

RELIGIOUS HARMONY THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A HOUSE OF WORSHIP BASED ON LOCAL WISDOM IN KEI ISLANDS, MALUKU

Sabara

*Research Center for Religion and Belief
National Research and Innovation Agency
Jl. Jenderal Gatot Subroto No.10 Jakarta
Email: barackfilsafat@yahoo.co.id*

Aksa

*Department of History and Islamic Culture, Faculty of Adab and Humanities
Alauddin State Islamic University, Makassar
Jl. H.M. Yasin Limpo No. 36 Romangpolong Kec. Somba Opu
Kab. Gowa Sulawesi Selatan
Email: aksa131288@gmail.com*

Article received July 6th, 2022; Article revised October 11th, 2022; Article approved October 17th, 2022

Abstract

Establishing houses of worship represents how religious harmony exists in a community. The practice of harmony in establishing a house of worship shows the harmony of relations between people in the community. This study explores the case of the practice of harmony through the establishment of a house of worship based on local wisdom that occurred in the Kei Islands, Maluku. Research problems include; a description of the practice of harmony in the establishment of houses of worship, optimizing the function of local wisdom in the establishment of houses of worship, and the participation of various elements of society related to harmony through the establishment of houses of worship based on local wisdom. This research used qualitative-descriptive research with a case study approach with data collection methods through in-depth interviews, observation, and document studies. The case for the construction of a house of worship chosen is the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque, Dian Pulau (Ohoi) Village, Hoat Sorbay District, Southeast Maluku. Field findings indicate a practice of harmony in the mosque's construction because it actively participates in various elements of interfaith society. In the structure of the committee for the mosque's establishment, there are even 15 names of non-Muslim committee members. Local wisdom functions optimally as the basis that forms the practice of this harmony. Kei's local wisdom, starting from the philosophy of ain ni ain, the customary law of Larvul Ngabal, and the spirit of fanganan, to the practical forms of maren (gotong-royong) and yelim (helping each other) optimally work to build collective awareness and the driving force that overcomes differences in faith, until the realization of the practice of harmony. All elements, either individual or group levels of society, as well as the government, gave active participation in the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque to create harmony among religious believers through the establishment of the house of worship.

Keywords: *Kei Local Wisdom, Religious Harmony, Establishment of Houses of Worship.*

INTRODUCTION

Embracing the attitude of local culture is one indicator of religious moderation (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019). One of the forms of local culture is that local wisdom is a cultural capital to build a harmonious life in a society of different religions. Local wisdom triggers inclusive and

tolerant religious practices and makes the atmosphere of religious life more peaceful, dynamic, and lively. Indonesia has many treasures of local wisdom that have proven successful in building diversity that greets each other, supports each other, and strengthens each other. Implementatively, this local wisdom is manifested in the practice of deliberation and mutual assistance in solving

a problem or meeting everyday needs, including the community's religious needs, and resolving problems that arise regarding inter-community relations.

A critical issue that often disturbs harmony among religious believers is the establishment of houses of worship. The refusal to establish a house of worship for a particular religion is often a problem, even leading to horizontal conflicts. The refusal was triggered by various social, cultural, economic, and political factors. Sometimes people can accept people of different religions in their environment, but they do not necessarily can accept their houses of worship (Sapriallah, 2015). The establishment of houses of worship is in the social, cultural, and psychological space and can even become political because it relates to many people's lives. Therefore, it is very appropriate if the establishment of a house of worship must get the sociocultural support of the local community (Sabara, 2018).

Literature Review

The Joint Regulations of the Minister of Religion and the Minister of Home Affairs (PBM) Numbers 9 and 8 of 2006 regulate the establishment of houses of worship. The PBM is intended not as a state intervention but as a regulation regulating the administration of building houses of worship. However, the content in the PBM is still reaping the spotlight and criticism. The existence of a minimum requirement of 90 users and the support of at least 60 local people are often used as an excuse to prevent the establishment of particular houses of worship, especially those of minorities. In some places, the conflict has widened to the prohibition, sealing, and even destruction of certain places of worship (Aji, 2014). local wisdom as cultural capital plays a functional role in eliminating or solving problems related to establishing houses of worship. When the structural approach through regulation fails to solve the problem of building houses of worship, the cultural approach is usually quite effective in resolving the conflict over the construction of the house of worship.

Local wisdom refers to various cultural treasures. It grows and develops in a society known, trusted, and recognized as significant elements and variables that strengthen social cohesion (Haba, 2007).

Aspects of knowledge (cognitive), world view and way of life, as well as various life strategies implemented in various activities carried out by local communities, are things covered by local wisdom. All these aspects are used to solve various problems in meeting their needs (Njatrijani, 2018). Optimizing local wisdom as an approach and mechanism is shown through the active participation of various elements of a society of different religions who support and assist each other in establishing houses of worship. Local wisdom as the basis of harmony in the establishment of houses of worship in this study is a consensus in the form of values, norms, mechanisms, and active participation with various elements in a community.

Local wisdom is a community's identity or cultural personality that enables them to perceive and process culture into their cultural character (Wibowo & Gunawan, 2015). Local wisdom is a reflection of the local knowledge of a community in responding to situations in their environment and social situations (Sabara, 2015). Local wisdom also shows the implementation of intelligence possessed by certain community groups obtained through community experience. (Daniah 2016). Local wisdom exists over a long period and is transformed into a series of values and norms firmly attached to particular communities. Local wisdom becomes the principle of norms and social and moral rules that become social systems, rites, and habits in people's daily lives (Rohiimin., et al., 2009).

