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## **Ethnoreligious Diversity and Harmony in Sanggau, West Kalimantan**

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### **Abstract**

The long history of Sanggau, West Kalimantan, shows relations between ethnicities and religions. Several major and open conflict events in West Kalimantan did not hit Sanggau. Despite social tensions, the Sanggau community managed to maintain the harmony of the community. This study is intended to look at the recipes Sanggau community in an effort to maintain community

harmony for inter-religious and inter-ethnic, and how to resolve conflicts that have arisen since the past until now. This qualitative research was carried out with a sociological approach, and data collection techniques through interviews with various community leaders, observations on relations between residents, and documentation studies on various documents and publications about Sanggau. The data were analyzed by descriptive analysis. The results of this research show that Sanggau has been awake since the early period, the reform period, until today it is relatively able to maintain harmony and prevent open conflicts. It is common for there to be conflicts in the community, but the Sanggau people have managed to resolve conflicts and maintain their harmony. Existing conflicts related to the construction of houses of worship, religious conversions, and marriages involving couples of different religions can be resolved quickly and appropriately so that they do not become open conflicts. The approach to conflict resolution is carried out by religious leaders, ethnic leaders, and local governments by carrying out local wisdom such as the “Ngudas” ritual which builds harmony as a common identity even though they are ethnically and religiously different.

**Keyword:** *Religious Diversity, Ethnic Unity, Identity, Living Harmony, Sanggau Malay*

## A. Introduction

Conflict between groups has colored the long journey of Indonesia and especially West Kalimantan<sup>1,2,3</sup>; See (Kristianus, 2011) for information detail. In 1997 and 1999 Open conflicts occurred in several places in West Kalimantan. This conflict between groups in the name of ethnicity and related to religion and politics is a major conflict in this area, has cost many lives. According to media<sup>4</sup> riots

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<sup>1</sup> Amirrachman, A. Ed. Revitalisasi Kearifan Lokal, Studi Resolusi Konflik di Kalimantan Barat, Maluku dan Poso. Jakarta: ICIP, 2007. P 36-40.

<sup>2</sup> Bertrand, J. Nasionalisme dan Konflik Etnis di Indonesia. Terjemahan. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2012. P.ix-xi.

<sup>3</sup> Kristianus. “Nasionalisme etnik di Kalimantan Barat”. Jurnal Masyarakat Indonesia, 37(2), 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Liputan6. (2001). Dendam Laten di Bumi Borneo. Liputan 6 05 Maret 2001. <https://www.liputan6.com/news/read/9009/dendam-laten-di-bumi-borneo>. Akses 07 Juli 2022.

in 1997 between Dayak and Madurese groups, caused at least 200 casualties, including a number of houses and residential areas. While the 1999 riots between Malay and Madurese groups, caused as many as 1,189 people killed, 168 seriously injured, 34 slightly injured, 3,833 houses burned and damaged, and 12 cars and 9 motorcycles burned or damaged. In addition, as many as 58,544 Madurese residents fled from Sambas regency to Pontianak<sup>5</sup>.

This event has indeed become an important chapter in the relationship between ethnic and religious groups. Peacebuilding and maintaining harmony have been the focus since the incident took place. The Concord project has even become a concentration of Community Development. However, achieving peace in a society in conflict is not easy. Some previous researchers pointed out the difficulty, for example, who researched harmony in Indonesia mentioned the threat of harmony<sup>6,7</sup>.

As part of Indonesia, the situation in West Kalimantan also represents that threat phenomenon. Minor tensions between Ethnic-religious groups still occur. The conflict between the FPI, a religious organization of The Jakarta network, and the Dayak group of a local ethnic group in West Kalimantan, occurred in 2012<sup>8</sup>. Sweeping Bela Ulama in 2017 involving Islamic community groups against the Chinese in Pontianak<sup>9</sup>, are examples.

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<sup>5</sup> Adryamarthanino. "Kerusuhan Sambas 1999: Penyebab Kronologi dan Dampak". Kompas 6/8/2021. <https://www.kompas.com/stori/read/2021/08/06/150000479/kerusuhan-sambas-1999-penyebab-kronologi-dan-dampak?page=all>.

<sup>6</sup> Rinjani, R., & Bestari, P. Harmony choir: strengthening nationalism through the activity of singing national song. In 2nd Annual Civic Education Conference (ACEC 2019). Atlantis Press, 2020. pp. 267-272

<sup>7</sup> Manan, A., Putra, R. S., & Saprijal, S. The Moderation in Actualizing The Religious Harmony and Islamic Culture in South West Coast of Aceh-Indonesia. PROCEEDINGS ICIS 2021, 1(1), 2022. P

<sup>8</sup> Tempo melaporkan mengenai hal ini dalam "Kronologi Ricuh Spanduk anti-FPI di Pontianak". Tempo.com 16 Maret 2012. <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/390613/kronologi-ricuh-spanduk-anti-fpi-di-pontianak>. Akses 04 Agustus 2022.

