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Oppressed Communities Struggle to Be Free from the Seed of "Othering"

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Abstract

This article aims to analyze the circle of "othering" in Poso and how to cope with it. To investigate this, by conducting library research and participatory observation, I look back at the history of evangelism, which was introduced by NZG, and the conflict events that occurred in 1998-2007. By only limiting the study to Christian communities living in two villages I found that these two events were the key moments of how the "seeds" to "othering" people grew in some Christian societies. In addition, the approach to peace which only focuses on direct violence, still leaves trauma and structural violence from generation to generation, which in turn also creates suspicion among religious communities. In the end, through my observations of several events and social interactions that occur "naturally" in society, I propose the idea of building sustainable peace that has been practiced by several community groups in the present, through encounters with others, and building peace through the table fellowship.

Keywords: Oppressed Community; Othering; Power; Peace; Religion; Ethnic.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis sikap dan perspektif terhadap "yang lain" sebagai suatu lingkaran berulang yang terjadi dalam masyarakat di Poso. Dengan melakukan penelitian kepustakaan dan observasi partisipatoris, saya meninjau kembali sejarah penginjilan yang diperkenalkan oleh NZG, dan peristiwa konflik yang terjadi pada tahun 1998-2007. Penelitian ini dibatasi pada komunitas Kristen yang tinggal di dua desa – yang hidup berkelindang baik di dalam pengalaman konflik yang pernah dialami maupun berpautan dengan akar sejarah penginjilan di masa lampau. Kedua peristiwa ini adalah momen kunci bagaimana "benih" untuk orang "yang lain" tumbuh di beberapa masyarakat Kristen. Selain itu, pendekatan perdamaian yang hanya berfokus pada kekerasan langsung, masih menyisakan trauma dan kekerasan struktural secara turun temurun, yang pada gilirannya juga menimbulkan kecurigaan di kalangan umat beragama. Akhirnya, melalui pengamatan dan analisis terhadap beberapa peristiwa dan interaksi sosial yang terjadi secara "alamiah" di masyarakat, saya mengajukan gagasan untuk membangun perdamaian berkelanjutan yang telah dipraktikkan oleh beberapa kelompok masyarakat saat ini, melalui perjumpaan dengan orang lain, dan membangun perdamaian melalui persekutuan makan bersama.

Kata-kata Kunci: Komunitas yang tertindas; Yang lain; Kuasa; Perdamaian; Agama; Etnik.

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INTRODUCTION

I will begin this article by discussing a novel I recently read, *Purple Hibiscus* by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie.[1] The novel tells the story from the point of view of fifteen-year-old Kambili, who has a Nigerian socio-political background. Kambili and her brother, Jaja, are arguably privileged people because they can attend an exclusive Christian school and live in a beautiful house. They also have families that are financially supportive. Because her father, Eugene, is a wealthy businessman (owns factories) and owns the newspaper that champions free speech and the rights of the people, he is a staunch Catholic and rejects anything he considers "heathen."

Eugene's character is indeed very interesting; with power, he tries to govern his entire family. He in fact did not hesitate to recite his own father's religion. This is the opposite of Kambil's aunt, Ifeoma, who is very tolerant. Ifeoma is also a professor, who always thinks critically about authority. Ifeoma is the one who ultimately opened Kambili's eyes to parenting and the values she had seen in her father. The experience of living with their widowed aunt was Kambili's first "shock" to her life values that were largely influenced by his father's authoritarian style. It was there that Kambili rediscovered another side of life, even including the religious values of their ancestral tribes.

From the very beginning, this book wanted to show Eugene's abusive and intolerant attitude. That is why the book begins with the story of Jaja who was blessed by Eugene, his father. Jaja, in Eugene's mind, had rebelled against God's will, by not going to church. Eugene's anger was expressed by throwing objects at Jaja. However, the toss missed and hit his mother's embellishment. What is interesting about this story is Eugene's attitude. At home, he was very abusive towards all members of his family. However, in the church, he is a highly respected person, especially for his attitude toward the media he leads in criticizing Nigeria's system of government. In society at large, he also remains a highly valued person for his good attitude in donating his property.

