

A Critical Study of Victor Turner's Liminality, Religion, and Nationality

Alfred Eduard Wajabula

Doctoral Student of Religion and Nationality Postgraduate Program UKIM, Ambon,
Indonesia
e-mail: alfred_wajabula66@yahoo.com

Abstract: This paper discusses Victor Turner's theory of Liminality, Religion and Nationality obtained from primary sources using the literature review method. The results of his study serve as a theoretical basis for discussing Victor Turner's Liminality and its relationship to religion and nationality. This theory will help the writer dissect the customary ritual of washing the land in Soya. Liminality is an important aspect of the rite and is adopted from Arnold Van Gennep's concept. The term 'liminality' comes from the Latin-word 'limen', which means 'doorway'. Viktor Turner used this term in his research on symbols and rituals in the Ndembu people of Africa. Therefore, liminality has such rich characteristics that it provides its own perspective in the life of society and culture today. In addition to Liminality, the writer also examines the theory of religion and nationality initiated by Emile Durkheim and Ernest Gellner. The results of the study show that these three theories have a very close and substantial relationship, in which of these three theories the meeting point is social equality with one another. This intersection exists as a result of Turner's theory of Liminality.

Keywords: Liminality, Religion and Nationality

A. Introduction

The research paradigm in ethnographic studies makes field research data the main source for determining novelty or theoretical findings. However, paradigms and theories are needed as a guide to understand and reveal a reality. The reality in question is society and culture. This reality needs to be studied in this paper with the title of the theory of "liminality, religion and nationality" through an ethnographic study approach.

Study The intended ethnographic ¹ is related to the principles, origins and religious ceremonies in the life of the people of human races ². This culture and society is primitive and ancient or is a remnant of ancient human culture. Thus, an analysis of religion and religious ceremonies in such a society's culture is regarded as an attempt to find ancient religious principles and to solve the problem of the origin of religion. This effort was carried out using the Liminality – Viktor Tuner theory approach, namely, a theory that in its approach is oriented towards religious rites and ceremonies ³.

In addition to the theory of Liminality, the focus of the study is also on the theory or concept of religion from Emile Durkheim, which is oriented towards the attitude of adherents to religious rites and ceremonies. The attitude of these adherents to a certain degree has experienced a religious evolution, as stated by E. B Taylor.⁴ The intended evolution starts from the first or basic level, namely, Animism. Animism is a belief in spirits that inhabit the universe around human habitation. This is the oldest form of religion. At the second level in religious evolution, humans believe that the movement of living nature is also caused by the soul behind these natural events and phenomena. At the third level, along with the emergence of the state structure in human society, there is also the belief that the natural gods also live in a state structure, similar to the human world. At this level, the existence of the composition of the gods, starting from the kings of the highest gods to the gods of the lowest rank, gradually raises the awareness that all the gods are the incarnations of only one god. This is what in the development then the development of belief in the existence of one God ⁵.

¹ Spradley James P, *Metode Etnografi*, II (Jokjakarta: Tiara Wacana Jokjakarta, 2007).

² (Koentjaraningrat, 1993:11)

³ (Koentjaraningrat, 1993:12)

⁴ Edward B Taylor (1832-1917) was an Englishman and an archaeologist. With his first amazing essay about his expedition to Mexico entitled *Anahuac, or Mexico and The Mexicans, Ancient and Modern* (1861) which contains about ancient Mexican culture. Became a professor at the University of Oxford in 1883. Has an evolutionist way of thinking. He conducted research on cultural elements such as religious systems, beliefs, literature, customs, ceremonies and the arts, producing a two-volume work entitled *Primitive Culture: Studies into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom* (1874) which explains the origin of religion. [<https://blog.ub.ac.id/niairfania/2013/03/13/teori-evolution-religi-e-b-taylor/>]

⁵ Harianto GP, *Pendidikan Agama Kristen Dalam Alkitab & Dunia Pendidikan Masa Kini*, 16th edn (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset Yogyakarta, 2012).

After understanding Durkheim's theory of religion, the third part that the author will study is Ernest Gellner's theory of "nationality". This theory is recognised as one of the unifying factors in a broader bond that differs from other forms of kinship, such as the family, as well as tribes, city-states or various other ethnic groups. This bond is also strengthened by a relatively uniform culture, thereby providing sustainable stability over time.

Thus, the study of Liminality, Religion and Nationality has an orientation towards pre-industrial society, or it could be said to be primitive society but also industrial and modern society. In a society like this, the concept of religion in rites and ceremonies is more or less an interesting concept to study, especially the three components that are the focus of this article, namely Liminality, religion and nationality. Thus, the novelty of this article is the existence of equal social relations.

B. Method

The research method used in this article is qualitative ⁶ through literature study. The study method (library research) is a method of collecting data by understanding and studying theories from various literature related to the research.

The selection of library materials to be studied is based on 3 criteria, namely: 1) Relevance, namely the source of the theoretical review in accordance with the variables studied. 2) Completeness, related to the literature read. 3) Recency, namely the sources used should be the latest and have adequate qualifications. Usually from publications in the last 10 years for textbooks and 1 year for journals⁷

⁶ I. Gunawan, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2013).

⁷ Surachman; Rachmad Rachmat dan Supardi Sudibyo, *METODOLOGI PENELITIAN, Journal of Petrology*, 1 (Jakarta: Kementrian Kesehatan RI, 2016), 1 <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>>.

C. Result and Discussion

1. Liminality In Religious Rites⁸ And Ceremonies

Efforts to explore theory⁹ are very important to answer various problems in ethnographic studies. In this section, there are two things that will be explored to understand what liminality is, namely, rites and religious ceremonies.