<sup>9</sup> Sitepu, M. Aksi bela ulama di Kalbar 'tiru' politik SARA Pilkada Jakarta. BBC Indonesia, 22 Mei 2017. <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-39992156>. Akses 11 Juli 2022.

But interestingly, although ethnic – religious tensions occur in several places in West Kalimantan, Sanggau is relatively safe and secure. Malay, Dayak, Madurese, Chinese, or Islamic, Catholic, Protestant, Buddhist, and Khonghucu groups can exercise restraint in their peace and harmony projects<sup>10</sup>. Sanggau is a green area on the map of religious harmony and social conflict maps<sup>11</sup>. Sanggau religious harmony index is also very good. The harmony index reached 81.47 which means it is very high.<sup>12</sup>

Sanggau is even more interesting when viewed as a historical area in West Kalimantan. If Pontianak was founded in 1772 or 300 years ago, Sanggau has shed more than 400 years. In fact, in one place located only 2 kilometers from the center of Sanggau today found a stone inscription written in the 14th century. The people call it “Batu Sampai”<sup>13</sup>. Sanggau also had kingdoms, including a large kingdom in West Kalimantan. Sanggau’s greatness is noted as an opponent of the war of the Pontianak Sultanate and the Netherlands<sup>14,15,16</sup>.

As an Old Town, Sanggau has experienced growth, although its growth is not rapid. The number of people, development space and spatial Sanggau changed. From the increase in the number of inhabitants that diversity arises; both ethnic and religious diversity<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> BPS. Jumlah Penduduk Kecamatan Kapuas Menurut Jenis Kelamin. 2021. <https://sanggaukab.bps.go.id/indicator/12/78/1/jumlah-penduduk-kecamatan-kapuas-menurut-jenis-kelamin.html>. Akses 17 July 2022.

<sup>11</sup> FKUB Leader. Interview 29 July 2022.

<sup>12</sup> Santoso, A. G., Istiawan, D., & Khikmah, L. “Analisis Indeks Kerukunan Umat Beragama di Provinsi Kalimantan Barat”. *Intizar*, 28 (2), 2022. P 87.

<sup>13</sup> Enthoven, JJK. *Sejarah dan Geografi Daerah Sungai Kapuas Kalimantan Barat*. Pontianak: Institut Dayakologi, 2013. P 200.

<sup>14</sup> Hooker, Virginia M. *Tuhfat al-Nafis : Sejarah Melayu-Islam*. Terjemahan. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991, P. 70-75.

<sup>15</sup> Yusriadi. *Menikmati Pesona Tayan*. Pontianak: IAIN Pontianak Press, 2018. P. vii.

<sup>16</sup> Purba, Et.al. *Sejarah Penyebaran dan Pengaruh Budaya Melayu di Kalimantan*. Jakarta: Direktorat Nilai Sejarah, Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2011, P. 120.

<sup>17</sup> Clark, C. J., & Winegard, B. M. “Tribalism in war and peace: The nature and evolution of ideological epistemology and its significance for modern social science”. *Psychological Inquiry*, 31(1), 2020. P

The main population of Sanggau city is Malay, which reaches 70 percent of the city's 85,550 inhabitants<sup>18</sup>. The Malays are concentrated in kelurahan Kantuk, Beringin, Ilir Kota, and Sungai Sengkuang. Meanwhile, in rural areas, most are Dayaks. The Dayak people are spread across almost all sub-districts; consisting of several sub-tribes and many language variations<sup>19</sup>. In addition, there are also Chinese, who are concentrated in the Sanggau market area. In fact, on the territory of the market there is a Chinese village. Their number is estimated at 10 percent. The rest are Javanese, Madurese, Batak, Bugis, Banjar, Aceh, Bali, etc.

In terms of religion, the people in Sanggau City have many religions. The majority-an estimated 80% are Muslims, the rest are Catholics, Protestants, Buddhists, Confucians. Each of these religions has sects or schools that have given color in the ethno-religious dynamics.

