THE OTHER SIDE OF RAMADAN: RAMADAN AND ITS IMPLICATION ON SOCIAL COHESION IN WEST SUMATRA AND YOGYAKARTA

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Abstract
This article examines the implications of Ramadan on social cohesion in communities in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta. The issue is based on the assumption that Ramadan is a religious momentum that is only concerned with the vertical affairs between humans and their Lord alone and has a social dimension, i.e., values of solidarity, sense of belonging, tolerance, and social harmony. These are fostered through religious rituals such as fasting, zakat, and other kinds of worship. The study adopted a qualitative approach and was supported by survey data on several selected community samples. Survey data was collected related to the volume of philanthropy, the frequency of ritual worship during the month of Ramadan concerning the level of quality of social cohesion, solidarity, and social trustworthiness. In addition, the data were collected through a questionnaire instrument to capture the fundamental impact of Ramadan on strengthening social capital. In general, this study concludes that West Sumatra is superior to Yogyakarta for its social cohesion on 3 (three) indicators: moral feeling, sense of belonging, and social harmony. However, despite the difference in numbers between the two regions, there are differences among indicators. While for the other two indicators, safety feeling and tolerance, Yogyakarta is better than West Sumatra.

Keywords: Ramadhan, Social Cohesion, Moral Feeling, Sense of Belonging, Social Harmony, Tolerance, and Social Capital

INTRODUCTION

Social cohesion as a term is often interpreted in various perspectives; for example, it is often discussed as conceptual confusion in the cultural sphere. In addition, social cohesion has been discussed widely by, i.e., social scientists and social movements, who assume that social cohesion is an essential pillar for the development of collective action (Peters 2018). However, refer to Emile Durkheim (1984), the transformation of society causes changes in the quality and criteria of social cohesion (Durkheim 1984). Theoretically, in a traditional community, social interaction, in general, can encourage the formation of what is termed as “mechanical solidarity” among homogeneous members of society - their social identity and activities. However, in developing communities, changes in interactions lead to “organic solidarity” (OECD 2011). The impact is a change in the quality of social cohesion in developing societies.

The reduced quality of social cohesion harms interactions and social structure. Therefore, in the late 1980s, social cohesion was made as to the main agenda in various countries such as Australia, Canada, Denmark, and New Zealand (OECD 2011). Even today, France has a Ministry of Solidarity and Social Cohesion. Similarly, the European Union makes social cohesion a strategic priority (OECD 2011). The movement
to strengthen social cohesion is carried out because social cohesion is a prerequisite for realizing the whole community’s well-being (OECD 2013). Not only that, social cohesion is a capital to fight and anticipate exclusivity and marginalization in society. It also becomes an essential component in forming a “sense of belonging” and promoting trust. Furthermore, it allows every member of the community to have the opportunity to experience social mobility to a higher level. Munck (2009) stated that “social cohesion is an essential element that must be promoted for the peaceful resolution of differences both within and between countries (Munck 2009).”

Theories and concepts of social cohesion laid down by social scholars become essential for the political system (i.e., developing social cohesion as an issue). In addition, it also becomes a field that triggers the development of various studies, with multiple perspectives as well. For example, Hanka Otte, through her studies Bonding or Bridging? On art participation and social cohesion in a rural region of the Netherlands, successfully examines and finds the relationship between art participation and social cohesion in the Netherlands. This view is supported by several theories related to social cohesion. It can be proven through the distinction between bonding and cohesive bridging behavior (Otte 2019). Empirically, Hanka Otte succeeded in identifying a relationship between confirmative art and bonding cohesive behavior, and challenging art are also closely related to bridging cohesive behavior (Otte 2019). Another term for bridging is permeability, one type of social bridge which can strengthen social cohesion.

Abdullah, Marzbari, Tilaki, and Bahauddin (2014) convinced the view that to increase interaction between communities, it is also necessary to improve the health and welfare of the neighborhood (Abdullah et al. 2014). Aldrin Abdullah believes that the foundation of social relations, even social cohesion, is society’s health and economic level. It means that the more prosperous a person or society, the higher the cohesion and social interaction level. Maria A. Carrasco and Usama Bilal (2016) adds another factor that is no less important in strengthening social cohesion, namely social capital. According to them, various studies show that. In addition, Maria and Usama Bilal used a framework introduced by Erich Fromm, which must be distinguished between having and being in understanding social cohesion. Conceptually, social capital correlates with “having”. At the same time, social cohesion relates to “being” (Carrasco & Bilal, 2016). Therefore, this conception can be interpreted that social capital is an essential foundation for generating social capital.

