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by Hedy Rogahang

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STUDY ABOUT SOCIAL HABITUS PIERE BOURDIEU IN RELATIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN AND ISLAMIC PEOPLE IN MANADO

*Jeane Marie Tulung¹, Arthur Gerung², Heldy Rogahang³, Olivia Wuwung⁴, Alrik Lopian⁵,
Jhoni Lagun Siang⁶, Subaedah Luma⁷*

^{1,2,3,4,5,6,7}Manado State Christian Religion Institute (IAKN) Manado

¹jeane.tulung@iakn-manado.ac.id, ²arthur.gerung@iaknmanado.ac.id, ³heldy.rogahang@iakn-manado.ac.id, ⁴olivia.wuwung@iaknmanado.ac.id, ⁵jhoni.lagunsiang@yahoo.co.id, ⁷subaedahlu.ma@iakn-manado.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

The results of various national agency surveys show that Manado is the most tolerant city in Indonesia in these recent years. One of the indicators is that between Muslims and Christians are considered very well, of course, there are aspects that become a factor in the establishment of a harmonious relationship between the two. This paper focuses on how religious social life, patterns of relations between Muslims and Christians in Manado by using Pierre Bourdieu's social habitus theory to analyze the data as well as the information. The theory developed by Bourdieu is felt by the author to be quite contextual to understand the social conditions in a multicultural society. There are several findings obtained by the author, including tolerance embedded very strongly in the community, the attitude of accepting and giving, gathering, and telling stories has become the habitus of Manado people. When habitus departs from the cultural unconsciousness means this tolerant attitude occurs naturally and it also becomes a characteristic of the Manado people themselves. This paper departs from a mini-research by observing and interviewing several neighborhood members and religious leaders.

Keywords: Tolerance, Islam, Christianity, Manado, Habitus.

INTRODUCTION

The history of Muslim and Christian associations, especially in Indonesia, began in the 17th century AD when the Dutch colonial government began to consolidate the colonies in the Dutch East Indies. The arrival of the Dutch to Indonesia was not merely trading which eventually colonized but also was followed by missionaries who actively and simultaneously spread the gospel throughout the Dutch colonies (Taher, 1997). Therefore, the war against Dutch colonialism by fighters such as Prince Diponegoro, Imam Bonjol carried the

general message that the resistance was a jihad against Christians as enemies of religion as well as the state.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that in the history of theology there has long been a developing doctrine of the exclusivity of religions. Claims of absolute justification of a religion that one believes delivery to a negative attitude over other religious beliefs. That my religion is credible while other religions are misleading. Added with the issues of Christianization understood by the Muslim community as an effort to Christianize the people who had embraced Islam first, by way of persuasion with a material approach (Money, Work, Home) to those who are poor in remote areas. This issue which then raises concerns, fears, and stereotypes (prejudices) of Muslims to Christians. The history of colonialism then the rise of religious conversion followed by the issues of Christianization became the factors that caused the ups and downs of the relationship between Islamic and Christianity in Indonesia. the occasionally there were high tensions cases ever happen, for instance, the church arson case in East Java, the church closure in Lombok and prohibition of worship service to the GKI Yasmin and HKBP church congregation. Another dark history such as the arson of the Muslim prayer room and the mosque in Tolikara, the church bombings in Surabaya in succession that had just happened and there were many more horizontal conflict between the two followers of the largest religion in the archipelago. Certainly have not disappeared from our memories about the riots in Poso as well as in Ambon. Nevertheless, at the same time in other areas, Muslims and Christians actually embrace each other. One area in Indonesia known for its strong diversity tolerance is Manado city (institute equivalent surveys in 2017). This is perhaps becomes very important to be explored, traced the extent of the relationship between the two Abrahamic religions in Manado in the context of relationships amid the rise of intolerance. By using Pierre Bourdieu's social theory of habitus to analyze this case, this article wants to answer the two main questions. *First*, how is the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Manado?. *Second*, how is the contextualization of the theory of habitus in the relations of Muslims and Christians in Manado city.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research method is carried out using a qualitative research approach. The data collected comes from interview manuscripts, field notes, documents, notes, memos, and other official documents not in the form of numbers.

