

# NEGOTIATING MODELS OF THE IDENTITY OF MINORITIES RELIGIOUS FOLLOWER IN THE SOUTH PADANG DISTRICT OF PADANG CITY

*Sefriyono*

State Islamic University of Imam Bonjol Padang  
email: yonolbgn@gmail.com

**Abstract :** *The presence of numerous religions in the midst requires negotiation. Negotiation is the way an individual or groups get the recognition from others. In negotiations, each group tries to reduce their bargaining position for an agreement in order to get the benefits for both parties. Negotiation models employed by the follower of religious minorities like Christian, Catholic, and Buddha in the mid of Muslim majority in South Padang District are: first, Church without the symbol of cross--Catholic do not mind to take off their cross symbol in their church so that the church looks like a regular building. This action is done by Catholic to honor the Minangkabau sensitivity on the establishment of church; second, using hijab for non-Muslim students--wearing "hijab" to minimize their differences with the Muslim Students, especially in public school; third, the housing ritual for Christian. Its can be done by the obeying of them to the local regulations and negotiation with local leader; fourth, Buddhist was not stunted become the chief committee of the establishing of mosque; fifth, the sacrificial meat not only enjoyed by Muslim but also non-Muslim. Although, the negotiation on the establishing the new church difficult to be realized, but on the others field like political, education, economic, the negotiation were implemented well.*

**Keywords:** negotiation, religious, minorities, church, hijab.

**Abstrak:** *Kehadiran banyak agama di tengah-tengah masyarakat membutuhkan negosiasi. Negosiasi adalah cara individu atau kelompok mendapatkan pengakuan dari orang lain. Dalam negosiasi, masing-masing kelompok berusaha mengurangi posisi tawar mereka untuk sebuah perjanjian agar mendapat manfaat bagi kedua belah pihak. Model negosiasi yang digunakan oleh pengikut agama minoritas seperti Kristen, Katolik, dan Buddha di tengah-tengah mayoritas Muslim di Kabupaten Padang Selatan adalah: pertama, Gereja tanpa simbol salib - Katolik tidak keberatan melepas simbol salib mereka di gereja sehingga gereja terlihat seperti bangunan biasa. Tindakan ini dilakukan oleh Katolik untuk menghormati kepekaan Minangkabau pada pendirian gereja; kedua, menggunakan jilbab untuk siswa non-Muslim -mengenakan “jilbab” untuk meminimalkan perbedaan mereka dengan Siswa Muslim, terutama di sekolah umum; ketiga, ritual perumahan bagi orang Kristen. Ini dapat dilakukan dengan mematuhi mereka terhadap peraturan lokal dan negosiasi dengan pemimpin lokal; keempat, umat Buddha tidak terhambat menjadi panitia utama pendirian masjid; kelima, daging kurban tidak hanya dinikmati oleh Muslim tetapi juga non-Muslim. Meskipun, negosiasi pendirian gereja baru sulit direalisasikan, tetapi di bidang lain seperti politik, pendidikan, ekonomi, negosiasi itu dilaksanakan dengan baik.*

**المخلص:** يحتاج وجود العديد من الديانات حول المجتمع إلى التفاوض. التفاوض هو الطريقة التي يحصل بها الفرد أو المجموعات على الاعتراف من الآخرين. في التفاوض تحاول كل مجموعات أن تخضع موقفها من أجل الوصول إلى اتفاق للحصول على الفوائد لكلا الطرفين. وغاذج التفاوض المستخدمة من قبل أتباع الأقليات الدينية مثل المسيحيين والكاثوليكين وبوذيين أثناء أغلبية المسلمين في جنوب بادانج كما يلي: أولاً، لا تكون في الكنيسة رمز الصليب- خلع الكاثوليكين رمز الصليب في كنيستهم حتى تبدو الكنيسة كأنها مبنى عادي. تمّ هذا الإجراء من قبل الكاثوليكين لتحريم حساسية شعبة ميناج كابو على بناء الكنيسة هناك. ثانياً، ارتداء الحجاب للطالبات غير المسلمين- ارتداء الحجاب لتقليل اختلافاتهم مع الطالبات المسلمات وخاصة في المدارس العامة. ثالثاً، العبادة السكنية للمسيحية يمكن أن يتم ذلك عن طريق إطاعتها إلى النظام المحلي والتفاوض مع الزعيم المحلي. رابعاً، لا يتوقف أن يصبح البوذية رئيسية اللجنة لتأسيس بناء المسجد. خامساً، لحم

الأضحية لا يتمتعها المسلمون فحسب بل غير المسلمين أيضا. على الرغم من أن التفاوض على بناء كنيسة جديدة صعب لأن يتحقق ولكن في مجالات أخرى مثل السياسة والتعليم والاقتصاد تم تنفيذ التفاوض بشكل جيد.

## INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is constructed through the differences of religions, ethnics, races, languages, islands, and economic stratification. There are six religions in Indonesia, those are Islam, catholic, Christian, Hindu, Buddha, and Confucius. Islam is the popular religion in Indonesia, it reached 87,2 % of the population of Indonesian. In addition, Indonesia has differences in regions and culture. This country has five large islands namely Java, Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Irian Jaya and other small islands, which are estimated, 13.667 islands, but less than half of those islands have occupant. Indonesia is also has 583 the local languages which is used by population in communicating beside Indonesian as the official language.

The population is also differences in the economic level. There are 18 % or 30 million of people in this country are poor. One of the poverty factors is the national income is not distributed fairly. In the developing countries, including Indonesia, there is no balance between rich and poor in relating to the distribution of national income. The composition of income is 40 % of the population has the lower income only get 15 % of the national income; 40 % of the population has income on the top of it get 32 % of the national income; and, 20 % of the population has the highest income get 53 % of the national income.

There is a concern that these differences will disrupt the integration of nation, but through the *Bheneka Tunggal Ika* motto (unity and diversity)—the differences, especially religious will be united and struggled to achieve the national goals. To realize this motto, it is necessary to manage the religious differences properly. The good management of the religious differences will accelerate the realization of the attitudes of harmony in the diversity as a requirement for the implementation of the development of the nation. During the The New Age era (*Orde Baru*), to establish the national stability, the management of the religious differences was done by the strict control from government. For the New Order regime, talking

about ethnic, religion, races, and social groups (SARA) as a source of differences are most sensitive, so it must be treated carefully, the differences could not be touched—for the New Order, if SARA is discussed and touched, it will be trigger the social conflict. Therefore, talking about the SARA was restricted and even banned to be talked.

Be careful with SARA was the motto of the management of differences in the period of the New Order Regime.