The socio-religious context in Sanggau as described above shows that Sanggau society is plural and multicultural. Different ethnicities and religious adherents live in the same environment, namely Sanggau. This condition of plurality, according to Syauqani (2023), is vulnerable to conflicts between interethnic and interreligious groups, which of course have different interests and goals.<sup>20</sup> However, the experience of the people of Sanggau shows that they can maintain the harmony of living together in these differences. This study explores people's experiences in maintaining harmony, especially how they can live well together. The main question in this

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<sup>18</sup> BPS. Jumlah Penduduk Kecamatan Kapuas Menurut Jenis Kelamin. 2021. <https://sanggaukab.bps.go.id/indicator/12/78/1/jumlah-penduduk-kecamatan-kapuas-menurut-jenis-kelamin.html>. Akses 17 July 2022.

<sup>19</sup> Alloy, Sujarni; Albertus & Istiyani, CP. *Mozaik Dayak, Keberagaman Subsuku dan Bahasa Dayak di Kalimantan Barat*. Pontianak: Institut Dayakologi, 2008. P. 46-51.

<sup>20</sup> Syauqany, "Pengaruh Perbedaan Agama Dan Etnis Dalam Pelaksanaan Pekerjaan Sosial (Studi Kasus di Desa Gunung Sari, Lombok Barat, NTB)" *Jurnal Dinamika Penelitian: Media Komunikasi Sosial Keagamaan* Volume 19, Nomor 02, Juli 2019 (<https://doi.org/10.21274/dinamika.2019.19.1.25-46>). Halaman 25-46

study is how the Sanggau people maintain harmony in the midst of religious-ethnic diversity in a long time.

Many academics have conducted various studies on relations between community groups, including interethnic and inter-religious groups. Studies related to the theme of this article, namely the harmony of the Sanggau community, can at least be categorized on the theme of social interaction patterns between social groups, social conflict in plural societies, and social harmony in multicultural societies. Research by Hanik and Umi (2019); Hermansyah and Muhammad Aqil (2022); Khotimah (2016) highlighted that social interactions that occur in society in general are associative, namely positive relationships such as forms of cooperation, assimilation, and accommodation; and negative or dissociative social interactions in the form of competition, contravention, and even conflict.<sup>21,22,23</sup>

Haryanto's research (2015) confirms that the interaction of religious communities, especially Muslims, forms three patterns of relations, namely relations between religion and local traditions, relations between religion and ethnicity, and relations between religion and religious thought. The three relations are the strongest social cohesion in the internal relations of Muslims is the relation between religion and local traditions, while the other two forms of relations have the potential to be dissociative.<sup>24</sup> Khotimah's research (2016) also shows that social interaction is formed more due to ethnic factors than religious factors. The relationship

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<sup>21</sup> Hanik, Umi. *Interaksi Sosial Masyarakat Plural Agama*, (Yogyakarta : CV. Penerbit Kutub, 2019), p. 8-10.

<sup>22</sup> Hermansyah, and Muhammad Aqil. "Pola Interaksi Sosial Masyarakat Pendatang dengan Masyarakat Lokal (Studi Kasus di Kelurahan Mangasa Kecamatan Tamalate Kota Makassar)". *SOKO GURU: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan*, vol. 2, no. 2, Aug. 2022, pp. 177-85, <https://doi.org/10.55606/sokoguru.v2i2.830>

<sup>23</sup> Khotimah, "Interaksi Sosial Masyarakat Islam dan Kristen di Dusun IV Tarab Mulia Kecamatan Tambang Kabupaten Kampar", *Jurnal Penelitian Keagamaan* : Vol 19, No 2 (2016), pp. 239-249. <http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/kutubkhanah.v19i2.2554>

<sup>24</sup> Haryanto, JT. "Relasi Agama dan Budaya dalam Hubungan Intern Umat Islam" *Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, dan Tradisi)* [Online], Volume 1 Number 1 (10 June 2015), pp. 41-54 <https://doi.org/10.18784/smart.v1i1.228>.

between the Muslim and Christian communities in Tarai Bangun Village researched by Khotimah formed positive communication in the form of mutual cooperation activities, maintaining environmental security (ronda), attending invitations, between the two communities, and helping in disasters.<sup>25</sup>

There have also been studies related to social conflicts in West Kalimantan, generally focusing on interethnic conflicts such as the Sambas conflict involving ethnic Malays and ethnic Madurese. Sumaya (2020) examined the potential conflicts that occurred in West Kalimantan using the SPK Triangle (Attitude, Behavior, Context). Mapping with the SPK Triangle shows the potential for conflict with ethnic nuances identified by the prejudices that develop between ethnicities in conflict.<sup>26</sup> Zakso's research (2011) highlighted the importance of multiculturalism education for the community. The Sambas conflict showed a lack of understanding of socio-cultural differences, especially inter-ethnic differences, which resulted in easy conflict.<sup>27</sup>

