



# SOCIAL COHESIVITY OF THE INDONESIAN MUSLIM COMMUNITY DURING THE RAMADAN

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## Abstract

This study aims to analyze the social cohesiveness of Indonesian Muslim communities during Ramadan. Moral sense, sense of belonging, social harmony, sense of security, and tolerance in this study are used as indicators to understand social cohesiveness. Data were collected through questionnaires with 600 respondents randomly selected in three districts/cities in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta provinces. The study found that two indicators of social cohesion were in the high category, namely a sense of morality (3.39 or 84.75%) and social harmony (3.30 or 82.50%), while three other indicators of social cohesion were in the medium category, namely a sense of belonging (2.34 or 58.50%), a sense of security (2.54 or 63.50%), and tolerance (2.70 or 67.50%). Thus, the social cohesion of the Muslim community during Ramadan is in the moderate category, with an average of 2.85 or equivalent to 71.17 percent. This study concludes that Ramadan has not contributed significantly to building social cohesiveness. The ambiguity of faith, which is ambiguous in understanding reality; sacred and profane, can be identified as one of the reasons why Ramadan has not been able to build social cohesiveness.

**Keywords:** Ramadan, Social Cohesiveness, Ambiguity, Faith Split

## Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kohesivitas sosial masyarakat Muslim Indonesia selama bulan Ramadan. Rasa moral, rasa memiliki, harmoni sosial, rasa aman, dan toleransi dalam penelitian ini digunakan sebagai indikator untuk memahami kohesivitas sosial. Data dikumpulkan melalui kuesioner dengan 600 responden yang dipilih secara random pada tiga kabupaten/kota di provinsi sumbar dan yogya. Studi ini menemukan bahwa dua indikator kohesi sosial berada pada kategori tinggi, yaitu rasa moral (3,39 atau 84,75%) dan harmoni sosial (3,30 atau 82,50%), sedangkan tiga indikator kohesi sosial lainnya berada pada kategori sedang, yaitu rasa saling memiliki (2,34 atau 58,50%), rasa aman (2,54 atau 63,50%), dan toleransi (2,70 atau 67,50%). Dengan demikian, kohesi sosial masyarakat Muslim selama Ramadan berada pada kategori sedang, dengan rata-rata 2,85 atau setara dengan 71,17 persen. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa Ramadan belum memberikan kontribusi yang signifikan dalam membangun kohesivitas sosial. Adanya ambiguitas iman, di mana sikap mendua dan ambigu dalam memahami realitas; sakral dan profan, dapat diidentifikasi sebagai salah satu penyebab Ramadan belum mampu membangun kohesivitas sosial.

**Kata Kunci:** Ramadan; Kohesi Sosial, Kemenduaan; Keterbelahan Iman

## Background

Ramadan, as an episode of the journey of religiosity<sup>1</sup> and religious piety,<sup>2</sup> is the driving force

for the massive process of transcendence in almost all dimensions of Muslim lives. This religious condition can be observed through various activities of the Muslim community during Ramadan. They compete to pursue

<sup>1</sup> Nurus Shalihin and others, "Ramadan and Strengthening of the Social Capital of Indonesian Muslim Communities," *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies*, 76.3 (2020) <<https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v76i3.6241>>.

<sup>2</sup> Jorgen Hellman, "The Significance of Eating During Ramadan: Consumption and Exchange of Food in a Village

in West Java," *Food and Foodways*, 16.3 (2008), 201–26 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/07409710802304176>>.



holiness,<sup>3</sup> glory,<sup>4</sup> blessing,<sup>5</sup> piety,<sup>6</sup> worship,<sup>7</sup> character,<sup>8</sup> health,<sup>9</sup> peace,<sup>10</sup> generosity,<sup>11</sup> unity,<sup>12</sup> brotherhood and solidarity,<sup>13</sup> and so on.

Ramadan, which has become a cycle of piety,<sup>14</sup> has a social impact on the lives of Muslim communities.<sup>15</sup> The social impact of Ramadan can

<sup>3</sup> R Pandita, "Ramadan: The Holy Month of Fasting," *Spade-a-Spade*, 7.8 (2016), 17–18 <[https://scholar.google.com/citations?view\\_op=view\\_citation&hl=en&user=FjgithoAAAAJ&pagesize=100&citation\\_for\\_view=FjgithoAAAAJ:-FonjvnnhkoC](https://scholar.google.com/citations?view_op=view_citation&hl=en&user=FjgithoAAAAJ&pagesize=100&citation_for_view=FjgithoAAAAJ:-FonjvnnhkoC)>.

<sup>4</sup> Andre Moller, *Ramadan in Java: The Joy and Jihad of Ritual Fasting* (Department of History and Anthropology of Religions, Lund University, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Jorgen Hellman, *Ritual Fasting on West Java Empowerment, Submission, and Control* (Sweden: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> Andre Moller, "Islam and Traweh Prayers in Java," *Anpore*, 2006, 1–20.

<sup>7</sup> Samuli Schielke, "Being Good in Ramadan: Ambivalence, Fragmentation, and the Moral Self in the Lives of Young Egyptians," *JRAI: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 2009, 24–40 <<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444324402.ch2>>.

<sup>8</sup> Sukron Makmun, "The Fasting of Ramadan: Forming Positive Personal Character," *Humaniora*, 7.3 (2016), 405 <<https://doi.org/10.21512/humaniora.v7i3.3594>>.