This paper focuses on how religious social life, patterns of relations between Muslims and Christians in Manado by using Pierre Bourdieu's social habitus theory to analyze the data as well as the information. The theory developed by Bourdieu is felt by the author to be quite contextual to understand the social conditions in a multicultural society. There are several findings obtained by the author, including tolerance embedded very strongly in the community, the attitude of accepting and giving, gathering, and telling stories has become the habitus of Manado people. When habitus departs from the cultural unconsciousness means this tolerant attitude occurs naturally and it also becomes a characteristic of the Manado people themselves.

RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

Manado as an Arena (Champ) Meeting

The majority population of Manado city comes from the Minahasa tribe. In addition to the Bantik tribe which is a native of Manado, there are Sangir, Gorontalo, Mongondow, Arabic, Bobontehu, Talaud, Chinese, Siau, Borgo, Javanese, Batak, Makassarese and other ethnic groups. In North Sulawesi there are three large tribes that are indigenous, namely: Minahasa, Bolaang Mongondow, and Sangihe Talaud. The people of Manado recognize an open culture and tolerance in their daily lives. The evidence of this open culture and tolerance can be observed in the social life of the people of Manado. The composition of the community come from different religious, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds. Then the composition of these different societies is bound in symbolic ties, namely Bo-Hu-Sa-Mi (Bolaang Mongondow-Hul Gorontalo / Gorontalo-Sangir-Minahasa).

This symbolic affiliation, understood by the people of Manado as a bond of brotherhood that does not care about differences in language, ethnicity, and culture, and even religion. The people live in harmony, brotherhood, and peace together.

The religions adopted by Manado people are Christianity, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Based on the minister data (2010) states: 273.996 people are Christian, Islam is 171.742 people, Catholics is 30.115 people, Buddhist is 14.327, 6.455 people are Hindus, and Confucius is 600 people. There are 523 Christian churches, 177 mosques, 21 Catholic churches, 16 Buddhist temples, 2 Hindu temples, and 1 lithang.

Among the sub-districts in Manado city, the Tuminting sub-district was quite high in ethnic and religious heterogeneity. Tuminting sub-district had 55,314 people of the population, the number of Muslims and Christians was almost equal. In addition, there were 26,025 Muslims, 25,732 Christians, 1,291 Catholics, 283 Buddhists, and 31 Hindus. There were no Confucians in Tuminting sub-district. (Tuminting district in 2010). There were 34 mosques and 46 churches.

This sub-district is bounded by the Manado Bay/Sulawesi Sea in the west, Bunaken sub-district in the north, Singkil sub-district in the east, and Wenang sub-district in the south. In an area of 403.57 Ha or 4.0357 km², there was a population of 55,314 people (in 2008) it means the density level was 13,706 people/km². In terms of ethnic diversity, at least there are Minahasans, Gorontalo, and Arabs, there are also villages where people are concentrated on the same religion. Like the Arab villages inhabited by many Arab, Muslim descendants, where there are many mosques; and the Chinese village¹ is inhabited mostly by Chinese descent with its Pagoda (Ruhana et al² 2013). The relationship between Muslims and Christians in Manado does not run smoothly without obstacles, some "collisions" have also occurred, in mid-2014 there was a case of threats made by a citizen (a Christian) to a muezzin so as not to echo the call to prayer with loudspeakers in the whole Dendengan regency (Interview with the¹ Priest of Al-Amin Mosque Ministry of Social Affair, 12 February 2015). Still, in the same year, Muslims in Manado was suddenly not given

permission by the city government to use public facilities namely the Sparta Tikala soccer field to carry out Eid prayer, even though every year the football field is often used by Muslims for the same occasion. This issue was opposed by Muslims throughout North Sulawesi (Interview with the Leader of GP Ansor North Sulawesi, Benni Rhamdani, 22 March 2015.).

