

## Between the Tongkonan building and the Marampa' Church: The strategy of "adaptive space" for the Torajan migrant community in Jayapura City

### *Di antara gedung Tongkonan dan Gereja Marampa': Strategi "ruang adaptif" komunitas migran Toraja di Kota Jayapura*

Frisca Novia Adventin<sup>1✉</sup>, Fred Keith Hutubessy<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Sociology of Religion Posgraduate Study Program, Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana Salatiga, 50711, Central Java, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup>Researcher at the Center for the Study of Religion, Pluralism, and Democracy (PusAPDEM), Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana Salatiga, 50711, Central Java, Indonesia

E-mail of corresponding author: friskaruru.pr@gmail.com

#### Abstract

This paper examines the strategies of Torajan migrants that helped them to adapt to Jayapura City. This study was inspired by Edward Brunner and Suparlan to understand the concept of the dominant culture. This study uses qualitative research methods, collected by observations, interviews, documentation techniques, and through some of the literature on the migration of the Toraja people. The informants in this study is people who had come in the early days to Jayapura City. They were also members of the Toraja Family Association. These studies found out that the migrants tended to follow the dominant culture, dominated the dominant culture, and created the rules of the game for all communities to follow. They also have identity symbols, such as the Tongkonan building and the Marampa' Church in Jayapura City. Hypothetically, these symbols show that they are able to adapt to Jayapura City. This study found that the Torajan migrant community in Jayapura took advantage of a strategy called "adaptive space." This strategy is carried out through cultural redefinition and by identifying similarities with the dominant culture. They also provide for the common needs in the dominant culture and constructing external relations to adapt in Jayapura City.

**Keywords:** Torajan migrants; strategy of adaptive space; cultural redefinition; identification of dominant culture

#### Abstract

*Makalah ini membahas strategi para migran Toraja yang membantu mereka beradaptasi dengan Kota Jayapura. Kajian ini terinspirasi oleh Edward Brunner dan Suparlan untuk memahami konsep budaya dominan. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif, dikumpulkan dengan observasi, wawancara, teknik dokumentasi, dan melalui beberapa literatur tentang migrasi orang Toraja. Informan dalam penelitian ini adalah masyarakat yang datang pada dini hari ke Kota Jayapura. Mereka juga anggota Asosiasi Keluarga Toraja. Studi ini menemukan bahwa para pendatang cenderung mengikuti budaya dominan, mendominasi budaya dominan, dan menciptakan aturan main untuk diikuti oleh semua komunitas. Mereka juga memiliki simbol identitas, seperti bangunan Tongkonan dan Gereja Marampa di Kota Jayapura. Secara hipotetis, simbol-simbol tersebut menunjukkan bahwa mereka mampu beradaptasi dengan Kota Jayapura. Studi ini menemukan bahwa komunitas migran Toraja di Jayapura memanfaatkan strategi yang disebut "ruang adaptif". Strategi ini dilakukan melalui redefinisi budaya dan dengan mengidentifikasi kesamaan dengan budaya dominan. Mereka juga memenuhi kebutuhan bersama dalam budaya dominan dan membangun hubungan eksternal untuk beradaptasi di Kota Jayapura.*

**Kata Kunci:** migran Toraja; strategi ruang adaptif; redefinisi kebudayaan; identifikasi kebudayaan dominan

## Introduction

The fact of migration constructs dynamic intersection space, produces negotiations and domination economically, and has the potential to trigger communal conflicts in the community (Tirtosudarmo 1997; Bruner 1974; Suparlan 2014). However, migration in Indonesia is a strategy to establish a political "community imagination" (Anderson 1991) as an effort to introduce various ethnic groups, as well as a way for community economic growth (Wafirotin 2013). For example, the implementation of government policies through the Five Year Development (PELITA) program during the New Order era also had implications for massive encounters between migrants and local residents. It is not surprising that Jayapura, which is the locus of this study, has a large number of migrant residents who have lived there for decades, particularly those from Java and some other areas (Supriyono 2014).

