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# PREVENTING RADICALISM AND MANAGING CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN TRANSMIGRATION AREAS IN INDONESIA

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## ABSTRACT

*This study is a socio-anthropological research based on experiences of the Muslim society in Indonesia at transmigration areas. Transmigration refers to a voluntarily displacement of the citizens to improve prosperity and to settle in the transmigration area. This study was a qualitative research using a sociological method by comprehensively describing and analyzing the facts. This study aimed to examine whether those areas are contaminated by the group/ movement and how the society defends themselves from the extremist ideas. To further analyze the effect of social relationships in the improvement of inter-ethnic unity, culture and religion in transmigration areas, this research was conducted the area of transmigration Toili, Lamala, and Bunta in Banggai Regency, Central Sulawesi Province. This study conducted by observation and in-depth interviews with various participants to assess the impact of unified society in transmigration areas in combating extremism ideas. The results of the study are described in detail, coherent and in-depth, revealing that some major national Islamic organizations have a strong influence in bringing together the social relationships among elements of society in the transmigration area. Furthermore, this study also revealed aspects of the economy, culture and prevention of extreme views and attitudes.*

**Key words:** cultural diversity, transmigration, Indonesia, deradicalization, tolerance.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Diversity is indisputable for every society and individual regardless of any religion or doctrine selected by the parties affecting the selection. Diversity also becomes an option because of inheritance or influenced by such doctrines of religion or as a factor of natural selection. Therefore, diversity is believed to be determined not only by fundamental principle but also by derivative point of view. The two main factors become the benchmark to determine diversity of certain individuals or society.

This study investigates how people, particularly in transmigration areas in Indonesia, manage diversity by analyzing combating toward the existence of the idea and movement of radical group that is able to cause conflicts in the area. Transmigration is established to raise the awareness of nation and state in many spacious islands, consequently causing the willingness to distribute people and economic centres all over Indonesia (Fearnside, 1997). Accordingly, transmigration plays an indispensable role to evenly improve the prosperity of Indonesian society. Indonesian government deliberately enacts a policy through a regulation named TAP MPR. No. IV/MPR/1978 as a reference for implementing transmigration. This regulation is strengthened by the Act No. 15 of 1997. However, this regulation has been amended with the publication of the Act No. 29 of 2009 about transmigration.

Apart from normative side, since its very beginning, transmigration has some problems related to the shift of indigenous traditional practices and representations of local resources (Ellen, Parkes, and Bicker, 2000). Tirtosudarmo (1990) reveals that stated goals from implementing transmigration program is unclear and ambiguous. Criticism also came due to the deforestation and human rights caused by transmigration (Fearnside, 1997). To re-settle of residents from their original place needs many resource, including social services of housing, transport, food and connected with social, political, economic and environmental problems (Arndt, 1984; MacAndrews, 1978). This fact did not include the contemporary development of growing radical groups in Southeast Asian countries that mostly arises and survives from forest areas near new settlement built for transmigrants (see for instance in Ferrer, 2005). This aggravates Indonesia's recent violences fulfilled by the fragility of a national unity caused by communal conflict and local politician authoritarianism. In some cases, central government are not able to fast response to solve the conflicts, which consequently make the conflict can occur in a relatively long time. Even transmigration itself is able to trigger conflicts (Wahyuni, 2015). Some were occurred related to seizure of land and power, control of resource between indigenous people and transmigrants. Some examples that can be taken are Dayak-Madurese conflict in early 2000s, and Sambas conflict in the late 1990s. These conflicts are two of ever worst ethnic conflicts in modern Indonesia (see. De Jonge, & Nooteboom, 2006; Smith, & Bóuvier, 2006; Schiller, & Garang, 2002; Tadjoeuddin, 2002; Sukma, 2005; Tanasaldy, 2009). Hence, transmigrants were not necessarily able to rely on local nor even central government power to maintain their lives and property. In some areas, like Poso Regency in Central Sulawesi, transmigrants are still facing serious threats from radical group members lived nearby their village, that do not hesitate to kill them if they ignore to supply food and housing for them (Beritasatu, 17 September 2015).