<sup>9</sup> Muhammad Muzaffar Ali Khan and others, "Fasting in Islam: A Combination of Spiritual Elevation and Prevention of Diseases," *International Medical Journal Malaysia*, 17.2 (2016), 107–12.

<sup>10</sup> Abdul Karim Gazi, "The Social Impacts of the Holy Fast of Ramadan in the Context of Bangladesh: A Content Analysis," *Journal of Halal Studies*, 1.1 (2020), 27–33 <<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/343253884>>.

<sup>11</sup> Richard T. Antoun, "The Social Significance of Ramadan in an Arab Village," *The Muslim World*, 58.2 (1968), 95–104 <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.1968.tb02709.x>>.

<sup>12</sup> Marjo Buitelaar, *Fasting and Feasting in Morocco: Women's Participation in Ramadan* (Oxford, Berg, 1993).

<sup>13</sup> Yavuz Odabasi and Metin Argan, "Aspects of Underlying Ramadan Consumption Patterns in Turkey," *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*, 21.3 (2009), 203–18 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/08961530802202891>>.

<sup>14</sup> Melissa A. Farmer, Paul D. Trapnell, and Cindy M. Meston, "The Relation Between Sexual Behavior and Religiosity Subtypes: A Test of the Secularization Hypothesis," *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 38.5 (2009), 852–65 <<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-008-9407-0>>; Schielke; Kenneth S. Kendler and others, "Dimensions of Religiosity and Their Relationship to Lifetime Psychiatric and Substance Use Disorders," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 160.3 (2003), 496–503 <<https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.160.3.496>>.

<sup>15</sup> Jędrzej Białkowski, Ahmad Etebari, and Tomasz Piotr Wisniewski, "Piety and Profits: Stock Market Anomaly during the Muslim Holy Month," *University of Canterbury*,

be identified through, first, the intensification of various activities and rituals during Ramadan, such as *ruwahan*, *tarwih*, *nuzul qur'an*, – *iketika*,<sup>16</sup> grave pilgrimage, *tadarus*, which is considered an obligation that must be fulfilled in Ramadan.<sup>17</sup> Second, the strengthening of various philanthropic and philanthropic movements during Ramadan.<sup>18</sup> Third, increasing intensity and awareness strengthens friendship, unity, and social solidarity.<sup>19</sup>

Referring to the facts above, if Ramadan has framed the Muslim community in building generosity and social solidarity,<sup>20</sup> then what about cohesiveness? Because in many ways social solidarity is the main basis for building social cohesion.<sup>21</sup> Studies by Schnabel & Groetsch<sup>22</sup> and

*Department of Economics and Finance*, 52, 2010; Nilgün Yavuz, Burak Güriş, and Burcu Kıran, "The Month and Holy Days Effects on the Volatility of Trade Deficit: Evidence from Turkey," *Journal of Economic and Social Research*, 10.2 (2008), 67–84; S. M. Atiq Ur Rehman Shah and Syed Nisar Ahmed, "The Ramadan Effect on Stock Market," *European Academic Research*, 1.11 (2014), 4712–20 <<http://edition.cnn.com/specials/politics/2016-election>>; Moller, *Ramadan in Java: The Joy and Jihad of Ritual Fasting*; Khalid Yahya Blankinship, "Andrew Rippin, Muslims: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 28.3 (1996), 422–23 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743800063558>>; Filipe Campante and David Yanagizawa Drott, "Does Religion Affect Economic Growth and Happiness? Evidence From Ramadan," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 57, 2015, 615–58 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjv002.Advance>>; Alpaslan Akay, Gökhan Karabulut, and Peter Martinsson, "The Effect of Religiosity and Religious Festivals on Positional Concerns: An Experimental Investigation of Ramadan," *Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA)*, 45.27 (2011), 1–25 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2012.736944>>; Shalihin and others.

<sup>16</sup> Moller, "Islam and Traweh Prayers in Java."

<sup>17</sup> Blankinship.

<sup>18</sup> Antoun.

<sup>19</sup> Buitelaar; Hellman, "The Significance of Eating During Ramadan: Consumption and Exchange of Food in a Village in West Java"; Odabasi and Argan, "Aspects of Underlying Ramadan Consumption Patterns in Turkey"; Akay, Karabulut, and Martinsson; Shalihin and others.

<sup>20</sup> Shalihin and others.

<sup>21</sup> Ray Forrest and Ade Kearns, "Social Cohesion, Social Capital and The Neighbourhood," *Urban Studies*, 38.12 (2001), 2125–43; David Schiefer and Jolanda van der Noll, "The Essentials of Social Cohesion: A Literature Review," *Social Indicators Research*, 132.2 (2017), 579–603 <<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-016-1314-5>>; Nur Shalihin and Muhammad Shalihin, "Ramadan: The Month



Kasmo et al.,<sup>23</sup> and Shalihin et al.,<sup>24</sup> found that religion becomes a force of cohesiveness and contributes to maintaining the naturalness and balance of universality in society". Their study found a fundamental difference in cohesiveness between homogeneous and heterogeneous societies during Ramadan. These three studies are the basis for understanding how Ramadan plays a role in building social cohesiveness.