The results of observations which are also supported by previous studies showed that the rate of migration to Papua was not only influenced by the PELITA policy during the New Order era, but was also related to the Special Autonomy policy of Papua since 2001 (Tjiptoherijanto 1995; Suryawan 2014; Wekke 2017). The impact of this policy led to the expansion of some new cities and districts in Papua, and resulted in the internal migration of people from various regions in Indonesia (Romdiati & Surtiari

2020). Besides, apart from the PELITA's policy during the New Order era and regional expansion through the implementation of Special Autonomy of Papua, these facts showed that the "encountering spaces" of cross-ethnic communities are increasingly dynamic, displaying cultural domination and adaptation strategies, as well as the rules of the game for surviving in the moving destination (Bruner 1974; Suparlan 2014). Moreover, it results in forms of population domination and economic competition, especially in Papua (McGibbon 2004; Upton 2009).

Then, this article intended to present an overview of the Toraja people who are one of the many ethnic migrants in Jayapura City (Nuruddin 2016; Lawene et al. 2017) which turned out to have long since migrated to Papua. Interestingly, they have symbols characterized by Toraja identity in Jayapura City public spaces, such as the *Tongkonan* building and the *Marampa*' Church. As a forum for identity, they also have a community called "Ikatan Keluarga Toraja/Toraja Family Association" (IKT) (Baharuddin et al. 2015). The hypothesis regarding Torajan migrants is that they are able to adapt through representations of their identity symbols, in the form of building construction characterized by their culture in Jayapura City, even though social conflicts in Papua are increasing. Meanwhile, as it is known, a number of studies that have discussed migration (Bruner 1974; Suparlan 2014) and Toraja (Yamashita 1986; Nyompa et al. 2012; Sandarupa 2014; Adams 2015; Hafid 2016; Hudriansyah 2018, Alexander 2019; Mustafa et al. 2019; Hasbi et al. 2019; Ismail 2019) only focused on the dominant culture of migrant communities, their values and their implications for them. These studies have not investigated more deeply the Torajan migrant community in Jayapura City, which turned out that they are able to adapt to their moving destination.

Thus, this paper intended to find out: how the strategy of the Toraja people to adapt in Jayapura City. Then, this study also aimed to complement previous studies that have discussed the strategy of migrants in their moving destination generally, and also specifically examined the Toraja community in their moving destination. Meanwhile, to develop the analysis, this study used the concept of migration and focused on the concept of the rules of the game in the form of the dominant culture by (Bruner 1974) and (Suparlan 2014). Previously, these two approaches had experienced mutually dialectic processes. The study by (Bruner 1974) carried out data comparisons to understand the characteristics of the dominant culture of the people in Bandung and Medan. In the context of the community in Bandung, the Sundanese tend to set the rules of the game because they are the dominant ethnicity, through the parameters of proper behavior in the public space. Unlike in Bandung, the ethnic groups in Medan tend to group themselves and strengthen their position, so that they can compete in the structural power.

In reality, Bandung and Medan have different patterns of order. In Bandung, migrants adopt a form of adaptation to the dominant Sundanese culture as a form of order, while in Medan, people create order only in their communities. When the ethnic community in Medan is in the public sphere, they tend to use their personal identity to compete, and create competition through the power of the community in conflict to become dominant. According to (Suparlan 2014), the dominant culture is present in the community and develops the rules of the game, and requires all communities within it to follow it. Through his research in Bandung, Sambas, and Ambon, Suparlan found that elements of Javanese adaptation to Sundanese dominant culture generate harmonization of relations between them through adaptation. However, the cases of Madurese migrants in Sambas and Buton, Bugis, and Makassar (BBM) migrants in Ambon place them to dominate the dominant culture of the indigenous people, and eventually, a conflict between them is inevitable. He argued that the migrants must be able to adjust the rules and norms in their home territory. Therefore, we want to examine how the rules of the game applied by Torajan migrants in Jayapura are related to their current existence.

## Research Methods

Qualitative methods were used in this study (Creswell 2007) by choosing Jayapura City as the location. The reason was that Jayapura City has a dominant Toraja population, marked by the *Tongkonan* building, and the *Marampa*' Church, as a symbol of the identity of the Toraja people. Besides, they have a community called the "Toraja Family Association", as the "home" which gathers together the sub-ethnic groups of Toraja.