When examined, various existing literature or research, no one tries to elaborate on how social cohesion is formed through sacred moments and rituals, such as the moment of Ramadan. André Möller (2005) succeeded in identifying why then Ramadan is essential for Muslims. The answer is because the month of Ramadan is a moment where Muslims fast and are happy to be shown clearly (Möller, 2005, 2006). The social capital of Muslims will increase gradually in this Ramadan because the frequency of interactions will increase with the institutionalization of rituals such as tarawih prayer, zakat, infaq, and alms. Not only that, Islamic doctrines instill that goodness must be intensely carried out this month so that Allah will bestow great merit on his people. The question is, is that the fact? Proving this thesis, an empirical study is needed. So, it can be proven whether it is qualitatively accurate that sacred moments like Ramadan can improve social cohesion in Muslim societies. This study makes Yogyakarta and West Sumatra the study’s locations. Of course, there are several reasons why these two provinces served as locations where lessons are conducted.

Moh. Hasim at least has mapped that the socio-cultural conditions of the people of Yogyakarta cannot be separated from Javanese cultural customs. In addition to being tightly related to Javanese traditions, Yogyakarta
is more multicultural. Nevertheless, Islamic culture is an inseparable part of the people of Yogyakarta (Hasim 2009). Many rituals come into contact with Islam as a representation of Islamic culture carried out consistently by the people of Yogyakarta, i.e., the Sekaten ceremony, Grebeg Muludan, Labuhan Ceremony, Royal heirlooms Siraman Ceremony, Saparan Ceremony, Nguras Enceh Ceremony, and the Royal Train Jamasan Ceremony. All of these rituals are related to the expression of Islamic cultures. Some traditions related to Ramadan are a ceremony held by people of Yogyakarta and the court of Yogyakarta in Southern Javanese coastal and the apeman tradition. In the apeman tradition, the women in the palace make apems (a kind of local cake) and distribute them to all servants in the palace. In this context, Aulia Arif Rahman identified Yogyakarta as one of the cities where Islamic culture was strongly and consistently expressed (Hodayah & Rahman 2012). It means that Islam is a religion and a determinant of the cultural structure of the Yogyakarta Community.

Meanwhile, Dwi Rini Sovia Firdaus et al. found that the people of West Sumatra, an area where the Minangkabau ethnic life, were Islamic. Because it is only in Minangkabau that the fusion of Islam and adat takes place, it determines the people’s characteristics (Sovia Firdaus et al. 2018). Thus, both the people of Yogyakarta and West Sumatra are known as expressive in religion. In this context, it is interesting to study their expressions in Ramadan, whether or not their religiosity increases and impacts social cohesion. This paper will try to describe the problems. How does Ramadan affect social cohesion to Muslims in Yogyakarta and West Sumatra?

**Literature Review**

**Affinity and Determination of Islam**

Rehman & Askari (2010) offer two perspectives in understanding the extent to which Islam shapes or impacts Muslims’ behavior and their social structure, namely the perspective of affinity and determination. Affinity refers to behavior in line with Islam because Islam itself offers the needs and interests of its adherents. The determination is more determined by the extent to which the behavior of Muslims is determined entirely by the level and desire to comply with the teachings and provisions of Islamic law. It is possible because Islam provides Muslims with fundamental principles for their behavior (Rehman & Askari, 2010). By making Islam the guidance, Muslims’ behavior will be primarily determined by the criteria of sound and wrong in the Islamic version. The theory of affinity and determination of Islam is built on the foundation of philosophical assumptions. Islam is believed to be a reference for Muslims in doing and choosing actions. Connections like this will automatically form an individual religiosity among Muslims (Ouafy & Chakir, 2015; Shah Alam et al., 2011). At this stage, religiosity tends to be determinant with individuals’ behavior, how they interact, and social relationships with other individuals. Likewise, religiosity also determines the quality of social cohesion and community ties. The more religious a community is, the stronger the relationships between individuals within the community will be. The projected theory can explain how the role of Islam shapes the choices and religious expressions of the people of West Sumatra and Yogyakarta during Ramadan.

**Social Cohesiveness and Islamic Practices**

Other theories used in this study are social cohesion and Islamic practice. This theory explains that social cohesion is formed and will develop more when the Islamic community participates in religious rituals carried out socially. For example, they often conduct prayer in the congregation in the mosque (Kasmo et al. 2015). Social cohesion is characterized by strengthening feelings of brotherhood (neighbor) between fellow people. This sense of brotherhood will strengthen along with the
strengthening of Islamic practices (Kasmo et al. 2015). It is understandable because Islam is not only a doctrinal religion but also a social system. Therefore, when Islamic values are practiced in the social order, Islam will color and encourage improving the quality of social relations. Islamic values teach how to treat neighbors well and help each other. It is just that the behavior is not taken for granted, but there is a process that Muslims must carry out so that social cohesion can be realized. One of them is the consistency of participating in religious rituals which involve the wider community (Kasmo et al. 2015).