Talking about the practice of inter-religious harmony through the construction of houses of worship, the Kei Islands are an important location to explore. The selection of the Kei Islands as the research location, based on the data obtained previously, that in this area, there are many cases of the harmonious practice of establishing houses of worship based on the strength of the local wisdom of the community. In this area, local wisdom is still sustainable and functional in various aspects of community life. The concrete thing from the function of local wisdom in the Kei community can be seen in the involvement of various elements of interfaith communities in establishing houses of worship.

Conceptual Framework

The main problem in the study is how harmony between religious believers is shown through the establishment of houses of worship based on local wisdom in the Kei Islands. The main problem is described in three sub-problems, namely: a description of the practice of harmony in the establishment of houses of worship, optimizing the function of local wisdom in the establishment of houses of worship, and participation of various elements of society related to harmony through the establishment of houses of worship based on local wisdom. The practice of harmony is present as a best practice (harmony practice) that becomes a model and inspiration because the method and mechanism of its implementation reap optimal results (Apandi, 2019).

RESEARCH METHODS

This qualitative-descriptive research explain social phenomena (see Moleong, 2007). It related to the practice of harmony in establishing houses of worship based on local wisdom. The house of worship as the research target is elaborated with a case study approach, focusing attention intensively and deeply (see Hadari, 2003). The case study approach chosen is a bounded system, which looks at cases to units that work on an integrative and patterned system (Stake, 1995). The technical application is to look at the case of harmony in the construction of houses of worship for the sociocultural units of society that work as an integrated and patterned system. As a case study research, this research emphasizes explanatory knowledge about the studied case (Yin, 2005).

The case for the construction of a house of worship chosen is the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque, Dian Pulau Village, Hoat Sorbay District, Southeast Maluku Regency. The mosque's establishment was chosen as the object of research because it represents the role of local wisdom that functionally contributes significantly to its establishment. The establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque represents an example of the harmonious practice of establishing a house of worship based on local wisdom, which is currently ongoing. Thus, the event is still very actual

and can be observed directly. It was collecting data through interviews with purposively determined informants (see Kasniyah, 2012) from the founding committee and administrators of houses of worship, religious leaders, community leaders, FKUB administrators, the Ministry of Religion, local governments, and parties who know the problem and the object of research. Observations were made by closely observing the mosque's establishment and the inter-religious relationship in the community around the house of worship. Document studies are related to written data, pictures, and videos regarding the construction of mosques and monographic data about the research location. The research was carried out for 22 days and divided into two stages. The initial stage is an initial study or field assessment for seven days on 7-13 February 2021. The second stage is data collection which will be carried out for 15 days on 3-17 March 2021.

DISCUSSION

Kei Local Wisdom and Harmony Between Religions

Kei is an ancestral territory that still firmly holds the customary law of *Larvul Ngabal*. The customary law contains seven main articles that regulate legal, criminal, civil, and moral provisions (Rahail, 1993). Another local wisdom that significantly influences the solid social cohesion of the Kei community is *ain ni ain* as a philosophy of life that unites the heterogeneous Kei community from social, linguistic, and religious aspects (Tiwery, 2018).

Kei can be said to be "the last strongest traditional stronghold in Maluku." The Kei people have the principle that "religion is based on custom" (*agam ni babilun adat*). The problems caused by religious differences can be resolved through a customary approach (Laksono & Topatimasang, 2004). The effectiveness of the custom approach in conflict resolution in Kei shows how strong custom is and the kinship system that even transcends religious differences. The influence of custom and the kinship system is so strong on the Kei community that it becomes the basis for harmonious relations between religious believers. Although this harmony was torn

apart due to the impact of religious conflicts throughout the Maluku Islands, the conflict was soon resolved. The practice of harmony was re-established through the power of custom.

Harmony among religious people is prevalent in the life of the Kei people, which is shown by the practice of helping each other between followers of different religions. The strength of customs and kinship ties is the key word, local wisdom such as *fanganan* (empathy) and *maren* (cooperation), and *yelim* (helping each other) is a cultural capital for the presence of the practice of harmony between people. Based on all these principles, the construction of mosques often involves the full involvement of Christians and Catholics. On the other hand, when a church is built, Muslims also step in to help.

The Kei people have a local philosophy called *Ain ni ain*. This philosophy is one of the traditional expressions of the Kei people, which has been passed down from generation to generation by ancestors to future generations. If explored in depth, this philosophy is not contained in written form but oral form. This *ain ni ain* philosophy has shaped the character of the Kei people from the first because this expression contains positive noble values. The traditional expression *ain ni ain* helps build a tolerant society, love each other, respect each other, unity and unity, brotherhood and peace. This expression is interpreted as brotherhood which refers to the solidarity of the Kei community towards each other in sunny conditions and especially in difficult conditions. The expression *ain ni ain* is reflected and embodied in the life attitude of the Kei people called *yelim* (helping each other) and *maren* (cooperation) (Tildjuir, 2017). Etymologically, *ain ni ain* means "one has one," which means unity by accepting others as brothers (Kudubun, 2016). Based on the collective consciousness created long ago, the people of the Kei Islands are genuinely aware that their local wisdom should be lived and actualized in their lives (Tiwery, 2018).

The philosophy of *ain ni ain* is implemented through the practice of helping each other (*yelim*) and the culture of cooperation (*maren*) (Tildjuir, 2017). Literally, in the Kei language, *yelim* comes from the word *ye*, which means foot, and *im*, which means hand. The philosophical

meaning is the foot stepping and the hand giving. *Yelim* is a traditional procession within the framework of kinship and friendship by assisting in the form of goods or money. At the same time, *maren* is the assistance given in the form of services or labor. *Yelim* and *maren* apply in all celebrations at the moment of the life cycle from birth to death. *Yelim* and *maren* are also intended to help relatives or communities in surrounding villages who wish to build houses of worship, which are then called *yelim/maren* or mosques/churches.