In practice, transmigration is not only moving people from one place to another. Citizen training becomes inevitable and indeed challenging because of the fact that the citizens come from diverse areas with diverse social and culture. In some cases, people were forced to move from their village to join transmigration program, because the government has national development projects that should be implemented. The best example is Waduk Kedongombo dam project in Central Java in 1980s in which government use hard power to force people to join transmigration program (see Boyle, 1998; Lucas, 1992). This makes the people in transmigration areas is not able to use their potential to manage land and resources. In addition, varied customs, races, tribes, and religions have become potential and raise susceptibility. These factors cause a complex challenge. Therefore, training is very necessary by involving various elements of government integrated from the central level, the regional level, and the forefront such as implementation resettlement unit (Hardjono, 1988; Sage, 1996).

Transmigration has been implemented since the Dutch colonial era, especially in the late and early 19th century, but it was implemented on a massive scale in the new order period (1968-1998) (Elmhirst, 1999; Van Der Wijst, 1985). Although transmigration was intended to redistribute national development through the transfer of residents from densely populated areas to sparsely populated areas within Indonesian archipelago, it is it also has a social and political impact, in the form of inter-ethnic strife and violence, to the seizure of political power in the region, to mention but a few (Van Der Wijst, 1985). Various studies of this typical Indonesian migration is much too focused on the negative aspects of transmigration - and consequently- rarely highlight aspects of the establishment of relations between ethnic groups in the initial period of transmigration, increased tolerance, and inter-ethnic unity in facing threats from extremist and separatist groups. Some focus on the population dynamics (Hardjono, 1977), politics of environment and culture, politics of identity (Elmhirst, 1999). However, transmigration has attracted large attention of scholars only after violent conflicts happened in the late 1990s. Consequently, studies on transmigration are more likely to provide negative effect of this program instead of giving positive tone. Previous studies were also barely conducted on initial stage of transmigration to provide insightful overview regarding on to what extent the developing stage between transmigrant groups has a role in the occurrence of conflict in some areas, but not in the others (*see*, for interesting study of this fact in Van Klinken, 2007). Later, although there are many socio-anthropological studies of transmigration in Indonesia, there is a few attention providing detail, sufficient explanation on how people manage or avoid the conflict. Most studies give more emphasize on the role of political power, ethnic supremacy, economic interest between parties, and religious tendency, avoiding the role of people in maintaing social harmony, and economic lives. In this regard, this study aims to analyse the ability or resistance of transmigrants to maintain their economic need in form of agrarian land and livelihood as well as social harmony by avoiding conflicts and combating separatism and radicalism ideas. This study was a qualitative research using a sociological method by comprehensively describing and analyzing the facts or simply to 'constitute the inner social environment' (Durkheim, 2014, pp. 6).

## **2. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF BANGGAI REGENCY, CENTRAL SULAWESI**

Central Sulawesi is regarded very important target of receiving area for the national transmigration program. Consequently, social characteristics of Central Sulawesi is very diverse, including in the aspects of religious affiliation, ethnic groups, and language (Sangaji, 2007; Aragon (2013). As one of main target of transmigration, Central Sulawesi is inhabited by different groups came from all over Indonesia. This, in turn, have vulnerable effect on the frequency of occurrence of communal violences, notably during during Indonesia's post-New Order transition (Van Klinken, 2007; Sangaji, 2007). However, as mentioned above, that previous analyses about social relationship in Central Sulawesi only focuses on the factors and effect of conflicts in some regencies, most notably Poso. Whereas this province offers another point of view regarding the harmonious relationship between groups.

One of forgotten territories from social scholars' analysis is Banggai regency that is located in the east part of Central Sulawesi province. If someone opens and looks at the map of Sulawesi, this regency is lied in the middle of the dent of "K" form of the Sulawesi Island. It is bordered by Tomini bay to the north, Moluccas sea and Banggai Kepulauan regency to the east, Peling strait and Banggai Kepulauan regency to the south, and Tojo Una-una regency and North Morowali regency to the west. Luwuk as the capital city of Banggai regency with all its beauty is seems like an endless coastal. There are approximately 5 flights daily back

and forth this area, such as Aviastar, Express Air, Garuda Indonesia, Sriwijaya Air, and Wings Air.