Political changes after the fall of the New Age regime, the Reformation era (*Orde Reformasi*) appears. It has two characteristic: *first*, the decentralization of power—the form of government that recognize the authority of the regions to manage their region fully through the decentralization government; *second*, there is a special freedom of speech largely rather than the previous era, so everybody can criticize, gives the suggestion to government freely. This condition was used by the groups which are oppressed by the New Order regime and the new groups that arise after it to express their aspiration freely, so they can strengthen their ethnic and religious identities freely. Along with the weak of the rule of law, strengthening the aspirations of these groups often trigger violence that was not resolved properly.

Related to these problems, *Yeni Wahid* said violence has become a rite in this country where its people tolerate the violence in solving their problems.

Those violence are on December 2011, a group of people attacked the *Syiah's* boarding school in Sampang Madura. On October 2010, the mass disappointment for the decision of the court on the religion blasphemy damaged three churches and two trucks of crowd control/ the *Dalmas* trucks. West Sumatera, especially the city of Padang is the city which is different from other regions in Indonesia. Relatively, this region far from violence either caused of the political cases or the religion cases. The local elections are carried out through the motto “*pemilu Badunsanak*”/the election based on the family values/the *Minangkabau* values. Based on this motto, *Komisi Pemilihan Umum Daerah/The Local Election Commissions of West Sumatera/KPUD Sumatera Barat* and the candidates of governors declare the peaceful, orderly, qualified, and the election with kinship frame.

In the election of governor in the 2004, this motto was proved, at the second days of election, *Kapita Ampera* dan *Dalimi Abdullah* as a candidate of governor said congratulations to the pair of *Gamawan*

Fauzi dan Marlis Rahman as the winner of the election. Only the pair of Irwan Prayitno and Ika Suma Hamid protested to KPUD about the process of election. The protest related to the loosing of their voter in the region of election that they have. Many voters in the bases of their constituents were not registered as the voters in the in the local election. Religious and ethnic violence are not dominant in Padang City or conflict based on religion and ethnic are happened rarely, if it is compared with other regions in Indonesia. Although Ahmadiyah has ideological differences with the mainstream of Islamic understanding in West Sumatera, this sect could life safely. Other religions such as Catholic, Christian, Buddha, Hindu, and Confucius could life safely as well.

Padang city is inhabited by people with differences in religion and ethnic backgrounds. The 2010 Population census mentioned that the population of Padang City is 833.584. Based on religion the population is 96, 57 % Islam, 1,76 Catholic, 1,03 Christian, 0,13 % Hindu, and 0,53 Buddha. Ethnically, Padang City is inhabited by 90,7 Minangkabau, other ethnics 0,3 %. South Padang District as a part of Padang City is also inhabited by people with the differences of religious and ethnic. This district more heterogeneous in religions and ethnics rather than other districts. The population of this district is 57.676 and religiously, 84, 53 % Islam, 8,88 % Catholic, 3, 69 Christian, 0, 50 Hindu, and 2,40 Buddha.

Although South Padang District has population more heterogeneous rather than others, their people live in harmony. This condition can be seen from the result of the following research: *first*, in the village of Rawang with the heterogeneous in religions and ethnics (Islam, Catholic, Christian/Nias, Mentawai, and China), their people live in harmony. The social harmony can be seen from the following social attitude: 1) a mosque in this village, its ceramics and pain were donated by a Chinese Catholics, 2) Chinese Catholics participate as donors in the distribution of “the sembako” (the basic food) for the poor people in the village of Rawang and around; *second*, in the village of Batang Arau in which their people lives in religious differences as well, they live in harmony. The harmony can be seen in the following attitudes: 1) the membership of the organization of Islamic brotherhood not only Muslims but also Catholic, 2) the holiday allowance/THR and “daging qurban” (the meat of animal

such as cow and goad which is slaughtered on the day of Eid Al-Adha ) was not only given to Muslim but also Catholic; *third*, in the village of Mata Air with the differences in religion and ethnic, their people live in harmony. The harmony can be seen in the following attitudes: 1) together with two villages above, “daging qurban”/ sacrificial meat is not only given to Muslims but also Catholic and Christian, 2) loudspeakers in the mosques are not problem for Catholic and Christian, although the mosques near from their house, 3) Muslims in this village does not protest to Christian and Catholic that do the ritual in their house, while in other villages, they do the protest.

The differences in religious identity require their people to do the negotiation to achieve the social harmony. An identity is interpreted with something which is always changing. Identity is always constructed, even deconstruction in accordance with the place and time. Changes of identity are always in relating to other identities either reciprocal or one direction. While negotiation means the process of the transaction interaction where individual or groups in the situation of cross cultural tries to affirm, define, change, contrasts and supports the self-image that they want and others want. An negotiation of identity is a joint communication activities. Individual and groups that do the communication tries to expresses their identities that they want in interaction; they also try to contrast and support other identities.

One of the forms of the negotiation theory is the hybrid theory. For this theory, the cultural identity is not the entities was given since someone was born. The cultural identity is not the entities were destined, reduced, or the cultural traits which are not historical set of cultural convention. In this theory, the negotiation of cultural identity is the encounter and exchanges of cultural performances continuously. At the end of these negotiations will bear the mutual recognition.

Paper which is adopted from the result of this research tries to answer some basic questions. Those are: 1) how are the religious minorities followers negotiate their religious symbols in the midst of the Muslim majorities?, 2) how are the religious minorities followers negotiate their educational rights in the midst of Muslim majorities?, 3) how are the religious minorities followers negotiate their political rights in the midst of the Muslim majorities?, 4) how are the religious minorities followers negotiate their economic rights in the midst of Muslim majorities?.

## **THEORETICAL REVIEW**

The philosophy which is used to analyze the data of research was the identity negotiation theory. It emphasizes the linkage between cultural values and self-conception or self-image. It explains how one's self-conception profoundly influences one's cognition, emotions, and interactions. It explains why and how people draw inter-group boundaries. It illustrates the different needs and wants of individuals in desiring inclusion--differentiation and connection-autonomy in their relationship. It also maps out the factors that contribute to identity sock--as when individuals move from a familiar cultural milieu to unfamiliar one. The fundamental basis of the identity negotiation theory is a view which states individuals in all cultures desire to be competent communicators in a diverse range of interactive situation. They learn to be competent communicators within their own cultures through repeated practices. They also learn to deal with others appropriately through habitual routines. Two source of identity typically influence an individual's everyday interaction: group-based identity and person-based identity. Social identity refer to an individual's conceptualization of the self that derive from memberships in emotionally significant categories of groups. Personal identity on the other hand, refer to an individual's self-conceptions that define the individual in relation to other individual. Social identities can include cultural or ethnic membership identity, gender identity, sexual orientation identity, social class identity, age identity, personal identity, on the other hand, can include any unique attributes that we associated with our individuated self in comparison to those of others. In a collectively culture, for example, people may be more concerned with group membership issues. In individualistic cultures, however, people may be more concerned with individuated based identity issues.