Essentially, this article complements previous studies on cohesiveness during Ramadan. Examining some indicators of cohesiveness in Muslim communities during Ramadan is particularly interesting in this article. The argument built in this article is that religious values and practices do not necessarily contribute to increasing the cohesiveness of Muslim communities during Ramadan. This argument also refutes the findings of the studies of Schnabel & Groetsch<sup>25</sup> and Kasmo et al.,<sup>26</sup> which explain that religion is a force of cohesiveness and contributes to maintaining the balance of universal values in society. This article shows that Ramadan's influence on economic development,<sup>27</sup> spirituality, identity and solidarity<sup>28</sup>, and social capital<sup>29</sup> is not directly proportional to the

increase in the social cohesion of Muslim communities.

Indeed, social cohesion is an inherent value in society<sup>30</sup> that include values to live together and the importance of solidarity.<sup>31</sup> Various connections created in society from ethnic relations, religion, ideology, and social institutions will give birth to social cohesion values. This justification presupposes that looking at social cohesion cannot ignore every element in society, especially when looking at it as a system. For this reason, there are several elements of society that are used as respondents in this article, namely (i) male and female farmers, (ii) male and female entrepreneurs, (iii) male and female traders, (iv) male and female civil servants, (v) students, (vi) housewives, and (vii) religious leaders. In methodological terminology, this selection is called purposive sampling, respondents are selected based on the researcher's knowledge and consideration of the concept of social cohesion used.<sup>32</sup> The number of respondents in this study were 600 person spread across two provinces, namely West Sumatra Province and Jogjakarta Province. The selection of West Sumatra as a location in the study represents a culturally and religious homogeneous area.<sup>33</sup> The selection of Yogyakarta as the research location represents a heterogeneous area.<sup>34</sup> Each research location was

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of Fasting for Muslim and Social Cohesion—Mapping the Unexplored Effect," *Heliyon*, 8.10 (2022), e10977 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e10977>>.

<sup>22</sup> Annette Schnabel and Florian Groetsch, "In God We Trust—The Role of Religion for Cohesion and Integration in Current European Societies," *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, 1.4 (2014), 375–98 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/23254823.2015.1057752>>.

<sup>23</sup> Mohd Arip Kasmo and others, "The Role of Religion in Social Cohesion within the Contemporary Muslim Society in Malaysia: Revisited," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 2015 <<https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n1s1p168>>.

<sup>24</sup> Shalihin and others.

<sup>25</sup> Schnabel and Groetsch.

<sup>26</sup> Kasmo and others.

<sup>27</sup> Bialkowski, Etebari, and Wisniewski; Nilgün Yavuz, Burak Gürış, and Burcu Kıran, "The Month and Holy Days Effects on the Volatility of Trade Deficit: Evidence from Turkey," *Journal of Economic and Social Research*, 10.2 (2008), 67–84.

<sup>28</sup> Campante and Drott; Moller, *Ramadan in Java: The Joy and Jihad of Ritual Fasting*.

<sup>29</sup> Shalihin and others.

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<sup>30</sup> Protap Mukherjee and Lopamudra Ray Saraswati, "Levels and Patterns of Social Cohesion and Its Relationship with Development in India: A Woman's Perspective Approach," *Centre for the Study of Regional Development, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nebru University, New Delhi*, 2006, 1–20 <<http://www.oecd.org/development/pgd/46839502.pdf%0Apmukherjee25@gmail.com>> and rs.lopmudra@gmail.com>.

<sup>31</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (Roble Offset Printers, 1933).

<sup>32</sup> Pooja Bhardwaj, "Types of Sampling in Research," *Journal of the Practice of Cardiovascular Sciences*, 5.3 (2019), 157 <[https://doi.org/10.4103/jpcs.jpcs\\_62\\_19](https://doi.org/10.4103/jpcs.jpcs_62_19)>.

<sup>33</sup> Nurus Shalihin, *Demokrasi Di Nagarnya Para Tuan*, ed. by Muhammad Sholihin (Padang: Imam Bonjol Press, 2014).

<sup>34</sup> Irwan Syambudi, "Wapres Maruf Sebut Jogja Kota Paling Heterogen & Toleran, Faktanya?," *Tirto.Id*, 2020 <<https://tirto.id/wapres-maruf-sebut-jogja-kota-paling-heterogen-toleran-faktanya-euHc>> [accessed 27 June 2023].



taken three populations based on Regency/City with classification: *darek* area and *rantau* area for West Sumatra, and rural area and urban area for Yogyakarta.

This article uses quantitative data collected using survey techniques using a questionnaire instrument that has been prepared using 5 Likert scales in each of the social cohesion indicators, namely (i) Moral Sense, (ii) Sense of Belonging, (iii) Social Harmony, (iv) Sense of Security, and (v) Tolerance. The five social cohesion indicators were adopted from various expert opinions such as Jenson,<sup>35</sup> Forrest and Kearns<sup>36</sup> Harell and Stolle,<sup>37</sup> OECD,<sup>38</sup> and Schiefer and Noll.<sup>39</sup> In practice, using these five indicators refers to the study of Shalihin et al.<sup>40</sup> *The Other Side of Ramadan; Ramadan and Its Implication on Social Cohesion in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta*.