Rites and ceremonies are important components of the religious system. Rites and ceremonies in the religious system are in the form of human activities and actions to communicate and carry out their devotions to God, gods, ancestral spirits, or other supernatural beings. Religious rites or ceremonies usually take place repeatedly, either every day, every season or only occasionally. Depending on the event, a religious rite or ceremony usually consists of a combination of one, two or several actions, namely, praying, prostrating, offering, making sacrifices, eating together, fasting, meditating, and meditating¹⁰.

Koentjaraningrat classifies all theories about the principles and origins of religion into 3 groups, namely: 1) Theories which in their approach are oriented towards religious beliefs or the content of religious teachings; 2) Theories which in their approach are oriented towards the attitude of the adherents of the religion concerned towards the supernatural or supernatural things; and 3) Theories which in their approach are oriented towards religious rites and ceremonies. Of these three groups, the study of Liminality is included in the third section, namely, an approach that is oriented towards religious rites and ceremonies¹¹. The theories included in this section are as follows: W Robertson Smith's theory with the "serving ceremony" theory, K. T Preusz's theory with "Occult and Religion

⁸ Rites according to KBBI means: procedures in religious ceremonies [<https://kbbi.web.id/ritus>], or Rites are: Rites are actions, usually in the religious field, which are ceremonial and orderly. Rites are divided into three major groups: Rites of passage, Rites of worship and Rites of personal devotion, [<https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ritus>]

⁹ 'Theory' – comes from the Latin word *theoria* which means 'contemplation', which in turn comes from the Greek word *thea* which means 'way of view'[2] – is a construction in nature of human imaginative ideas about reality -the reality that he encounters in his life experiences. [See: Soetandyo Wignjosebroto, "REGARDING THEORIES, CONCEPTS AND PARADIGM IN THE STUDY OF HUMANS, SOCIETY AND ITS LAWS": <https://mitra Hukum.org/about-theori-concept-dan-paradigma-dalam-kajian-tanding-man-community-and-the-law/>]

¹⁰ Koentjaraningrat, *Sejarah Teori Antropologi I*, (Jakarta: Jakarta II Press, 1987).

¹¹ Koentjaraningrat, *Ritus Peralihan Di Indonesia*.

theory", J. Frazer's theory, R Hertz's theory with his theory on "death ceremonies", and Arnold's Van Gennep theory on "Rites of Transition" or Confirmation Ceremonies".

To study Liminality, of course, we will talk about the approach taken by Arnold Van Gennep with "Rites of Transition and Confirmation Ceremony", followed by Victor Turner, who coined the theory of "Liminality".

Arnold Van Gennep (1873-1957) was a French folkloreist who developed the concept of the principles of rites and ceremonies in his book "Rites de Passage" (1908). According to Van Gennep, religious rites and ceremonies universally basically function as activities to revive the spirit of social life among members of society. This spirit of social life is carried out repeatedly in every society in the world at certain time intervals. This requires what he calls "regeneration" of the spirit of social life. The spirit of this social life at certain times decreased, and as a result, there was sluggishness in society. This usually occurs at the end of a natural season, at the end of a hunting or fishing season, or at some stage in agricultural production. At this time, human energy seems to have been used up in social activities during the last season. To deal with it in each new season, society needs to "regenerate" the spirit of social life in the souls of its citizens.

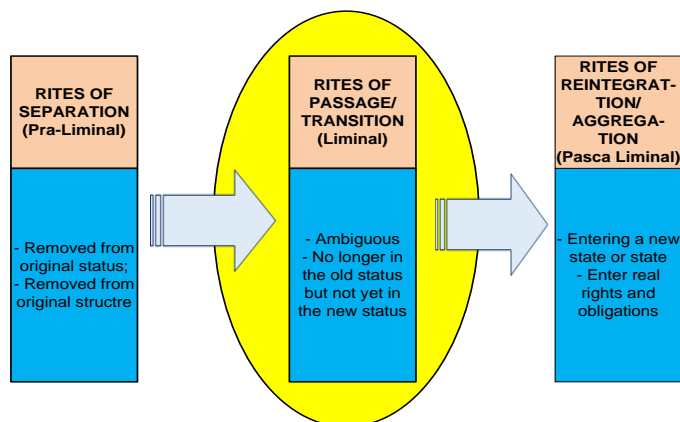
In addition to social life, Van Gennep also sees the stages of growth as an individual, through the process of becoming an adult and getting married, becoming a parent, until he dies. In this stage, humans experience changes in biology and the sociocultural environment that can affect their soul and cause a mental crisis. To deal with it, humans need to "regenerate" the spirit of social life by carrying out rites and ceremonies throughout the stages of growth, or "life cycles" of individuals (life cycle rites). Van Gennep considers these rites and ceremonies to be the oldest in human society and culture ¹².

Van Gennep stated that all these rites and ceremonies emphasised the importance of transition in any society, so he divided the rites of Transition into three subcategories: (1) rites of separation, (2) rites of passage/transition, or merge, and (3) the rite of reintegration, or aggregation (Gennep, 1960:12). In the first part, separation or separation (preliminal), humans let go of their original position. The ritual event usually consists of actions that symbolise the separation,

¹² (Arnold, 1960:11)

such as the individual concerned symbolically as if killed or made to "no longer exist". This is to show as if it has been separated from its social environment in the initial stage of life. In the second part, namely, the transition or merge (liminal period), humans are considered to be dead or "no longer exist" and in a state such as not belonging to any social environment. He is not "there" or "here". Here, they are prepared to become new human beings in their new social environment. They were given lessons by the elders who became their initiators regarding the sacred customs of the ancestors, being shown the heirlooms of their ancestors, being told mythological stories, and so on ¹³. In the third part, reintegration or aggregation (post liminal), they are inaugurated into a new stage of life and social environment. The individual concerned is symbolically as if reborn and confirms his integration into his new social environment.