The data collection techniques were carried out by observations, interviews, documentation, and reviews of the literature (Creswell 2007) on previous studies on migration and Toraja to support this study. Besides making observations, the subjects of the study used as informants were seven people. Among them are pastors, civil servants, and businessmen. Some of them are members of the "Toraja Family Association" community who had lived there for a long time. In addition, interviews were conducted with local people who had lived side by side with the Toraja people there for a long time. The informants' ages ranged from 45-70 years. This study limited the interviews to only Torajan migrants who had long

migrated from Toraja to Jayapura City, so that it allowed this study to find data on their motivations, as well as their strategies for adapting to Jayapura City. The data that had been collected were categorized and analyzed and discussed with previous studies that were relevant to the topic being studied.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **The story of migration and the redefinition of cultural identity in the moving destination**

In recent years, scholars who are engaged in socio-cultural science still popularize studies about Toraja. They investigated cultural traditions, religious rituals, and their impact on the Toraja people (Waterson 2000; Adams 2018a, b, 2020; Gayatri 2018; Kausar & Gunawan 2018; Pakan et al. 2018; Rumbi 2018; Sudarsi et al. 2019). On the other side, western scholars, such as (Yamashita 1979, 1982, 1986, 1994; Adams 1984) have popularized these studies for decades due to the uniqueness of the Torajan culture. However, not many of them developed the focus of their studies on the Toraja people who migrate all over the moving destination, only some of them, such as (Nyompa et al. 2012; De Jong 2013; Hudriansyah 2018) who discussed Torajan migrants in Makassar, Jakarta, and Kalimantan. This is certainly different from Papua, which is a popular destination for Torajan migrants.

Meanwhile, people tend to migrate because of financial needs, so they choose to go to destination areas that offer higher wages and wider employment opportunities (Lee 1966; Greenwood 1997). Besides, one of the factors that encourage people to migrate is the cultural factor in family relationships. If there are families who are successful in the moving destination, it will provide a way for other families to migrate. Then, this migration model constructs patrons in families in the moving destination, while at the same time creating exoticism to migrate from their place of origin (Todaro 1989). Moreover, the impact of migration in this way tends to create a community base through social networks through the form of group life, which represents cultural identity, as a strategy for survival in the moving destination (Haryono 2007). In any case, every individual from various different ethnicities inevitably carries out internal migration, forming communities in the moving destination, so that it has an impact on the dynamic of cross-cultural encounters, one of which is in Papua (Baharuddin et al. 2015; Wekke 2017). On the one hand, migration shows cultural diversity in a social demographic frame, but on the other hand, migration has the potential to lead to opportunities for competition (Boelaars 1986) and causing the conflict in Papua to become more open (McGibbon 2004), particularly in understanding the dominant identities in the community (Suparlan 2014).

Before examining the facts about the Torajan migrant community in Jayapura, it is necessary to track and understand their motivations for migrating. Historically, the arrival of Torajan migrants to Jayapura was varied. For example, informant PAO has migrated to Jayapura since 1970 and worked in the private sector as a furniture entrepreneur. Apart from PAO, informant PGL came to Jayapura in 1986, and worked as civil servants. For them, Torajan people generally migrate to Jayapura to find work and continue their education. For this reason, several of them tend to follow families who have already settled in Jayapura. When correlating their motivation to find work and continue their education as reasons for migrating, these two aspects represent their efforts to develop a more prosperous life. In fact, the Toraja people did not have a tradition of transmigration in the past, but those who migrated in the mid-1970s in most cases migrated to make a living and also collect money to fulfill the tradition of funeral rituals. In addition, migration also encourages children to go to school in other cities (Volkman 1984).

Some studies have explained that the motivation of the Toraja people to migrate to raise money in carrying out the *Rambu Solo'* (funeral ritual) tradition cannot be separated from social changes in the community. Initially, this tradition was only practiced by aristocrats, but in its development, anyone can perform the ritual as long as they have sufficient finances (Abdurahim 2015; Rima 2019; Sampe 2020). In fact, this ritual can cost tens, hundreds, and even billions of rupiahs as a result of the paradigm of economic success reification (De Jong 2013). Apart from that, this ritual is an important moment for "returning home" and "family gathering", particularly that is often performed by the first and second generations who have migrated (Adams 2020). This further strengthens the argument that the aim of the Toraja people to migrate is generally to earn economic income, so they can perform the *Rambu Solo'* ritual (funeral ritual).