Eugene's position in this novel is interesting. Through his newspaper criticism, he fought oppression perpetrated by those in power, in this case, the government. He is furious with a corrupt government that oppresses many people. He also helps marginalized communities by giving charity. Eugene's position is a form of resistance in an oppressive system. However, at the same time, Eugene is also a bully within his family. Eugene's wife,

[1] C.N. Adichie, *Purple Hibiscus: A Novel* (Algonquin Books, 2012).

who did not remain silent in the face of Eugene's actions, actually fought Eugene. However, the resistance is not non-violent. In the end, Eugene was killed by being poisoned. The novel does close with a tragic story and raises a lot of curiosity, including why Jaja risks being imprisoned.

The novel related closely with what P.H. Collins mentions that every human being has a "seed" of oppression in him/her/them. "A piece of the oppressor is embedded deep within each of us."[2] This happens subtly because of Eugene's position in the novel, which justifies everything he does with religious values. However, in the context of Nigerian politics, also led by a corrupt government, Eugene is a "superhero." He insisted on resisting the oppression carried out by the government. However, he was trapped in an oppressive circle, in which he also participated in. First, Eugene was abusive to his family, and second, Eugene "looked down" on the traditional belief system.

If studied carefully, this oppressive seed can almost be found in Aunt Ifeoma's mind as well. Ifeoma is also plunged into intellectual "oppression." Auntie Ifeoma was likely to leave Nigeria and move to the US. Her action was criticized by her friends because it was a second-class issue. I assert that she was an intellectual, who at the same time also viewed people who had differing systems of thought as "lower class" people. Ifeoma subtly subordinates others by thinking that she is well educated than other people. I believe that once people gain "power," they have the potential to use that power to colonize others.

To begin with, what do we mean by power? In English, the word has a range of definitions. Overall, it implies the ability to do something. Merriam-Webster defines power as the "ability to act or produce an effect." In this article, I will be exploring how power in an oppressed community (in Poso) has transformed and been used to perpetuate the idea of "othering". To investigate this, one must look back at the history of evangelization in Poso, which was previously carried out by Dutch missionaries. The emphasis on the history of the entry of Christianity in Poso does not mean ignoring the historical facts of Poso as a whole. The reason is this period that has historical records that can be easily accessed. In addition, this moment was also a milestone in the paradigm shift of the Poso people, who previously lived in a communal, farming lifestyle "far from the reach of the government" and have become a society that receives "good news", gets an education, and embraces a new religion and the values contained therein.

[2] P.H. Collins, *Toward a New Vision: Race, Class, and Gender as Categories of Analysis and Connection* (Routledge, 2016), 259.

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As I wrote before, Christian in Poso was introduced by Dutch Missionaries, Albert Christian Kruyt and Adriani. The arrival of Christianity in Poso simultaneously brought a new worldview. Since his arrival in *Tana Poso*, Kruyt, and Adriani have indeed emphasized the priority of Christianity as the high religion/worldview.[3] These values are rooted in the Poso-Christian community in general. Becoming a Christian is narrowly defined as a matter of salvation after death. "The Christian identity that emerged from this traumatic moment of colonial state formation as van Klinklen wrote, is now becoming a Christian Community known as *Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah.*[4] I came to the conclusion that a new worldview has been implanted by Kruyt and Adriani that makes this community "exclusive."

This understanding has continued until now, especially after the conflict, when the presentation of Christianity has increased because several sub-districts have separated. This moment makes the Christian community "feel victorious". In casual conversations, some people I meet often repeat narratives of the victory of Christian groups on the battlefield.