The identity negotiation perspective emphasizes eight identity domains in influencing our everyday interaction. They are discussed as cultural identity, ethnic identity, gender identity, personal identity, role identity, relational identity, face work identity, and symbolic interaction identity. The first four identity or self-image domains are viewed as primary identities that exert an important, ongoing impact throughout our live. The other four identity domains are situational dependent, that is , changeable from one situation to the next.

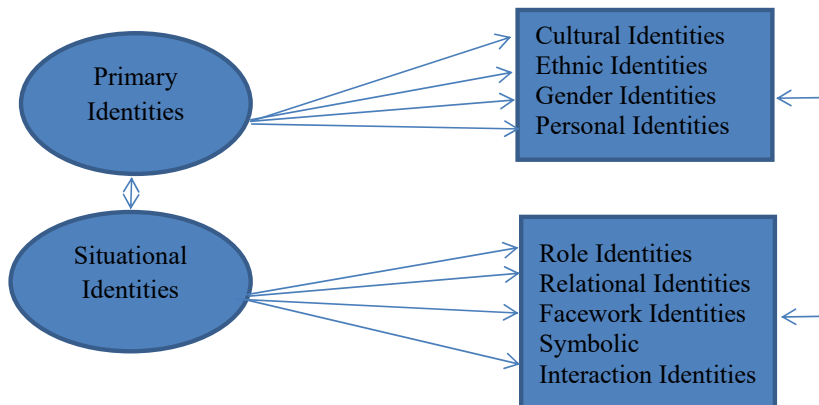


Figure 1. Identity negotiation perspective: Eight identity domains

All identity are constructed. The construction of identities uses building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institution, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations. But individual, social group, and societies process all these material, and rearrange their meaning, according to social determination and cultural projects that are rooted in their social structure, and in their space/time framework. In general terms, who construct collective identity, and for what, largely determines the symbolic content of this identity, and its meaning for those identifying with it or placing themselves outside of it. Since the social construction of identity always take place in a context marked by power relationship.<sup>1</sup>

The theory which is also reveal the construction identity is the hybrid theory. This theory is used to describe the combination of the two forms of culture or social groups that appear the certain characters of cultural and groups. Bhabha said, in relating between two forms of differences of culture or groups, there is the third space or intercultural space that function as the meeting place of people with differences of cultural and differences of social status. In this space, the person and groups can develop the process of moving and exchanges between different cultural and status continuously. In the third space, the inter-

<sup>1</sup> Manuel Castel, *The Power of Identity* (British: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2010), 7.



subjective and collective experience on national and group interests and values are discussed. The third spaces give the important contribution to understand the difference of culture. Related to identity, implicitly, he further said, the identity is something that always changes. The cultural identity was not given, destined, can not be reduced or the character of the a-historical of culture that set the cultural conventions. The negotiation of cultural identity includes the struggle of culture and exchange the cultural display continuously. Finally, in the third space individual or groups will be produced the mutual recognition between them in background of cultural differences.<sup>2</sup>

The hybrid theory questioned that all of identities that are rigid. It disguises the limitation of the cultural identities and affirm it as well. Hybrid rejected the essentialism that assumes the identity as a rigid, raw, and natural. The hybrid also rejected the understanding of anti-essentialism that absolute the human choice to determine their identities. Hybrid believes, there is no a category of the single and pure of identity, all cultural are hybrid and heterogeneous. But the hybrid rejected an understanding that the identity has no limitation. All culture involved each other in the activities.<sup>3</sup>

The hybrid theory is used to apprehend the negotiation phenomenon between the follower of religious minorities such as Christian, Catholic, Buddha and Muslim majority in the South Padang District. How the follower of religious minorities negotiated the differences of their religious identity in the midst of the majority of Minangkabau-Muslim. The negotiation related to religious symbols, politic, and economic. This theory is used to understand how two groups negotiated their differences. Other theory that is used is political recognition, political representation, and political redistribution.<sup>4</sup> The hybrid identities that performed by the follower of the religious minorities (Christian, Catholic, and Buddha) in this sub-district have caused them are recognized and can represented their religious and social need in public space.

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<sup>2</sup> Martono, *Sosiologi Perubahan Sosial*, 158–162.

<sup>3</sup> Darmawan, *Identitas Hibrid Orang Cina* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2014), 25–33.

<sup>4</sup> Zailnal Abidin Bagir, *Pluralisme Kewargaan* (Bandung: Mizan, 2011), 141–144.

## METHODOLOGY

This research employed the Qualitative Research Method. It was carried out in three villages in South Padang District. Those are Rawang, Mata Air, and Ranah Parak Rumbio. The reason to chose these villages are the villages have the high of the degree of religious differences rather than other villages. The source of data are government leaders--headman, RW (the government under the village head), RT (the government under the RW head), community leaders (Minangkabau, Nias, China leaders), religious leaders (Christian, Catholic, and Buddha), students (Christian, Catholic, and Islam), educators (the head of Junior High School/SMP, Senior High School/SMA, and religious teachers), the member of FKUB/Religious Harmony Forum and religious followers that live in this villages. The data collection techniques used in this research are in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation. The data analysis used in this research is the interactive model analysis proposed by Millies and Huberman.<sup>5</sup>

## SOUTH PADANG DISTRICT OF PADANG CITY

This section discusses some subjects, those are: *first*, geography--South Padang District has an area of 10, 3 KM' with 12 villages. Those villages are Air Manis, Bukik Gado-Gado, Batang Arau, Seberang Palinggam, Pasa Gadang, Belakang Pondok, Alang Laweh, Taluak Bayua, Rawang, Mata Air, Seberang Padang, dan Ranah Parak Rumbio. South Padang District has the temperature 22 ° C-31,7 ° C with the rainfall of 384, 88 mm/year. This district has the height from the sea level is 0-322 M dpl; *second*, demographic and economic. The residents of South Padang District is 57.359 people with the population density 5,719. This district inhabited by the differences of ethnic. They are Chinese, Batak, Java, Nias, Ambon, Flores, Mentawai, and Tamil. The profession of the district resident are government employees, Indonesian National Army/TNI, farmer, fisherman, trader, laborer,