Informant LBR shared that for them, it will be satisfaction and happiness if they are able to do this, especially when burying their parents through this ritual. Concurrently, the Toraja people who came to Jayapura in 1970 mostly lived in the A.P.O mountain area. They live in a "gift" area of Pastor Yakadewa, a congregation leader of the Overtom Bethel Pentecostal Church in Jayapura. Then, this place becomes a "base camp" for those who are from Toraja. At one time, they have a problem with the local Ondoafi (Tribal chief/Bigman) and it required them to buy the area if they wanted to stay there. Eventually, they

were forced to move to other regions. Some of them lived not far from that location, and some even spread to other areas in Jayapura. During its development, the number of Toraja people has increased and occupied the A.P.O area, so that the location which is generally occupied by the Toraja people is commonly known as A.P.O kali Toraja (Watopa 2018).

Over time, the increasing number of migrants and the longing for “home” lead the Toraja people to establish the Toraja Family Association as a forum for gathering, expressing their identity, and carrying out their habits at home. Through the initiation of Agus Sampe Bua, they founded the association and elected Agus as the chairman, and he served for two terms. In its development, the expansion of new areas in Papua has also stopped Toraja people from migrating to several other areas. The Toraja Family Association has recently expanded to Wamena, Kaimana, Timika, Merauke, Manokwari, Yapen Islands, Jayapura Regency, and several other districts/cities in Papua and West Papua. Moreover, the Toraja Family Association has centralized management in two provinces, including Papua and West Papua Provinces, and they have a coordination system with the Toraja Family Association in many regencies/cities.

Even so, ethnic-based communities are not a new story because they intersect with the long migration growth rate in Papua. This situation enables various ethnic groups to form their respective communities. For example, Kerukunan Keluarga Sulawesi Selatan/South Sulawesi Family Harmony (KKSS), brings together all South Sulawesi people regionally in Papua, and has a national-scale centralized organization. Besides, there is also Ikatan Keluarga Jawa, Sunda, dan Madura/Association of Javanese, Sundanese, and Madurese Families (IKASWARA) which brings together migrants from some regions from Java, also Ikatan Keluarga Maluku/Maluku Family Association (IKEMAL) which unit the entire Maluku community in Tanah Papua. All of these organizations tend to generate interests internally in accommodating kinship relations in the moving destination. On the one hand, the community also confirms the boundaries of regional identity (Wekke 2017), but on the other hand, the community is part of the identity strengthening in the moving destination (Haryono 2007). The question is, how do Torajan migrants in Jayapura create emotional kinship in their communities? First, Torajan migrants in Jayapura redefine their identities through the form of self-imagining as a whole and not fragmented Toraja people, as has happened in the area expansion in their hometowns of origin. They tend to use the narrative of solidarity to unify them in which all Toraja people in the moving destination are family and have a responsibility to help each other.

Then, they practiced kinship narrative through many routines in the form of joint activities in the smallest association based on village origin, as well as in the Toraja Family Association. This community regularly organizes joint worship in commemoration of major holidays, such as Christmas, Easter, and ethnic worship. Some Toraja people often volunteer to rent a vehicle when attending some of these activities. If there is a bereaved family, IKT will also attend and initiate services before the burial, as well as the funeral procession. At this moment, all Toraja people come and participate, and provide material and moral support, even though they do not know each other. The power of the solidarity of Torajan migrants is also evident during the conflict caused by racism that resulted in anarchist actions in Wamena in 2019. At that time, many Toraja people from various regions in Wamena and several surrounding districts fled to Jayapura, and they were accepted by the Toraja Family Association of Papua Province. According to Elias Paonangan, there were approximately 2600 refugees who were registered and were accommodated in the *Tongkonan* building in Jayapura City (Abubar 2019).

Moreover, the Toraja Family Association also provides for everything their brothers need while they are in the refuge. For the Toraja people, the impact of their solidarity has given other migrants a positive assessment that the Toraja Family Association is a solid and strong organization. Second, they redefined Torajan culture in the moving destination. However, the Toraja people interpret their culture as a sacred entity and very crucial in their lives. This statement is an interpretation of conversations with several informants who also explained about cultural practices that are still being carried out in Jayapura. The phenomenon of practicing culture in the moving destination does not only occur in Jayapura, but also in several other areas, such as in Makassar and Jakarta (De Jong 2013), which further proves that the Toraja people will bring their culture wherever they move out. Despite this, the Toraja people experience social changes that cause changes in their cultural practices, and they tend to revise them in the form of recognition. For example, Toraja people are considered as experiencing success if they are able to achieve and even surpass it as a general consensus standard on progress (Volkman 1984).