Data analysis in this research is descriptive statistical analysis. This analysis was carried out in several steps, first; all questionnaires were converted and inputted into Microsoft Excel software in the form of data tabulation tables, second; making scores from each respondent with five scales and third; making categories from the results of all answers with three categories, namely high, medium and low.

## Social Cohesion

Social cohesion is an important pillar in building collective action.<sup>41</sup> This attempt to build collective action is possible because social cohesion involves building shared values, reducing disputes over wealth and income, enabling people to feel engaged in a common endeavor, and facing common challenges.<sup>42</sup> On this basis, social cohesion presupposes a sense of commitment and a desire or capacity to live together in harmony.<sup>43</sup> Social cohesion is not a by-product of individual behavior but rather based on solidarity, mutual loyalty, cooperation, and reciprocal action, as Durkheim's idea, where society is an integrated system with shared principles and values and emphasizes the role of solidarity.<sup>44</sup>

However, the transformation of society causes changes in the quality and criteria of social cohesion. The decline in the quality of social cohesion has a negative impact on interaction and social structure. Therefore, in the late 1980s, social cohesion became the main agenda in various countries such as Australia, Canada, Denmark, and New Zealand.<sup>45</sup> France, for example, has a Ministry of Solidarity and Social Cohesion. Likewise, the European Union has made social cohesion a strategic priority.<sup>46</sup> Strengthening social cohesion movements in various countries is important in realizing the well-being of the entire community.<sup>47</sup> In addition

<sup>35</sup> Jane Jenson, *Mapping Social Cohesion: The State of Canadian Research* (Renouf Publishing Co. Ltd., 1998).

<sup>36</sup> Ray Forrest and Ade Kearns, "Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood," *Urban Studies*, 38.12 (2001), 2125–43 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980120087081>>.

<sup>37</sup> Allison Harell and Dietlind Stolle, "Reconciling Diversity and Community? Defining Social Cohesion in Developed Democracies," *Contemporary Theoretical Perspectives on the Study of Social Cohesion and Social Capital*, May, 2011, 15–46.

<sup>38</sup> OECD, *Strengthening Social Cohesion in Korea: In Strengthening Social Cohesion in Korea*, 2013th edn (OECD, 2013) <<https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264188945-en>>.

<sup>39</sup> Schiefer and van der Noll.

<sup>40</sup> Nurus Shalihin, Yulia, and Muhammad Sholihin, "The Other Side of Ramadan: Ramadan and Its Implication on Social Cohesion In West Sumatra and Yogyakarta," *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion*, 6.1 (2021), 79–94 <<https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v6i01.1309>>.

<sup>41</sup> Ina. Peters, *Cohesion and Fragmentation in Social Movements: How Frames and Identities Shape the Belo Monte Conflict*, 2017.

<sup>42</sup> Judith Maxwell, *Social Dimensions of Economic Growth* (Department of Economics, University of Alberta, 1996).

<sup>43</sup> Jenson; Nurus Shalihin and Muhammad Sholihin, *Narasi Filosofis Penemuan Teori Sosial Dan Ekonomi* (Depok: Rajawali Pers, 2022).

<sup>44</sup> Schiefer and van der Noll.

<sup>45</sup> OECD, *Perspectives on Global Development 2012. Social Cohesion in A Shifting World* (OECD Publishing, 2011) <[http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/perspectives-on-global-development-2012\\_persp\\_glob\\_dev-2012-en](http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/perspectives-on-global-development-2012_persp_glob_dev-2012-en)>.

<sup>46</sup> OECD, *Social Cohesion in a Shifting World, Perspectives on Global Development 2012*, 2012 <[https://doi.org/10.1787/persp\\_glob\\_dev-2012-en](https://doi.org/10.1787/persp_glob_dev-2012-en)>.

<sup>47</sup> OECD, *Strengthening Social Cohesion in Korea, Strengthening Social Cohesion in Korea*, 2013, <<https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264188945-en>>.



to being the essential capital to fight and anticipate exclusivity and marginalization, social cohesion is also an important component in forming a “sense of belonging”, promoting trust, and enabling every member of the community to have the opportunity to experience social mobility to a higher level. Club de Madrid<sup>48</sup> volunteers from Korea, for example, believe that a cohesive society is the most stable, safest, and just society. Because in this society, there is protection and respect for human rights, and is not discriminatory. They are more tolerant and respectful of differences, provide equal opportunities, high solidarity, and guarantee a sense of security to anyone, including groups that are less profitable for them.<sup>49</sup>

Although there is no agreement among experts in defining social cohesion,<sup>50</sup> social cohesion is often referred to as something that binds us together. Therefore, the concept of social cohesion is multidimensional and multilevel,<sup>51</sup> I have selected the definition of social cohesion, which found 26 definitions of social cohesion, where each definition has its own emphasis. From Schiefer and Noll's mapping, there are six dimensions of social cohesion ranging from social relations, identification and belonging, orientation towards the common good, shared values, and quality of life to inequality.<sup>52</sup>

Jenson<sup>53</sup> uses the term social cohesion to describe a process more than an end state or

condition, which involves a sense of commitment, and a desire or capacity to live together in a certain harmony. Social cohesion is used to explain social relationships, sense of belonging, and orientation towards the common good.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, Schiefer & Noll define social cohesion as a collective, diverse, and gradual descriptive phenomenon showing collective togetherness. In comparison, Harell & Stolle<sup>55</sup> define social cohesion as a cooperative relationship between individuals and groups of individuals in a community related to mutual respect, equality, and reciprocal norms.