Scheme – 1: Van Gennep's Rites of Transition



Source: Van Gennep 1960

All these rites and ceremonies for Van Gennep include all three parts. Rites of separation in many cultures around the world are very prominent in funeral rites, although there are rites of passage in which transition or integration is the most important part. However, in Van Gennep's ethnographic records, in many cultures,

¹³ (Arnold, 1960:33)

rites of passage are very important in ceremonies such as late pregnancy, ceremonies when children grow up (cutting the first hair, the ceremony of removing the first teeth, the ceremony of touching the baby to the ground, etc.) and in initiation ceremonies. In many other cultures, the nature of integration and strengthening is prominent, such as in the culture of changing seasons, agricultural ceremonies, birth ceremonies and marriage ceremonies. Koentjaraningrat concludes that Van Gennep's ethnographic data show that farewell rites are often related to rites of passage, while integration and inauguration ceremonies can often stand alone, regardless of the two characteristics mentioned above. Therefore, Koentjaraningrat, based on these data, differentiates into two kinds of religious ceremonies: (1) those that are separated into one and those that are transitional, known as "rites", and (2) those that are integration and confirmation, known as the "ceremony"¹⁴.

2. Liminality According To Victor Turner

The theory of Liminality was coined by Victor Turner and is based on his study of symbols and rites of the Ndembu people in Africa. In his conclusion, Turner stated that there is a close relationship between the life of the Ndembu people and the rites. The most important element in the rite is the symbol, so Turner pays special attention to symbolic forms.

Apart from rites and symbols, there is also the concept of "community", which is the subject of Victor Turner's studies. Community is a key concept that exists when exploring the theory of Liminality. According to Turner community occurs in Liminality. The relationships that occur between concrete and direct individuals in the liminality phase are experienced as community. In other words, the social form of Liminality is Community.

In this section, we will look at three important thoughts as Turner's theory, namely, Symbols and Rites, Liminality and his concept of Community.

a) Rite and Symbolic Culture

Symbolic anthropology was popularised by Victor Turner after he conducted ethnographic studies on the Ndembu people in Zambia in Africa for four years,

¹⁴ (Arnold, 1960:34)

from 1950-1954. This Zambia region is located to the north of the Yambesi River - South Central Africa and has 73 tribes classified into eight ethnic groups whose lives are nomadic and prone to conflict. This study of the background of the Ndembu people is very important to see the social systems and ways that exist in that society¹⁵

In addition, the tendency to conduct studies with the locus of society, especially primitive societies, is the result of Emile Durkheim's influence on "Social Cohesion". Durkheim believed that primitive humans gathered due to a primordial need for togetherness by creating totems as symbols of solidarity. The totem is a symbol of the clan as well as a symbol of divinity, so the essence of this bond is religious¹⁶. For Turner, humans are forced at all times to build a social life against the forces in nature that constantly threaten to destroy it¹⁷. This causes ritual ceremonies to have a dominant influence and high value because their functions include reconciling two conflicting principles, as well as the social life of the Ndembu community, which is matrilineal and virilocal. Second, the Rite also unites society and people, and third, it builds solidarity¹⁸. According to Turner, almost every week, the sounds of ritual rhythms are heard. The ritual in question is formal behavior that is directed to events that contain belief in supernatural beings or powers, not technological routines¹⁹. Rites are the main bond between people and between groups and play a very important role in Ndembu society.

According to Turner, there are two types of Rites, namely, Life Crisis Rites and "Disruption" Rites. This Life Crisis Rite aims to accompany the life crises experienced by humans, including initiation ceremonies for both men and women. The initiation ceremony for men is collective, while for women, it is private. The purpose of this ceremony is to instill ethnic or community group values for boys and to prepare for marriage for girls. Disturbance ritual is related to certain conditions experienced by the Ndembu people, such as bad luck in hunting, reproductive disorders in women and other forms of illness. Forms of disturbance rites include hunting ceremonies, fertility ceremonies and healing

¹⁵ (Winangun Wartaya W.Y, 1990:15)

¹⁶ (Giddens, 2005:50)

¹⁷ (Liam D Murphy&, 2018:120)

¹⁸ (Winangun Wartaya W.Y, 1990:17)

¹⁹ (Victor, 1969:19)

ceremonies. Therefore, the role of rites in all activities of the Ndembu community is very closely related to social life, especially with the unity of the Ndembu community. This happens according to Turner because each person is allowed to express his feelings during the implementation of the rite. Thus, the involvement of the community in the ritual is very prominent.

Turner's understanding of the Rites cannot be separated from his understanding of symbols. The symbol is the smallest unit of the ritual that still retains the special characteristics of the ritual's behavior. Symbols are also the final unit of special structure in ritual contexts²⁰. Symbols for Turner are manifestations of rites because without studying the symbols used in rites, it is difficult for us to understand rites and their society. Therefore, the symbols that Turner learns here are ritual symbols, especially among the Ndembu people. According to Winangun, symbol is an important thing in Turner's thinking related to rites²¹. Because the symbol is a vehicle for solidarity, this is regulated. Symbols are instruments or equipment used by people to achieve certain goals, namely, the reproduction of a social order²².

Symbols and signs for Turner are used in the same sense but also sometimes in different meanings. A symbol is "anything that is generally considered to symbolise or represent or remember something in nature by having an analogous or associative quality that exists in reality or thought²³." These symbols are observed empirically in the field as objects, activities, social relations, events, gestures, and spatial units in ritual situations. The clear difference between symbols and signs, according to Turner, is that symbols stimulate someone's feelings, while signs do not have stimulating properties. The symbol participates in the meaning and power that is symbolised, while the sign does not participate in the reality that is signified. In addition, symbols tend to be multivocal (pointing to many meanings), while signs tend to be unifocal.