Peter Elmas (2004) recounts his experience, which illustrates how the local wisdom of Kei is very functional as a formula for binding the social cohesion of people of different religions when building houses of worship. Pieter Elmas and his colleagues from his village's MUDIKA (Catholic Youth) organization came to a neighboring village to participate in cooperation (*maren*) to build a mosque. MUDIKA members worked all day and stayed in the village to complete the mosque's construction. The next day when they said goodbye to go home, the head of MUDIKA conveyed, "customs led us to come to build this mosque; this mosque belongs to us together; please use it to carry out worship according to your religion."

The practice of harmony by helping each other in the construction of houses of worship (mosques and churches) has become an unwritten customary obligation. Villagers who intend to build or repair their houses of worship send traditional notifications to the people in the surrounding villages, both religious and non-religious. If there is no notification, it will provoke offense because they feel they are no longer considered brothers (*basudara*). When the foundation stone is laid, or the day the construction begins, people from the surrounding villages will come with *yelims* and contribute to the construction work (*maren*).

When the Tual Great Mosque was built, people from Taar Village who were Christians came to provide energy and material assistance; the magnificent dome of the Tual Great Mosque was the *yelim* of the Taar Village community. On the other hand, when Taar residents renovated their church, Muslims from Tual and its surroundings came with *yelim* and *maren*. A pastor said that when the church's ceiling was repaired,

Muslim residents came to help without being asked, and the congregation felt helped by the presence of the Muslim community (Sabara, 2019).

On Kei Besar Island, the practice of harmony in the construction of houses of worship also occurs, the most recent of which is the establishment of the Jami Wardan El Mosque in Banda Eli Village. In constructing the mosque, people from neighboring villages who were Christians and Catholics were actively involved in building the mosque. According to the Head of FKUB, Southeast Maluku Regency, Arifin Difinubun (interview, 15/02/2021) told, about the establishment of a mosque in one of the villages in Kei Besar, the Muslim population in the village is very small and is surrounded by Christian and Catholic villages. However, what is interesting is that the Christian and Catholic communities are very enthusiastic about the success of the mosque's establishment. There are many other stories about the practice of harmony in building houses of worship in the Kei Islands region. The best practice in inter-community relations embodies the value of local wisdom so that cooperative relationships are established in bonds of solidarity and beautiful harmony in togetherness. Kei's local wisdom is concretized to build pro-existence relations between religious believers. Practiced tolerance has reached a form of active tolerance, where existing differences are cared for and celebrated together. Local wisdom grows from shared awareness that makes inter-religious harmony integrated. Local wisdom forms mindsets and social relations, synthesizing and integrating sociocultural and socio-religious elements (Jati, 2013). As a result, local wisdom is practical as an adhesive for differences, including religious differences. Local wisdom effectively solves problems caused by differences—in religion, including through best practices in building houses of worship.

Description of the Practice of Harmony in the Establishment of a House of Worship

History of the Establishment of a House of Worship

This study takes a case study of the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque, *Ohoi* (Village) Dian Pulau, Hoat Sorbay District,

Southeast Maluku Regency, as a unit of analysis in photographing the harmonious practice of establishing a house of worship based on local wisdom. The construction of the mosque is a relocation of the previous mosque building. The old mosque was demolished and rebuilt about 50 meters from its previous location. The mosque was relocated because the old mosque was starting to break down and could not accommodate the growing congregation. The mosque's location shifted towards the sea, was designed to be a floating mosque, and will be the first floating mosque in Maluku Province.

The historical Al-Manafi Mosque was built on October 15, 1948, to the west of Twat Island, where *Ohoi* Dian Island is located. For nearly four decades after embracing Islam, residents prayed at the temporary mosque in Kei called *saraab*. After the population grew and the need for the existence of a mosque became urgent. The mosque was built on the initiative of Abdul Manaf Kerubun, the *orangkay* (village head) of Dian, so the mosque was named Al-Manafi Mosque. The mosque's establishment at that time brought artisans from Tayando Island and received material and labor assistance from local villagers who were Christians (Dian Darat) and Catholics (Debut). Since the beginning, the practice of harmony has been shown in the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque. It is commonplace throughout the Kei Islands because the construction of houses of worship, churches (Christian and Catholic), and mosques must also involve people from other religions.

Initially, the building of the Al-Manafi Mosque was still elementary, with a thatched leaf roof. The initial renovation was carried out in 1957; mainly, the mosque's roof was replaced using ironwood shingles specially imported from Kalimantan. Approximately 20 years later, the renovation was done again by making a zinc-roofed concrete building. Every renovation moment of the mosque, both in 1957 and 1977, always involved villagers and local people who were Christians and Catholics. Even during the second renovation in 1977, the primary workers the renovation were Catholics from *Ohoi* Rumadian.

The increasing number of residents in Dian Pulau is getting faster, making the capacity of the mosque no longer enough to

accommodate worshipers who reach more than a thousand people during the Eid prayer. In addition, the condition of the mosque building has not been renovated for more than 40 years, so the condition of the mosque building is quite old; it is time to renovate. The mosque renovation plan has been rolling since 2017; the committee formation meeting was held on June 18, 2017, with Awaluddin Eleuwarin as chairman of the founding committee. The plan was hampered by factors of financial readiness and the Covid-19 pandemic. Before the demolition of the mosque in the context of renovations, a temporary mosque was erected on July 22, 2020. The temporary mosque was built of wood, located on the side of the road that connects Dian Pulau and Dian Darat.

Finally, on Friday, November 11, 2020, a meeting was held to discuss the renovation of the mosque, which was also attended by the Regent of Southeast Maluku, HM. Taher Hanubun. During the meeting, a proposal circulated that the old mosque building would be demolished and a new mosque building rebuilt at that location. At the meeting, Regent HM. Taher Hanubun offers the concept of a floating mosque, whose location has shifted several tens of meters from its original location towards the sea, right in the waters of Hoat Sorbay Bay. The regent was very excited about his proposal and promised to help allocate the budget in the 2021 Regency APBD. Because if the floating mosque concept is realized, it will become the first floating mosque in Maluku Province. The committee and all *Ohoi* officials also agreed to the regent's offer.