¹ Not only these cases, but there is also an assumption from the Muslim community, especially the lower middle class that the harmony of religious life that is being actively promoted and built by the government at a process of "veiled Christianization", nevertheless the assumption is hard to prove. The attitude of some of these Muslims can (actually) be "interpreted" as an expression of disappointment with the political and government maps in the city of Manado. It is an undeniable fact that during the last few decades Muslims have never occupied the number one position or at least occupied strategic posts in this area, thus it is natural to assume that Muslims are deliberately marginalized in matters of politics-government. In addition, the recruitment of employees in government agencies originating from the Muslim community is very lacking, so this further adds to the feeling of disappointment and exclusion from the Muslim community.

The religious harmony in Manado is boldly determined by the regional leaders, religious leaders, as well as the community leaders. If any of the groups feel disappointed and move the mass of the group, then the conflict will easily arise. This is partly because of the economic conditions of the underprivileged population which are somewhat underdeveloped, making it easily provoked for certain political-power interests.

BIOGRAPHY OF PIERRE BOURDIEU

Bourdieu was born in a small rural town in southeastern France in 1960. Pierre Felix Bourdieu received his primary education and spent his childhood at his birthplace, his father was a shopkeeper who later changed his profession as a post officer.

Bourdieu continued his high school, then Bourdieu received a scholarship to continue his education at Louis-le-Grand, a more prestigious high school with a competitive and selective academic. In the early 1950s he followed and received a degree from the prestigious faculty of education in Paris, the Ecole Normale Supérieure (Ritzer., 2012). At Ecole Normale Supérieure, Bourdieu understood the philosophy. There he met his friends, namely Michael Foucault, Jacques Derrida, dan Emanuel Le Roy Ladurie (2010).

In 1954 he successfully completed his philosophical studies, then he was called to fulfill his compulsory military service in the war of independence in Algeria, North Africa. There he spent five years, first as an army in the French army, he also became an assistant lecturer in the faculty of literature at the University of Algiers, during this period Bourdieu undertook intensive research on the Kabyle peasant community in northeast Algeria. In 1960 Bourdieu returned to Paris and was appointed as an assistant lecturer to Raymond Aron, Professor of Sociology and Political Science at the Paris Sorbonne University. With Aron's guidance, Bourdieu was appointed director of studies at the Ecole Partique des

Hautes Etudes. Then in 1982 he reached the prime position, got the chair of leadership in the field of sociology at the Collège de France (Edkins and Williams, 2011).

The author of dozens of books and hundreds of articles was heavily influenced by the ideas of sociologists such as Karl Marx, Max Weber, and Emile Durkheim. He was also influenced by the thinking of the historian and philosopher of science Gaston Bachelard. Bachelard's influence is manifested in the centrality of epistemological attention to Bourdieu's theoretical approach. Bourdieu's study of Bachelard is fundamental in its focus on the role of "pre-constructions" in shaping the understanding of social reality and social scientific inquiry. Karl Marx's influence on Bourdieu is seen in Marx's insistence on the class as a fundamental category for life. However, Bourdieu's view of the class is different from Marx's, according to him, the class is formed from cultural practices as a representation of the relationship of production suggestions. In Bourdieu's criticism of Marx that capital is not only economic but can be in the form of the social, cultural, as well as the religious status of the individual.

Habitus Theory

According to Bourdieu, Habitus is a cultural unconsciousness, namely the historical influence that is not realized yet considered natural (Harker, 2009). Habitus is objectively organized and periodically, but not the product of obedience to rules, this principle can be combined as a collective without being the product of an actor's organizing action (Kreasi Wacana, 2010). Habitus is sometimes portrayed as game logic, a 'practical sense' that drives agents act and react in specific situations that cannot always be calculated before, and are not merely conscious obedience to rules, they are more like a set of dispositions that give birth to practice and perception. Habitus itself is the result of a long process of individual strangulation. Starting from childhood, which then becomes a kind of natural nature. Dispositions represented by habitus are:

- a. Last a long time in the sense throughout a certain period of time of an agent's life.
- b. Transferable in the sense of being able to give birth to practices in various areas of diverse activity
- c. It is structured in the sense of including the objective social conditions of its formation; causes the resemblance of habitus among agents from the equal social class and justifies the discussion of the habitus of a class.
- d. They are structured structures, which means they are able to give birth to practices that are appropriate to specific and particular situations.