Social cohesion has two basic components, namely ideational and relational.<sup>56</sup> The ideational component refers to the psychological identification of members in a collectivity, while the relational component refers to the relationship between members.<sup>57</sup> From the two components above, experts develop dimensions of social cohesion such as<sup>58</sup> with five dimensions: the sense of belonging/isolation, inclusion/exclusion, participation/involvement, recognition/rejection, and legitimacy/illegitimacy.

Bernard's model<sup>59</sup> classifies the dimensions of social cohesion according to three economic domains; insertion/exclusion and equality/inequality, politics; participation/passivity and legitimacy/illegitimacy and socio-cultural; the sense of belonging/isolation and recognition/rejection, so that everything becomes six dimensions,<sup>60</sup> describe there are five domains of social cohesion. *First* shared values and civic culture. *Second*, social order and control. *Third*, social solidarity. *Fourth*,

<sup>48</sup> OECD, *Perspectives on Global Development 2012. Social Cohesion in A Shifting Word.*

<sup>49</sup> OECD, *Strengthening Social Cohesion in Korea: In Strengthening Social Cohesion in Korea.*

<sup>50</sup> Fernando Rajulton, Zenaida R. Ravanera, and Roderic Beaujot, “Measuring Social Cohesion: An Experiment Using the Canadian National Survey of Giving, Volunteering, and Participating,” *Social Indicators Research*, 80.3 (2007), 461–92 <<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-006-0011-1>>.

<sup>51</sup> Rajulton, Ravanera, and Beaujot; Sarah Botterman, Marc Hooghe, and Tim Reeskens, “One Size Fits All? An Empirical Study into the Multidimensionality of Social Cohesion Indicators in Belgian Local Communities,” *Urban Studies*, 49.7 (2012), 185–202 <<https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098010397397>>; Schiefer and van der Noll.

<sup>52</sup> Schiefer and van der Noll.

<sup>53</sup> Jenson.

<sup>54</sup> Schiefer and van der Noll.

<sup>55</sup> Harell and Stolle.

<sup>56</sup> James Moody and Douglas R. White, “Social Cohesion and Embeddedness: A Hierarchical Conception of Social Groups,” *American Sociological Review*, 68. February (2003), 103–27.

<sup>57</sup> Rajulton, Ravanera, and Beaujot.

<sup>58</sup> Jenson.

<sup>59</sup> Rajulton, Ravanera, and Beaujot.

<sup>60</sup> Forrest and Kearns, “Social Cohesion, Social Capital and the Neighbourhood.”



social networks and social capital.<sup>61</sup> The last, attachment and identification in place,<sup>62</sup> distinguish between subjective dimensions of social cohesion such as beliefs, attitudes, identification, and goals (level of participation and crime) components of social cohesion that apply to both horizontal relationships and vertical relationships. Meanwhile,<sup>63</sup> the development of social cohesion into four dimensions such as legitimacy versus illegitimacy, acceptance versus rejection, political participation, and sociocultural participation,<sup>64</sup> explains the essential features of social cohesion are first the quality of social relations in which there is a social network, trust, acceptance of diversity, and participation. Second, identification with social entities. The third orientation is towards the common good, responsibility, solidarity, and obedience to the social order.

Various studies show that social cohesion is closely related to social capital. Social cohesion is the result of strong social capital born of multiple ethnic, religious, or ideological ties or social institutions that help build consensus.<sup>65</sup> Carrasco and Bilal<sup>66</sup> said that social capital is one of the factors that encourage the strengthening of social cohesion. Otte<sup>67</sup> also shows that cultural policies

that encourage passive participation in the arts have contributed to strengthening or bridging social cohesion or cohesive behavior. Even social capital is considered the primary resource to ensure "system stability" defined in social cohesion. With the concept of consensus and harmonious interaction by various groups, social capital is, in some ways, a practical tool for achieving cohesion.<sup>68</sup> Möllering<sup>69</sup> states that one of the important functions of trust in social relations is the maintenance of social cohesion; trust helps to glue every social component that lives in a community into an unbreakable whole.<sup>70</sup>

### Ramadan and Social Cohesion

This study found that the social cohesion of the Muslim community was in the moderate category, with an average of 2.85 and 71.17 percent, respectively. The five dimensions of social cohesion used in this study, namely a sense of morality, a sense of belonging, harmony, and a sense of security, show that of the five dimensions of social cohesion, moral sense (3.39 or 84.75%) and social harmony (3, 30 or 82.50%) are in a high position. Meanwhile, the dimensions of belonging (2.34 or 58.50%), security (2.54 or 63.50%), and tolerance (2.70 or 67.50%) each is in a moderate position, as shown in Table 1 below.

**Table 1.** Social Cohesion during Ramadan

Variables and Indicators	Mean	%	Category
<i>Social Cohesion</i>	2,85	71,17	<i>Medium</i>
<i>Moral Sense</i>	3,39	84,75	<i>High</i>
I feel that Ramadan really guides me to always hold fast to the beliefs that I believe in;	3,41	85,25	High

Netherlands," *Poetics*, 76 (2019), 101355 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2019.02.006>>.