The committee that was formed later decided that on Monday, December 28, 2020, a groundbreaking ceremony for the construction of the mosque would be held. Preparations were immediately carried out, and invitations were immediately distributed to the government and people from the surrounding villages and *ohoi*. The groundbreaking ceremony took place lively and was attended by more than a thousand invitees from the government, traditional leaders, and religious leaders. Several Kei arts, such as the *Sawat* dance, were performed to enliven the event. The regent, on occasion, had the opportunity to lay the first stone.

The exciting thing at the event was the presence of a group of residents from the

village and *ohoi* who were very enthusiastic at the event, even though they were Catholic or Christian. They came not just as ordinary guests or visitors but as relatives who brought something to help build the mosque. It is the implementation of the *yelim* custom in constructing houses of worship. The *yelim* aid was brought in the name of *yelim ohoi*, clan *yelim*, and personal *yelim*. *Yelim* brought can be in the form of money, building materials, to food. A group of Christians from *Ohoi* (village) *Ur* island and their priests came using motorboats carrying wood to construct the mosque. Leaders and the community of *Ohoi* Debut, who are Catholics, also came with several materials, money, and workforce assistance to help build the mosque. Apart from these two villages, many more people from Christian or Catholic villages came with their *yelims*. Of course, their brothers from *Ohoi* Dian Darat were all out to assist; there were even 15 people from *Ohoi* Dian Darat who were included in the founding committee.

When this research was conducted, the mosque construction process was still in progress in the form of pole erection. The establishment process is planned to take two to three years at an estimated cost of five billion. According to Azis Kerubun, half of the estimated budget is borne by the APBD, while the rest is from donors and non-governmental organizations. Material assistance from *yelim* and labor in *maren* by the surrounding community, including from other *ohoi*, is recognized to have helped reduce the cost of establishing the mosque. The Christian Dian Pulau community members from *Ohoi* Dian Darat contributed much of their materials and energy. When the Dian Pulau youths were looking for wood in the forest (in the *Ohoi* Dian Darat area), it turned out that the Dian Darat youth had taken them and taken them to Dian Pulau. During the sawmill, the people of Dian Darat worked full-time for a week so that the work could be completed quickly. The researcher witnessed how the practice of *maren* or gotong royong in the local wisdom of Kei was implemented when people from Dian Darat Village who were Christians were fully involved in establishing this mosque.

Elements of Harmony Practice

Agencies, structures, and social institutions become a part of and play a role as elements in the practice of harmony in the construction of houses of worship in general in the Kei Islands. It is also seen in the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque observed in this study. The practice of harmony is also seen in various aspects of the mosque's establishment. They were starting from the committee because 15 people from Dian Darat were included in the Christian committee until material and energy donations were given and carried out enthusiastically by people of different religions. In the whole practice of harmony, the synergy of community groups as social agents with existing social institutions based on adat is the most important social structure. Agents, structures, and social institutions all move and function effectively as elements that shape the practice of harmony in the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque.

One of those included in the committee is Nickson Meturan, a Christian from Dian Darat, who is included in the committee for establishing a mosque in the fund section.

"I was involved in the committee for the construction of the Al-Manafi Mosque because I felt called by the encouragement of kinship ties with my brother, Muslim Dian Pulau. We and them are still related cousins, because we come from the same ancestor. Differences in beliefs do not make us have to distance from each other. The Kei culture and Christian teachings that I believe in require me to spread love to all humanity which is manifested in my active involvement in providing any assistance I can give, when my Muslim brothers build their houses of worship." (Interview with Nickson Meturan Christian youth Dian Darat, 05/03/2021)

The administrative aspect with involvement as the founding committee, the physical aspect with the provision of labor and work contributions, and the economic aspect assists in the form of money and materials. The sociocultural aspect becomes the most critical aspect and even becomes the spirit of all aspects of the practice of harmony. The element of culture, in this case, the local wisdom of Kei, becomes the spirit that drives the implementation of the harmony practice. The philosophy of *ain ni ain*, the concept of *fanganan*, to the practice of *yelim*

and *maren* become the basis of local wisdom that underlies the harmonious practice of establishing the Al-Manafi Mosque and the construction of other houses of worship throughout the Kei Islands.

Maren's local wisdom drives the provision of labor assistance in community service. Wisdom of fanaticism or compassion encourages social sensitivity and empathy to move to help their relatives, including helping construct houses of worship for relatives of different religions. Assisting with money and materials is based on the *yelim* tradition, which has taken root as an implementation of social solidarity in the Kei community. Social solidarity that is so strong that it overcomes religious differences is glued together by the philosophical values of *ain ni ain*, which firmly bind the whole community who feel like Kei people.

Communities as agents and social actors, government and customary institutions as social institutions are driven by local wisdom as social values as well as functional and practical traditional ties as the social structure of the Kei community. Effective functioning of local wisdom values that overcome religious differences makes people as social agents move to carry out social actions in the form of harmonizing practices in the establishment of houses of worship. Government institutions from the village level (*ohoi*) to the district level also function effectively as elite valves that strengthen local wisdom's running and proper functioning. One of the most critical implementations is the practice of harmony in the construction of houses of worship, the case of the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque is one real example.