Other scholars also offer a concept of social cohesion. Hannequart (1992) stated that social cohesion has a set of essential features of the community system; the endeavor will have to be continued as the primary strategy to community empowerment (Hannequart 1992). In this regard, Islam as a belief system provides a way to strengthen the Islamic community through Islamic values to represent social cohesion.

Through social cohesiveness and Islamic Practice, the more religious and consistent a society implements Islamic values, the stronger the social cohesion within that society. Mohd Arip Kasmo et al. verifies this assumption by finding a solid relationship between the practice of Islamic values and social cohesion (Carrasco & Bilal 2016; Forrest & Kearns 2001; Kasmo et al. 2015). Linearly, it is more likely that Muslims consistently carry out socially-oriented religious rituals such as prayer in the congregation; and Ramadan fasting strengthens social cohesion in the community. In this case, Annette Schnabel and Florian Groetsch also assume that religion is promoted in individual religiosity and as a social formation (Schnabel & Groetsch 2014). One factor contributing to social cohesion is the social pluralism of religiosity. So, it can be interpreted that social cohesion is a product of vertical individuals and horizontal beliefs at the same time (Schnabel & Groetsch 2014), or in other words, as a product of religious and social relations simultaneously carried out by religious people.

**RESEARCH METHOD**

**Methods and Its Procedures**

This study uses a qualitative approach based on the results of field studies and is supported by the survey on several selected community samples, namely West Sumatra and Yogyakarta. West Sumatra was chosen to represent a homogeneous population in religion and culture, while Yogyakarta was chosen because it has a population with heterogeneous religions. Survey data to be collected relates to the volume of philanthropy, the frequency of ritual worship during Ramadan, which concerns the level of quality of social cohesion, solidarity, and social trustworthiness. The data is collected through a questionnaire instrument whose purpose is to capture the level of the impact of Ramadan on strengthening social capital. Meanwhile, qualitative data in the form of opinions or arguments of social actors - in this case, the community, community leaders, religious leaders, customs, and government-related to the institutionalization of religion to strengthen social capital. Moreover, an understanding of Muslims’ “emic” perspective obtained through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions are also used as qualitative data. The two types of the used data confirmed that this study used a qualitative method.

**Research Location**

This study was conducted in two areas; West Sumatra and Yogyakarta. The areas selected as research samples in West Sumatra are based on two regional categories in the Minangkabau tradition, namely luhak or darek areas and overseas areas. Luhak/darek areas are considered the origin of the Minangkabau indigenous community, which is generally more homogeneous and traditional in holding customs and religion (Rasyid 2008). At the same time, overseas areas are usually more heterogeneous, dynamic, and open to various reforms; they are not too strict in holding customs and religions.
Luhak Agam and Luhak Tanah Datar are considered the luhak areas’ representatives, while Padang and Solok represent overseas areas. A sample area, nagari or kelurahan, was chosen best to represent the characteristics of the luhak or rantau. Thus, the study site consisted of 2 (two) villages in two municipalities and 2 (two) towns in two districts in West Sumatra. Second, Yogyakarta was chosen as a research location because Yogyakarta is a heterogeneous area where the people live in harmony and can manage diversity. The regions taken in this province are Yogyakarta City, Bantul Regency, Sleman Regency, and Gunungkidul Regency. For the city of Yogyakarta, 1 (one) district represents the sample and 1 (one) village for each regency.

Data Collection and Its Analysis

There are two data sources in this study, namely respondents and informants. Respondents were selected using a purposive random sampling technique according to the purpose of the study. According to the study location, respondents have randomly taken 100 (one hundred) residents in each nagari/village/kelurahan in the district/city. Informants for interviews and FGDs used snowball sampling techniques. Informants are chosen deliberately based on information that needs to be explored further. The informants in this study were a) male and female farmers, b) male and female traders, c) male and female entrepreneurs, d) male and female civil servants, e) students, f) housewives, g) traditional leaders, h) religious leaders, and i) government elements. All categories of informants above are spread in each research location, both in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta. In addition to interviews, there were 2 (two) FGDs in each study area. FGD participants were different from participants’ in-depth interviews to obtain more diverse information.