Banggai regency is one of the former transmigration areas with spacious area. Since 1960s until 2009s, the government had sent transmigrants periodically to this area. Now, after 60 years, this area is occupied by the transmigrant that is needed to be examined, particularly in terms of diversity factor and the development of radicalism in this area. There are several variables to be analyzed, in this case, to continue the following training by elucidating and describing the development of its diversity and radicalism.

In the context of transmigration, Banggai has been attracted some studies, including on anthropological researches. Babcock (1982) analyzed the descendants of Javanese and variety of development projects from national and international aid in first half of 1970s in Sulawesi, including in Banggai. However, as noted by him, for some reasons, he did not allow for in-depth research on local inhabitants. Moreover, in analyzing the communal conflict in Central Sulawesi, Aragon (2013) did not give sufficient description about the social dynamics in Banggai when Poso conflict erupted.

Surjadi, and Supriatna (1998) Togeang Islands, Central Sulawesi. the successes, challenges and lessons learned in implementing a tropical marine ecosystem management project in the Togeang Islands archipelago. However, similar to Surjadi and Supriatna (1998), many studies focus on the environmental conservation (for instance see Davidson, Stones, & Lucking, 1995; Riley, & Priston, 2010). It is due to the fact that Sulawesi is very rich in natural resources and endemic fauna, in which environmental preservation is believed to be very important.

In recent years, Poso that is regarded as the most vulnerable area in the Sulawesi island, has escalated new threat in the form of growing Islamist radicalism. Recently, national military has been deployed to combat ISIS branch in Indonesia led by Santoso (Quiano, 2016). In addition, Sulawesi is believed to one of highly supervised area in consequence of its relative close distance with Mindanao province, the headquarters of some extremists such as Abu Sayyaf and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front /MILF (see Collier, 2006; White, Porter, & Mazerolle, 2013; Jones, 2008). Central Sulawesi is also in high vulnerability towards infiltrations from other ideologies regarding state or religion. Moreover, the majority of transmigrants have a low education and economic level. Recently, there is a transmigration program sponsored by a particular radical group called GAFATAR (*Gerakan Fajar Nusantara/ The Archipelagic Dawn Movement*) with an separatism ideology. In addition, local people in West Kalimantan reject the transmigrants involved with this organization presumed to have an affiliation with the *Islamic State of Iraq and Syria* (ISIS).

Ahmad Syafi'i Maarif (2009, p. 8) states that one of radical groups is also indicated as a fundamentalist. The growth of fundamentalist attitude leads to a domination of post-modernism now developed by the government. This phenomenon is considered destructive for Islamic doctrine. Therefore, to regain the purity of Islam, the radical group tries to conduct revitalization through fundamentalism. Furthermore, fundamentalism is caused by solidarity act to Muslim comrades in other countries including Palestine, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Finally, the government fails to satisfy the principle of embodying social justice for all Indonesian people.

The radical movements consequently trigger conflicts. This movement is not in line with Indonesian government's will and rules since it is often intended to replace the foundation and ideology of the nation by its group ideology. This act causes instability and fidgetiness of

social and politics, development becomes stagnate that led to the instability of the country. Moreover, the radical movement aims to revolt the legitimate government without using normal regulation. The followers of this movement frequently use terror, suicide bombing, and various ways to succeed their radicalism (Imam et al., 2005; Singh & Mulkhan, 2012).

### 3. TOLERANCE AMONG GROUPS IN BANGGAI REGENCY

Atmosphere in Syukuran Aminuddin Amir Airport Luwuk depicts a pessimistic picture regarding small city with limited airport facilities. However, outside the airport there are countless private cars with a capacity of three row seats. The cars readily provide mobility for the passengers around Luwuk. This condition shows that this small city has been filled with a high level bustle by Banggai residents from all over the regency.

