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## RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE IN THE INDONESIAN DEMOCRATIC ERA

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### ABSTRACT

*The Indonesian democratic era has provided hope for the growth of mutual social practices established upon diversity of ethnicity, religions, race, and inter-group relations. Yet, in the last decade, various forms of violence were often carried out on behalf of religion instead. These acts of violence were not only physical but also psychological (cultural), in the forms of discrimination, abuse, expulsion, insult, and threat. The Ahmadiyya and Shia cases, for instance, provide an outlook regarding the prevalence of violence within social practices in the community in response to differences. Why does such violence remain to occur in Indonesia? The work finds that, aside from a 'failed understanding of religious texts', excessive truth claim also triggers acts of religious violence in the current era of Indonesian democracy. It is of utmost importance that people's understanding and interpretation of differences be set straight so that any response to differences can be considered as an embryo of national power that serves as an instrument employed for uniting the people of this nation instead of disuniting them. It is also strongly indicated by the work that religious violence may be avoided by changing the understanding of the meaning of differences.*

**Keywords:** religious, violence, diversity, democratic, era

### INTRODUCTION

The reality of diverse ethnicities, races, and religions found in Indonesia is a blessing that makes for more complete and dynamic order in life. The diversity of this nation has evolved and developed into the strong pillar that it is until this day. During the pre-independence era, the diverse entities of the region became united into fight against the colonialists. However, such diversity does indeed bear consequences in the relational patterns of each element, particularly regarding the relations of religions (read: religious followers). Aside from established compromises that led us to harmony, there

were also contestation and even violence/conflict which followed along this nation's journey. Historically speaking, religious diversity in Indonesia has undergone highly varying and fluctuating relations in which it is at times interspersed by violence that largely resulted in numerous casualties and losses of both lives and wealth.

Some of the cases which had occurred in the past two decades were those found in Poso, Ambon<sup>1</sup>, Papua, and Sambas along with other cases which emphasize that interreligious relationship in Indonesia experiences a stage that waxes and wanes. The open conflict between Islam and Christianity becomes a phenomenon that is often observed in Indonesia's religious 'contestation'. The case of Maluku is one of significant conflicts in Indonesia which brought huge damages in facilities and societies. This case also demonstrated that a conflict involved many players. John Braithwaite and Leah Dunn (2010:195) found that Ambonese Christian and Muslim youth gangs in Jakarta and Ambon, Indonesian military, Indonesian police especially Brimob, Laskar Jihad, Laskar Mujahidin, Laskar Kristus and other militias, and Moluccan politicians playing with religiously based political game were the key-war making actors. They also concluded that "Maluku is the first of a number of Indonesian case that are challenging our starting theory that reconciliation without truth is not possible.

The current Indonesian contemporary-democratic era should not be littered by inter- and intra-religious contestations that lead to conflict, but it should be more accommodating and open to mutual compromise for the sake of attaining a more harmonious and humanistic Indonesian society at all levels of life. It seems that romanticism toward either intra- or inter-religious relations is merely an 'empty memory' when referring to the various occurring cases of violence. These acts of violence involving followers of the same religion or of different ones continue to happen. Why is that so? This article attempts to discuss the question by starting to provide the cases of religiously motivated violence in Indonesia.

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<sup>1</sup>Jacques Bertrand (2002) observes that violence or conflict in Ambon does not stand alone, and it's not purely caused by religion. He opines that problems of economy, politics, and past history also triggered violence to happen there. During the colonial era, Christianity was the dominant group and they had control over almost all sectors of life. Muslims were the marginal group at the time. This condition was subsequently overturned when Indonesia gained independence, wherein Christian dominance has since been gradually taken over by the Muslim group.

## RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE IN NUMBERS

The Wahid Foundation (Institute), Setara Institute, and Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS) periodically provide information and data analyses concerning religious violence in Indonesia. According to the data, phenomena of violence involving religions have repeatedly occurred with similar patterns. Setara Institute in 2016 showed that throughout 2015, as many as 197 incidents relating to violence involved religious groups either internally or externally. Christians (29 incidents) and Shia followers (31 incidents) were the groups that mostly became victims of violence/protests (Setara Institute, 2016). The most dominant type of violence confronted by the two groups were violations in the form of forcing a belief or forcing to conduct religious teachings. The burning of the Saman Church in Bantul, Yogyakarta and the demolition of three churches in the regency of Aceh Singkil are some examples of the incidents.

The Wahid Institute also presents various incidents of violence experienced by certain religious groups. For instance, in 2015, there were 158 incidents with 187 acts and a number of these cases involved state or non-state actors (Laporan Tahunan, 2015:12). The amount above showed a 12% drop than previous year. The types of violation also varied, such as sealing off house of worship, criminalization, and discrimination based on religion, accusation as heretical sect, and intimidation of certain religious group. The perpetrators of violence were from various elements, including religious institutions, mass organizations, the masses, and other organizations.

The Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS) periodically launches a report pertaining to religious life in Indonesia. In 2008, conflicts relating to house of worship remain prevalent. There were 14 cases relating to house of worship such as destruction, prohibition of worship, dismissal during worship, demolition, conflict of religious followers, residents' refusal of religious activities, and stopping activities of worship (CRCS, 2009: 18-20). In 2009, CRCS reported 25 cases relating to discourses on heretics and religious blasphemy, and 20 similar cases in 2012 (CRCS, 2012: 59-65).

In 2010, CRCS launched issues relating to houses of worship. Since January to December 2010, there had been 20 cases of violence in relation to houses of worship, such as destruction, eviction of religious followers, burning of houses of worship, and even demand for imprisoning certain religious figures. In 2011, the number of violence relating to houses of worship had risen to 36 cases (CRCS, 2011: 48-53).

The cases of violence above generally involved Christianity and Islam. Cases prohibiting the building of churches, dismissing Christians' services,

attacks on Christians became another ‘color’ of religious life in recent years. In addition to violence concerning other religions (Christianity), issues involving the Ahmadiyya sect were also quite prevalent during the 2000s. CRCS stated that in 2009, there were 11 cases relating to Ahmadiyya. The public’s demand regarding the Ahmadiyya sect was varied, some demanded them to be dispersed, completely banned, monitored, and even consecration of Ahmadiyya followers by renouncing their faith and converting to mainstream Islam. Acts of violence are still experienced by Ahmadiyya followers today (2017) by means of various patterns.

In 2015, religious conflicts were varied as politics had become infused into them. Religious politicization emerged in many forms such as the use of houses of worship as campaign media and the use of the anti-Shia issue in campaigns which were among methods used by certain regional head candidates to gain more electorates as is the case in Sampang, Madura, East Java (CRCS, 2015: 17). This case provides an outlook in which the use of identity, including Shia, still adorns the map of both local and national politics.

## TRIGGERS OF RELIGIOUS VIOLENCE

In any religious tradition, claims of truth and the superiority of one’s religion constantly arise as it is an essential part of the construction of faith. As accentuated in Islam that, *“Indeed, the religion in the sight of Allah is Islam”* (QS. Ali Imran: 19) and *“And whoever desires other than Islam as a religion – never will it be accepted from him, and he, in the Hereafter, will be among the losers”* (QS. Ali Imran: 85). The verses above emphasize a ‘single’ form of truth that solely belongs to Islam. Such claim is constantly maintained and institutionalized through various media such as forum for religious studies, learning, speeches, and other media as an effort to strengthen the followers’ faith concerning the truth of their religious teaching. This may be interpreted as a claim of absolute truth.

Every religious follower is even ‘obligated’ to embrace such attitude and it is not considered a mistake because such effort or attitude is carried out for the sake of ‘justifying’ the follower’s choice in the religion adhered to. However, a grave problem will come to surface when outsiders are coerced to follow what is believed to be the truth. Preaching one’s religion may indeed be the obligation of every religious follower, but it should be conducted elegantly (in the Quran it is mentioned to be done through *hikmah* or wisdom) and countering (opposing) opinions should also be done through proper means. It is said in the Quran to “Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good instruction, and argue with them in a way that is best...” (QS. An Nahl:

125). This means that the method of *hikmah* (wisdom) serves as a significant indicator in inviting others to follow Islam. It is for this very reason that violent methods or means are not justified.

Truth claim<sup>2</sup> that may become 'excessive' will have an impact in establishing relationships that tend to be closed-minded toward people/group of other religions. Truth claim of one's religion should be equally coupled with openness (inclusivity) and should still provide space for other people/groups to practice what they believe. An exclusive attitude has the potential to bring about suspicion, hate, and the notion that other people/groups are non-existent and they do not have any chance of attaining good. Actually, the humanistic aspect of religion may be approached from the reality that religion is also regarded as a primordial human nature (*fitrah*) that is revealed. This is aimed at fortifying the primordial human nature that is already inherent within the human self. Humanistic values should not be in opposition to religious values, and vice versa (Madjid, 1992: xvi).

Violence often becomes the main option in dealing with differences, wherein one of the triggers is excessive truth claim which might be related to psychological dimension of religious practices (Tomas Lindgren, 2017). Among its causes is the lack of understanding about one's own religion, even narrow-minded understanding which leaves no room for truth of other religions is included. Self righteous attitude (in the context of differing belief/religion) has a clear theological basis. However, a complex issue lies in the 'negation' of other religions and other religious followers. Oddly enough, there are quite a few Islamic followers who condemn or consider their fellow Muslims as infidels (*takfiri*) deserving to be eliminated. People or groups that hold differing views are considered deviants, wrong, conservative, and infidels. They are opposed because they are positioned as people/groups that are outside the 'mainstream Islam'.