	1989	1997	1999* (Morowali excised)	2005** (Tojo Una-Una excised)
Muslim	62	63	56	37
Christian	36	35	41	58

Table 1. Percentages of religious composition in Poso district.[5]

Notes: * Figures derived from 1997 data, removing sub-districts that became part of Morowali District. ** Tojo Una-Una District was excised in 2004

Sermons in the church also help to legitimize ways of thinking and acting that "exclude" other religions. Even in the youth services that I attended; the preacher clearly disqualifies "other" religions. Religious expressions like this are indeed found in many religious communities because, in truth, "each religion has its own history of sin that has justified and perpetuated oppression and exclusion of certain groups of people through its religious teaching, doctrine, and practice. This notion also affects many young children. In

[3] A.C. Kruyt, *Keluar Dari Agama Suku Masuk Ke Agama Kristen* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2008), 56.

[4] Gerry van Klinken, *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars*, *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars*, 2007, 73.

[5] Dave McRae, *A Few Poorly Organized Men: Interreligious Violence in Poso, Indonesia* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2013), 26.

an event (watching a movie) that I held in the community I built before the activity started, a child asked if the superhero character we were going to watch was a Christian.

From this brief review, I summarize that the Pamona (Poso) people, who were previously "marginalized, received "fresh air" through the good news introduced by Kruyt and Adriani. It was during this period that the Pamona (Poso) community, had become Christian, had a "privilege" for education because missionaries from the Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap (NZG) also established schools. But the good news itself, also in the end led this community to slowly exclude other religions.

Previous research on Poso in the context of post-interreligious conflict has been conducted by Saepuddin Mashuri, Sagaf S. Pettalongi, Nurdin, Paozia, and Yusran.[6] The authors specifically discuss the strategy of schools in Poso to deal with the growing religious radicalism in the younger generation. This research is different because it has not yet discussed other strategies for maintaining peace in Poso, such as opening a reading garden and a culture of eating together, which are the focus of this article

Other research on the Poso conflict has been discussed in Sri Yunanto and Angel Damayanti's research.[7] This article restates the relations of religion and power in the political landscape, which are the roots of religious conflict in Maluku and Poso. This article also shows that there is a relationship between religion and power, but frames it in nested theory, and emphasizes the role of grassroots in efforts to maintain peace in Poso today. Apart from that, research on pluralism which encourages the importance of living together in diversity in a post-conflict context has also been carried out by Prasetio Matitaputy.[8] Research on the narrative of the domination of Christianity in the history of evangelism was conducted by Vikry R. Paais.[9] The two studies have a research locus in Maluku which is different from this research. The ultimate goal of this research is also different, namely building peace from post-conflict society initiatives, and transforming religious narratives that has tendencies to dominate the others exclusively.

[6] Saepudin Mashuri et al., "Schools Strategies in Countering Religious Radicalism in Post-Conflict Community in Poso Regency Central Sulawesi, Indonesia," *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences Studies* 4, no. 1 (2022).

[7] Sri Yunanto and Angel Damayanti, "Religion and Power Comparing Political Landscape in the Religious Conflicts in Poso and Maluku," *Advances in Politics and Economics* 5, no. 1 (2022).

[8] Prasetio L. Th Matitaputty, "Merawat Hidup Bersama Di Tengah Kemajemukan Dan Konflik Antarumat Beragama," *ARUMBAE: Jurnal Ilmiah Teologi dan Studi Agama* 3, no. 1 (2021).

[9] Vikry Reinaldo Paais, "Antara Eksklusif Dan Pluralis: Rekonstruksi Narasi Kekristenan Atas Agama Leluhur," *ARUMBAE: Jurnal Ilmiah Teologi dan Studi Agama* 4, no. 1 (2022).