In this study, there are three techniques used in collecting data. The first survey was through a questionnaire. The questionnaire was arranged following indicators of philanthropy, the frequency of ritual worship during Ramadan concerning the quality of social cohesion, solidarity, and social trustworthiness. The questionnaire was arranged using a Likert Scale (5 scales). After the questionnaire was prepared, validation was carried out, namely expert validation involving 3 (three) experts, namely sociologist, evaluation expert, and linguist. Based on the validation results, the questionnaire was revised, and the initial questionnaire was continued to a group (50 people) of the community at a location outside the study location. First, a trial was conducted to determine the quality of the questionnaire by analyzing the validity of questionnaire items and questionnaire reliability. In calculating the validity of questionnaire items, the correlation formula used is Product Moment, and the questionnaire reliability used is the formula Alpha. Second, interview. For the discussion, interview guidelines were prepared according to the data to be collected, namely related to the institutionalization of religion to strengthen social capital and understand the “emic” perspective of Muslims. Third Focus Group Discussion (FGD). FGD aims to complement and explore the data that has been obtained from questionnaires and interviews.

Data analysis was carried out in two stages, both in the field and after leaving the area. First, data obtained through questionnaires, interviews, and FGDs are supported and confirmed (cross-checking) among research subjects, primary data, and secondary data and then analyzed through qualitative interpretation. Second, empirical material analysis has been carried out by processing suitable materials (synthesizing) into patterns and various categories. Appropriate material in the form of expressions, daily experiences, or cases that have been collected are put together in a unit that can describe typical patterns of behavior or community response. The process synthesizes a multi-site studies approach, inductively analytic and constant comparative method (Muhadjir 1989). Inductive logic is one pattern in formulating several problems
into guiding questions or specific issues that focus on study. Through free interviews or documentation analysis, particular issues were explored, then analyzed on an ongoing basis and outlined descriptively. Recognizing that the reality on the ground is not all specific problems or issues can be ascertained beforehand, the approach constant comparative method can gather cognitive, psychomotor, emotional, and intuitive expressions of the actors involved. Then raise the image, ideas, construction, and various definitions of reality, making a patterned description.

This study also completes data analysis with the approach offered by Miles and Huberman (1994), first, data reduction, where reduced empirical material is presented in an organized form by making structured summaries, networks, or diagrams, matrices, synopsis with texts. Second, the presentation of suitable materials, which is to simplify, abstract, and transform ‘rough’ data from written notes in the field, has been carried out since it began collecting empirical material (Miles & Huberman 1994). Then it continues until the conclusions can be drawn and verified. Third, drawing conclusions and verification; interpret the meaning of the display of empirical material by noting regularities, patterns, explanations, possible configurations, and propositions. Similar to the reduction and display of suitable material, verification also occurs before, during, and after collecting empirical material, thus forming an interactive cycle relationship. In this context, recycling field notes is carried out, brainstorming, or confronting other findings.

Operationally data analysis is also carried out using the approach offered by Creswell (2015). First, data management, where data is obtained through questionnaires, interviews, and FGDs, is organized into files and converted into text units; words, sentences, stories. Second, reading and zoning data. Third, data that has been collected into files; The database is read repeatedly as a whole. Then the data is given a memo or a brief and concise note. The third is the description, classification, and interpretation of data (Creswell 2015). After the data has been read and memorized, the following step is a detailed description, developing a theme or dimension, and providing interpretation. This data description technique is done by grouping task or visual data into smaller categories of information, looking for evidence for the code from the various databases used, then labeling the code. After the data is described, the next step is to classify the data by sorting through the text, searching for categories and themes. The next step after data classification is to interpret the data, namely the code development, the formation of pieces from the code, and the organizing of themes into broader abstraction units to be analyzed. Fourth, data visualization. The data which has been interpreted is packaged in the form of text, tables, and graphs. Data obtained through questionnaires are validated through tables and charts, while data obtained through interviews and FGDs are presented in text form.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
Ramadan and Social Cohesion

The Minangkabau people who inhabit the administrative area of West Sumatra are ethnically popular with their high religiosity. Not surprisingly, some people refer to Minangkabau as the land where the scholars were born. Moreover, PE De Josselin de Jong made a metaphor that Minangkabau was his twin brother Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia (de Josselin de Jong 1980). This metaphor is understandable because there are many similarities between the Minangkabau country and Negeri Sembilan. The most striking resemblance is the level of followers of Islam, and Islamic expressions are very thick. So Minangkabau ethnic religiosity is very obvious. Even Taufik Abdullah, a historian from Minangkabau, proposed a thesis that Islam intertwined in the Minangkabau ethnic life (Abdullah 2015). It certainly has substantial implications for how the Minangkabau ethnicity
defines the social world; and how they express Islam socially. In this context, then how Ramadan is a time where fasting rituals and months where religiosity is improved have implications for social cohesion in West Sumatra.