Related to social harmony in multiculturalism communities have also been widely researched, including especially in the scope of West Kalimantan. Syahrin, Noviani, Nur, and Idris (2023) examined the harmony of multicultural communities in Sintang, West Kalimantan, which was maintained during the 2018 West Kalimantan Provincial governor election. The political event was quite colored by identity politics, but the people of Sintang were still able to maintain harmony because there was a space for unifying social activities such as gotong-royong, as well as

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<sup>25</sup> Khotimah, "Interaksi Sosial Masyarakat Islam dan Kristen di Dusun IV Tarai Mulia Kecamatan Tambang Kabupaten Kampar", *Jurnal Penelitian Keagamaan* : Vol 19, No 2 (2016), pp. 239-249. <http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/kutubkhanah.v19i2.2554>

<sup>26</sup> Sumaya, Faraz. "Identitas dalam Konflik di Kalimantan Barat (Sebuah Pemetaan Konflik)", *Jurnal Kolaborasi Resolusi Konflik* Vol.2 No.2 (2020) pp. 86-92. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24198/jkrk.v2i2.28149>

<sup>27</sup> Zakso, Amrazi. "Esensi Nilai Pendidikan bagi Daerah Rawan Konflik Kalimantan Barat" *Jurnal Pendidikan Sosiologi dan Humaniora* Vol 2, No 2 (2011), pp. 130-137. <https://dx.doi.org/10.26418/j-psh.v2i2.2217>

collective awareness to indulge in identity politics that could divide social ties.<sup>28</sup>

Nuryadi and Widiatmaka's study (2022) is quite interesting by linking the issue of interethnic harmonization with the context of the 5.0 revolution era. This study highlights the context of the development of communication technology that has an impact on the emergence of hoaxes that can damage community harmony in West Kalimantan.<sup>29</sup> Rachmadhani's study (2018) in Pontianak West Kalimantan found that the social interaction of the community in Pontianak is generally associative, therefore it is very supportive of the realization of inter-religious harmony, but at the same time, it also has the potential for dissociative interactions due to the diversity of community groups, both ethnic and religious.<sup>30</sup> This is also the finding of Haryanto (2011) on community relations in Singkawang, West Kalimantan. Singkawang City is one of the areas that escaped the trap of ethnic conflict in 1999. This is because leaders in Singkawang actively refused to be involved in the conflict. In addition, the Singkawang community has formed good social relations for a long time. However, in recent times, religious politics has become a threat to this harmony, namely the emergence of religious contestation in society.<sup>31</sup>

The closest research to the locus of this article's theme is Winarsih, Aminuyati, and Wiyono's (2022) study, which took place in Sanggau, precisely in Jangkang Subdistrict where the community

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<sup>28</sup> Syahrin, Alif Alfi; Noviani, Fitri; Nur, Irwan; Idris, Muhammad. "The Harmony of Multicultural Societies in The Nuances of Identity Politics Post 2018 Governor Elections West Kalimantan" *Jurnal Harmoni: Jurnal Multikultural & Multireligius* Vol. 22 No. 1 (2023) pp. 117-142. <https://doi.org/10.32488/harmoni.v22i1.676>

<sup>29</sup> Nuryadi, Muhammad Hendri; Widiatmaka, Pipit. "Harmonisasi Antar Etnis dan Implikasinya terhadap Petahanan Wilayah di Kalimantan Barat Pada Era *Society 5.0*" *Jurnal Ketahanan Nasional*, Vol. 28, No. 1, April 2022: p.100-118 <https://doi.org/10.22146/jkn.73046>

<sup>30</sup> Rachmadhani, Arnis. "Demensi Etnik Dalam Kerukunan Umat Beragama Di Kota Pontianak Provinsi Kalimantan Barat". *Panangkaran: Jurnal Penelitian Agama dan Masyarakat* 2, no. 1 (May 28, 2018): 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.14421/panangkaran.2018.0201-01>

<sup>31</sup> Haryanto, Joko Tri. "Interaksi Dan Harmoni Umat Beragama" *Walisongo: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan* [Online], Volume 20 Number 1 (30 May 2012) p. 211-234. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21580/ws.20.1.197>



is multicultural because it consists of transmigrants and migrants. This study found that community harmony can be maintained through various joint social activities such as cleaning cemeteries, repairing roads and other public facilities. Another factor is positive inter-ethnic interactions such as greeting each other, tolerance, arts and so on.<sup>32</sup>

This article is different from the above studies, although it has related aspects, especially the location in West Kalimantan, and the big theme of community harmonization. This article takes place in the Sanggau region of West Kalimantan, like Winarsih et.al.'s research. However, the focus of this article is different from that study, namely this study tries to look at the journey of conflict and harmony in Sanggau, as well as the efforts made by the Sanggau community to maintain social harmony and religious harmony in their environment. Thus, this article is expected to provide a broad discussion to get a pattern of community strategies for maintaining harmony in the environment.

