
Peace be with you and we pray that you are in good health and succeed in doing your job.

In referring to the letter of the Relationship Between Religion and Belief Commission of the Archdiocese of Medan No.: 019/HAK-KAM/06-200 – 9 June 2009, we welcome the study of religious harmony in North Sumatra which will be done by Fr. Godlif Sianipar O.Carm.

For the success of the research we welcome Fr. Sianipar to visit our office and the officers.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Chair
Dr. H. Maratua Simanjuntak

Secretary
J.A. Ferdinandus