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<sup>5</sup> Sugiono, *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D* (Bandung: Alfabeta, 2008). This data analysis model can also be seen in Afrizal, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Sebuah Upaya Mendukung Penggunaan Penelitian Kualitatif dalam Berbagai Disiplin Ilmu* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2014), 178. Afrizal said the data analysis model is the data codification, data persentation, and data verification. Creswell in his book's said data classification, data organization, and data verification, John. W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (London: Sage, 2009), 198-199.

private employees, handyman, service and others. Related to poverty, there are 2.719 of the poor families in this district or there are 20 % of the poor residents in this area; *third*, religion. The residents of this district have differences in religion. In the each of the villages in this district, there are non-Muslim. The distribution of resident based on religion can be seen in the following table:

Table 1. *Residents Based on The Religion Followed*

Villages	Islam	Christian	Catholic	Hindu	Buddha
Alang Laweh	3.670	11	80	10	13
Belakang Pondok	513	204	696	201	601
Ranah Parak Rumbio	2.980	40	616	-	208
Pasa Gadang	1.488	35	288	-	16
Sebarang Palinggam	2.715	118	340	19	234
Seberang Padang	6.891	211	319	-	35
Mata Air	8.769	556	688	15	67
Rawang	9.245	117	511	28	20
Bukit Gado-Gado	1.296	70	119	-	-
Air Manis	1.479	5	11	-	-
Teluak Bayua	2.758	464	61	-	-
<b>Jumlah/2012:</b> <b>48.406</b>	41.804	1831	4.498	273	1.194
<b>Persentase</b>	84, 28%	3,691%	9,068 %	0,55%	2,407%

*Adopted From The Office of Religious Affairs of South Padang District 2012*

*Fourth*, kinship. The residents of South Padang District has three kind of kinship. They are Minangkabau kinship, Nias, and Chinese. Minangkabau is the majority, than followed by Nias and Chinese. Even though, all of them live in harmony. Each of kinship have the values of harmony that they practiced in their activities. Minangkabau has the local wisdom for harmony that can be seen from the custom phrase as “*saciok bak ayam sadancıang bak basi*” (the kitchen has the same crowing and iron has the same sound when it is beaten). This values encourages Minangkabau people to understand the importance of understanding the difference of social and cultural for the unity in society. “*ringan samo dijinjiang barek samo dipikua*” (something light

taken with hand equally and something weight shouldered equally).<sup>6</sup> Nias also has the local wisdom that encourages the harmony. The Nias custom values said “*tufu-tufoi mbeweu bulu lato. Awena awao niwaou*” (keep your mouth before saying something). “*ketete gulame ua* (pinch your skin before pinching others). These values encourages the wisdom. The wisdom is the modal to implement the harmony.<sup>7</sup> Chinese has the personality that allow them to adjust to others, the personality was also encouraged by the souls of trade that they have. Basically, Chinese has the custom value like Minangkabau. That custom is “*dima bumi dipijak disinan langik dijunjung*” (where is the earth is stamped, there the sky is shouldered). This custom value is also encourages someone or groups to adjust their custom with others custom where they live.<sup>8</sup>

Minangkabau people that live in the South Padang District is differences with Minangkabau in others district. They have experienced a maximum contact and intensive with their brothers namely Chinese and Nias. All of them have the same history and social cohesion which is formed by work, business, neighbors, and others. Therefore, its difficult for them to do the conflict. they have mutual understanding and respect so they can live in harmony in ethnic diversity.<sup>9</sup>

## **NEGOTIATE THE DIVERSITY OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITY**

South Padang District is inhabited by people with diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds. There are five religions which are followed by its citizens, those are Muslim, Christian, Catholic, Hindu, and Buddha. In each villages in this district, there are non-Muslims, even though Islam is the majority of religion. Islam was followed by 84 % of people. Villages such as Rawang, Mata Air, and Ranah Parak Rumbio are the villages which have the highest in the religious diversity rather than other villages. But they live in harmony. The social friction which caused by the diversity of religion can be resolved by negotiation.

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<sup>6</sup> St. Syafruddin, Interview The Head of Ketua Kerapatan Adat Nan Salapan Suku Padang, 30 October 2013.

<sup>7</sup> Fauzi Duhu Zai, Interview a Head of Nias Custom, Christian, 3 November 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Romo Sudarma, Interview a Head of Budha, Chinese, 9 November 2013.

<sup>9</sup> Afrizal, Interview a Head of Minangkabau Custom, 30 November 2013.

## 1. Negotiate the Religious Symbols in Public Space

Social activities are the places where the religious recognition was implemented. In social activities contacts occur the social contact between peoples with the diversity of religious and ethnic. In this context, the mutual understanding and tolerance on the rights of each religious follower is necessary. Tolerance can be achieved when the people are able to negotiate its religious diversity in the public space. In this condition, the differences of religion can be negotiated. People in the differences of religion adapted mutually. Basically, the negotiation can be used to get the recognition on the existence of religion in the public space.

In South Padang District, the recognition on the religious rights such as the rights to worship accordance with their religion and belief are implemented in the some forms; each religious followers respected others to believe and to worship by using their religious place. Each religious follower has the worship place to worship. Even though for minorities (Christian and Catholic), procurement of new place of worship have a little problem--some of the worship places have no license. But the problem can be resolved by *rembuk warga* (residents meeting). In this district, Muslims have the most religious places, there are 39 mosques and 30 prayer room (Musholla). While, for Christians have 6 churches and 4 temples for Buddha.<sup>10</sup>

Related to the resistance of some peoples for using the worship places which has not license, the follower of religious minorities take three social attitudes: 1) Performing the ritual at home. This ritual can be performed through the *rembuk warga* (consult residents). Before the ritual is performed, the leader of religious minorities like Christians negotiate the forms of ritual which will be performed to Islamic leader or Minangkabau leader. In the village of Mata Air, especially the peoples who live in *Rukun Tetangga* (the government under the RW) III and around respect and permit Christians to perform the religious ritual in their houses. Muslims in this village permit Christians perform the religious ritual and the church choir rehearsal in their houses, because previously, they have discussed these activities to the local leader (both religious leader and custom leader). In that discussion, the local leaders usually will give some recommendation about the ritual such as, the ritual activities do not involve many peoples, do

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<sup>10</sup> 'Monografi Kecamatan Padang Selatan', 2011.

not disturb the public order such as singing the church hymns loudly and the singing ritual may not be late at night. Christian in this village usually obey this rules or restrictions.<sup>11</sup>