This research is a qualitative research with a sociological approach. Data were collected through field studies in Sanggau City, West Kalimantan. This multiethnic and religious city is 300 KM from Pontianak to the East. Sanggau is surrounded by conflict circles 1997-2000, such as Ngabang, Bengkayang, Tayan and Pontianak<sup>33,34</sup>. Data collection techniques were carried out through personal interviews and through focus group discussions (FGD), observations related to environmental conditions and social

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<sup>32</sup> Winarsih, D., Aminuyati, Wiyono, H. "Kerukunan Antar Suku dalam Masyarakat Multikultural di Trans SP-4 Kecamatan Jangkang Kabupaten Sanggau", *Jurnal Pendidikan dan Pembelajaran Khatulistiwa (JPPK)* Vol 11, No 2 (2022) pp. 1-8. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.26418/jppk.v11i2.52995>

<sup>33</sup> Persoon, G. A., & Osseweijer, M. (Eds.). *Reflections on the Heart of Borneo* (Vol. 24). Wageningen, The Netherlands: Tropenbos Internationa, 2008. P

<sup>34</sup> Wadley, R. L. (2000). *Warfare, Pacification, and Environment: Population Dynamics in the West Borneo Borderlands (1823-1934)*. Moussons. *Recherche en sciences humaines sur l'Asie du Sud-Est*, (1), P. 41-66

relations of the Sanggau community, and the study of documents related to the context of the Sanggau community.

Interviews and FGDs were conducted with community leaders, including: Islamic religious leaders from the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) Sanggau, the Regional Leaders of Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama Sanggau, the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) Sanggau, and a number of other figures who have experienced conflict situations directly, have been met for discussion. They were chosen as the source of the data because they were figures who had extensive knowledge of history, conflict situations, and were even involved in resolving religious conflicts in Sanggau. Interviews were conducted to them generally once; however, some of them have been conducted repeatedly. For example, interviews with the chairman of FKUB Sanggau and Chairman of MUI Sanggau. In addition, observation and documentation studies were also carried out to complete the data. The interview questions refer to the purpose of this study, which is to want to describe the way in which people maintain ethno-religious harmony among themselves.

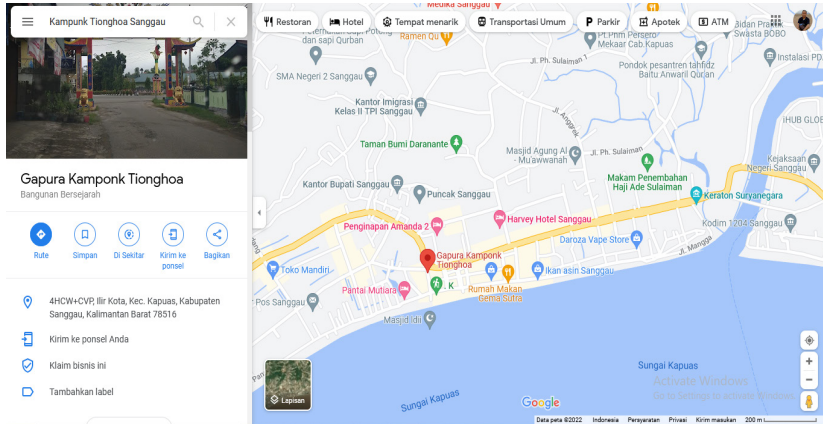
The data obtained were analyzed by descriptive analysis which included reduction activities, classification, and grouped according to the theme of the study. Interim conclusions were drawn and re-discussed with several sources who had been contacted previously.

## **B. Discussion**

### **1. Socio-religious Context of the Sanggau Community**

Sanggau is the capital of Sanggau Regency. Sanggau city is 300 kilometer from the City Of Pontianak, to the East. Sanggau City on the banks of the Kapuas River, and in the past became the site of the Malay Kingdom. The Malay Kingdom of Sanggau, known as

the Kingdom Of Surya Negara, was founded in the 13th century by descendants of Dara Nante and Babai Cinga<sup>35</sup>



Picture 1: Sanggau City, Google Map source

Sanggau has historic traces in the form of written stone inscriptions called Batu Sampai. The inscription is located near the mouth of the Sekayam River, Sanggau. This proves that the Sanggau area has existed and has been inhabited by the community and had a civilization at that time.<sup>36,37</sup>

The socio-religious conditions at this time can be described, the majority of the population in Sanggau City are Malays. In addition, the Dayak, Chinese, Javanese. The symbol of ethnic existence in Sanggau is displayed in the *Sabang Merah* (Red Sabang) monument, Sangggau. In terms of religion, the Malays are Muslims, as well as Madura and Padang. Dayak people are Catholic and Protestant. The Chinese are generally Buddhist, Confucian, and Christian. While Java, some Muslims, and some Christians.