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RESEARCH METHOD

This study was conducted qualitatively. Data is collected and analyzed through a dialectical process between various sources of literature that have studied conflict issues and the reconciliation process in Posso, with the author's experience based on direct observation and participation. The author places himself as a participant as well as a subject critically in the reconciliation process by opening a reading garden for children of interfaith. Learning activities with interfaith children are a cornerstone in building a peace-loving generation in Poso. Observations were made on the current context of community segregation, various social interactions, and the *Padungku* tradition that unites people through joint meals.

DISCUSSION AND RESULT

The Aftermath of Conflict

After elaborating on the novel and briefly discussing power, I will next review the horizontal conflict events that occurred in Poso. It was this incident that, in the end, also strengthened the inter-religious suspicion that occurred in Poso. The Poso conflict occurred in 1998 when Indonesia was in a period of transition from the New Order to the Democratic system. George Aditjondro, a researcher who spent considerable time in the Poso conflict, concluded that the conflict could not be separated from the political power struggle. Nevertheless, Aditjondro was also very keen to see basic problems such as marginalization experienced by Christian groups living in remote areas.[10] What actually caused the Poso conflict?

Gerry van Klinklen noted that in 1998 there were many horizontal conflicts that occurred in Indonesia.[11] Poso, which is a regency that is very far from the central government; Jakarta, is one of the areas that has a very long history of conflict. From the oral tradition and several previous research sources, it is stated that the Poso conflict started from a conflict between Islamic and Christian youth. Gerry van Klinklen wrote of the event as follows:

> When a lad from the Protestant Neighborhood of Lombogia stabbed another from the Muslim Neighborhood of Kayamanya, a riot ensued to Poso Town. Soon everyone agreed that alcohol had been to blame, and the issue faded into the past. But in April

[10] G.J. Aditjondro, *Kerusuhan Poso Dan Morowali, Akar Permasalahan Dan Jalan Keluarnya*, 2004, 6.

[11] van Klinken, *Communal Violence and Democratization in Indonesia: Small Town Wars*, xvii.

2000 a more serious round of violence broke out in the town, which later spread to the Poso district.[12]

After the fights, sporadically escalated conflicts spread to various places, were divided into different periods of time, and were led by different key actors. The conflict also expanded and grew into a religious conflict. I think this makes sense because, for most Indonesian people, religion has a high value. So people will be very easy to provoke based on religion and will be willing "to pay a high price" to defend their religion. The violence that occurred in Poso finally "ended" with a peace agreement initiated by the government. Violence between groups is over, but the aftermath of violence that has occurred in the past continues to remain in the memory, even things that are passed on continuously to the next generation.

	Timing	**Location**	**Leaders**	**Rank and File**	**Approximate Deaths**
Urban Riots	December 1998, April 2000	Poso city (capital of Poso district)	Local political patronage networks	Youths from surrounding villages join co-religionists within the city to fight	7
Widespread Killing	May-June 2000	Three main fronts to the south, southeast and west of the city	Core group of combatants comprises men who suffered loss in urban riots, their families and associates as well as several Catholic migrants	Christian villagers gather at Tagolu staging point; ad hoc recruitment of community members at each site of attack	At least 246
	June 2000–December 2001, August 2002	Many locations throughout Poso district	Alliance of mujahidin and local Islamic leaders; structure of Christian leadership relatively unknown	Protracted Two-Sided Conflict Youths throughout district stand guard at night; ad hoc recruitment/participation for each large attack	At least 100
Sporadic Violence	2002—January 2007	Many locations throughout Poso district	Alliance of *mujahidin* and core local supporters	No mass participation	Approximately 15

Table 2. Phases of violence in the Poso conflict, 1998–2007[13]

[12] Ibid., 72.
[13] McRae, *A Few Poorly Organized Men: Interreligious Violence in Poso, Indonesia*, 7.