Negotiation is the key for the social harmony between Christian minorities and Muslims majorities in the village of Mata Air. The negotiation was implemented through giving the information on the forms of religious activities which will be done by minorities to the local leaders. The local leaders usually give some suggestion which contain the rules or restrictions which must be obeyed by them related to religious activities which will be done. Before perform the ritual activities at home, Christians habituate to do the discussion to the local leaders, generally the local leaders in this village are Minangkabau-Muslim. This attitude is a way to honor Muslims-Minangkabau as a majority ethnic in this region. There are many the local leaders who their speech are obeyed by the people in this village. Among of them are Fauzen and Arsyad. “before we will perform the ritual activities, especially the housing ritual in these village, we met and discus to them on the forms of ritual activities which will be performed. Through this method, up to now, the religious activities that we do at home never bothered.<sup>12</sup>

1) Performing the ritual in Church without the Symbols of cross. The forms of ritual are usually performed by minorities, especially Christian and Catholic in a rendezvous. For the Catholic, these activities can be seen in the village of Rawang. The rendezvous which is located in the block of Q number 19, Komplek Perumahan Judul (Jundul Housing Complex) has been made as the ritual place. Basically, this rendezvous is the secretariat of the Catholic Association and Funeral (PSKP). PSKP has four sectors. They are Santo Fedelis, Saverius, Katerina, and Veselitas. This association was coordinated by Santo Paulinus Tirtonadi in the village of Batang Arau. Beside this rendezvous is used as the social activities, it is also used as the ritual place. Using the rendezvous as a ritual places is a tactic for Catholics to avoid the protest of Muslim majorities and in their efforts to realize their religious rights such as in implementing their rights in worshipping. Beside that, using

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<sup>11</sup> Era Faulina, Interview Village Residents of Mata Air, 16 October 2013.

<sup>12</sup> Fauzi Duhu Zai, Interview a Head of Nias Custom, Christian, a Head of RT, 10 October 2013.

the rendezvous as a ritual places is also to consider the sensitive of Minangkabau people regarding the establishment of place of worship such as the establishment of church. For Catholics, the main problems of the establishment of the worshiping place are using the religious symbol like the cross as the church symbol as seen in the case of church refusal in the village of Rawang. Therefore, to understand or to respect the sensitive of Minangkabau people regarding the establishment of church, Catholic do not put up the cross symbol in their church, so the church doesn't look like a real church, but like a rendezvous. Through this tactics, the ritual that the Catholic performing is not get challenging from Muslim.<sup>13</sup> Using the meeting places as the ritual place is also happened in the village of Batang Arau. Catholics used the Foundation Building of Tirtonadi to do the weaken ritual. This attitude is chosen by Catholic caused of there is no church in this village. Muslims in this village understand this decision.<sup>14</sup>

- 2) Performing the ritual in the church hasn't legitimacy. In the village of Ranah Parak Rumbio, there is a church which operates based on the people reaction. The church of Bethel perform the religious activities such as the weaken ritual based on the peoples reaction. When, the peoples do the protest, the Bethel Church stops their activities, but if the local community does not protest, the Bethel Church performs the weaken ritual. Up to now, the Bethel Church remains in operating, although its activities are forbidden by the government/The Office of the National Unity and Politic and the Protect of Society/KESBANGPOLLINMAS.<sup>15</sup> Basically, the Church of Bethel has the requirements for the establishment of the place of worship. They have the agreement of 90 the adult religious resident which evidenced by their identities card. They also have the agreement of the local adult resident. They have the license

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<sup>13</sup> Eko Cahyo Murianto, Interview a Head of RT in Rawang Village, Catholic, 17 October 2013.

<sup>14</sup> Irna, 'Pola Interaksi Komunitas Muslim dan Katolik di Kelurahan Batang Arau', 51. Related to permit the places of worship, see Badan Litbang dan Diklat Departemen Agama, 'Buku Tanya Jawab: Peraturan Bersama Menteri Agama dan Menteri dalam Negeri Nomor 9 Tahun 2006 dan Nomor 8 Tahun 2008 Tentang Pedoman Pelaksanaan Tugas Kepala Daerah dalam Pemeliharaan Kerukunan Umat Beragama dan Pendirian Rumah Ibadah' (Jakarta: Litbang dan Diklat Departemen Agama RI, 2007).

<sup>15</sup> Agusmi, Interview a Head of Ranah Parak Rumbio Villages, 16 October 2013.

from the head of village, the head of district, but up to now, the Forum for the Religious Harmony of Padang City/FKUB doesn't give them the recommendation for the operational of Bethel Church as the church legally.<sup>16</sup> Regarding the license of the Bethel Church, a member of FKUB said, related to all of the requirements of administration of the Bethel Church, FKUB does not question. FKUB only question the design of Bethel Church, the license of the building church which is Bethel proposes not only for church but also for shopping. The ground floor of building is planned for mole, while the second floor is used for church. This is contrary to the roles for the establishment of place of worship. Before the church of Bethel does not move the plan of church building that they have, the permit will not be taken out. Furthermore, the building permit of Bethel church is filed when the management of FKUB of Padang City has ended. Up to now, the new management of FKUB hasn't been appointed.<sup>17</sup> Lately, performing of weekly worship at Bethel church goes well, there is no protest from the local community. Now, parking attendant in Bethel church is Muslims.<sup>18</sup>

The symbol negotiations were also occurred in school, especially in the public school. The negotiation on wearing the "hijab" for non-Muslims, particularly Christian and Catholic. Public schools especially in South Padang District oblige their students to wear the "hijab", including for non-Muslims such as Christian and others as mentioned above. Related wearing the "hijab", non-Muslims students have the different views. Those views are: 1) wearing the "hijab" is part of obeying to the school rules. If students don't wear the "hijab", it means they are considered don't obey to the rules of school; 2) wearing the "hijab" for the non-Muslims student in order to minimize the differences of them with Muslim students. By wearing the "hijab", it is difficult to differ between Muslims student non-Muslims students.

For the minorities, the negotiation are implemented smoothly, even though related to the primary identity like faith such as the case of renovation of worship place of Muslim like mosque. In the village

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<sup>16</sup> Ginting, Interview a Christian Diaconate, a Member of FKUB, 4 November 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Rudi, Interview a Member of FKUB of Padang City, 1 April 2014.