Contribution of Local Wisdom Interfaith Relations Around the House of Worship

When the *Ohoi* Dian people accepted the arrival of religion in the early 20th century, some accepted Islam, and others accepted Christianity. According to records, some of the residents of *Ohoi* Dian had previously embraced Islam, but there is no definite record of the date when Islam first entered *Ohoi* Dian. According to records from the Dian Darat Maranatha Church, the first baptism was carried out on June 23, 1916, when 20 residents were baptized, 19 children

(15 boys and four girls) and one adult. The baptism in 1916 was preceded by the process of evangelizing and building schools since 1911. Catholicism has been embraced by local villagers, including *Ohoi Debut* and *Ohoi Namar*. Several times, residents of these two villages invited Dian residents who were "not yet religious" to convert to Catholicism but were politely refused.

By mutual agreement, the residents who have embraced Islam live on Twat Island, an island opposite *Ohoi Dian*, located in the middle of Hoat Sorbay Bay. The relocation of residents who chose Muslims was due to the consideration that Islamic law forbids pigs and dogs and defiles these animals. Meanwhile, in *Ohoi Dian*, pigs and dogs roam freely, which interferes with the Shari'a implementation for residents who have embraced Islam. The relocation of Dian residents who had embraced Islam occurred in 1913, three years before some Dian residents officially embraced Christianity.

"Dian's Muslim residents moved with a traditional oath that even though they live separately, they must not forget their origins, which are one. The traditional oath contains five points, namely; 1) to live apart, we all come from one ancestor; 2) even though religions are different, we come from one lineage; 3) hard and happy to bear and feel together; 4) if there are people from within or from outside who come to break the family harmony, then he bears all the sins and faults; 5) the sea and land are jointly owned, all are free to fish and garden. When building a hut as a place to live on Twat Island, the Muslims were carried out monthly for a month by all the residents of *Ohoi Dian*." (interview, Aziz Kerubun, Islamic youth leader Dian Pulau, 05/03/2021)."

Twat Island was then better known as Dian Pulau, and the village from which the *Ohoi Dian* people came was called Dian Darat. Administratively, both are in one village (*ohoi*), and each has the status of a hamlet. In each hamlet, the socio-religious community runs according to their individual choices. Christianity in Dian Darat is affiliated with the Maluku Protestant Church (GPM) because Bible teachers and priests evangelize them from Ambon. Meanwhile, Muslims in Dian Pulau received Islamic teachings from a Bugis nomad named Daeng Abu Bakar who later married a local woman.

The son of Daeng Abu Bakar was named *Sambuy*, who later became the first imam. *Sambuy* was then given the surname *Meturan*, because that clan was the least in number in Dian Pulau. Descendants of *Sambuy Meturan* have been the priests of Dian Pulau for generations. In Dian Pulau also lived a Habib named Sayyid Hasan Al-Hamid who gave religious teachings to the local community, until his death in 1963. Sayyid Hasan Al-Hamid was buried in the Al-Manafi Mosque complex, next to the mihrab. However, because the location of the mosque has moved several tens of meters from its original location, the tomb will later be right in front of the mosque.

When still in one village, the village capital was in Dian Pulau because the right holder as an *orangkay* or village head with the surname Kerubun was Muslim and lived in Dian Pulau. In 2016 the two were administratively separated as separate villages (*ohoi*). Currently, the population of *Ohoi Dian Pulau* is 357 families (1302 people), all of whom are Muslims. Meanwhile, *Ohoi Dian Darat* has 353 families (1,254 people), all Christians. However, with different religions and segregated settlements, kinship ties due to one ancestry can be seen from the common clan names between the residents of the two villages.

Relations between residents of different religions are intertwined harmoniously. Ancestral ties and kinship become the unifier of their social cohesion. Apart from that, the residents of *Ohoi Dian* have embraced two religions, namely Islam and Christianity, but the kinship ties due to marriages carried out by their ancestors, make them also have kinship relations with the surrounding villages whose residents are Catholic, such as *Ohoi Debut*, *Namar*, and *Kolser*. Thus, at least three religions have been embraced by the people in the area, but customary and kinship ties unite them.

Relations between Muslims and Christians were torn apart when the Kei Islands were affected by a religious conflict in 1999. The colossal conflict that hit almost all Maluku Islands and North Maluku affected Kei. The initial eruption occurred on March 31, 1999, between *Tual* (Muslim) and *Taar* (Christian); the conflict did not take long to spread throughout the Kei Islands. It includes

the residents of Dian Pulau and Dian Darat, affected by religious conflicts. Although several times involved physical contact when the sea water separating the two was receding and had caused several casualties. However, they are each other's longing for each other, and both feel trouble. The residents of Dian Pulau have difficulty taking care of their garden, located in Dian Darat, while the residents of Dian Darat have difficulty catching fish. The peace initiative began when several residents of Dian Pulau came to Dian Darat and were greeted with open arms. Reconciliation began, accompanied by tears of regret for the silliness that had been done, by killing each other just because of provocation from an unknown group. Instantly remembered the oath of their ancestors, that they are different religions but still one lineage.

After experiencing conflict wounds, the two *ohoi* initiated to re-glue their friendship by frequently gathering together, even until midnight. The moment that finally erased the wounds of the conflict was the re-establishment of the Dian Darat Maranatha Church which involved the Muslim residents of Dian Pulau. The re-establishment of the church occurred between 2003-2007; Muslims from Dian Pulau were also included in the structure of the church building committee.

"At that time, an Islamic figure from Dian Pulau revealed that he did not want to lose the moment of establishing a church that he might not find again for the rest of his life. He wanted to leave good examples and stories to his children and grandchildren, which he contributed to the church's founding. Muslim residents of Dian Pulau and Muslim residents of the surrounding Ohoi are involved in establishing the church. The involvement of Muslim brothers from the groundbreaking to the inauguration and the whole process took up to four years. It is what the residents of Dian Darat responded to when the Muslim residents of Dian Pulau wanted to rebuild the Al-Manafi Mosque." (interview with Berth Kerubun, Christian leader Dian Darat, 06/03/2021)."