There are many mosques all the way from the airport to the city. This scenery shows that the majority of Luwuk inhabitants are Muslim. According to the data, majority of Banggai inhabitants are Muslim. In Ramadhan 1437 or June 2016, there were many religious rituals including fasting, *tarawīh* prayers, daily prayers, and *iftār* together held by mosques in this city. Tolerance within different views in Islam is great among the residents. It is illustrated by *tarawīh* prayers at the An-Nur Mosque in Luwuk. *Tarawīh* prayer at An-Nur Mosque is divided into two sections, first, the 8 *raka'a* (the cycle of *ṣalat* postures and recitations) of *tarawīh* prayer continued 3 *raka'a* *witr*, and second, 20 *raka'a* *tarawīh* continued 3 *raka'a* *witr*. Those who want to perform 20 *raka'a* *tarawīh* are patience to wait until the 8 *raka'a* *tarawīh* with 3 *raka'a* *witr* finished. This reflects a strong tolerance to different religious views carrying out there.

Generally, the diversity in Banggai regency is dominated by the religious institution called as the Islamic Al-Khairat centered in Palu. Al-Khairat is found by an '*ulamā*' called Habib Idrus bin Salim al-Jufri from Hadramaut, Yemen migrating to Indonesia one centuries ago to maintain Islamic faith ('*aqīdah*) in and around Sulawesi. He was well known as an old teacher establishing al-Khairat Islamic boarding school on 30 June 1930. Now, al-Khairat has 11 regional commissioners and 14 territorial commissioners, mostly located in eastern Indonesia. It also has branches in different regions in Central Sulawesi province. Moreover, it has grown all over the districts in Banggai regency, even in the transmigration area. Al-Khairat is an Islamic Religious Organization affiliated with a major national organization called Nahdlatul 'Ulama (NU). Nahdlatul Ulama is an organization with several jargons including *fikrah tawaṣṣuṭiyya* (moderate point of view). This mindset is the culture of NU followers with characteristics of *tawāzun* (balanced) and *i'tidāl* (moderate) in addressing a variety of issues, and avoiding *tafrit* (radical left) and *ifrāt* (radical right). *Fikrah tasāmuhiyya* (tolerance point of view) means that although the *aqīdah*, and culture is different, NU has to be remained tolerant. Reformation aspects are seen on *fikrah iṣlāḥiyya* (reformative point of view) meaning that they always strive to improve and become better (*al-iṣlāḥ mā huwa al-aṣlah*). In addition, *fikrah taṭawwuriyya* (dynamic point of view) and *fikrah manhājiyya* (methodological point of view) mean that they have to be contextual and methodological in responding to various problems (Chalim, 2012).

Furthermore, Banggai regency government is always tolerant and responsive to handle even a low-level conflict. When a case is considered increased, Banggai Regency Officials performs a coordination to resolve it. For instance, in 1970s, there was a conflict between LDII (Indonesian Islamic Propagation Institute/ *Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia*) and other Muslim societies in Lamala. However, The Ministry of Religion competently resolved the disputes at that time. Hence, after comprehensively discussing with several parties, the officials provide guidance regarding the regulation of religion development from the Ministry

of Religion to keep the society peaceful. According to the further study by the Ministry of Religion, it was found that the LDII view in Islamic belief was diverge from the original and thus LDII in Banggai regency was forbidden to be developed.

In 1980s, a development Dai from Yogyakarta was placed in Toili transmigration area. He ignited disputes between the Muslim societies by teaching martial arts inside a mosque based on the acknowledgement that the Prophet Muhammad had also taught war strategies in a mosque, respecting to the national flag was considered as *shirk (idolatry)*, and rotating around the bonfire in the boy scout camp was considered as Majusi. At that time, he was called by the military base command of Banggai Regency regarding ethnic, religious issues he caused. However, the officials competently addressed the problem. The Director of the Religious Affairs (colonel) Drs K.H A. Zarkasyi Effendi congratulated and expressed gratitude to the head of Religious Affairs of Banggai Regency and the staffs.

Recently, Banggai Regency officials have performed an effective coordination regarding religion conflicts in Poso regency located exactly next to Banggai. Therefore, the conflict happened in Poso was able to be neutralized and localized. When the tranquility of transmigrants was disturbed and unstable, several people from ex-GAFATAR from West Kalimantan were sent to Banggai. They were given a special training before deported to their original area in order to prevent conflicts in Banggai.