West Sumatra has a homogeneous culture. It can be identified from the religion and ethnicity of the Minang people. Yogyakarta is relatively heterogeneous culturally. Empirically, Islam is expressed and practiced differently because ethnicity and religiosity are relatively high. In this regard, will this practice have implications for the social cohesion of Muslim communities in West Sumatra or Yogyakarta? To identify how the implications of Ramadan as a moment where religiosity forged and improved against social cohesion. Then it seems necessary to identify five indicators inherent in social cohesion: moral sense, a sense of belonging; harmony; security, and tolerance. Empirically, this study found several things related to social cohesion in West Sumatra, just during the month of Ramadan. First, in general, the people of West Sumatra have higher social cohesion. Thus, this condition can be understood from Table 1:

**Table 1. Moral Taste in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>West Sumatra</th>
<th>Yogyakarta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Av.  %</td>
<td>Av.  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ramadan increases Faith</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>3.38   84.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ramadan and Tradition Voting</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>85.2  3.37 84.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Activities during Ramadan help me become a better person</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>87.8  3.44 85.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Month of Ramadan and personal transformation</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>83.5  3.27 81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total Averages</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.45</strong></td>
<td>85.6 3.36 84.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 informs 4 (four) indicators of moral taste and is an essential element of how Ramadan has implications for social cohesion. First, Ramadan is assumed to increase the Muslims’ faith. Second, the facts show that Ramadan has a broader impact on moral taste in West Sumatra than in Yogyakarta. It is shown by the difference in the average value obtained by the greater West Sumatra Muslim community and surpasses Yogyakarta with a range of 0.06-0.23 points. This empirical fact seems to be understood through the perspective of the theory of moral taste which David Hume introduced. According to him, the moral sense grew out of the process termed by Hume with from reason; or sentiment (McAteer, 2016). In this context, sentimentalist sees moral sense as affective and conative, as well. Because morality, according to them, is a product of feeling and desire” (McAteer, 2016). If examined in-depth, these 4 (four) indicators are undeniable and explicitly, necessarily involving emotion, passion, and conative or intention.

**Table 2. Sense of Belonging in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>West Sumatra</th>
<th>Yogyakarta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Av.  %</td>
<td>Av.  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Importance of Family in Ramadan</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>82.5   3.27 81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Do not feel the importance of neighborly living</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>55.2 2.03 50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ramadan is considered disturbing personal life</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>72.5 3.2 80.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>I do not care about activities in the month of Ramadan</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>71.3 3.12 77.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total Averages</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.81</strong></td>
<td>70.37 2.9 72.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows that in terms of ownership, the people of West Sumatra are lower than that of the people of Yogyakarta, where the average value of social cohesion of the people of West Sumatra is around 2.81, while the people of Yogyakarta value the average social cohesion is 2.9. The sense of ownership or purpose of belonging identified in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta can at least be interpreted through
the perspective offered by Nathaniel M. Lambert; Tyler F. Stillman; Joshua A. Hicks; Shanmukh Kamble; Frank D. Fincham, and Roy Baumeister. They stated that belonging increases the sense of meaningfulness of a moment, event, or event such as Ramadan (Lambert et al. 2013). Concerning Ramadan and social cohesion, a sense of belonging will strengthen the level of caring; and the importance of brotherhood. Therefore, when stimulated with a negative questionnaire, the results show an increasingly smaller and reduced score.

Table 3. Social Harmony in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>West Sumatra</th>
<th>Yogyakarta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Av.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Life coexistence</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>80.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Habits of greeting each other</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>83.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ramadan made around the residence more comfortable and at ease;</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>84.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>I was maintaining good relations with neighbors and the community.</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>82.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Averages 3.32 83.1 3.27 82

Ramadan for the people of Sumatra is an arena where social harmony is shown and grown. So that the value of social cohesion, with an indicator of social connection, the people of West Sumatra are higher with an average value of 3.32 compared to the people of Yogyakarta. This condition can be understood from Table 3, where the people of Yogyakarta only have a score of 3.27 points. Borrowing the theory of Rachel D. Arnett and Jim Sidanius, social harmony is created and produced massively when individuals in society feel colossal discomfort and are consistent when over-expressing and accentuating their social identity above other individuals (Arnett & Sidanius 2018). In this context, then 4 (four) indicators of social harmony concerning social cohesion need to be interpreted. In short, Ramadan has been able to become a momentum for Muslims in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta to improve social harmony. However, the people of West Sumatra are far better than the Yogyakarta people in terms of social connection and its relationship with Ramadan.

The last indicator of social cohesion and its relationship to Ramadan is feeling safe. Is Ramadan able to provide security to Muslims? Ramadan is an important month in the Islamic tradition, not only as space where fasting rituals are performed as a rite. Ramadan is a month of religiosity. It is becoming an object that is consistently improved, systemically and culturally compounded. Consistent because Muslims are required to fast. The systemic fasting is arranged in such a way and is equipped with sunnah worship such as *tarawih* prayer, *zakat fitrah*, and other sunnah services.