<sup>35</sup> Lontaan, JU. Sejarah Hukum Adat dan Adat Istiadat Kalimantan Barat. Pontianak: Pemda TK I Kalimantan Barat, 1975. P 170.

<sup>36</sup> Purba, Et.al. Sejarah Penyebaran dan Pengaruh Budaya Melayu di Kalimantan. Jakarta: Direktorat Nilai Sejarah, Kementerian Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2011. P. 28.

<sup>37</sup> Enthovent, *ibid.* P.200.

Muslims and Malays are concentrated around the Malay Sanggau palace, while Chinese and Buddhists-Khonghucu, are concentrated in the market area. The rest of the time, other communities live in a shared township environment.

The Sanggau people live side by side with the principles of Customs. Customary rules remain in place, with Dayak customs being the best known. This happens because the Sanggau Regency area is mostly populated by Dayak people. While Malay and Chinese, not known customary law to solve the problem.

The Dayak people in Sanggau Regency really maintain the traditional heritage of their ancestors, which is used as a guide in their lives. This belief has become a value system that differentiates it from other ethnic groups<sup>38</sup>. Malay people in Sanggau City, especially around the palace, also practice Malay customs in their daily lives.

In the socio-religious context of this kind of multicultural society, namely the diversity between ethnicity and religion, it is inevitable social tensions between groups. Social relations in society can be dissociative in the form of conflicts that cause social problems. Minor issues that arise between them, such as quarrels, defamation, are resolved by local wisdom or mutual agreement; issues that are major and related to positive law, such as murder, are resolved through formal legal institutions. As for major problems related to positive law such as murder, they are generally personal problems and not communal problems, solved through formal legal institutions, in the courts.

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<sup>38</sup> Arkanuddin dan Rupita. *Keberlangsungan Suku Dayak Ribun di Sanggau Kalimantan Barat: Suatu Tinjauan Etnografi*. Jurnal IDEA Volume 7 No (3), Agustus 2021. DOI: 10.32884/ideas.v7i3.419

## 2. Harmony in Sanggau

In this section will be described about the harmony in Sanggau from time to time. The time span includes the early Sanggau period, as written in the historical sources of the Sanggau Sultanate and other sources, the period of the great conflict, and lastly the period of the present day.

In the early period of Sanggau's, as recorded in some sources, the situation was tenuous. Dara Nante came from outside Labai, an area on the Sanggau-Ketapang boundary, married to Babai Cinga who was a local resident who lived in Tampun Juah in the upper reaches of the Sekayam River. This marriage formed the forerunner of multiethnic. Because, by implication, the marriage also involves relatives of both spouses of different origins.<sup>3940</sup>

After that, there were several kings and nobles of Sanggau who married princesses from other kingdoms. One of them was the marriage of Abang Klan, or Panembahan Muhammad Kusuma Negara, the 16<sup>th</sup> King of Sanggau, to a Dayak Princess<sup>41</sup>. This marriage shows and strengthens the network of harmony in Sanggau society. In addition, this marriage also has a symbolic meaning for the sake of maintaining Sanggau harmony in the future.

In addition to the Dayaks, the harmony of the Malays and Muslims with the Chinese-Khonghucu, is also reflected in the historical traces of Sanggau. The Chinese came since the 19th century. Enthoven in the early 20th century mentioned the number of Chinese people in Sanggau 351 soul. Part of it is trading, gold and diamond miners<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Ishar, A. *Sejarah, Salasilah, dan Sosiologi Masyarakat Sanggau, Sekayam, Kembayan dan Beduwai*. Pontianak: STAIN Pontianak Press, 2015. P 62-66.

<sup>40</sup> Alloy, Sujarni; Albertus & Istiyani, CP. *Mozaik Dayak, Keberagaman Subsuku dan Bahasa Dayak di Kalimantan Barat*. Pontianak: Institut Dayakologi, 2008. P 47.

<sup>41</sup> Ishad, *Ibid*. P 121-122.

<sup>42</sup> Enthoven, *Ibid*. P 174-176.