## **4. CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND TOLERANCE IN TRANSMIGRATION AREAS**

### **4.1. Diversity of Transmigrants in Toili**

Toili is the first transmigration area. After Toili becomes transmigration area, it became a town. Toili already has a paved road connecting Toili and Luwuk and thus the communication run well. In Toili, there are several hotels with rapid markets development. Apparently, it is influenced by the establishment of Gas Sinoro company as the third largest gas exploration in Indonesia, after Exxon. Besides gas, there is also a petro-chemical company fostering Toilis` development. Many restaurants with a variety of dishes are also available in Toili.

Toili has the most fertile land, even similar to the contour of lands in Java. Accordingly, almost most transmigrants become successful. An original transmigrant from Tulung Agung East Java named Hadi graduated from Islamic senior high school (*Madrasah Aliyah Negeri*) has become a transmigrant in Toili and lived in Mulyoharjo village, Moilong District, Banggai Regency. On 1980s, he became a civil servant in The Ministry of Religion. He retired in 2008 and has five children. They are Rufaidah (teacher), Malikhah, and Humaida, (an employee in Jasa Raharja), Humaida and Syu`aib (employees in Bank Rakyat Indonesia) and and Nurul Anwar, who just enrolled in the department of mechanical engineering in Tadulako University located in Palu. According to this phenomenon, Hadi has become an example of a successful transmigrant. He has a 1000 m<sup>2</sup> stone house, a private car (Toyota Innova) and 5 motorcycles. Next to his house, he granted his 1000 m<sup>2</sup> land for a mosque. He also became the chairman of al-Khairat and the headmaster of Junior High School al-Khairat in Toili. Its alumni have reflected the diversity in Toili.

Therefore, in terms of religious diversity, the society of Toili is very tolerant. Although the majority is Muslim, there are also Hindu society comes from Bali (see Babcock, 1979; Sulistiyono & Syato, 2016). However, they live peacefully next to each other. Among the Muslims, there are also large Islamic organizations including Muhammadiyah, Dar al dakwah wa al-Irsyad from Makasar, Nahdlatul Wathan from Nusa Tenggara Barat, and al-Khairat from Banggai regency in Central Sulawesi. Diverged belief such as GAFATAR has no

existence in Toili. They conducted religious ritual in a peace and tolerant environment. This harmony is the result of the domination of al-Khairat, because of the fact that Dar al dakwah wa al-Irsyad, Nahdlatul Wathan, and al-Khairat affiliate with the major Islamic organization of Nahdlatul Ulama and thus the environment is more likely to become very tolerant. In Mulyoharjo village, Toili Unit 1 has a junior high school of Al-Khairat led by Kiai Junaid, and it strongly influences the diversity in this area.

#### **4.2. Diversity of Transmigrants in Lamala**

Lamala is a district located 60 km to the east part of Luwuk. Several villages in this district have already been selected as transmigration areas by the government since 1969s. In 2009, this area was marshy area lying nearby coastal line and difficult to develop as a cultivation area. Consequently, only fishermen or inhabitants who are accustomed to live in coastal area are able to manage this condition.

According to the inhabitants, this area is difficult to develop because an adjustment with the land contours and marshy coastal line is needed. Business option to develop is few. Therefore, many transmigrants choose to leave this area because they have no experience in cultivating or managing the coast.

Specifically, the transmigrants in this area admit that the promised area is less similar with the expectation. 90% of the transmigrants resigned and left the land given by the government. Some of them sold the land with improper price, while another just left without compensations from the government because of their land was in a weak demand. Several main reasons admitted by the transmigrants were the sufferings in financial conditions.

“At that time, I assured my wife that we still have Allah. But my wife was still unsure, and even when the Ied celebration came we didn't have money to celebrate.” (interview)

Moreover, despite the fact that the government had already prepared a house for the transmigrants, they had to make a living and it was difficult. They were given a stage house but they were not accustomed to it, so the government gave them a normal house with watery and muddy floor. The government also provided ships for sailing. However, there was no buyer and the price was far under normal. These difficulties resulted in conflicts between the transmigrants and the local residents. The level of difficulties experienced by the transmigrants caused them to find another option in business such as becoming a laborer, peddler, or doing business in the market.