Turner then shows the characteristics of the symbol, namely, multifocal, polarisation and unification. Multivocal means having many meanings.

²⁰ (Victor, 1969:19)

²¹ (Winangun Wartaya W.Y, 1990:16-17)

²² (Murphy, 2018:121)

²³ (Winangun Wartaya W.Y, 1990:18)

Polarisation refers to conflicting meanings that are grouped into physical or sensory meanings (oratic poles) and ideological or normative meanings. For example, the Mudyi tree (milk tree) is the dominant symbol in the Nkang'a rite (a rite referring to a pubescent woman). Oratic meaning refers to the meaning of the breasts, which are related to milk. The normative meaning refers more to the mother-child relationship. The meaning of unification or unification. Against these symbols Turner emphasised that these cannot be thought of in abstraction or as mere terms but must be seen as living, involved in the process of social, cultural and religious life of the Ndembu tribe.

Related to that, there are three dimensions of the meaning of the symbol, namely, first, the exegetical dimension. This dimension includes the interpretation given by the original informant to the researcher. These explanations or interpretations are classified according to the social characteristics or qualifications of the informants. Second, the operational dimension includes not only the interpretation expressed verbally but also what is shown to observers and researchers. Therefore, the symbol needs to be seen in what context the symbol is used. Third is the positional dimension, meaning that the symbols have many meanings and have a relationship with one another. Having a positional dimension means that the meaning of the symbols comes from their relation to other symbols. For Turner, these three dimensions of symbol meaning must be taken into account if we are to analyse ritual symbols.

b) Liminality Theory

Liminality is an important aspect of the rite that comes from the Latin, 'limen' means 'doorway'. Liminality is adopted from the concept of Arnold Van Gennep, who talks about the ritual process in his work *The Ritual Passage* (1959). Van Gennep, as explained above, argues that ritual involves an individual's journey from one social order to another by undergoing three stages, namely, the rites separation or preliminal, liminal or transition stages and the stage of merging or recombining, incorporation or reintegration²⁴.

In the transitional or liminal stage, the ritual subject experiences an ambiguous state, namely, 'not there or not here', so that it is interpreted as

²⁴ (Koentjaraningrat, 1993:77)

'transition' and is transitional in nature ²⁵. In addition, according to Turner, liminality is the stage where people experience a state of no different. That is, he experienced something different from the circumstances of everyday life. Turner calls this state an 'antistructural' experience. Liminality is also often equated with death, being in the womb, being invisible, in the midst of darkness, in the middle of a desert, and with an eclipse of the sun or moon. Here they have nothing ²⁶.

Victor Turner's move led Thomassen to judge that Viktor Turner had discovered the importance of the concept of Liminality by freeing Van Gennep's framework from the influence of functionalist and structuralist approaches (to a processual approach) ²⁷. The process approach is that Turner not only applies Liminality in the implementation of ceremonies or rites but also conducts an analysis of society. He did this because, first, in liminality, one experiences the basic experience as a human being increases; second, liminality becomes a stage of formative reflection. This means that in this stage, the subject of the ritual is given time to reflect on the teachings and customs. By reflecting, he is formed as a new member of society. Third, from this theory, community theory is developed ²⁸. In line with Winangun, the author sees an affirmation of the differences in the approaches of Van Gennep and Turner in understanding rites of passage, namely, first, Van Genep only emphasises external changes, namely, social status, which is complemented by rites. Turner emphasises the mental, moral and cognitive changes that occur. Second, van Genep only observes the social aspect of the liminal state, while Turner observes the deconstructive and reconstructive processes of rites. Turner focuses on the properties of Symbols that are forgotten, alien and *amorphous* ²⁹. This analysis was then used by Victor Turner to see and observe the rites that exist in the Ndembu community.

With the help of Van Gennep's analytical framework as mentioned above, Victor Turner said that a three-stage pattern is also found in the rituals of the Ndembu people. Because of this, Liminality has such rich characteristics that it

²⁵ (Victor, 1965:95)

²⁶ (Victor, 1969:95)

²⁷ (Thomassen Bjorn, 2009:14)

²⁸ (Winangun Wartaya W.Y, 1990:31)

²⁹ (Winangun Wartaya W.Y, 1990:31)

provides its own perspective in the life of society and culture today³⁰. The three stages of the transition Rite can be explained as follows:

- **The first stage:** the stage of separation (preliminal) is defined as a transition from the phenomenal world to the sacred world. There is a separation from the profane realm to the sacred realm. These acts or signs of separation are shown as ritual subjects are separated in specially prepared huts. This is intended as a form of preparation of the heart and mind to face the holy of holies.

- **Second stage:** the liminal stage is defined as the stage where the subject experiences a different situation from the phenomenal world. He was in an ambiguous situation that was neither here nor there. He's in the middle. Turner describes two rooms that are separated by closed doors (Liminal means the doorway. People/doors of the ritual seem not to be here or there). Not in one room nor in another room. In this stage, actually the performer of the ritual is included in a period of formulation, a situation that is different from the everyday world. They learn lessons that are very useful whether in living together or with other people. The liminal stage is a reflective and formative stage because it is an opportunity for the ritual subject to realise and self-reflect as a stage to become a new member, to become an adult member of society³¹. In other words, this liminal stage is also the stage of human self -formation because this is where humans experience a basis for life to be actualised in everyday life. There is similarity here, there is spontaneity, continuity and finally a personal connection. The symbols used in this stage are anti-structural to indicate differences from the everyday world, which usually distinguishes one structure from another so that people experience differences. In this stage, the subject of the ritual is confronted with himself as a reality that must be processed. It is in this liminal stage that people finally become aware of their life in depth, not only because they experience it more critically of their experiences but also because this is where humans experience formation (formative). In other words, this liminal stage is a formative reflection stage.