<sup>68</sup> Roger Zetter and others, "Immigration, Social Cohesion and Social Capital What Are the Links?," *Oxford Brookes University*, 2006.

<sup>69</sup> Guido Möllering, "The Nature of Trust: From Georg Simmel to a Theory of Expectation, Interpretation and Suspension," *Sociology*, 35.2 (2001), 403–20 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0038038501000190>>.

<sup>70</sup> Möllering.

<sup>61</sup> Inda Mustika Permata, Bima Jon Nanda, and Rifki Dermawan, "The Importance of Social Capital for Faith-Based Organizations in the New Normal Adaptation of West Sumatera," *Islam Realitas: Journal of Islamic and Social Studies*, 7.1 (2021), 16–28 <[https://doi.org/10.30983/islam\\_realitas.v7i1.3728](https://doi.org/10.30983/islam_realitas.v7i1.3728)>.

<sup>62</sup> Joseph Chan, Ho-Pong To, and Elaine Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research," *Social Indicators Research*, 75.2 (2006), 273–302 <<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-005-2118-1>>.

<sup>63</sup> Paul Dickes, Marie Valentova, and Monique Borsenberger, "A Multidimensional Assessment of Social Cohesion in 47 European Countries," *Methodology*, July, 2011, 11.

<sup>64</sup> Schiefer and van der Noll.

<sup>65</sup> Jenson.

<sup>66</sup> Maria A. Carrasco and Usama Bilal, "A Sign of The Times: To Have or to Be? Social Capital or Social Cohesion?," *Social Science and Medicine*, 159.April (2016), 127–31 <<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2016.05.012>>.

<sup>67</sup> Hanka Otte, "Bonding or Bridging? On Art Participation and Social Cohesion in a Rural Region of the



Ramadan gives me the strength to maintain the values and norms that apply in the midst of society;	3,39	84,75	High
Activities during Ramadan really helped me to become a better person;	3,48	87,00	High
In the month of Ramadan, I am required every day to behave as best I can;	3,31	82,75	High
<i>Sense of belonging</i>	2,34	58,50	Medium
In Ramadan, I really feel the importance of family;	3,29	82,25	High
In the month of Ramadan, I don't really feel the importance of living as neighbours;	2,12	53,00	Medium
During Ramadan, I always support the activities carried out by the community;	1,94	48,50	Low
I don't really care about Ramadan activities because my life continues as usual;	2,00	50,00	Medium
<i>Social Harmony</i>	3,30	82,50	High
During Ramadan, people can live side by side with each other;	3,16	79,00	High
In the month of Ramadan, the habit of forgiving each other makes people live in harmony and peace;	3,43	85,75	High
I feel that during Ramadan, the atmosphere around where I live is more comfortable and peaceful;	3,36	84,00	High
In Ramadan, I always maintain good relations with neighbours and the community;	3,27	81,75	High
<i>Sense of secure</i>	2,54	63,50	Medium
In my opinion, during Ramadan, it is challenging to feel safe;	2,11	52,75	Medium
In the month of Ramadan, I was always worried that there would be an increase in crime;	2,37	59,25	Medium
In Ramadan, I am cautious and vigilant of everything that will befall me;	2,76	69,00	Medium
During the month of Ramadan, the community always strives to improve the security system/ <i>ronda</i> to maintain security;	2,95	73,75	Medium

<i>Tolerance</i>	2,70	67,50	Medium
Ramadhan taught me always to respect the ideas, thoughts, ideas, and creativity of someone or another group with different views, ethnicities, and religions from mine;	3,29	82,25	High
Ramadan made me respect the different choices of other people who are different from my religious sect;	3,22	80,50	High
During Ramadan, I cannot live side by side with people of different faiths to me;	2,18	54,50	Medium
In Ramadan, I am not willing to associate with people who do not share my faith;	2,09	52,25	Medium

Source: Research Data, 2020

The data in Table 1 above illustrates that the first position (the five variants of social cohesion, namely a sense of morality, a sense of belonging, harmony, a sense of security, and tolerance, then a sense of moral/moral commitment) has the highest position with an average of 3.39 and the percentage 84.85 the value of social cohesion. The second position is occupied by social harmony, with an average of 3.30 and a percentage of 82.50 values of social cohesion. In the third position is tolerance, with an average of 2.70 and a percentage of 67.50, the value of social cohesion. The sense of security, with an average of 2.54 and a percentage of 63.50 social cohesion values A sense of belonging, with an average of 2.34 and a percentage of 58.50 social cohesion values, are in the fourth and fifth positions.

Second, out of the twenty social cohesion items, eleven items are in the high category with a range of values between 3.16 to 3.48. Eight items are in the medium category with a range of values between 2.00 to 2.95, and one item is in the low class. Twenty social cohesion variant items, the Ramadan item helps someone to become better in the moral sense dimension occupies the highest position, and the concern for Ramadan activities on the sense of belonging dimension is in the lowest position.