“I tried to make a fish pond, but it only lasted 8 months, and then they would not move. On the 9th month, they were invited to cultivate sago, and they worked in the morning and went home in the evening for 3 years. Then they tried to have a duck farm, but the problem was almost the same, that there was no marketing. Therefore, the ducks were distributed to other transmigrants to reduce the feeding. Afterward, one of them bought a fishpond but it was destructed by annual flood in this area. All big fish ran away but many small fish got into the fishpond. Not long after that, there were flood again and all fishponds were ruined. Then it was 8 years of their lives here.” (interview)

At the last year of their lives in Lamala, one of the transmigrant named Hasyim, talked to his wife not to give up because they already kept up with transmigration. The desire to come home, sufferings, and difficulties were defined as the spirit and challenge. Sinwan tightly held his ideology according to Al-Qur`an that :

“If not us who change our own fate, so who else?.” (interview)



Since then, they have begun to change their life gradually. In term of diversity, Lamala transmigration area has a diversity state without a flag. Diversity in Lamala is based on the society basic needs. They develop their religious knowledge based on the knowledge they bring from their hometown. Religious rituals are continuously carried out there<sup>32</sup>, which is still guided by comprehensions from Java, for instance, *tadārus* al-Qur`ān after tarawīh prayer, *Rajaban* (the anniversary of the Prophet's night journey) and *Mauludan* (the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, usually conducted by traditional Islam group, such as Nahdlatul 'Ulama), regardless their lack of ability to invite Islamic scholars from Java. They have a tradition to attend monthly routine congregation in the mosque, similar to the routine held in Buntadistrict<sup>33</sup>.

Generally, the diversity in Lamalais is reflected by the diversity of understanding which influence the society. Mostly, they have an affiliation with Nahdlatul 'Ulama, while others affiliate with Muhammadiyah, *Jamā'ah al-Tablīgh*, and traditional local beliefs adhering the nature in determining prayer time, 1 Ramadhan and 1 Syawal.<sup>34</sup>

In this village, there is no divergent understanding. In the period of 1997 to 2016, there was a turmoil regarding ethnic, religious, and race conflicts between transmigrants and local people. Shortly after the riots between the residents, the Poso riot aroused and impacted the village. There was a letter stating that the Christians will attack Muslims in a moment after the command from the center regarding disputes between these two religions. Lamala district was one of the targets because it has plenty Christians. At that time, the residents were already on guard and defense. They were not looking for enemies, but they were ready to fight. However, it turned out that the news was mere untruth.

According to the Islamic point of view, the transmigrants have an understanding about the migration to Banggai regency. The understanding includes the independence in nurturing children and residents' religion, religious habits such as *yasinan* and *albarjanji*, developed religious activity such as *yasinan* door to door, and *albarjanji* in every Friday night, and *yasinan* for children. Technically, they perform prayer alternately. In addition, they held *khataman Al-Qur`an*. All of those activities triggers the children to love reciting Al-Qur`ān.

The wisdom from long life story and the long journey of the transmigrants is that in the past it was hard to find people. However, now it becomes easier. In the past they were ashamed to go home and now they are grateful with their success even though long before this they felt like drifting away. Additionally, they have become successful and happy. Disputes between families were barely occurred. The children are well educated and nurtured. In term of finance, they feel better than when in Java back then. Now they are able to bring credits of their family because they are more prosperous than ever. Since the first time, all troubles come from financial ability. Huge breakthrough in business changes their point of view. Even their diversity still relies on the role of the outsider. Lack of teacher in term of religion becomes an issue.

### **4.3. Diversity of Transmigrants in Bunta (Simpang Raya) District**

Bunta district is located in the north part of Banggai regency. This district is approximately 137 km to the east, and turns to the north and goes along Tomini bay to Palu city.<sup>37</sup> When the transmigrants migrated to this area, there was a district enlargement. Now, Bunta district has been enlarged and becomes Simpang Raya district as a transmigration area. This district has 14 villages of which all of them are transmigration areas. This district grows rapidly with many activities including agriculture, farming, administration, religion.



Formerly, Bunta district was the center of enlargement of Simpang Raya district and other districts, because of its safety. It is depicted from the scenery that there are many motorcycles parked in front of the mosque which is left unlocked. However, sometimes their motorcycle was stolen by the outsider.