Culturally, the Toraja people have a *Tana'* (caste) construction which describes social strata. This system is divided into levels, such as *Tana' bullana*; as the main strata of the highest caste that is believed to receive *aluk* in leading the rules of life and also as a leader of beliefs. *Tana' Bassi* is a middle caste, *Tana' Karrurung* is the strata of the common people who have never been directly governed and gained



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belief as a craftsman or skilled person, and *Tana' Kua-kua* that is the strata of servants as heirs who must accept responsibility to serve the aristocratic group. The caste levels affect the procedures, roles, and rules established for performing the *Rambu Solo'* (traditional funeral ceremony) and the *Rambu Tuka* (traditional ceremony as an expression of gratitude) (Duli 2003; Tobar 2020).

Meanwhile, Torajan migrants in Jayapura no longer implement the caste system as a major part of their culture in the moving destination. For example, they interpret the cultural practice of *Rambu Solo'* in Jayapura through *Sipporannu Sipopa'di* which means bearing and suffering together. Apart from not using social strata, they no longer impose favors as that in the Toraja culture (Tande 2005), by requiring them to bring each ritual necessity in turn. Besides, Torajan migrants in Jayapura actually appreciate success as an award, especially by looking at the intellectual ability standard. They put academics who have intellectual abilities and older people who had come earlier and opened the path of success to others in the moving destination. In practice, they reward people who achieve this standard of success for occupying a top seat position when they arrange community events. In the process of nominating the chairman of the Toraja Family Association, anyone can also register to become chairman, without following the caste system.

Furthermore, the results of observations showed that the Toraja people in Jayapura City still express their Toraja cultural identity symbolically in various moments, such as the *Rambu Solo'* ceremony (funeral ceremony), *Rambu Tuka'* (an expression of gratitude), and also use regional languages, traditional clothes, and decorations with Toraja nuances. For the *Rambu Solo'* ceremony, they tend to adjust to the financial capacity of the family. If the family is able to fulfill it, they will carry it out, even though it is not completely the same as that in their hometown. They usually put *Kaseda* (red sign) as a symbol that a family has a particular social status. They also carry out the *Ma' Badong* ritual which is part of the *Rambu Solo'* ceremony procession by dancing and singing along with songs of praise and lamentation of the departure of the deceased. *Ma' Badong* contains a meaning of solidarity and religious meaning that God gives everything in their lives (Patandean et al. 2018). Moreover, they also often have daily dialogues using the Toraja language, particularly during prayers when initiated by the Toraja Family Association.

Finally, the migration of Toraja people to Jayapura is an effort that is not only fulfilling their economic needs, but is related to their strategy to survive by forming the Toraja Family Association in the moving destination. Meanwhile, this community forms a new identity as Toraja people in the moving destination and is constructed through cultural redefinition. They interpret themselves through the imagination of the wholeness of the Toraja people without looking at the political segregation of the territory in the area of origin. Besides, the cultural redefinition strategy assists them to adapt to the situation in Jayapura which does not allow them to carry out the traditions in their culture. However, these redefined cultural practices are only to introduce to their children who have been born and raised in Jayapura so that they can recognize the customs of the Toraja people.

### The strategy of adaptive space from the identification of similarities to external relations

Torajan migrants tend to carry their cultural patterns with them wherever they are, while they also construct them through buildings that characterize their identity. This phenomenon has occurred in various parts of the world, for example, the Chinese migrant community who built "China Town". There are also Arab communities, in which all of them are the base of community power. In North Bontang, for example, the people there know Kanaan Village as the village of *Tator* (Tanah Toraja). This area is occupied by Torajan migrants who built houses, cemeteries, and *Tongkonan* with Torajan characteristics. In Jakarta and Makassar, there is also the *Tongkonan* house architecture as a characteristic of the Torajan identity built by the Toraja people living there (De Jong 2013). Meanwhile, the same trend also occurs in Jayapura through the *Tongkonan* house and the church building called *Marampa* which is characterized by the ornament of the Toraja people. In fact, Papua has a dominant culture that rules the game in dealing with migrant ethnicities. The question is, how are they able to carry it out in the dominant culture?