Third, the items of social cohesion that fall into the high category are (a) activities during Ramadan help people to become better individuals, (b) the habit of forgiving each other makes people live in harmony and peace, (c) people feel that Ramadan is very important in guiding them to always stick to the beliefs they believe in, (d) Ramadan gives the community the strength to maintain the values and norms that apply in society, (e) the community feels that during Ramadan, the atmosphere around where I live is more comfortable and peaceful, (f) people feel that they are required to behave as well as possible, (g) people feel the importance of family in the month of Ramadan, (h) Ramadan teaches people always to respect the ideas, thoughts, ideas, and creativity of someone or another group that is different views, ethnicity, and religion with him, (i) the community always maintains good relations with neighbors and the community, (j) Ramadan makes people respect the differences in the choices of other people who have different religious sects with them, and (k) people can live side by side with each other in the month of Ramadan.

Fourth, the social cohesion items that fall into the moderate category are (a) community efforts to improve the security system to maintain security, (b) caution and public awareness of everything that will happen to them during the month of Ramadan, (c) community concerns that crime will increase. During Ramadan, (d) people's unwillingness to live side by side with people of different faiths during Ramadan, (e) do not feel the importance of living as neighbors, (f) people's difficulties in obtaining a sense of security during Ramadan, (g) lack of - the willingness of the community to associate with people who do not share my faith in the month of Ramadan, and (h) the public's lack of concern for the activities of the month of Ramadan. Meanwhile, social cohesion included in the low category supports activities carried out by the community.

Fifth, the high level of all social cohesion items in the aspect of moral sense and harmony

illustrates the strengthening of awareness and commitment of the Muslim people during Ramadan to build social harmony. This social harmony is shown by the commitment and awareness to maintain the values and norms that apply in society Muslim people are committed to always being a better person and trying to behave as best as possible during Ramadan. In addition to the moral strength that encourages the emergence of a sense of comfort and peace during Ramadan, the formation of an atmosphere of harmony is also very possible because there is a tradition of asking and forgiving each other and demanding of everyone to maintain good relations with neighbors and the community. This pattern further strengthens social relations where people can live side by side and experience life together to create an atmosphere of harmony and peace.

Sixth, the high level of two items on the aspect of tolerance shows that Ramadan provides space for Muslim communities to appreciate ideas, thoughts, ideas, and creativity from people or groups who are different from them, both in the name of ethnicity and religion. The same thing also happens in the internal Muslim community, where there is respect for the choices of other people with different religious sects. If the first indicator is aimed at differences between religions and ethnicities, then the second is aimed at fellow Muslims with different beliefs, sects, and religious organizations. This condition shows that for the Muslim community, Ramadan is not an obstacle to appreciating the ideas, thoughts, ideas, and activities of people or groups with different views, social statuses, ethnicity, and religion. This commitment also includes respecting the choices of other people from different religious sects so that the Muslim community treats and respects the preferences of people who have different religious sects with them. It's just that the appreciation and acceptance of differences between fellow Muslims and non-Muslims are not directly proportional to the attitude or willingness to get along and the ability to live side by side with people of different faiths. Two items of



tolerance that are in a moderate position illustrate that some Muslim communities have objections and reluctance to associate and live side by side in the month of Ramadan with people who do not share their beliefs. The reluctance of the Muslim community to coexist with people of different faiths illustrates that tolerance has just entered the stage of recognition but has not entered yet to the phase of acceptance and cooperation.

Seventh, although the sense of belonging, which is the main basis of social cohesion, is in a moderate position, some things need to be underlined. If the family's existence is strengthened during Ramadan, then the presence of neighbors and concern for Ramadan, and support for community activities during Ramadan are lacking in people's lives. This fact illustrates that Ramadan gives the power to control egoism and minimize the power of individuality in society. It's just that controlling egoism and individualism have not been institutionalized adequately into people's lives. They are still confined within a narrow space, namely the family.

The data in Table 1 above shows that the social cohesion of the Muslim community in Ramadan is in the moderate category. Moral sense and social harmony contribute significantly to the high value of social cohesion in Muslim societies during Ramadan. Meanwhile, a sense of belonging and security are the dominant dimensions that determine the social cohesion of the Muslim community in a moderate position. The facts above explain that Ramadan has not significantly strengthened social cohesiveness.

### Ambiguity and Faith Split

This study shows that the increase in moral values and harmony is not directly proportional to the increase in a sense of belonging, a sense of security and tolerance, which has become a determining factor for Ramadan, has not significantly strengthened social cohesion in Ramadan.

The insignificant contribution of Ramadan in increasing social cohesiveness is due to the inconsistency of several variants, both variants that exist in the ideational dimensions of cohesion, such as a sense of morality, belongingness, and a sense of security as well as variants that exist in the relational dimensions of cohesion such as harmony and tolerance. The high strengthening of moral values during Ramadan has implications for high social harmony. At the same time, the lack of a strong sense of belonging and security also has implications for tolerance. The inconsistency and asymmetry of each variant in each dimension of cohesion reflect the distance and ambiguity in Muslim society choosing between the obligation to follow moral guidance to always hold on to the faith and the necessity to transform faith into an interfaith practical life. Although strengthening social relationships with people outside the faith is also part of a sense of responsibility for the faith,<sup>71</sup> faith is still fragmented due to the dichotomy between sacred and profane dimensions in the month of Ramadan. The dimensional division of the sacred and profane also contributes to the structure of faith, which involves not only practices that are considered moral and sinful but also implies the restriction of practices with a more ambiguous status.<sup>72</sup> This ambiguity has brought about a split in the attitude of the Muslim community to position themselves in building social relations as believers who must defend and adapt themselves to the beliefs held by social demands, which require them to adapt to the needs of humanity without any barriers of religion.