Bunta residents actually are easy to organize and very welcome to the newcomer. In this district, there are several hotels and respected religion symbols. They are heading toward their Islamic understanding firmly. The number of mosques and residents performing *ṣalat* (prayer) in the mosque reflects the belief. In terms of anthropology, this area is violent. However, the number of mosques and *muṣalla* are not proportional. They are known as people who want to be near with the mosque to pray there easily.

Islamic understanding held by Bunta residents is al-Khairat affiliated with Nahdlatul 'Ulama. It is indicated by the display of the Habib Idrus al-Jufri in houses, mosques, and offices. This figure influences the society through his charisma and deep impression in the minds of his followers. Therefore, the al-Khairat symbol was very attached. The influences of Habib Idrus al-Jufri is very memorable because of his speech method and several remarkable incidents witnessed by Bunta residents. His speeches are very well spoken and impressive, even some of his speech is proved real either personally or locally. In addition, Habib Idrus Al-Jufri teaches many rituals regarding *al-asmā'ul-husnā* (reciting names of the God). Those good deeds were benefiting for the residents' life. Apparently, that wisdom story is intended as *khoriq al 'adah* (miracle) which is adored and memorable.

Simpang Raya district is the district enlarged from Bunta district. It is located 12 km from Bunta district.<sup>44</sup> This district has administrative officials including the helpers for religious affairs (KUA). This transmigration area has flatland contours and thus its development becomes potential rapidly. The transmigrants in this area have been already here since the 1970s, meaning that they are the second and third generations. Education in this district is considered good. Approximately ten percent of the transmigrants' children obtain a bachelor degree. It can be concluded that education motivation in this area is good.

Moreover, the other motivation supporting the dynamic residents is religion motivation. It means that religion has also become the reason for migrating. Migration can be defined as *hijrah*. By migrating, they are certain that it will increase their finance or belief of Allah. Religious knowledge regarding the suggestion to migrate was only kept by the minority of the transmigrants. The other motivation supporting the dynamic Simpang Raya residents is inspiration or dream converted to be social or economic motivation. This motivation emerges because of the longing for benefiting each other.

Various ethnics live in this area including Javanese, Balinese, and Nusa Tenggara. It means the religion also varies between Islam, Hindu, and Christian. Tolerance between religions is well built and ideas regarding ethnic, religious conflicts are less likely to develop. If there is a conflict, the society does not relate it with religion ideas. It has been built and become tradition concerned on the formation of new regulation in the transmigration area, mainly in Simpang Raya district.

In Komini village Simpang Raya district, it has been revealed regarding radicalism issues<sup>50</sup>. However, it was able to be properly resolved by the legislators. In other words, radicalism is unable to evolve in this area. The religious rituals in this area affiliate to the major Islamic organization (Nahdlatul 'Ulama). There is difference only in terms of *takbīr*. Besides Nahdlatul 'Ulama, there is also Muhammadiyah, reflected by the existences of branches offices around this area. The symbols of *al-khoiriyah* are less distributed in this area

because of the small influence. However, the widely spread Islamic understanding in this area comes from their hometown. Mostly, their understanding is Nahdlatul ‘Ulama and partly Muhammadiyah. It is reflected by the tarawīh prayer in the Ramadhan, in which most of the jemaah has 20 raka‘a for tarawīh and 3 raka‘a for witr. Subuh prayer includes *qunut* rituals and *dzikr* together routinely after finishing the *ṣalat* both together or individually. *Kiyai*, or Islamic scholar, who has high influence in this area also admits that his affiliation on Nahdlatul ‘Ulama.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, diversity in Toili, Lamala, and Bunta is especially conducive and tolerant. The results of the study that are described in detail, coherent and in-depth, revealing that some major national Islamic organizations have a strong influence in bringing together the social relationships among elements of society in the transmigration area. The people there have strong tolerance causing diversity to be awesome. The strong tolerance successfully resolves disputes with supports by the local government officials and a tight affiliations, notably on two major Islamic organization, al-Khairat and Nahdlatul ‘Ulama. This can explain that there are almost no ethnic and religious conflict, as well as serious threat from radical groups in Banggai Regency.

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