<sup>18</sup> Agusmi, Interview a Head of Ranah Parak Rumbio Village, 16 October 2015.



of “Rawang”—the painting and ceramics of mosque were bought by using a Chinese Catholics funding.<sup>19</sup> In the village of “Ranah Parak Rumbio”, many religious activities that are planned by Muslim, including the establishing the place of worship get the funding from non-Muslims especially Chinese. The mosques education such as the education of reading Al-Qur’an, its funding such as teacher salary, buying tables, chairs for studying, and “ustadz” (religious teacher) honor, partly are also from the contribution of Chinese. The funding of Islamic activities such as the Al-Qur’an reading competition is also helped by non-Muslims. In performing of Tabligh Akbar (the religious preaching involved many people), non-Muslims such as Christian, Catholic, and Buddha attend in mosque. For them are provided a tent outside the mosque.<sup>20</sup> In the village of Ranah Parak Rumbio, mutual assistance in developing the place of worship is not taboo. The Arif Rahman Hakim mosque which is located in the village of Ranah Parak Rumbio, the chief of the committee of building of this mosque is the Catholic Chinese. Mr. Indra, a Catholic Chinese is ever become the chief of the committee building of the Arief Rahman Hakim mosque. Besides that, although non-Muslims, Chinese people donate cows for the sacrifice in the celebrate of the day of Idul Adha.<sup>21</sup>

Many traditions that Muslims do in welcoming the month of Ramadhan like the ritual prayer before the coming of Ramadhan of month, non-Muslims are invited by Muslims as their neighbors in that ritual, so the ritual is not only attended by Muslims but also non-Muslims such as Christian, Catholic, and Buddha.

I am one of people who wait the prayer event (the prayer that Muslims do in welcoming the month of Ramadhan), because I most like the dish which is served in this event. One of the dish is the bean curry mixed with fish. People here (the Ranah Parak Rumbio people) called this curry with “the pentin curry” (gulai pentin)—the pieces of long beans in the curry like the pentin bike. The pentin curry is the fish curry combined with the peace of long bean. The peace of long bean is short, so it is seen like the bike

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<sup>19</sup> Sefriyono, ‘Umat Islam Dan Katolik Di Kelurahan Rawang: Konflik Dan Integrasi’.

<sup>20</sup> Oktavianus Abdullah, Interview a Head of RT In Ranah Parak Rumbio Village, 9 October 2013.

<sup>21</sup> Zainal, Interview a Member of FKUB of Padang City, 4 November 2013.

pentin or motorcycle. Unfortunately, lately this activities is rarely done.<sup>22</sup>

In the village of Mata Air, Christian actively involves themselves in activities that is planned by Muslim as majorities people in this village, even though those activities related to the religious activities such as mutual assistance to clean the mosque, attending the religious leture in the condolence events. Understanding and respecting the social and local cultural are the key of harmony of the Christian minorities in midst of the Muslims-majorities in the village of Mata Air. Christian minorities able to adapt well to the Muslims majorities or Minangkabau-culture. Like a drop of water dripping into the ocean, the differences of colors will not be visible. The water droplets are Christian-minority. Christians-minorities most understand the motto of Minangkabau culture. Minangkabau people has the custom motto, those are “the Minangkabau custom based on religious, the religious based on the Holy Book/Koran” (Adat Basandi Syarak, Syarak Basandi Kitabullah ) and where the earth is stepped on there the sky is upheld (dima bumi dipijak disinan lagging dijunjung). The manifestation of our (Christian) understanding for the Minangkabau motto is involved in the majorities activities included the mutual assistance in cleaning the mosque.<sup>23</sup>

In celebrating of Idul Adha, Muslims perform the ritual of the slaughtering animals for sacrifice. Normatively, the sacrificial meats are only given to Muslim. But in the Mata Air Village, this meats are not only given and enjoyed by Muslims but also by non-Muslim such as Christian and Catholic. Similarly in the village of Mata Air, in the Rawang Village the sacrifice meats are also enjoyed by Christian and Catholic.

The sacrifice meats are divided to all residents without discriminate them based on their religion. It means all religious followers such as Christian, Catholic, and others get the sacrifice meat. The sacrifice meat of 9 cows and 2 goats were distributed to 630 the chief of families. The receiving of the sacrifice meat not only Muslim but also Christian and Catholic. In this house complex, the

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<sup>22</sup> Ferdion, Interview, Christian, 22 October 2013.

<sup>23</sup> Fauzi Duhu Zai, Interview a Secretary of Nias Organization, Christian, 16 October 2013.

residents are different in religion, the composition of its residents were 70% Muslims and 30 % Christian and Catholic.<sup>24</sup> In the Idul Adha celebrating of this year, I get the sacrifice meat from the sacrifice committee. That meat was made as the satay and is eaten by residents around my house/my neighbor.<sup>25</sup> Related to the sacrifice cows, almost every year, Chinese whatever their religion, especially Christian, Catholic, and Buddha give some cows for Muslims to become as sacrifice animal in Idul Adha celebrating.<sup>26</sup>

## **2. Negotiate the Educational Right**

The implementation of the rights of religious minorities in the field of education is not as difficult as in the field of religious symbol. In the field of education, the recognition of religion in the differences of religion goes well. The education services are implemented without discrimination. This educational services can be seen in the Junior High School number 20 of Padang City. There were 60 Christian students and 6 Catholic students study in the Junior High School number 20 of Padang City, all of them get the equal treatment as the majority of Muslim students in that school.

One of the equal treatment from this school for all of student are all of students have the rights to get the scholarship. There are no difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in getting the scholarship. The requirements to get the scholarship were achievement and poverty. Students have achievement in their class get the scholarship or their families are included the poor families, they get the scholarship as well.<sup>27</sup> In the Junior High School number 20 of Padang City, all of students get the equal treatment from school. The scholarship program such as the help poor student (BSM) and the achievement scholarship program can be gotten by all of student without discrimination. In my class, there were three Christian students, all of them get the

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<sup>24</sup> Fauzen, Interview a Head of Minangkabau Community, Muslim, 19 October 2013.

<sup>25</sup> Eko Cahyo, Interview, Catholic, 17 October 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Syafruddin, Interview a Head of Minangkabau Culture, 31 October 2013.