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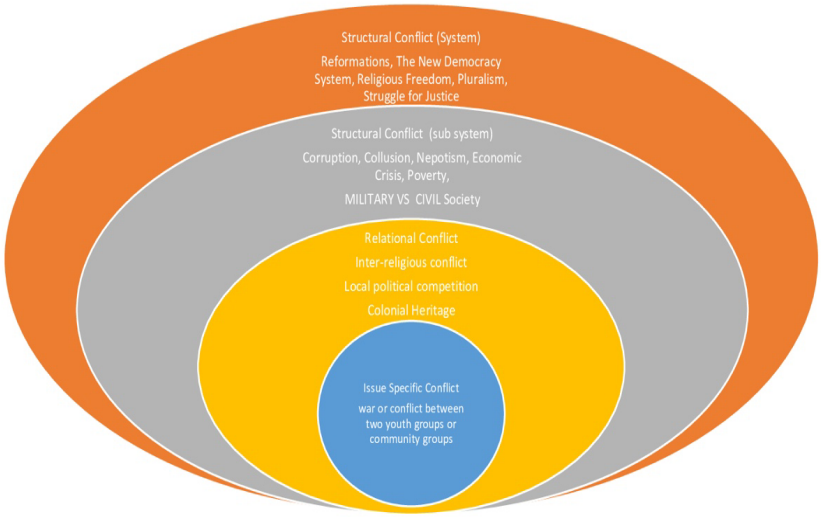
Using a nested theory approach,[14] I will frame this event on a national scale. It also proved that religion has been employed politically in many ways.[15] As explained by Richard Daulay, since the founding of the Indonesian nation, Christians have long struggled for equality and rejected discrimination that was pioneered by the rise of political Islam and participated in influencing government policies.[16] The government program that sent residents from the islands of Java and Bali to Poso also had a significant impact. Many of these immigrants were successful in agriculture and trade.



Picture 1. Nested Theory

Nested Theory reveals that there are issue-specific conflicts. Concluding that the Poso riot was only a religious conflict, this greatly simplifies the complexity of this event. The data shows that in the first period of violence and most of the second period, a person's status as a Muslim or a Christian generally was not sufficient reason for that person to be attacked.[17]

This approach also reveals social inequality and injustice experienced by Christian communities on a national scale. For instance, in the remote area of Poso, the three tribes are indigenous people who are the majority Christians—namely Lore, Pamona, and Mori—

[14] Máire A. Dugan, "A Nested Theory of Conflict," *A Leadership Journal: Women in Leadership - Sharing the Vision*, 1996.
[15] Paul M. Hedges, *Understanding Religion: Theories and Methods for Studying Religiously Diverse Societies* (California: University of California Press, 2021), 62.
[16] R.M. Daulay, *Agama Dan Politik Di Indonesia: Umat Kristen Di Tengah Kebangkitan Islam.* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2016), 218.
[17] Dave McRae, *The Escalation and Decline of Violent Conflict in Poso, Central Sulawesi, 1998-2007.*, 2008, 235.

experience marginalization in the field economic, political, and cultural, so compared to the newcomers, they feel that they are no longer masters in their own land.[18] However, the impact of the repression that Christian community due to the rise of political Islam led to similar actions by the Christian community in Poso to "othering" people, whether during the conflict occurred or after the conflict.

For instance, some people told to me "in order to choose a leader, we must choose a leader who is Christian and *Pamonanese."* In my conversation with my relatives, I also found that they differentiate Christian and *Pamonanes* as *tau kita* (us)*,* and Muslim People as *tau sambira* (them).[19] It means that the orientation of these people about self-identity and identity of others is very ascriptive. In addition, the Poso people began to live in segregation. Christian communities are living in certain villages. And vice versa, Muslim communities also choose to live in certain villages. There are only a few villages or small towns whose communities are inhabited by varied religious groups. In my point of view, I argue that the circle and seed of "othering" generated from the traumatic experiences lead people to get satisfaction from "oppressing" other groups. I also think that in the past the method of the peace agreement was negative peace that only focused on the end of direct violence. Next, I will try to propose two ideas for tackling this issue.