- **The third stage:** Reaggregation (reintegration) is experienced by ritual subjects to be reunited with everyday living people. After experiencing self-

³⁰ (Victor, 1969:31)

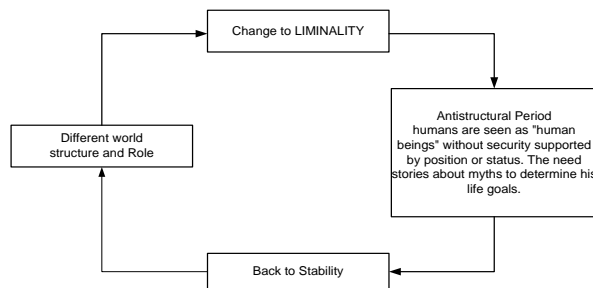
³¹ (Winangun Wartaya W.Y, 1990:39-43)

awareness and a period of formative reflection, he (ritual subject) is invited to become an ordinary member of society again. The subject of the ritual acquired new values through his life in the liminal period. He has had a fundamental experience for humans because he has realised himself as a person who is able to stand alone and by society has received a place and position and status in accordance with the purpose of the rites held. After this stage, the subject of the ritual returns to the ordinary everyday society (society).

With a liminal experience, according to Victor Turner, that person will be able to precipitate all the experiences that exist within him to increasingly remember his own life through teachings and customs that are increasingly internalised. Instructions from the elders/elders must be obeyed as a sign of the ability in his life to carry out the customs of the community and its teachings. Returning to society means that the subject of the ritual has brought what he has obtained in the liminal stage.

Figure 1:

Humans in Liminal experience according to Victor Turner



This phenomenon of Liminality was then developed by Viktor Turner for the symptoms that appear in today's society. First he did it to the Ndembu people, then he applied it to others. In other societies, it turns out that there is this Liminality phenomenon. This phenomenon with certain characteristics, such as spiritual subjects, experiences an ambiguous nature because it is not included in the social structure. He is in the midst of being marked by laws, customs, covenants and ceremonies.

For Victor Turner, human life is a movement in a world where there are differences in roles and status through experience and back into everyday society. In other words, humans move from societal culture to community culture through liminality and finally return to societal culture. This is illustrated in the schematic below.

Viktor Turner's theory of Liminality led him to examine the cultural processes and conditions of today's society, which he associated with what he called 'liminoids'. The concepts of Limanality and Liminoid are sharply distinguished by Victor Turner. Liminality is associated with tribal rites in preindustrial times (preindustrial society). Meanwhile, the Liminoid concept is related to the development of postindustrial society. In other words, Liminality is associated with rites held by tribal communities before the development of industry. Liminoid is associated with leisure time (leisure). After a day of work, people need free time to refresh and rest.

c) Community

For Victor Turner, community is the basic concept that emerges in his study of rites. In fact, this is a key concept, as it springs from his theory of Liminality. According to Turner, community occurs in Liminality³². The relationship that occurs between concrete and direct individuals in the phase of liminality is experienced as a Community³³. In other words, the social form of Liminality is Community. In Martin Buber's terms, the Community is an I-Thou relation³⁴. The community comes from the Latin: 'communitas' which can be interpreted as "fellowship".

For Turner, the community situation is the result of the social situation experienced by the ritual subject collectively in addition to the ambiguous situation. The social aspect here refers to the relationship that occurs between concrete individuals from the ritual subject. The situation of the community that is studied is truly different from the situation of everyday life. In everyday life, interpersonal relationships are experienced within structures, whereas in

³² Victor, *The Ritual Process*.

³³ (Victor, 1969:131-132)

³⁴ (Victor, 1969:131-132)

communities, relationships are experienced as anti-structural. This is not something negative, but positive. This means that it does not contain good or bad judgments. Community is not seen as a top-down structure but is seen as a reality of concrete interpersonal relationships that have experienced 'transcendence'. This experience is experienced when it goes beyond different symptoms or phenomena. For Turner, it is not just instinctual energy or good feelings among friends, but community that is essentially human and the way humans are in the world. Therefore, the community concerns awareness and will, with its anti-structural characteristics, namely, indistinguishable, equalitarian, direct, existing, nonrational, existential and I-Thou (Buber)³⁵ There are three kinds of community, namely, spontaneous or existential community, normative community and ideological community³⁶.

It is this fact that Viktor Turner, in his research on rites, liminality and community, is not limited to the rites of passage in Ndembu but also includes the symptoms of today's culture and society. The manifestation of the community is manifested in movements that are currently emerging and cultural phenomena,

³⁵ The characteristics of the Community are: 1) the community is indistinguishable, because the relationship experienced is an indistinguishable interpersonal relationship. This relationship is different from everyday society where interpersonal differences are very prominent because of the social structure. 2) Equalitarian characteristics (sameness) because of those interpersonal relationships that experience and feel similarities and are at the same level. 3) The next characteristic is that personal relationships within the community are also direct without intermediaries. In addition, interpersonal contact within the community is livelier, because an atmosphere of openness and sincerity is always maintained. 4) Relationships that occur in the community are also characterised as nonrational, because they refer to the dominant function of feeling or intuition. 5) Community also has existential characteristics, because interpersonal relationships involve human existence. 6) According to Turner, a striking feature that should not be overlooked is anti-structure. The community occurs when the social structure does not exist. In the community the rules and categories that exist in the structure do not apply. See Winangun:1990, 48-50

³⁶ First, spontaneous or existential community is a form of direct, immediate and total confrontation of human identity which tends to make human experience as a group that is homogeneous, unstructured and free. Spontaneous community has something magical, and is a phase, a moment and not a permanent condition. Second, the normative community, due to the influence of time to mobilise and organise resources and the need for social control among group members so that the community develops towards community. This community is not the same as a structural group which has utilitarian reasons, that is, the group is seen from its use, but this community arises from the experience of brotherhood which does not emphasise its use. Third, the ideological community is an attempt to describe external influences and can be seen from the inner experience of the existential community and an attempt to say the optimal conditions in which this community may develop. See : Turner: 1969, 132; Winangun: 1990, 51-52

such as in rites of passage in the Ndembu community, in millennial movements, in monastic monasteries, in counter culture, and in pilgrimages.