<sup>27</sup> Nitsam Geni, Interview a Headmaster of the Junior High School number 20 of Padang City, 10 September 2013.

scholarship. “I have ranked 7th in my class and I am from the poor family”.<sup>28</sup>

In the Senior High School number 6 of Padang City, there are 9 Christian and 8 Catholic students. Although minorities in numbering, they get the equal treatment as 858 of Muslims students. In this school, all of students get the education services without discrimination either religion, ethnic or social status. The education services like to get scholarship, all of students have the right to get it if they have the specific requirements such as the social guarantee for the poor family (KPSM). For all of students, this school gives the equal treatment without discrimination in ethnic and religion. As a Christian student, they were not deterred to get the educational services like to get the scholarship, to become a member of the futsal ball club, they also were not deterred to be involved at the institution of intra-school students (OSIS), the physical nature lovers (FIPALA), heirloom flag raisers (PASKIBRA), and the art gallery of ILALANG—the art gallery of ILLALANG contributes to channel and develop the talents of students in the field of poetry, singing, and drama.<sup>29</sup> “As Christian student and the poor family, through this school I get the scholarship”.<sup>30</sup>

### **3. Negotiate the Political Right**

The meaning of politic in this article is accommodated the rights of minority in public space. It means, minorities are not obstructed to occupy the public position like the chief of RT (government under the RW), the chief of RW (government under the village). RW is usually consisting of several RT. Minorities such as Christian, Catholic, and Buddha are not obstructed to occupy the chief of RT, RW, and the chief of other program that the South Padang District and villages have as well. In the village of Mata Air, the chief of RT is Christian. In this village, there are 25 % of non-Muslim like Christian and Catholic, 75 % are Muslims. “I have been the chief of RT in this village for 9

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<sup>28</sup> Yenti, Interview a Student of Junior High School Number 20 of Padang City, 28 October 2013.

<sup>29</sup> Barlius, Interview a Head of Senior High School Number 6 of Padang City, 23 October 2013.

<sup>30</sup> Efendi, Interview a student of Senior High School Number 6 of Padang City, 23 October 2013.

years, I am a Christian, I coordinated 75 % Muslims and they have the ethnic of Minangkabau.<sup>31</sup>

Many of the chief of RT and RW in this village are non-Muslims like Christian. Fauzi Duhu Zai, a chief of the RT of 3, the RW of 6 and Herman Hia, a chief the RT of 5, the RW of 13 are Christian and Nias.<sup>32</sup> In the village of Ranah Parak Rumbio, the chief of the RW of 5 is Buddhist, his name is Ang Tiong Tek, he is Chinese. The chief of the RT of 2, Kampung Nias Lima, the village of Ranah Parak Rumbio is Chinese-Catholic.<sup>33</sup> In the village of Rawang, there is Eko Cahyo Murianto, he is also the chief of RT, he is Javanese-Catholic.<sup>34</sup>

On the school level, the political negotiation goes well. The recognition of the rights of student in the differences of religion accommodate in the school organization. Christian and Catholic, although they are minorities in numbering, but their representation in the school organization like the student organization/OSIS are recognized. In the Junior High School number 20 of Padang City, the board of the student organization is occupied by students in differences religion. In this school, from 775 students, there are 60 Christian students and 7 Catholic Students. There are 8, 6 % non-Muslim students in this school. There are two vice the chief of student organization in this school, one of them is Christian. Besides that, they are also occupied the fields in the board of student organization.<sup>35</sup>

The membership of social group like the education of the family welfare (PKK) and the readiness group of disaster (KSB) are not considered the primordial elements such as religion and ethnic. The member of PKK is difference. They are Muslim, Christian, Catholic, and Buddha. The differences in religious and ethnic do not obstruct them to become a member of PKK. The member of KSB is also not considered the primordial elements. Now, the chief of KSB in this district is Chinese, his name is Ancok.<sup>36</sup> The negotiation of the

<sup>31</sup> Zai, Interview a Secretary of Nias Organization, Christian.

<sup>32</sup> Yasmianti, Interview a Head of Village of Mata Air, 12 November 2013.

<sup>33</sup> Agusmi, Interview a Head of Village of Ranah Parak Rumbio, 16 October 2013. And Yakup, Interview a Head of RT, Chinese, Catholic, 22 October 2013.

<sup>34</sup> Sefriyono, *Membangun Harmoni Dalam Keragaman Agama*, 98. Agusmi, Interview a Head of Village of Ranah Parak Rumbio. And Yakup, Interview a Head of RT, Chinese, Catholic.

<sup>35</sup> Ilham Fadilla, Interview a chief of OSIS in Junior High School Number 20 of Padang City, 20 October 2013.

<sup>36</sup> Fauzal, Interview Employee of South Padang District, 10 October 2013.

difference of religion in the public space in South Padang District was implemented through supporting of the local wisdom called *Rembug Warga* (the negotiation of residents). This local wisdom can be seen in RT, RW, village, and district. The role of the *Rembuk Warga* is resolve the social and culture problem that they have.<sup>37</sup>

#### **4. Negotiate the Economic Right**

The basic management of religious differences in the economic field is the constitution of 1945. On the article 33, paragraph 3 revealed: earth, water, and the wealth of nature are managed by government and utilized for prosperity of the all people of Indonesia. In South Padang District, there is no discrimination on the distribution of economic. There is no differences between religious follower to access the source of economic that was managed by the district government. The economic welfare programs like rice aid for the poor (RASKIN) can be accessed by all people with the differences of religions. There is no bias in religion in the distribution of welfare. The requirement to get RASKIN is the identity card as South Padang District resident. The RASKIN management was submitted to people that is mentioned by POPMAS (people's group), including the poor themselves. Now, There are 2.719 poor family in South Padang District.<sup>38</sup>

The South Padang District government did not do discriminate regarding the economic assistance programs, the financial assistance was given to all people without discrimination based on religion. Financial services which is managed by Muslim can be accessed by non-Muslim as well. Islamic financial services such as the Syaria'ah Financial Services (Jasa Keuangan Syari'ah) which gives the loan services for someone that has the base business can be used by non-Muslim to develop their business. This is the form of the way of the South Padang District government managed the religious differences—each of religious follower has the right to get the state services equitably.<sup>39</sup> In the village of Mata Air, three of twelve the poor family are Christian and they get the direct cash assistance (BLT). They also get the rice aid to the poor family (RASKIN). A half

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<sup>37</sup> Fauzal, Interview Employee of South Padang District, 10 August 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Sulastri, Interview Employee of South Padang District, 10 October 2013.