Fostering Sustainable Peace in Poso

After briefly describing the phenomena that occurred in Poso during and after the conflict, I will then offer two ideas to be offered as an effort to foster sustainable peace and to be used as a way of life to get out of the lifestyle that distinguished us and them in Poso. This idea is the nature of what I found when observing and interviewing several friends who live this attitude in their public interactions. This in-depth encounter demands everyone's willingness to be able to listen to other people's narratives and life experiences. This reveals that a marginalized position is not experienced by just one group.

To begin with, I will start by discussing my observation of some villages in Poso including schools that I conducted in July-November 2022. Like the previous research conducted by Mapiasse,[20] I found that most of the villages are still living in segregation.

[18] Aditjondro, *Kerusuhan Poso Dan Morowali, Akar Permasalahan Dan Jalan Keluarnya*, 6.

[19] Lian Gogali, *Tragedi Poso: Suara Perempuan Dan Anak Dalam Ingatan Konflik Poso* (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2008), 61–62.

[20] Sulaiman Mappiasse, "Social Relations in a Post-Religious Conflict Area, Poso, Indonesia: An Interreligious Learning Perspective."

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This circumstance leads people to think that otherness is "awkward." But at the same time, from observing some friends aged 20–30 years, an awareness of other religions began to open up. This happens through friendship or collaboration in several arts and sports activities. This makes me think that exposure to different cultures is important. This approach works in my experience. I used to think that Muslims were my enemies, but I shifted my point of view since I had a friend who was Muslim, living and spending time with, and sharing the same concern: justice for people.

Based on my experiences, I tried to apply the idea of Christianity oriented to inter-religious cooperation for justice. As James Cone said, "A Christian is one who is striving for liberation."[21] In this case, piety is expressed through workable ethics in a social context or corporation.[22] This idea also assumes that dialogue is not only trapped by elites who are "expert" in religious studies but also focus on the grassroots movement. Peace diplomacy employs social movements to borrow a term from Dewi Tika Lestari.[23]

In 2020, I started opening a small library in Poso. The aim of the library is not only a place to learn, but is a space to meet with people who have different religions, because "intergroup contact typically reduces intergroup prejudice.[24] I also collaborated with Agus Saleh Tampakatu, a Muslim education activist, who has the same concern with me. Trauma after the conflict, indeed, remains in most societies and even continues to exist until the present generation. The transgenerational transmission of trauma can occur even when the next generation is not told the trauma story or knows it only in broad outline.[25] However, by creating a "relational space", direct interaction will slowly be created and allow social support to occur. This is expected to happen in the classroom and other programs that will be carried out by *Rodo nDaya* in collaboration with some stakeholders in *Pasir Putih*. Another example that proved that exposures worked well is in SD Inpres 2 Pendolo which has students coming from different cultures and religions. I argued that the more exposures

[21] Kendi and Ibram X, *How to Be an Anti-Racist*, *One World*, vol. 5.4, 2019, 20.

[22] Komarudin Hidayat., "Islam Memasuki Milenium Ketiga: Prediksi, Kritik, Dan Harapan," in *Agama-Agama Dan Problematika Sosial Keagamaan*, ed. E. M. Sitompul (Jakarta: PGI & Mission 21, 2005), 116–124.

[23] Dewi Tika Lestari, "Religious Conflict Transformation through Collective Memory and the Role of Local Music," 2019.

[24] Thomas F. Pettigrew et al., "Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 2011.

[25] C.E. Yoder, *Trauma Healing: When Violence Strikes and Community Security Is Threatened.* (New York: Good Books, 2020), 10–11.

the children get from different cultures/religions, the more they are open to accept people who have different cultures/religions with them.