Meanwhile, it is considered cultural because it is during Ramadan that Islam is practiced culturally. This month, accompanied by Eid al-Fitr, all religious ceremonies are integrated with cultural traditions such as Eid celebrations and accompanying artistic accessories. The question then is whether the complexity of Ramadan can create a sense of security for Muslim communities in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta? The answer to this question can be understood from Table 4:

Table 4. Safety Feeling in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>West Sumatra</th>
<th>Yogyakarta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Av.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Safety increased in Ramadan as consequent of fear feeling</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>83.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Crime in Ramadan</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>66.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Be cautious and vigilant in Ramadan about what will happen;</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>52.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>We are increasing efforts to maintain security.</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>75.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Averages 2.59 64.82 2.75 68.92
The sense of security of Yogyakarta people during Ramadan is higher than the sense of security experienced by Muslims in West Sumatra. Table 4 shows the average value of security experienced by the people of Yogyakarta ranges from 2.75. At the same time, the people of West Sumatra have a lower feeling of security during the month of Ramadan, with an average of 2.59. Indeed not far adrift. But this difference has implications for the reduced quality of social cohesion in West Sumatra due to a lack of security during the month of Ramadan.

Nevertheless, this sense of security arises because there is a social infrastructure that supports it. For example, an individual’s vigilant attitude towards increasing crime rates will encourage anticipatory social attitudes in social life. However, the month of Ramadan requires increased physical activity in worship at night if each individual can take care of one another. Then the sense of security will grow because insecurity grows with increasing physical activity and often do activities outside the family environment (Rees-Punia et al. 2018). However, this can be overcome with mutual attitudes and care among community members.

Another indicator of social cohesion, social solidarity, may grow in Ramadan. Why is social solidarity assumed as the foundation of social cohesion? Social solidarity includes cultural contexts such as emotional solidarity, friendship, and tolerance. Emotional solidarity, referring to Robert Charles G. Capistrano and Adam Weaver, was applied and adapted to situations where social relationships began to crack, so preconditions are needed so that emotional solidarity grows and strengthens again (Capistrano & Weaver 2018). In this context then Ramadan is strongly suspected of having implications for the growth of emotional solidarity. It will eventually strengthen tolerance among the people of West Sumatra and Yogyakarta. It will also automatically be able to institutionalize tolerance among the people of West Sumatra and Yogyakarta. The facts show in the tolerance category, where the social cohesion of the people of West Sumatra with an average value of 2.99 is lower than the people of Yogyakarta with an average value of social cohesion of 3.12. In general, the conditions and comparison of social cohesion in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta during Ramadan can be illustrated by the Figure 1:

Figure 1. Social Cohesion in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>West Sumatera</th>
<th>Yogyakarta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Condition</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Feeling</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>3.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense Of Belonging</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Harmony</td>
<td>3.42</td>
<td>4.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>West Sumatera</th>
<th>Yogyakarta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second Condition</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety feeling</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
West Sumatra is superior to Yogyakarta in social cohesion on 3 (three) indicators: moral feeling, a sense of belonging, and social harmony. Despite the difference in numbers between the two regions - West Sumatra and Yogyakarta, there are differences between the two in the three indicators. While for the other two indicators, namely safety feeling, and tolerance, Yogyakarta is better than West Sumatra. It can be understood from the data above that the social cohesion of the people of Yogyakarta is much higher than that of the people of West Sumatra. Although Yogyakarta has a higher level of community cohesiveness, there is no dominant factor determining the difference between Yogyakarta and West Sumatra. The people of West Sumatra have more substantial moral commitments to maintain the values and norms that apply during Ramadan.

In addition, the people of West Sumatra also have a high tendency to maintain social harmony. Second, because the people of Yogyakarta have a relatively high sense of ownership, the people of Yogyakarta have a solid foundation in developing a more tolerant life and creating a sense of security. From the facts explained above, five things need to be noted. First, Ramadan has a significant impact on the lives of Muslim communities, especially in strengthening social capital. Second, the two dominant factors forming the social capital of Muslim communities in the month of Ramadan are social solidarity and philanthropy. Third, the social solidarity and benevolence of the Muslim community experience are strengthening during Ramadan. In addition, the cohesiveness of the Muslim community will decrease. Fourth, Ramadan can be a strong foundation for enhancing friendship and building community welfare through philanthropic development. Fifth, for socially heterogeneous societies, cohesiveness is more likely to be developed than socially homogeneous societies.