Local Wisdom and Religious Harmony

The construction of the Maranatha Church and Al-Manafi Mosque is an example of the practice of harmony between religious believers based on local wisdom. Social

solidarity based on kinship and ancestral ties is the basis for practicing this harmony. Local wisdom as a system of values and norms is internalized to go beyond the barriers of religious differences. Local wisdom, concretely practical as a unifying force, is seen through the active involvement of helping each other in various events, including the construction of houses of worship. According to the harmony theory, this practice celebrates differences by caring for and supporting each other in the existing diversity. All elements actively participated in celebrating these differences, and the moment of building a house of worship became one of the best moments.

Among the sentences that were most often expressed by informants when researchers conducted this research and previous research at Kei were; "*ain ni ain* (we are all one), *manut en mehe ni tilur, funt en mehe ni ngifun* (eggs from the same fish and bird) and *agam ni babilun adat* (religion based on custom)." The philosophy of life *ain ni ain* is very effective at breaking down the barriers of difference in society. The philosophy of *ain ni ain* as a way of life strengthens kinship ties. It effectively breaks religious fanaticism, thus creating a friendly and intimate relationship between people of different religions.

Local wisdom is the keyword for forming harmonious and cooperative living practices between Muslims and Christians. Walzer calls it tolerance which has reached the fifth dimension, namely tolerance is no longer just an acknowledgment and openness to accept others but also supports, cares for, and celebrates differences. Likewise, according to Diana L. Eck (in Setiawan, 2013), there are three conditions for religious pluralism that pluralism is involvement in diversity, actively understanding across differences, and the encounter of commitment is shown clearly.

Local Wisdom as the Basis for Harmony Practices and Its Working Mechanism

Socializing values and norms that go well in society will bring harmony to the social and cultural order (Ritzer & Goodman, 2012). The working mechanism of Kei local wisdom comprehensively starts from forming the collective memory and awareness of the community as a unit based on kinship,

custom, and regional ties. Practically speaking, this local wisdom provides impetus and spirit for the community to help each other, including in the implementation of the construction of houses of worship.

Systematically, the working mechanism of Kei local wisdom as the basis for the harmonious practice of establishing the Al-Manafi Mosque starts from *ain ni ain* as a collective value to *maren* and *yelim* as a collective social action. *Ain ni ain* is the crucial word in reading the social relations of the Kei community. *Ain ni ain* is a humanist value that unites the Kei people so that they feel that they are indeed one. *Ain ni ain* is the basis of values; then there is *larvul ngabal* as the normative basis that regulates human relations. *Ain ni ain* and *larvul ngabal* are what become the soul and cultural awareness of the Kei people regardless of their religion and wherever the village is. *Ain ni ain* is a kinship bond while *larvul ngabal* is a traditional bond. It is this one feeling, so it is only natural that when the Al-Manafi Mosque is about to be built, people from far enough areas feel called to come to help, especially if they feel they have close kinship ties with the Muslim residents of Dian Pulau. This cultural mechanism encourages people from Ur Pulau, quite far from Dian Pulau, to give labor and material contributions and even come with their congregation's pastor.

Feelings and awareness as a collective unit encourage the presence of feelings which in Kei local wisdom are called *fanganan* which means to love each other. *Fanagan* is an affective impulse in the consciousness of the Kei community, which ultimately gives birth to feelings that are moved to help each other. Implementation in the social action of helping each other is embodied in *yelim* and *maren*. The Kei customary system and structure systematically regulate the working mechanism related to the *yelim* and *maren*.

The point working mechanism is the affirmation of the brotherly relationship between those who come to help and those who intend to be the assisted party. Establishing the Al-Manafi Mosque was seen especially during the groundbreaking ceremony. Despite different religions, affirmation and affirmation as brothers can be seen in the traditional *yelim* procession that precedes the ceremonial laying of the first

stone. One of them was Albertus Jamlean, who was present as a public figure for *Ohoi Debut*,

"On that occasion, I gave a speech to those present. "To the Muslim *basudara* (brothers and sisters) Dian Pulau, today your brother Albertus Jamlean, a Catholic from *Ohoi Debut*, came as a form of customary calling and brotherhood, by bringing a small offering. (interview Albertus Jamlean, *Ohoi Catholic leader Debut*, 07/03/2021)."

The local wisdom of Kei is the spirit of establishing the practice of inter-religious harmony in all communities in the Kei Islands, including the community around Hoat Sorbay Bay, where the Al-Manafi Mosque is temporarily being built. Kei's local wisdom becomes a marker of identity and an adhesive element (cohesive aspect) across people of different faiths (John Haba, 2007). Local wisdom plays a vital role in shaping the practice of religious harmony in various social and cultural aspects of society, which leads to a practice of pluralism. In practice, according to Osman (2006), pluralism is an acknowledgment and acceptance of the diversity that surrounds society.

The practical meaning of pluralism goes beyond mere tolerance, and passive coexistence manifested in the absence of conflict. Pluralism requires seriousness to understand and realize through constructive cooperation with other parties. Every human being or different group has equal rights and obligations without having to "naked" their identity or uniqueness. The implementation of religious harmony on pluralism, Nurcholish Madjid's (1999) stated that "true affinity in the bonds of civility." It is shown by the people of Dian Pulau and its surroundings that the spirit of brotherhood and the value of local wisdom Kei live as an attitude of living together.