First of all, it is necessary to understand the trends of migrants, particularly the experiences of migrants in Indonesia from the perspective of the dominant culture. Edward Brunner, in his study in Medan (North Sumatra) and Bandung (West Java), found that not all migrant communities were able to fight in dominant cross-cultural patterns. Through some elements of the dominant culture, such as heterogeneous social demographics, the domination of local ethnic culture through ways of relating to immigrants, and the availability of social power that is distributed among community groups living in the context of the dominant society, Bruner explored it in the communities of Medan and Bandung. According to him, migrant communities in Medan tend to present adaptation strategies by maintaining their culture in their respective communities. They tend to activate it when they leave their community to compete in public spaces. This tendency generates conflict in the public sphere, particularly in the competition between

them. Conversely, the Javanese migrant community in Bandung actually follows the dominant rules referring to the Sundanese culture which has set standards for proper behavior in the public. Apparently, they create a pattern of social order and harmony in the people of Bandung (Bruner 1974).

Suparlan had a different view by emphasizing that adaptation strategies in dominant cultures cannot be carried out without “rules of the game”. His study in Ambon and Sambas showed that the people there also have a dominant culture, but not everyone can follow and form a dominant culture. For example, the Buton, Bugis, and Makassar (BBM) migrants in Ambon, and the Madurese in Sambas Regency indeed dominate the dominant culture. After controlling the dominant culture, they make new rules of the game to dominate the existing dominant culture and the community must follow it. The dominant cultural tendency that has been dominated makes the national system powerless to face migrants in Ambon and Sambas who use suppressive means through acts of violence. In addition, BBM migrants in Ambon and Madurese in Sambas obtain support from powerful individuals, so according to him, the law is difficult to enforce (Suparlan 2014).

Further, migrants do not always have to follow the dominant culture, and also act repressively by dominating the dominant culture, as found by Bruner and Suparlan. Through the Toraja people in Jayapura, this study found the facts that they have identified their similarities with the dominant cultural practices there and they become a capital for them to interact with local residents. Through the identification of similarities, they discover two important elements related to beliefs and habits. First, local residents and Toraja people both embrace Christianity. Second, they both eat pork.

“In the past, when I arrived, people in Jayapura welcomed me very well, greeted me, lived by bartering, especially since we have the same culture that both of us eat pork and are all Christians, so we feel happy and safe to worship. This comfort has made the Toraja people survive and able to live a long time until now in Jayapura” (informant LBR).

WIT as a native of Jayapura also told his historical experiences, thus forming good relations with the Toraja people. In the past, there were Toraja people who were given a place to live by their parents. Moreover, he acknowledges the similarities between him and the Toraja people, one of which is that they both eat pork, and also tend to choose to live on the hillside. Interestingly, pig, which is an important symbol when performing rituals for Toraja people and also some Papuans, is also part of the dish for consumption. In Jayapura, for example, Torajan migrants are able to provide primary needs, for example, some restaurants owned by Torajan migrants, such as in the Entrop and Kotaraja areas, also provide pork processing which is quite popular there. In addition, the Torajan people in Jayapura are also famous as entrepreneurs in pig farms. They raise and sell the animal to particular communities, especially Christians. A farmer in the Kali Acai area told that Papuans, particularly from the highlands of Papua, often come to buy pigs from him to do “burn stone” events (the tradition of cooking together in the highlands of Papua). This circumstance is not necessarily possible for Torajan migrants who migrate to areas where the majority of the population does not consume these processed products. This is obviously hard to carry out.

During its development, the identification of similar beliefs has become one of the important points for Torajan migrants to adapt to Christianity, which is the dominant religion in Jayapura. Christianity as the dominant religion provides space for Torajan migrants to express their religious identity and establish relationships with other communities. The Toraja people in Jayapura indeed generally become members of the Evangelical Synod of the Christian Church in Tanah Papua because they have a worship system that is not much different from the Toraja church. According to informant ABS, the Head of the Synod Toraja Church has also officially stated that all Torajans who migrate to Papua have to join the GKI in Tanah Papua. Further, the GKI Synod in Tanah Papua strongly adheres to the ecumenical principle, which is through the form of an alliance of various cultures, and accepting all ethnic groups to worship there (Latuputty 2013). In fact, we can find several churches, such as GKI Getzemani of Kotaraja, GKI Pniel of Kotaraja, GKI Diaspora of Waena, GKI Marthen Luther of Kamkey, and GKI *Marampa* of Youtefa that have congregation members who are from Toraja.