**Dynamics of Social Cohesion**

Cohesion as a policy strengthened and was hotly discussed in the mid-1990s, just as the Canadian government, France, the United Kingdom, and international organizations (such as the OECD, *The Council of Europe*, the *Club of Rome*) used this concept in their policy documents (Jupp et al. 2017). The emergence of social cohesion and then advocated into international organizations’ policy is caused by fears of the effects of globalization and drastic economic changes (Jupp et al. 2017). Moreover, the increasing agenda of combating terrorism and increasing radicalism among the world’s Muslim population makes the international world worried about breaking social cohesion in the developing world, even developed countries (Jupp et al. 2017). The concept of social cohesion promoted and introduced by social organizations is undoubtedly rooted in a distinctive and strong academic tradition. It can be traced from the definition presented by social scholars. Emile Durkheim examines the social ability always to track developments and changes in mechanical solidarity applicable in the experience of pre-industrial communal societies towards organic solidarity in the modern world.

Meanwhile, Max Weber believes how essential ideas and collective values are for social development. Talcott Parsons offers a theory of structural-functional sociology that emphasizes cohesive societies based on conformity through *shared systems* of value-oriented standards or *value-orientation standards* (Jupp et al. 2017). From this initial conception, various studies on social cohesion issues developed, produced multiple approaches to understanding or identifying the quality, typology, and pattern of social cohesion. Bernard, for example, distinguishes social cohesion through the differentiation between formal and substantial aspects. Differentiation is divided into three dimensions of human activity, namely: economic, political, and socio-cultural. This typology of Bernard can be illustrated in table 5 as follows.
The Other Side of Ramadan: 
Ramadan and Its Implication on Social Cohesion in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta 
Nurus Shalihin, Yulia, and Muhammad Sholihin

Table 5. Bernard’s Typology of Social Cohesion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sphere of Activity</th>
<th>The character of the Relations</th>
<th>Formal</th>
<th>Substantial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Insertion/Exclusion</td>
<td>Equality/Inequality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Legitimacy/Illegitimacy</td>
<td>Participation/passivity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Recognition/Rejection</td>
<td>Belonging/Isolation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indifferently, it is just developed the concept that Bernard related typology of social cohesion, Forrest and Kearns (2001) offers a comprehensive representation of the social cohesion domain. Both of them elaborate on the territory of social cohesion by identifying the values that are the foundation of social cohesion. Not only that, Forrest and Kearns also included social order, social control, social solidarity, and reduction of welfare disparities to the most natural representation of social cohesion, namely identity. In detail, the conception of Forrest and Kearns can be illustrated in table 6.

The domain described by Forrest and Kearns in Table 6 is certainly not a final conception. Still, it became a theoretical foundation until it was developed and gave birth to a completely different approach. It is none other than in the context of developing studies related to the issue of social cohesion. David Schiefer & Jolanda van der Noll managed to identify the meaning and concept of social cohesion through rigorous literature studies. They managed to identify aspects of social cohesion that social scientists might have missed. According to them, social cohesion is equivalent to the term Gesellschaftlicher Zusammenthalte; Sozialer Zusammenhalt; Soziale Kohäsion in German. In this context, social cohesion is not an individual trait. But it is characteristic of a social entity such as community and society (Schiefer & van der Noll 2017). Historically, social cohesion is believed a multidimensional construct was guiding various micro-scale phenomena such as individual attitudes and orientations. On the level of middle theory, it is well-looked at in community and group features, even at a macro scale, such as features at the community institution level (Schiefer & van der Noll 2017). These all developments, of course, cannot be separated from the root of the debate related to the question: “what forms social order in society and why does it survive despite social change structural in various fields of life, both in the economic arena; culture and politics?”

The other question is, why can social cohesion maintain community orders during social change? Andy Green and Jan Germen Janmaat identify these answers by exploring the components or elements forming social cohesion. Social cohesion consists of features. First, sharing values and goals such as liberty, democracy, meritocracy, and equality. Second, a sense of communal ownership and identity such as nationalism and other identities. Third, tolerance and respect for individuals and different cultures. Fourth, interpersonal and institutional trust. Fifth, citizenship cooperation. Sixth, active participation of citizens. Seventh, law-abiding
behavior or low crime rates (Green & Janmaat 2011). This element of social cohesion is believed to effectively maintain the social fabric, even though social change cannot be avoided because of exposure to globalization and modernism. In this context, Jenson defines social cohesion as a social process that can help foster an individual’s sense of belonging and feel part of community members who must maintain tradition and be socially bound or socially bounded (Green & Janmaat 2011). Strengthening this view, Judith Maxwell (1996) added an egalitarian and solidarity dimension in the meaning of social cohesion (Maxwell 1996). According to him, social cohesion involves sharing values and interpretations of communities to reduce disparities in the economy and income.