<sup>39</sup> Interview Farid Irwan Mahnan, Employee of South Padang District, 10 November 2015.

of Christians in this village are poor family. They are labor in seaport, workers at the bike shop, pitchman, motorcycle services (tukang ojek/ someone rent their motorcycle to bring tenant from one place to others used motorcycle as vehicle).<sup>40</sup> The aid program for the poor students were enjoyed by students with a background of religious differences. This program was enjoyed by Christian, Catholic, Muslim students. In the public schools like junior high school number 20 and senior high school number 6, non-Muslim students like Christian, Catholic, Muslim and others get the scholarship through the aid program for the poor students. The requirement to get scholarship is the students achievement and poor student. "I got the scholarship, I am Christian, my family is poor, but I get 7th rank in my class". Besides that, two of my friends also got this scholarship.<sup>41</sup>

Similarly with the junior high school number 20 students, the senior high school number 6 students also get the scholarship like the aid program for the poor students. The requirement to get the scholarship, the students used the social security card (KPS). It means, students which have this card, they have the right to get this scholarship. Even though, there are only 17 non-Muslim students (Christian and Catholic) in the senior high school number 6, they also get this scholarship. "I get the scholarship, I am Christian, I am from the poor family".<sup>42</sup> The negotiation related to the distribution of welfare not only managed by government but also managed by religious groups. Christian, Catholic, Muslim, and Buddha help each other in the distribution of welfare. In the village of Ranah Parak Rumbio, Catholic is not obstructed to contribute in developing the Islamic institution such as mosque. The Arief Rahman Hakim mosque which is located in Kampung Nias V, the chief of the mosque development is a Catholic Chinese. Catholic Chinese also gives the fund to help the Koran education. They become a sponsor to pay the teacher salaries of the Koran.<sup>43</sup> In the celebration of Idul Adha, there is a Qurban Ritual, Chinese was also become a cow contributor for Qurban.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Zai, Interview a Head of Nias Custom, Christian.

<sup>41</sup> Yenti, Interview a Student of Junior High School Number 20 of Padang City, 28 October 2015.

<sup>42</sup> Efendi, Interview a Student of Senior High School Number 20 of Padang City, 23 October 2015.

<sup>43</sup> Agusmi, Interview a Head of Ranah Parak Rumbio Villages.

<sup>44</sup> Zainal, Interview a Member of FKUB of Padang City.

In the village of Mata Air and Rawang, the meats of Qurban are not only enjoyed by Muslim but also non-Muslim (Christian and Catholic). The aid program that is managed by Islamic institution like Nahdatul Ulama enjoyed by non-Muslim as well. In this village, the meats of qurban enjoyed by Christian and Catholic. When the earthquake in 2009, Nahdatul Ulama collected the aid for the earthquake victims. After the aid was collected, the aid is distributed to the victims regardless of religious affiliations. Christian, Catholic, Muslim and other get the aid, especially for them that lived in Koto Kaciak, Mata Air villages South Padang District.<sup>45</sup>In this village as well, especially at the housing complex of Prima Lestari Jala Utama where is 30 % of it population are Christian, the meats of qurban as a part of ritual in Islamic religion is enjoyed by non-Muslim such as Christian and Catholic. The qurban animal in this housing complex is 9 cows and two goats. The meat of animals are divided to 630 coupons. These coupons are divided according to the number of residents who live in this complex, included Christian and Catholic.<sup>46</sup> Similarly in the village of Mata Air, in the village of Rawang South Padang District, the meats of qurban is enjoyed by non-Muslim such as Christian and Catholic. “in the celebration of Idul Adha this year, I get the meat of qurban from the qurban committee a mosque near my house. The meats of qurban are cooked into satay. The satay is eaten together with my neighbors.<sup>47</sup> The polemic related to the attitude of Muslim gives the meat of qurban to non-Muslim which is happened in two villages have triggered a polemic in the community. The polemic was triggered by a preacher in his preach which said illegitimate to give the meat of qurban to non-Muslim. But the preacher calling was not obeyed by congregations, the meat of qurban remains divided to all residents who lived in this housing complex, including non-Muslim especially Christian and Catholic. 30 % of residents who lived in this housing complex are Christian and Catholic.<sup>48</sup> There is a ritual in Buddha that is performed once a year. It ritual was called by Ulambana. In This ritual, divided thousands of packets containing rice, biscuits, sugar,

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<sup>45</sup> Yulter, Interview a Head of Nahdatul Ulama of Padang City, 8 November 2013.

<sup>46</sup> Fauzen, Interview a Head of Minangkabau Community, Muslim.

<sup>47</sup> Murianto, Interview a Head of RT in Rawang Village, Catholic.

<sup>48</sup> Fauzen, Interview a Head of Minangkabau Community, Muslim.



milk, and instant doodles. 75 % of beneficiaries are the people outside Chinese. Generally, they are Minangkabau and Nias. Minangkabau people surely Muslim, while Nias, generally Christian and Catholic. In the South Padang District, the villages are usually get these packets are Ranah Parak Rumbio, Rumah Kulit, and Pamancangan. Other aid that is given by Chinese Buddha is the aid of improvement of public health such as holding free treatment for the poor families. This program not only followed by Buddhist but also Muslim, Christian, and Catholic. Doctors who performed the treatment on this program are the doctors with the differences religious backgrounds. Doctors who performed the treatment are Muslim, Buddhist, Christian, and Catholic. 75 % patient who followed this program are Minangkabau-Muslim and Nias with the diversity of religion. The treatment that Buddhist performed not only the medic treatment but also the treatment of traditional such as the Tiongkok treatment. Two of programs were performed through negotiation with the community development agencies (LPM) that exist in the level of village. In each villages in South Padang District, there are LPM.<sup>49</sup>

The forms of negotiation above can be the societal glue between people in the diversity of religion and ethnic in South Padang District. Mutual understanding, ability to adjust each on the base of the religious and ethnic diversity were the modal to live in harmony. Two of social attitudes above are implemented through helping each other on the welfare field. The social patterns like this become a barrier for conflict based on religion and ethnic.

## CONCLUSION

The existence of religion in the religious differences requires negotiation Basically, the ultimate goal of negotiation is the way of individual or groups to get the recognition each other. Through the negotiation, the existence of social group that is formed through the religious differences and ethnic recognized by other religious groups. In negotiations, each group tries to reduce their bargaining position so that an agreement is reached that benefits both groups. This negotiation models have been done by the follower of religious minorities like Christian, Catholic, and Buddha in the midst of Muslim majority in South Padang District are: *first*, Catholic willing take off their cross

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<sup>49</sup> Romo Sudarma, Interview a Head of Budha, Chinese.

symbol in the church so that the church looks like a regular building. It is done by Catholic to honor the Minangkabau sensitivity towards the establishment of the church; *second*, the minorities students wear the “hijab” to minimize their differences with the Muslim Students; *third*, the housing ritual for Christian can be done by obeying the local regulations; *fourth*, Buddhist was stunted become the chief of the establishing of mosque; *fifth*, the sacrificial meat not only enjoyed by Muslim but also non-Muslim.

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