Meanwhile, GKI *Marampa* which is located in the Youtefa area, Jayapura City, is interesting to be examined. The general public who does not know this church more closely, will definitely say that this church is a Torajan church. Why is that? This church uses the root word from Toraja linguistics, which is *Marampa* (Syaloomb/peace prosperity), and the majority of its members are from Toraja. In fact, this church is under the GKI Synod in Tanah Papua, and has no institutional relationship with the Toraja Church Synod. GKI *Marampa* is a congregation that is expanded from GKI Marthen Luther of Kamkey and 90% of its members are from Toraja. In figure 1, it can be seen an ornament from GKI *Marampa* that combines two cultures between the motifs of the Toraja people and the Tifa symbolizing a musical instrument originating from Papua.



**Figure 1.**  
Ornaments at *Marampa'* Church of Youtefa  
Source: Personal document

According to LBR, the Marampa' Church was voluntarily established in 2005 by the Toraja people themselves and they made it an asset of the GKI in Tanah Papua. However, they were initially suspected of wanting to build a Toraja church in Papua and they experienced several prolonged crises during the process of building this church. Finally, they used the name *Marampa'* which means that the Toraja people must present "peace" in Jayapura. In addition, the presence of the *Marampa'* Church is open to anyone, even though the number of Toraja migrants is more dominant. They reduce tribalism so that it does not become exclusive, so that anyone can come to worship according to the values of Christian teachings. Interestingly, they are given the opportunity to express their culture through the Toraja language. When occupying the secretary position of the Klasis of GKI Port Numbay, WIT once suggested that they pray by using the Toraja language once a month, but the Torajan people at GKI *Marampa'* rejected because they wanted to keep using the Indonesian language so that it could be accepted by everyone.



**Figure 2.**  
Ornaments in the *Tongkonan* building  
Source: Hatta (2015)

Furthermore, Torajan migrants in Jayapura have *Tongkonan* as a symbol of representation of their identity, which is different from *Tongkonan* in Toraja. They call it the "Tongkonan Building". In figure 2, it can be seen the *Tongkonan* building on Jeruk Nipis Street, Kotaraja, with modern architecture. This building was constructed in stages through mutual donations. They were able to complete the construction during some periods of the leadership of the Chairman of the Toraja Family Association. *Tongkonan* is often used as a community gathering place, but also to discuss something important between them. In addition, the Toraja Family Association manages building rentals to the general public when they want to carry out events, such as weddings, etc.

On several occasions, the *Tongkonan* building is used for humanitarian activities. During the riots in Wamena in 2019, the refugees from the Toraja community from Wamena and its surroundings fled and were placed in *Tongkonan*. The Tongkonan building was also used as a gathering place for families of

victims of the Trigana Air plane crash in Oksibil. At that time, they were waiting for the results of the autopsy of the body from the Bhayangkara Hospital, which is located close to the *Tongkonan* building. In the end, the identification of cultural equality by Torajan migrants has established dynamic external relations, particularly through the provision of mutual needs to build external relations in the moving destination.

## Conclusions

Migration is a necessity to unify together people from various different cultural identities in Indonesia, particularly in Jayapura City. Several previous studies of migration have explained that migrants will always meet the dominant culture and choose to adopt, or even dominate the dominant culture. However, in the case of Torajan migrants in Jayapura City, this study found out that it is important to build adaptive space through cultural redefinition and identification of similarities with dominant cultures to find a common identity that can create equal relations between migrants and local residents. Meanwhile, after recognizing the similarities, Torajan migrants participate in providing common needs, such as spiritual needs, food needs, and social needs, as well as ways to strengthen dynamic external relations in the moving destination. Thus, the methods used by Torajan migrants in Jayapura City are referred to as the “adaptive space” strategy. Eventually, the strategy of “adaptive space” is an understanding formed through the ways Torajan migrants in Jayapura City redefine culture and identify their similarities with the dominant culture, adapt through dynamic daily experiences, and are able to provide shared needs based on space/place as media to create external relations in the moving destination.

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