Community Elements Participation Society Participation

As mentioned above, the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque involves the active participation of various elements and levels of society. Each of them gave their active participation and made the establishment of the mosque a meeting ground for community groups from various backgrounds. It makes the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque an icon of the

harmonious practice of establishing houses of worship based on local wisdom. Although a mosque is exclusively a place of worship for Muslims, this exclusivity does not prevent people from other religions from participating and contributing. The mosque's construction seemed to be a joint celebration because everyone felt that the mosque belonged to them together. It was stated by Nickson Meturan, that the Al-Manafi Mosque is common property, although specifically, its function is a place of worship for Muslim *basudara*. However, a symbol of togetherness is reflected in the philosophy of *ain ni ain*. Al-Manafi Mosque is no longer exclusively owned by Dian Pulau Muslims but belongs to the Kei people, regardless of their religion. The full participation shown by all components and levels of society shows the operation of a cultural system and local wisdom that functions as a driving force and binding cohesion in a solid and friendly social solidarity, despite having different religious backgrounds.

Men and women each share roles, and in carrying out these roles, they are no longer limited by religious barriers. In carrying out the physical construction of the building, Muslims, Christians, and Catholics contributed their energy as a form of implementing local wisdom. Indeed, some special workers are paid in this establishment, and these workers are not only from among Muslims. More workers take turns working voluntarily, especially when heavy work requires many people, just by hearing information. Residents from the surrounding *Ohoi*, or those who feel they still have kinship ties with the residents of Dian Pulau, even though they come from distant places, will come voluntarily to assist in the form of labor and even in the form of material contributions. When working on sawmills, Christian residents from Dian Darat went all out for a whole week and worked late into the night without getting paid. Women who come from *Ohoi*, whose residents are not Muslims, also participate, taking turns sending food to workers daily. It is recognized that this considerably eased the burden on the founding committee and gave strength to the workers.

The full participation of society was also shown in the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque, including the elderly. An

informant said that a few days after laying the first stone, the sawmill was carried out, and even the older people who were old did not want to be left behind, even with the remaining energy they had. Seeing the older people struggling to do the heavy work, a young man took the initiative to reprimand them and suggested that they sit down, their presence at the location of the establishment was enough to encourage the young people who were working. One of the parents, who turned out to be a Christian, was angry and said that even though they were old, they still had to work, no matter what. Finally, he remained silent and no longer commented, seeing the parents' enthusiasm.

Community participation is not only manifested in the form of individual participation but also the participation of social groups, such as clan groups and community groups who come from the same *Ohoi*. This distinction is mainly the division of labor during *maren* and the provision of assistance during *yelim*. The working groups today are divided based on their clan or *ohoi* origin. This division is intended so that each community group has responsibilities based on clan ties and *ohoi* origin. In giving *yelim*, it is also the same; there is *yelim* in the name of an individual, the name of the clan, and the name of *the ohoi*. *Yelim* clan and *yelim ohoi* show the ties of kinship and solidarity between clans and *ohoi*.

Government Role and Contribution

Government institutions as social institutions also play a significant role in the realization of the harmonious practice of establishing houses of worship in the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque. The role and contribution of the government are both structural and cultural. In the Kei Islands, government institutions, customs, and religion are three interrelated and synergistic social institutions. So the government, as a structural social institution, often also plays social and religious roles. Likewise, when establishing a house of worship, government institutions from the district to village level (*ohoi*) and traditional and religious institutions work together. Likewise, the three social institutions play a synergistic role if there is a traditional or government celebration.

The initial idea for establishing a floating mosque came from the regent, who was later approved by the founding committee and fully supported by all elements of the Southeast Maluku Regency government. The role and structural contribution of the government, especially the district government and its staff, is in the form of budget assistance for the establishment and providing support by attending the groundbreaking ceremony directly. Not only from the ranks of the Southeast Maluku Regency government, government ranks and the Tual City DPRD and Maluku Provincial DPRD were also present at the event. The regent himself symbolically laid the first stone for the mosque's establishment.

Southeast Maluku Regent, HM. Taher Hanubun is also one of the traditional leaders who played an important role in reconciliation when the religious conflict hit the Kei Islands in 1999. The cultural roles of the regent were shown by kings throughout the Kei Islands, both in Southeast Maluku and Tual City. It makes the moment of the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque an opportunity to show the praxis of Kei's local wisdom, which has proven to be successful in overcoming religious differences held by its citizens.

Structural and cultural contributions are also played by the government ranks of the *ohoi* or villages around the Kei Islands. The *Ohoi* government and its people were present with *yelims* and participated in the *maren* because they received formal and customary invitations from *Ohoi* Dian Pulau. Submission of customary invitations usually precedes formal invitations on behalf of the *Ohoi* government. This tradition applies when an *ohoi* has a celebration. If the person concerned does not invite, it will cause problems that can be fatal and long. *Ohoi*, who were invited, formally brought *yelim* assistance on behalf of the *ohoi* government, taken from the donations of its citizens. The collected funds or materials will later be handed over directly by the *Ohoi* government apparatus during the groundbreaking ceremony. In addition, the participation of the local *Ohoi* government is to coordinate the citizens during the *maren* implementation and take responsibility for one part of the establishment work.

CLOSING

The case of the harmonious practice of establishing a house of worship based on local wisdom chosen in this study is the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque, Dian Pulau Village, Hoat Sorbay District, Southeast Maluku Regency. The harmonious practice of the mosque construction is shown by the active participation of various components of the interfaith community in the whole series of establishment processes, even though as many as 15 names included in the committee are Christians. The sociocultural aspect becomes the most critical aspect and even becomes the spirit of all aspects of the practice of harmony in the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque. The element of culture, in this case, the local wisdom of Kei, becomes the spirit that drives the implementation of the harmony practice. The philosophy of *ain ni ain*, the concept of *fanganan*, to the practice of *yelim* and *maren* become the basis of local wisdom that underlies the practice of harmony in the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque.