Viktor Turner also distinguishes between two modalities of relations that occur in society, namely, society as a "structure" and society as a "community". The structure in question is the relations that occur between humans of different positions, resulting in distance, inequalities between humans and even leading to exploitation between humans and humans, men against women, and the old against the young. For this reason, Viktor Turner uses the term anti-structural to distinguish it from structure. The meaning is not negative but something positive, namely, the categories used in the social structure do not apply because everything happens spontaneously and is contrary to existing rules. As if without rules. This anti-structural characteristic becomes dominant in the community. With this feature, it can be seen that the relationship model that occurs in the community is different from the relationship model that exists in everyday society.

The research conducted by Viktor Turner is not limited to rites, liminalities and communities that are only limited to the rites of transition that exist in the Ndembu community but also includes symptoms of culture and society today. For Turner, community manifestations can appear in movements or in cultural phenomena. According to him, there are at least five community manifestations, namely, in the rites of Transition in the Ndembu community, in millenarian movements (for example, entuasm, millenarian, hietical (related to heresy), revitalistic, messianic and separatist), in monastic monasteries (for example, the Franciscan order and the Carelitte), in counterculture (for example, the hippie generation, i.e., organisations whose members are youth and youth who exist outside social rules and status ties) and in pilgrimage.

3. Religion According To Emile Durkheim

The search for religious theory will be focused on Emile Durkheim because "religion according to him is a belief system with complete behaviors and always associated with the sacred, namely, things that are set aside and forbidden - beliefs and practices that unite all people who adhere to and believing these things into

one moral community called the Church, to which all people are subject"³⁷. Therefore, the theory refers more to a certain moral entity, namely, Christianity. Relatedly, to discuss Durkheim's thoughts on religion, the author will examine three main points: 1) The background of his thoughts on religion and society. 2) studies on Totemism, and 3) studies on religion and society from the perspective of the Sacred and the Profan.

These three studies aim to understand the outlines of Durkheim's understanding of the origins of religion from the most basic elements and try to understand Durkheim's thoughts from a sociological perspective, specifically the sacred and profane concepts related to the existence of society itself. Durkheim's understanding is important because his mind developed together with Arnold Van Gennep studying the theory of Liminality. Apart from that, the search will also examine religion in its primitive form up to the concept of religion in general. This does not mean that the author ignores the understanding of religion initiated by Karl Marx, Weber and others. However, what Durkheim did more or less intersect with the concept of Gennep or Turner, so that this understanding of Liminality is at least illustrated by this problem.

4. Nationality

The third concept in the author's theoretical approach is the concept of "nationality". The connotation of "nationality" in question is an attempt to understand the theory of "nation and nationalism", which is recognised as one of the unifying factors in broader kinship bonds. The nation differs from other forms of kinship, such as the family, because of territorial centralisation. It also differs from other territorial communities, such as tribes, city-states or various other ethnic groups, not only because of its larger territorial area but also because of its relatively uniform culture, providing continued stability over time ³⁸. Here, the author will focus on the theoretical study of Ernest Gellner regarding the theory of nationality because Gellner is a philosopher who is interested in classical nationalism that appears in the context of preindustrial society or

³⁷ (Durkheim, 2011:80)

³⁸ (Stefen GR, 2018:9)

industrialisation. This is done through a historical approach. This does not ignore the theory of other experts who contributed to this paper.

5. Definitions: Nationalism, State and Nation

Ernest Gellner considers these three things important, namely, nationalism, state and nation, because the conception of nationalism is closely related to the concept of nation and state. He uses the term nationalism everywhere, including when he talks about negative manifestations of national aggression or *xenophobia*.³⁹ However, from a theoretical point of view, the term is used in a clear sense, namely, by defining nationalism⁴⁰ as the overriding principle that political and national units must be in harmony” and as “the general imposition of a high culture on society, where a previously low culture has taken over the life of the majority. , and in some cases totality, the population. This meant the common dissemination of school-mediated, academy-supervised, codified idioms to fairly precise bureaucratic and technological communication requirements. It is the establishment of an anonymous impersonal society, with mutually atomised individuals, united primarily by a shared culture of this kind, replacing the previously complex local group structure, sustained by a folk culture that is reproduced locally and privileged by the group itself. This understanding led Gellner to an assessment of the principle of nationalism related to territorial boundaries or political boundaries, as well as the status of foreigners within the region. In short, nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy in which "ethnic boundaries may not cross political boundaries and ethnic boundaries within a country should not separate power holders from other people"⁴¹.

³⁹ Xenophobia is the dislike or fear of people from other countries, or who are perceived as foreign. Some definitions state that xenophobia is formed from irrationality and nonsense. Derived from the Greek ξένος (*xenos*), meaning "foreigner", and φόβος (*phobos*), meaning "fear". <https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xenophobia>

⁴⁰ Nationalism is an ideology and a movement that promotes the interests of a particular nation (as in a group of people) primarily with the aim of gaining and maintaining national sovereignty (self-governance) over its homeland. Nationalism argues that each nation should govern itself, free from outside interference (self-determination), that a nation is the natural and ideal basis for a state, and that nation is the only legitimate source of political power (sovereignty). people).