In the 1960s, tensions and anti-Chinese appeared everywhere. China is associated with the communists and therefore must be fought. Sanggau and West Kalimantan in general became part of the movement. The Chinese are under pressure<sup>43</sup>. Many of them moved to the city from villages. But, according to informants, those who were in Sanggau also did not experience any major problems. Unlike what happened around the District of Pontianak (Mempawah now) and Pontianak.

In 1971-1980 the Javanese came to Sanggau, through the transmigration program<sup>44</sup>. Their presence received rejection from Dayak groups because it was felt to threaten the existence of Dayak<sup>45</sup>, but, the reaction never continued to be open. In fact, the presence of Javanese is accepted by all ethnic groups, and is recorded as part of the population of Sanggau. The inauguration monument of Sabang Merah, which writes the name of Java as part of the diversity of Sanggau. There are Javanese people who become pastors and clerics in the sub-district.

Other communities that came at these times were Madura and Batak. Some come in relation to tasks or mutations, others come due to migration for independent subsistence. Madura people in Sanggau city in 1980, there were 200 inhabitants<sup>46</sup>. In times of conflict they were guarded by the army and government, as well as Malay and Dayak community leaders. This protection is remembered by the Sanggau people as part of the fact of community harmony.

There is no information about the number of Batak people in Sanggau. However, Batak Christians had established a church near the Sanggau Palace. There is a lot of confusion among Muslim-

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<sup>43</sup> Hulten, Herman Josef van. *Hidupku di antara Suku Daya*. Terjemahan. Jakarta: PT Grasindo, 1992. P 280.

<sup>44</sup> King, Victor T. *The Peoples of Borneo*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993. P 289.

<sup>45</sup> Kristianus. *Ibid*. P. 5-8

<sup>46</sup> Sudagung, HS. *Mengurai Pertikaian Etnis: Migrasi Swakarsa Etnis Madura ke Kalimantan Barat*. Jakarta: ISAI, 2001. P. 70.

Americans. However, the unrest can be resolved by local religious leaders who are employees of the Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kantor Departemen Agama Sanggau). That church, GPIB church, stands strong until now, and is even a symbol of harmony in Sanggau today.

When the conflict in West Kalimantan in 1997 occurred in the Sanggau Ledo region and its surroundings, it then expanded to various places in West Kalimantan. The conflict Sambas in 1999, then spread to various regions in West Kalimantan. Sambas, Singkawang, Mempawah, and Pontianak were particularly affected. Some physical contact, murder, burning of physical buildings and displacement, took place here.<sup>47</sup>

In contrast, in Sanggau city, it can be said to be safe. There are no reports of expulsions and bloodshed. Tensions did occur; community leaders approached their respective communities, asking for restraint and not being affected by the situation that occurred outside the area. This critical period can be passed by Sanggau community well. The absence of open conflict is an indication that Sanggau people can maintain harmony, and coexist harmoniously.

After the Reformation, based on the statement of FKUB religious leaders in the focus group discussion (FGD), the atmosphere is said to be harmony. Conflicts related to religion and tribes were considered minor, and had almost no impact. The establishment of houses of worship at several points around and outside the city of Sanggau had triggered spatial tensions. Tensions arose in the form of protests and rejection of the construction of churches and mosques. There is no information on issues related to the construction of houses of worship of the Khonghucu people, vihara/pekong.

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<sup>47</sup> Sutianti, S. "Dinamika Konflik Antar Etnis Dayak dan Etnis Madura di Samalantan Kalimantan Barat". *Ijd-Demos*, 2(1), 2020. <https://doi.org/10.37950/ijd.v2i1.35>

The protests of a group of people are still heard. In fact, some of the settlement cases involved religious leaders in the local religious Communication forum (FKUB) and the local government. For example, in Lape, one of the villages in Kapuas district, on the outskirts of Sanggau city, the construction of houses of worship was rejected by some non-Muslim residents. However, the issue can be resolved through deliberation, and agreed upon several things. Among other things, the development committee must perform traditional “Ngudas” rituals, namely rituals for the salvation of the harvest, the erection of houses, and the protection of residents from danger. The safety ceremony was marked by the slaughter of animals after the construction was completed. If it is usually a pig that is cut, but since it is related to the construction of houses of worship of Muslims, an agreement is reached that the pig can be replaced by a goat. Goat are not haram for Muslims, like pigs.<sup>48,49</sup>

The mutual agreement to end the conflict through “Ngudas” rituals indicates that something great or sacred-important is being done and happening. And, interestingly, although “ngudas” is related to Dayak customs which also means non-Islamic, in Sanggau this traditional ritual is chosen as a solution to interreligious problems.

Religious conversion is also sometimes a problem in the lives of people between religions outside the city of Sanggau. But, in general, the question can be solved. Partly solved through communication. Some are resolved through meetings and customary law. Customary law in the form of paying a number of values in the form of objects, animals, and money.