Kinship and ancestral ties are the keys to the establishment of harmonious relations between religious believers that create a balance in the sociocultural order of society. The form of praxis can be seen in every construction of houses of worship. The local wisdom of the *ain ni ain* philosophy becomes the binder of collective consciousness that forms solid social relations even in the diversity of faiths. The practice of *maren* (gotong royong) and *yelim* (helping each other) is a practical implementation of the local wisdom of Kei, which embodies the practice of harmony in the construction of houses of worship. In this case, the working mechanism of local wisdom is to form a collective memory and awareness of the community as a unit to provide impetus and spirit to help each other.

The community gives full participation and contribution from various elements and layers to create a harmonious practice of establishing a house of worship in the case of the establishment of the Al-Manafi Mosque. Community participation is not only manifested in the form of individual participation but also the participation of social groups, such as clan groups and community groups who come from the same *Ohoi*. The government, both at the district

level and at the *ohoi* level, gives full participation structurally and culturally.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author would like to thank all parties who contributed to the implementation of this research. Thank you to the Head of the Makassar Research and Development Agency for assigning researchers to the Kei Islands. All of the informants in Kei, primarily the Al-Manafi Mosque construction committee, provided much information that researchers needed.

REFERENCES

- Aji, Ahmad Mukri. 2014. "Identifikasi Potensi Konflik Pra dan Pasca Pendirian Rumah Ibadah di Indonesia dan Upaya untuk Mengatasinya." *Mizan* 2 (1): 1–16.
- Apandi, Idris. 2019. *Kiat Praktis Menulis Best Practice*. Ciamis: Tsaqiyya Publishing.
- Daniah. 2016. "Kearifan Lokal (*Lokal Wisdom*) sebagai Basis Pendidikan Karakter." *Pionir* 5 (2): 135–147.
- Haba, John. 2007. *Revitalisasi Kearifan Lokal: Studi Resolusi Konflik di Kalimantan Barat, Maluku dan Poso*. Jakarta: ICIIP dan European Commission.
- Hadari, Nawawi. 2003. *Metode Penelitian Bidang Sosial*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Jati, Wasisto Raharjo. 2013. "Kearifan Lokal sebagai Resolusi Konflik Keagamaan." *Walisongo* 21 (2): 393–416.
- Kasniyah, Naniek. 2012. *Tahapan Menentukan Informan dalam Penelitian Kualitatif*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Kementerian Agama RI. 2019. *Moderasi Beragama*. Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Kementerian Agama RI.
- Kudubun, Elly Esra. 2016. "Ain ni Ain: Kajian Sosio-Kultural Masyarakat Kei Tentang." *Cakrawala* 5 (2): 163–90.
- Laksono, Pm, and Roem Topatimasang. 2004. *Ken Sa Faak Benih-Benih Perdamaian dari Kepulauan Kei*. Yogyakarta: Insist.
- Madjid, Nurcholish. 1999. *Cendekiawan dan Religiusitas Masyarakat*. Jakarta: Paramadina.
- Moleong, Lexy J. 2007. *Metodologi Penelitian Kualitatif*. Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Njatrijani, Rinitami. 2018. "Kearifan Lokal dalam Perspektif Budaya Kota Semarang." *Gema Keadilan* 5 (1): 16–31.
- Osman, Mohamed Fathi. 2006. *Islam, Pluralisme dan Toleransi Keagamaan*. Jakarta: Paramadina.
- Rachman, Alpha Amir. 2007. *Revitalisasi Kearifan Lokal: Studi Resolusi Konflik di Kalimantan Barat, Maluku, dan Poso*. Jakarta: ICIIP dan European Commission.
- Rahail, JP. 1993. *Larwul Ngabal: Hukum Adat Kei, Bertahan Menghadapi Arus Perubahan*. Jakarta: Yayasan Sehati.
- Ritzer, George dan Douglas J. Goodman. 2012. *Teori Sosiologi Modern Edisi Keenam*. Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Grup.
- Rohiin et al. 2009. *Harmonisasi Agama dan Budaya Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Balai Litbang Agama Jakarta.
- Sabara. 2015. "Merawat Kerukunan dengan Kearifan Lokal di Kabupaten Muna Sulawesi Tenggara." *Al-Qalam* 21 (2): 203–212.
- . 2018. "Kasus-Kasus Pembangunan Rumah Ibadah Pasca PBM Nomor 9 dan 8 Tahun 2006 Di Provinsi Sulawesi Utara." *Harmoni* 7 (1): 28–42.
- . 2019. "Potret Kerukunan Umat Beragama Berbasis Kearifan Lokal di Desa Ohoidertawun, Kabupaten Maluku Tenggara." *Penamas* 32 (1): 427–44.
- Sapriallah. 2015. "Pembangunan Rumah Ibadah Pasca PBM Nomor 9 Dan 8 Tahun 2006 di Kota Samarinda." dalam *Dilema Pembangunan Rumah Ibadah*, Darlis (ed), 33–67. Yogyakarta: Ladang Kata.
- Setiawan, Vellina Agatha. 2013. "Representasi Pluralisme dalam Film '?" (Tanda Tanya)." *E-Komunikasi* 1 (1): 1–10.
- Stake, Robert E. 1995. *Case Studies The Art of Case Study Research*. California: Sage Publication itd.
- Tildjuir, Yuditha Gianti. 2017. "Ain Ni Ain sebagai Pendekatan Konseling Perdamaian Berbasis Budaya." Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana Salatiga.
- Tiwery, Weldemina Yudit. 2018. "Larvul Ngabal dan Ain ni Ain sebagai Pemersatu Kemajemukan di Kepulauan Kei Maluku Tenggara." *Sosiologi Pedesaan* 6 (1): 8–15.

- Wibowo, Agus dan Gunawan. 2015. *Pendidikan Karakter Berbasis Kearifan Lokal di Sekolah*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Yin, R.K. 2005. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (3rd Ed.)*. California: Sage Publication itd.