The other idea is about sharing food for making friendship and harmony with others. This idea is derived from a dialectical within the Christian perspective and a cultural tradition in Poso. In Christian practices, there is a symbol of the eucharist to share "the sacred meal" with one another. I'd like to use the word eucharist rather than Eucharist. It is not an exaggeration to say that the eucharist with a small "e" is a spirituality that is rooted in Jesus but cannot be limited to rituals in the church. It could manifest in everyday life. It also is manifesting in association on the street, in markets, in "unholy" spaces such as nightclubs, etc. All places are holy if God's "banquet table" is present there. As Winter wrote, "The other, eucharist with a small "e," is reflected in the experiences of Jesus eating and drinking with others while he was still alive."[26] I can conclude that the important point of the eucharist with a small "e" is the experience with God in Jesus, which is infinite by any space because all space is holy.

This view also assumes that the relationship at the dinner table is an equal one. Humans are not seen as "it," but are also equal subjects who have different stories and experiences ("*peng-'alam'-an)*. Leirvik, quoting Buber, writes this relationship as follows:

> Spirit is not in the I, but between I and Thou. It is not like the blood that circulates in you, but like the air in which you breathe. Man lives in the spirit if he is able to respond his Thou. He is able to, if he enters into relation with his whole being. Only in virtue of his power to enter into relation is he able to live in the spirit.[27]

This idea can apply in the context of Poso. It has been a long time since the people of Poso have celebrated *Padungku*, a "thanksgiving" after harvest that is celebrated by almost all Poso people, especially the Pamonanese, one of the largest ethnic groups living in Poso. This event is very distinctive in that it serves food to the guests who come. My experience when I was 10 years old was that this event used to be celebrated by most Christian villages. Most of the guests who came were people of various Christian backgrounds. However, in my observations when celebrating *padungku* in Tentena City, people who celebrate

[26] M.T. Winter, *Eucharist with a Small" e"* (Orbis Books, 2015), 10.
[27] O Leirvik, *Interreligious Studies : A Relational Approach to Religious Activism and the Study of Religion*, *Interreligious Studies : A Relational Approach to Religious Activism and the Study of Religion*, 2014, 19.

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padungku come from different ethnic and religious backgrounds.[28] Those who came could celebrate the differences by eating, talking, and sharing everything together. While they were sharing food, they also shared life, emotion, and commitment to building peace and harmony in life. The celebration of table fellowship like this is a form of making friendships with God as well as with others.[29]

CONCLUSION

Conflicts that have occurred in the past, still continue to have a significant impact on the people of Poso. In addition to inheriting trauma whose attitude is intergenerational, the patterns of segregation in places of residence are increasingly clear. Christian communities living in the two villages which are the focus of my research are still developing their patterns. The narratives that develop in society, such as pop culture, politics, and marriage, are also very binary: us and them.

However, at the same time there is also a natural effort that comes from the community to maintain sustainable peace. This also confirms that the peace movement does not always come from "beautiful programs" carried out by various institutions and organizations. The community also consciously strives for this naturally through socio-economic interactions, as well as in cultural activities which in this paper is through a harvest thanksgiving ceremony called *Padungku.* Meanwhile, to be able to get out and control the seeds of oppression in a person or community, it is necessary to be exposed to other cultures and religions that are different. Aside from that, a deliberate effort to open equal relations at the dinner table, which I associate with *Padungku* culture in the context of the Poso people, must be preserved.

This article is an attempt to retrace why, until now, in Poso, there is still segregation of religions and groups and how, in the end, the community is trying to build sustainable peace after the conflict. However, efforts that are intentionally well-designed by the government, faith-based organizations, and NGOs have not been discussed in this paper. In the meantime, further research is needed on this matter in the future.

[28] Muh. Ali Jennah, Kaharuddin Nawing, and Roy Kulyawan, "Makna Padungku Pada Komunitas Pamona Di Kecamatan Pamona Pasulemba," *Jurnal Kreatif Online* 9, no. 1 (2021): 62–63.

[29] Yohanes Parihala, "Making Mega-Space for Others: Towards Theology of Mega-Friendship from the Table Fellowship Story According to Luke 5:27–32," *Verbum et Ecclesia* (2021).

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