Two things strongly influenced the ambiguous attitude that led to this division. Those two are; first, the sacred values of Ramadan have not been completely transformed into the subjective actions of the Muslim community. The distance between moral demands and subjective

<sup>71</sup> Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam: Interpretasi Untuk Aksi*, ed. by A.E Priyono (Bandung: Mizan, 1993).

<sup>72</sup> Schielke.



facts is illustrated by strengthening moral values and harmony without being accompanied by an increase in the sense of belonging, security, and tolerance. Second, there is the belief and commitment of the Muslim community to the sacred value brought by Ramadan.<sup>73</sup> The intrinsic<sup>74</sup> and extrinsic<sup>75</sup> values of Ramadan that move people to act<sup>76</sup> have made Ramadan a medium for building piety. People's transformation during Ramadhan is possible because Ramadan, according to Muslim's belief, is a holy month full of blessings<sup>77</sup> where fasting people are encouraged to maintain and increase their morale and social commitments during the month of Ramadan.<sup>78</sup>

The conceptualization of Ramadan as a holy month presupposes the existence of something contrary to holiness or something profane. With this conceptualization, everyone is not only required to get closer to sacred things but also keep a distance from all forms of profanity. Everyone makes an earnest effort to clean themselves by keeping themselves from all prohibited actions and getting closer to all actions that are ordered.<sup>79</sup>

This meaning encourages the emergence of an attitude of guarding and limiting oneself to things that will damage the sanctity. Furthermore, holiness is reduced to "something" inherent in a

Muslim's life, and "things" outside of that are not holiness. In this context, it can be understood that it is natural in the month of Ramadan that the solidarity of the Muslim community strengthens<sup>80</sup> because strengthening solidarity which is more internal-subjective with Muslims is seen as an effort to fill and maintain chastity. Cohesion is weakened because of the effort to keep a distance from other things that are beyond the sacred. Awareness about the sacredness of Ramadan has implications for the behavior of the Muslim community during the month of Ramadan to keep a distance from activities that will damage and tarnish the sanctity. This condition can occur because religious beliefs, with all their practices and rituals, play an important role in shaping social relationships and behavior.<sup>81</sup>

## Conclusion

This study shows that the ambiguity of faith does not increase the intensity of social cohesion in the Muslim community during Ramadan. It sounds like a contradiction in Ramadan Month between Islamic values and Muslim behavior during Ramadhan. This contradiction is due to the ambiguity of faith in Muslim society. Existing studies on Ramadan tend to show Ramadan as a determining factor that affects life, such as the economy,<sup>82</sup> spirituality, identity and solidarity<sup>83</sup> ideology,<sup>84</sup> social capital,<sup>85</sup> and cohesion.<sup>86</sup> This study makes a significant contribution that "faith

<sup>73</sup> Moller, *Ramadan in Java: The Joy and Jihad of Ritual Fasting*; Hellman, "The Significance of Eating During Ramadan: Consumption and Exchange of Food in a Village in West Java"; Hellman, *Ritual Fasting on West Java Empowerment, Submission, and Control*; Leonie Schmidt, "Urban Islamic Spectacles: Transforming the Space of the Shopping Mall During Ramadan in Indonesia," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 13.3 (2012), 384–407 <<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2012.689708>>.

<sup>74</sup> Muhammad Syukri Salleh, "Religiosity in Development: A Theoretical Construct of an Islamic-Based Development," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 2.14 (2012), 266–74.

<sup>75</sup> Jim Kanaris, *Bernard Lonergan's Philosophy of Religion: From Philosophy of God to Philosophy of Religious Studies* (State University of New York Press, 2002).

<sup>76</sup> Shalihin and others.

<sup>77</sup> Shalihin and others.

<sup>78</sup> Schielke.

<sup>79</sup> Shalihin and others.

<sup>80</sup> Yavuz Odabasi and Metin Argan, "Aspects of Underlying Ramadan Consumption Patterns in Turkey," *Journal of International Consumer Marketing*, 21.3 (2009), 203–18 <<https://doi.org/10.1080/08961530802202891>>; Campante and Drott; Shalihin and others.

<sup>81</sup> Schnabel and Groetsch; Kasmoo and others; Odabasi and Argan, "Aspects of Underlying Ramadan Consumption Patterns in Turkey."

<sup>82</sup> Bialkowski, Etebari, and Wisniewski; Yavuz, Güriş, and Kıran, "The Month and Holy Days Effects on the Volatility of Trade Deficit: Evidence from Turkey."

<sup>83</sup> Campante and Drott; Moller, *Ramadan in Java: The Joy and Jihad of Ritual Fasting*.

<sup>84</sup> Rajesri Govindaraju and others, "Potensi Zakat Sebagai Pilar Perekonomian Umay Pasca Berlakuknya UU Nomor 38 Tahun 199 Tentang Pengelolaan Zakat (Studi Pengelolaan Akat Di Kabupaten Kendal)," *Procedia Manufacturing*, 30.22 Jan (2007), 588–95.

<sup>85</sup> Shalihin and others.

<sup>86</sup> Shalihin, Yulia, and Sholihin.



splits”; ambiguity and ambiguous attitudes in understanding the reality of the sacred and profane have become the barrier between solidarity and cohesiveness.

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