Habitus uniformity in a community is the basis of a different lifestyle in society. Lifestyle is understood as the overall tastes, beliefs, and systems that characterizes a class. Including political opinions, philosophical beliefs, moral beliefs, aesthetic tastes, and food, as well as cultural clothing (Haryatmoko, 2003).

The concept of habitus cannot be separated from the realm of struggle (*champ*). The concept of the realm of struggle becomes crucial because in a differentiated

⁴ society the scope of objective relations has a peculiarity that cannot be reduced to relationships that govern other fields. But basically, every area is influenced by Bourdieu's postulate, namely that in all societies there are those who rule and are mastered.

Tolerance as Social Habitus: Cultural Unconsciousness of Manado People.

² Manado people are closely related to Christian identity and Western values (Supit, 2005) are notoriously individualistic, yet the people show tolerance in the arena of plurality. As Bourdieu conceptualized that habitus is also a cultural unconscious, so tolerance occurs spontaneously, naturally because it has become the attitude of the Manado people. For instance, at the 2012 Chinese New Year celebrations, one of the khonghucu religious leaders invited all townspeople from different groups to rejoice together at the celebration which was centered at Ban Hin Kiong Great Temple at 12 pm.

Tolerance is the general attitude that Manado people have in common since they understand that they live in a diverse society. Indeed, the people of Manado come from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, as described in the previous paragraph, each group has characteristics in accordance with its culture, but the attitude of respect for these differences becomes a common behavior in special situations. Manado as a specific domain, namely a multicultural society. Referring to the nature of habitus namely the formation of conditions social through agents therefore it creates practices as well as perceptions that are appropriate to certain special conditions.

¹ The harmony that has been maintained so far in the midst of the community is closely related to the tolerant culture possessed by Manado people. Religious conflicts experienced by regions geographically close to Manado. Precisely considered not to affect the state of relations between religious believers in the area. Harmonization of religious social life is quite maintained, although many people are skeptical about security stability whenever there is an agenda for the election of regional heads. But this concern never happened so far, where the city of Manado still shows a sense of security, peace, and harmony. This fact further enhances the confidence of the people of Manado that the city of Manado is a peaceful city that was successfully built by the government, officials as well as community support.

Mass organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Islamic Syarikat (SI), Muhammadiyah, Persis, and others are very active in carrying out their organizations. Likewise with extra student organizations such as the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII), Islamic College Student Association (ICSA), Muhammadiyah Student Association (IMM), as well as some youth organizations such as the Mosque Youth Association (IRM), the Youth Mosque Communication Forum (FKPRMI), and the Indonesian Mosque Youth Coordinating Board (BKPRMI). Even though Muslims are a minority in Manado city, many mass organizations and youth organizations are certain to have different ideologies, they can actually work together and be able to foster harmonious relations in their internals.

Associated with religious harmony externally it can be seen from the pattern of relationships established between Muslims and Christians in Manado city. When Christians in other areas are often disrupted in their Christmas service yet in Manado city, Muslims accompany by other religious organizations often secure the Christmas service and celebration. It happens vice versa, Christians also participate in Islamic worship activities involve many people, such as the Eid al-Fitri and Eid al-Adha celebrations.

Other factors that support the fostering of harmony between Muslims and Christians in Manado are the sense brotherhood and kinship that is closely intertwined in the community, due to blood relations, marriage, area of origin, neighbors, and the existence of work relations. All of these factors always lead to mutual respect, need, and help between one another, especially in alleviating the burden of suffering of others, visiting each other, and shaking hands, for instance during the religious holidays, marriage ceremonies, funeral, etc.

These mutually accepting relations are certainly interesting and important to learn. Because, in this case, the community is seen developing an identity as a Manado person, an identity that is attached to a city. Its inhabitants begin to release old identities that are inherently based on ethnicity, religion, a genealogy of clear-cut kinship, indigenous territories; including cultural standards that are recognized as authentic or traditional such as traditional clothing, traditional houses, musical instruments and so on. Instead, they identified as Manado people, apart from Minahasa or "highlander", Javanese, Sangir Talaud, Gorontalo, Bugis, Chinese, Christians, Muslims, Catholics, Hindus, and Buddhists.

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