⁴¹ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1983).

In Gellner's definition of the state, he refers to Max Weber, namely, the state as an institution in society that has legitimacy for the monopoly of violence.⁴² For Weber, coercion of this will has become human nature, so according to Gellner, it fits perfectly with the moral intuitions of many modern societies, but even this, according to him, is unsatisfactory. Because of that, some of Weber's assessments can be proven, but some are not. Because there are several countries that do not enforce a monopoly on violence but are still referred to as states, they continue to carry out their obligations.

This reference to the monopoly of violence for Gellner is related to aspects of government-centred power as in Western countries, which can control violence by regulating labour and employment, aspects of justice, the existence of law enforcement officers and others. Therefore, for Gellner, the state is a distinctive elaboration between society and government, and the 'state' is an institution or a group of institutions that specifically focuses on upholding order and justice and has been separated from the social life of society. Gellner's explanation is actually based on his main thesis by looking at this development as a process experienced in the history of mankind that passed through three historical stages, namely, preagrarian, agricultural and industrial. The choice for a state has existed since the beginning but has begun to be seen as a necessity in the agrarian, postagrarian/industrial and modern phases. According to Gellner, the state exists here because of a shared will to form the state as the first choice. In this phase, the development of nationalism appears along with the existence of the state.

For the state and the nation, for Gellner, the nation does not create nationalism but rather nationalism, which creates the nation, while democracy creates the state and government⁴³. The orientation of the nation's citizens is no longer to have a nation-state as a common home in diversity but to prefer a common home economically.

⁴² Max Weber still agreed with the Marxist analysis of the state, but he himself regarded a classless society as a utopia or just a dream. Weber rejected Marx's criticism of the capitalist system and saw little difference between a socialist society dominated by bureaucratic elites and a capitalist system dominated by the bourgeoisie. For Weber, the state is a human relationship that dominates humans, such as a relationship that is supported by the means of violence.

⁴³ (Ernest Gellner, 1983:1,168)

1. Culture and Nationalism

Gellner understands that nationalism "occurs because of the mastery of high culture in a society that previously had a low/traditional culture. This mastery occurs because of the progress of literacy, which is caused by a small group of people who can read or write. These were the nobility (feudal), clergy/clergy, and military groups. Because of this, Gellner believes that in an agrarian society, two things stand out, namely, the existence of letters/literacy and clergy⁴⁴. In fact, this also causes Gellner to distinguish between what is called the great tradition and the little tradition. The great tradition refers to the ability possessed by clergy or aristocrats with varied education to centrally organise education and culture (the clergy) or political centralisation, which is the forerunner to the formation of the state. This is what Gellner sees as two very important and special forms of division of labour, namely, the centralisation of power and the centralisation of culture/cognition, which has consequences for social stratification in society.

For Gellner, in the agro-literacy tradition, the ruling class forms a small group of the population and is separate from ordinary people or farmers. Apart from the ruling class, there are also other layers formed by specialisation, namely, military groups, clergy/clergy, etc. The formation of these groups, according to Gellner, allows cultural differentiation to occur both horizontally and laterally. In short, according to Gellner, culture is well developed but refers more to cultural differentiation. There is no attempt at horizontal homogenisation of culture or cultural imperialism for political purposes. There is only a homogenisation of (*clerical*) fiscal and military doctrines. Here, culture and power do not go together. There is no expression of political culture; even if there is, it is only secondary.

2. Nationalism: Transition from an agrarian society to industry

In industrial society, there is constant growth and absolute mobility of the population. There is equality both in efforts to have access to any social function, as well as the language used. All members of a nation must be able to understand

⁴⁴ The term "clergy" (from Greek: *kleros*, English: clergy) is not only used by Catholics by other churches, such as the Orthodox and some old Protestant sects. Within the Catholic Church itself, clergy refer to those who receive ordination, deacons, priests and bishops, who have a special duty in religious practice than the laity. They are given a portion of office (according to the meaning of the original word) according to the hierarchy in the Church to be able to serve the people according to their function and authority.

each other. Cultural pluralism disappears, and only certain cultures survive. Gellner supports the idea of a collective society outlined by Renan, but he understands this only as an industrial society that produces nationalism. Hence, the scheme of the industrial age is State - Culture. Behind this standardisation was the need to confront what Emile Durkheim called the Division of Labor. This division is based on the idea that specialisation leads to higher dignity and morals. For Durkheim, these are characteristics of the complex societies in which community is generated.

With specialisation and a standardised life, education is necessary. Education is an obligation in society, and public education facilities are opened by the state, which is separate from society, as one of the moral obligations to distribute high culture. Culture here is not secondary but rather forms the basis for a certain social order (industrial, modern, etc.). As said above, this is the central idea of the Weberian scheme used by Gellner, namely, educational monopoly. Thus, the legal monopoly of education becomes more important for the state than the legitimate monopoly of violence. Here, we can see the roots of nationalism in a new social order that cannot be avoided as a form of linkage between state and culture. This connection led Gellner to define nationalism as an attempt to ensure that culture and country are the same and that culture has a political umbrella but only from one political entity.

Another important issue that Gellner points out is that high culture is not related to issues of religion and church institutions. Society worships itself and its culture directly and not through religion. He did not mean that modern society must be atheistic but that the role of the church had changed. According to Gellner, high culture must become secular to apply to all who live in that area. Therefore, the state exists to ensure the implementation of an efficient high culture. High culture has aspirations to become the basis for a new nation. Thus, according to Gellner, improving and supporting communication with the standard education system is in the hands of the state. For Gellner, the basis of the new state was a universal high culture, made possible by cultural and state connections.