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<sup>48</sup> Prasojo, Z. H., Elmansyah, & bin Haji Masri, M. S. “Moderate Islam and the social construction of multi-ethnic communities in the hinterland of west Kalimantan”. *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, 9(2), 2019. <https://doi.org/10.18326/IJIMS.V9I2.217-240>

<sup>49</sup> Tamburian, H. . D. “Komunikasi Lintas Budaya Masyarakat Dayak Dalam Menjaga Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragama”. *Jurnal Komunikasi*, 10(1), 2018. <https://doi.org/10.24912/jk.v10i1.1220>



Local wisdom is used to resolve conflicts. The concept of consensus deliberation is used. In the deliberations of the consensus, respect for the elderly was also put forward. Solving problems in the field using a fraternal approach among the Sanggau people. There are words that are often used in meetings when problems arise: “we are menyadi’ (brothers)”, “our neighbor, why the fuss?”, “They are also our brothers, why do we make it difficult?”, “It’s good that they worship. They do not bother us”. It is no coincidence that the word “we” is used in this expression. We symbolize a shared identity, that the other person is a part of him as well.

What is happening in Sanggau is more than just awareness of shared identity but also awareness to jointly care for harmony. As a person who comes from one lineage and the origin of one area of residence, each person feels himself part of another, has a responsibility to maintain a common life. The common heritage needs to be maintained with various efforts. That’s an important lesson about harmony from Sanggau for everyone.<sup>50</sup>

In addition to the narrative of brotherhood, it is strengthened by making a monument as a form of Monument. There is a Chinese-Dayak - Malay monument (Cidayu) built at the crossroads in the Sanggau region before the expansion of Sekadau. In the Sabang Merah area, the ethnic Brotherhood in Sanggau is also demonumentated, plus other small tribes.

Sanggau today is claimed to be a safe and harmonious place for religion and ethnicity. This awareness of harmony has made Sanggau one of the Harmony-conscious villages since 2018. This argument is supported by data that there have been no religious conflicts over the past 10 years.

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<sup>50</sup> Ruslan & Yusriadi. “Kelompok Lain” dalam Pandangan Pelajar di Wilayah Bekas Konflik di Sanggau Ledo, Kalbar (“Other Group” In Student Views In The Areas Ever Conflict In Sanggau Ledo, West Kalimantan, Indonesia). *Al-Hikmah*, 13(2), 2019. P. 307–318. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.24260/jhjd.v13i2.1472.g757>

So, it is interesting to see the view of Ishar<sup>51</sup> about harmony in Sanggau. He said “ “ Historically the Sanggau Malay community has had a very significant relationship with the Dayak community entity. ...Therefore, there is no rational reason for the Dayaks to be hostile to the Malays, or vice versa for the Malays to be hostile to the Dayaks. Because historically and ethnographically from time immemorial both entities of society have always lived peacefully, assimilated, got along well with each other and worked together”. This view represents the views and at the same time expectations about the past, present, and future of harmony in Sanggau.

This statement is an affirmation of the narrative of brotherhood and harmony that needs to be maintained in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society such as Sanggau. This narrative is part of an effort to form people's awareness and attitudes for certain interests, in this case the interests of maintaining harmony.

### **C. Conclusion**

Religious and ethnic diversity is open to conflict. There are often those who use it as a vehicle for politics and certain interests that can cause conflicts in society. The conflict in Indonesia and West Kalimantan can be an example to see how the impact occurs. However, ethnic and religious diversity in Sanggau does not cause problems in social harmony. Since its inception in 1600 - until 2022, Sanggau has not been recorded as a conflict area. In fact, during periods of major conflict in Indonesia and in West Kalimantan (1997-2000), Sanggau city was considered a safe area. Sanggau suffered no war, no casualties and damage. The crisis passed Sanggau well. Harmony continues to occur to the present. Although it is acknowledged that there are tensions due to the issue of establishing houses of worship, interfaith marriages, and religious conversions, it can be alleviated through the approach of

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<sup>51</sup> Ishar, *Ibid* P. 122

local wisdom and the initiative of community leaders and religious leaders so that it does not become an open conflict.

Harmonization in Sanggau does not come naturally. There is an effort to maintain harmony by developing a narrative of brotherhood and harmony. The figures take advantage of the formal approach and local wisdom, put forward the principles of togetherness. The formal approach is carried out utilizing a network of harmony institutions-religious harmony forums, and government agencies such as district governments, religious departments, the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), etc.. The narrative was strengthened by the recognition of Sanggau as a village aware of harmony.

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