Despite being plagued by social change, any community may foster social cohesion because naturally, humans always want to be in groups and feel solid social ties between community members (Green & Janmaat 2011). The question worthy of being put forward in the universe of social cohesion conceptions is: “Apart from social values and goals, does religion play an important role in shaping and maintaining social cohesion?” Bayu Taufiq Passumah, Mohd Arif Kasmo, and Zulkifli Mohamad managed to answer this question by studying how the role of religion in social cohesion in contemporary Muslim society in Malaysia. An important note from their research is that social cohesion can weaken as social disintegration strengthens (Kasmo et al. 2015). In this context, Islam can enhance social cohesion through the values of horizontal conflict prevention; and through his doctrine of Muslim brotherhood or Muslim brotherhood.

Islam teaches its adherents to choose a sense of unity and brotherhood among fellow Muslims by increasing religious activities and avoiding individualism. The attitude will make individuals being distant from other community members. In the 17th century, Emile Durkheim warned that modern society and industry tended to lose norms and were trapped in despair and suicide. It is caused by increasing the values of individualism and selfishness driven by the endless pursuit of material well-being (Kasmo et al. 2015). Islam and the expression of sharia values undermined the values of individualism; and selfishness. Even Islam also teaches that adherents are not too excessive in the pursuit of wealth in the world. The search for world salvation must be based on the values of shari’a and monotheism. Therefore, Islam has the capital to encourage social restoration and ultimately strengthen social cohesion because Islam has several instruments to create socially Muslim stable societies; it emphasizes the importance of social solidarity. It encourages the institutionalization of maslahah or society’s interest (Tripp 2006). Every ritual jurisdiction and worship in Islam, for example, fasting and almsgiving, contain the purpose of society’s good or maintain social order so that people do not lead to social disintegration and despair. In this context, it is essential to interpret how the role of Ramadan forms social cohesion in the people of West Sumatra and Yogyakarta.

Convincingly, the study successfully identified that Ramadan had become an instrument where social cohesion is reproduced. It seems to be one of the goals why Islam institutionalizes social virtue, social solidarity through the obligation to carry out fasting worship, none other so that Muslims can foster a sense of morality, a sense of belonging, the importance of security, social harmony, and tolerance. It is the core or the core of social cohesion. Thus, the people of Yogyakarta and West Sumatra have become fields where the implications of Ramadan and social cohesion can be theorized as two interrelated variables. André Möller, through his study entitled Ramadan in Java: The Joy and Jihad of Ritual Fasting, became the foundation of this thesis. According to him, Ramadan in Java, especially in Yogyakarta, became an arena where the search for the meaning of holiness took place. Not only that, Ramadan is a momentum where Muslims try to actualize the values of the Quran and Islam.
so that Ramadan becomes a social month, where a sense of brotherhood grows and strengthens (Möller 2005). It is no exaggeration if it is then proposed and then empirically confirmed that Ramadan for the people of West Sumatra and Yogyakarta becomes a momentum where social cohesion is strengthened through fasting rituals and other complementary worship in Ramadan.

**CONCLUSION**

Ramadan is not merely a religious moment. The ritual of fasting, *zakat fitrah*, and *tarawih* is carried out by Muslims in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta and has a more profound and fundamental social meaning. It is considered primary because Ramadan in these two regions, West Sumatra and Yogyakarta, has become a momentum where social cohesion strengthens as fasting rituals are carried out and are accompanied by other socio-religious values such as caring and generosity. This study is believed to be necessary because there is a lot of literature that makes social cohesion a research issue. However, it does not make Ramadan a unique, specific unit of analysis.

Many studies question how globalization is individualism and social disintegration reduce and weaken social cohesion. This study precisely found that Ramadan in Yogyakarta and West Sumatra has implications for social cohesion. It is formulated in 5 (five) theses that have been produced and tested empirically. **First**, Ramadan has a significant impact on the lives of Muslim communities, especially in strengthening social capital. **Second**, the two dominant factors forming the social capital of Muslim communities in Ramadan are social solidarity and philanthropy. **Third**, if the social solidarity and generosity of the Muslim community experience strengthening during Ramadan, then the cohesiveness of the Muslim community will decrease during the month of Ramadan. **Fourth**, Ramadan can be a strong foundation for enhancing friendship and building community welfare through philanthropic development. **Fifth**, for socially heterogeneous societies, cohesiveness is more likely to be developed than socially homogeneous societies. In this regard, it is crucial to develop social studies. Finally, it consistently carries out the theoretical tests of how religion can strengthen social cohesion. A new policy model involves religious values and religiosity, i.e., Islam, from hypothetical tests.

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