Effective and potential nationalism for Gellner at least has a potential shared cultural value as an agrarian or other cultural heritage with the hope of building a homogeneous industrial community. The implication is that it is difficult to determine which nationalism is successful and which is not. For Gellner, nationalism is a very influential force in the modern world. Nationalism also sets

a kind of requirement to become a modern state. However, very few potential countries are strong enough to achieve modernity standards and under the umbrella of statehood and politics.

Another important issue that Gellner points out is that high culture is not related to issues of religion and church institutions. Society worships itself and its culture directly and not through religion. He did not mean that modern society must be atheistic but that the role of the church had changed. According to Gellner, high culture must become secular to apply to all who live in that area. Therefore, the state exists to ensure the implementation of an efficient high culture. High culture has aspirations to become the basis for a new nation. Thus, according to Gellner, improving and supporting communication with the standard education system is in the hands of the state. For Gellner, the basis of the new state was a universal high culture, made possible by cultural and state connections.

Effective and potential nationalism for Gellner at least has a potential shared cultural value as an agrarian or other cultural heritage with the hope of building a homogeneous industrial community. The implication is that it is difficult to determine which nationalism is successful and which is not. For Gellner, nationalism is a very influential force in the modern world. Nationalism also sets a kind of requirement to become a modern state. However, very few potential countries are strong enough to achieve modernity standards and under the umbrella of statehood and politics.

What was initiated by this could happen because Gellner analysed nationalism from a historical perspective. He saw the history of humanity culminating in the discovery of modernity, nationalism being the main functional element. Modernity, through changes in political and economic systems, is linked to the popularisation of education, which, in turn, is linked to the unification of languages. However, as modernisation spread around the world, it did so slowly, and in many places, cultural elites were able to resist cultural assimilation and managed to maintain their own cultures and languages.

D. Conclusion

From the explanation of the theoretical concepts of Liminality, religion and nationality, in the end, the writer arrives at the following conclusions:

The experience of human liminality not only occurs in religious ceremonies or rites but is also found in everyday life. Within this liminality, there is the experience of "community", which is a fundamental experience for humans. By Viktor Turner's experience, Community is seen as a social form of Liminality and that is a relationship that is concrete, direct and anti-structural. In the experience of the human community, they experience equality and have social relations, but these relations do not cause differences.

Human relations with rituals or religious ceremonies are related to crises in social life in society. Victor Turner understands that humans are not static but evolve. In this development, humans are also seen as beings who move from one stage to the next. Humans are also understood as a process, so it does not happen all at once. Therefore, the rites that are carried out encourage people to do and obey certain social orders. For Victor Turner, rites have a role in society, including eliminating conflict and building social solidarity in society.

The basic thoughts of Durkheim's sociology about religion when assessing society as a reality, namely, that the goal of religion is not to help humans relate to God but to help individuals relate to each other. The same goes for religious rituals helping people develop a sense of community; for example, they take part in ceremonies of marriage, birth, and death, which unite the group by way of religious contraction.

Religion is an essential factor for social identity and integration, so religion places more emphasis on social elements that produce social solidarity. Religion is a system of collective self-interpretation, a system of symbols by which society can become self-aware. Religion is a projection of society itself on human consciousness; as long as society continues, religion will continue, and society will continue to produce symbols of its collective self-understanding, thereby creating religion.

Potential nationalism or nationality is due to shared cultural values as an agrarian cultural heritage with the hope of building a homogeneous community entity. These community entities are expected to be equal to be able to live together in a bond in the midst of the nation and state. Rousseau introduces a type called civil religion, which he interprets as a loyalty of citizens who are bound by a social contract that they build themselves to achieve together their general will, namely, justice. and common welfare. If the general will is well understood and

has transcendental value, then it is the duty of every citizen to carry out his duties properly so that they are useful to others.

The substantial value as the meeting point of the three theories above, "liminality, religion and nationality", is social "equality", which needs to be studied more deeply.[]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arnold, Van Gennep, *Rites the Passage* (London, 1960)
- Durkheim, Emile, *The Elementary of the Religious Life, Sejarah Bentuk Agama-Agama* (Jokjakarta: IRCiSod, 2011)
- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1983)
- Giddens, Anthony. Dkk, *La Siciologie: Historie et Idees*, ed. by R Ninik Terj, Sjam (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2005)
- Gunawan, I, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 2013)
- Hariato GP, *Pendidikan Agama Kristen Dalam Alkitab & Dunia Pendidikan Masa Kini*, 16th edn (Yogyakarta: Andi Offset Yogyakarta, 2012)
- James P, Spradley, *Metode Etnografi*, II (Jokjakarta: Tiara Wacana Jokjakarta, 2007)
- Koentjaraningrat, *Ritus Peralihan Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1993)
- , *Sejarah Teori Antropologi I*, (Jakarta: Jakarta II Press, 1987)
- Murphy, Ericksen Paul A & Liam D, *History of Anthropological Theory*. Terj. Izzati N Mutia; *Sejarah Teori Antropolog* (Yogyakarta, 2018)
- Stefen GR, *Nasionalisme: Makna Bangsa, Ibu Pertiwi, Fatherland Dan Atanah Air* (Surabaya: Ecosystem pubh, 2018)
- Sudibyo, Surachman; Rachmad Rachmat dan Supardi, *METODOLOGI PENELITIAN, Journal of Petrology*, I (Jakarta: Kementrian Kesehatan RI, 2016), I <<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>>
- Thomassen Bjorn, 'International Political Anthropology', II.1 (2009), 14
- Victor, Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969)

———, *The Ritual Process* (Ithaca: New York: Cornell University Press, 1965)

Winangun Wartaya W.Y, *Masyarakat Bebas Struktur: Liminalitas Dan Komunitas Menurut Viktor Turner*, (Jokjakarta: Kaisius, 1990)