In the Indonesian context, the acts of violence experienced by the Jamaah Ahmadiyah Indonesia (JAI) and Shia followers serve as striking cases. Both these groups became easy pickings for certain Islamic groups that are based on different understanding of Islam. Difference of opinion/understanding is actually nothing new in Islam. Differences in Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) were actually quite deep in terms of worshipping practices in the Islamic world.

<sup>2</sup> Aside from truth claim, interpretation of texts also plays a role in making certain group or people to take action. Truth claim and narrow interpretation of texts, both contribute in the progressively strengthening assumption that differences are the source of violence or conflict (Hasse Jubba, 2011). Very textual interpretations tend to provide literal understandings and they are considered insufficient to analyze the phenomena of differences among religious followers today. Regarding the matter, contextual interpretations that do not leave out inherent textual substances are undoubtedly necessary.



There are four main schools of thought (*madhhab*) of imams within *fiqh* that remain to be observed by Muslims today. All four have differing interpretation to ritual matters, but they remain within a single frame of theological understanding. They have the same main source of reference, namely the Quran and Hadith. They have the same *shahada* (Islamic testament of faith) and the same messenger. Yet, they do not blame or condemn each other, let alone consider them as infidels and negate or mutually annihilate each other.

JAI in Kuningan, West Java, for example, was a victim of violence, both violence of physical battery, and discriminative actions, including verbal violence through various inappropriate expletives (Andreas Harsono, 2010). Such was also the case for the Shia group in Sampang, Madura that was attacked in which their mosque and residence were burned. The two groups experienced similar position, wherein they were placed outside of mainstream Islam thereby requiring to be dealt with without due process of law. Vigilantism was instead promoted by conducting these attacks on JAI<sup>3</sup> and Shia groups.

The excuse often used to perpetrate acts of violence against a particular group (including JAI and Shia) is because it is regarded as a 'splintered'<sup>4</sup> or 'deviant' group. This means a group that has separated itself from the common religious teachings (read: mainstream). Herein lies the dimension of 'sin', when a group/sect is immediately considered as being deviant merely due to differences in opinion and argumentation of a religious text, and even merely because of differences in religious practices. The secession of a group from the mainstream standard is not something which instantaneously happens. It is very much influenced by the dynamics of social context. A Shia follower, for instance, may have different understandings to Sunni (mainstream group in Indonesia), but it should at least be positioned as an 'equalizer', instead of a competitor to the majority group.

The advent of Islam itself, was not determined by a single dominant factor, as there were numerous factors which influenced Islam such as social, political, economic factors, and religious tradition. Islam, as do other religions, develops through various means; and its development has brought about many

<sup>3</sup> Ahmadiyya in Indonesia has long become a 'commodity' for debate. A contra attitude toward Ahmadiyya has been observed to occur since 1929 when Muhammadiyah positioned Ahmadiyya (followers) as a faithless group. This continued in 1965 when East Sumatra Ulema issued a fatwa rejecting Ahmadiyya, which was followed by opinion of ulemas in several places emphasizing the similar statement that the teachings of Ahmadiyya are heretical (Crouch, 2008: 7-8).

<sup>4</sup> This term is often stated by Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur). He used this terminology as a translation for "*splinter group*". The word itself has no particular connotation to any religious sect, but it is used for small groups that separates itself (splinters) from a party or social and political organization. The word '*splinter group*', in terms of terminology close to religious matters, relates to the word 'sect' (Ernas in Rajab and Basri, 2016: vi).

differences among its followers (Al Makin, 2016: 123). Islam is also practiced through a variety of ways depending on the selected school of thought. In a number of places in Indonesia, Islamic practices that are different to other places are easily found. They have a different way of expressing Islam because it has infused into the tradition/culture leaving its followers to practice Islam according to the context it is in. However, as Hans Georg Gadamer found, tradition becomes human limitation and it makes human beings not possible to understand something outside their tradition. Therefore, they need to have a dialogue with the others to make their understanding larger than before. This is what he called as *fusion of horizon*. (Gadamer, 1075). Thus, it is impossible to push someone to be exclusivist or inclusivist since human limitation, but the changing is truly possible when someone opens themselves through dialogue and fusion of horizon occurs. One of important things in this case is the awareness that human's ability to understand are limited, thus different understandings are not something disturbing which in turn make people respect to the others (Hidayati, 2010).

The dynamics and escalation of global politics also contribute to the prevalence of various forms of violence conducted on behalf of religion in Indonesia. The various discriminatory actions experienced by Muslims in several corners of the world incited rage within Islamic groups in Indonesia. The most recent case is the eviction of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. This incident immediately triggered responses of many Muslim countries, including Indonesia. The Rohingya case may, arguably, not be a case of religious violence, yet such argument remains difficult to accept. This is because, those being evicted are Muslims and the fact is that they reside in a country of non-Muslim majority. As a response based on Islamic camaraderie, the sympathy of the Muslim world flowed generously. Various acts and rallies were conducted to show solidarity and commitment of defending their Muslim 'brothers & sisters' who are facing violence.

The case of Rohingya Muslims is purely considered as religious violence, instead of a mere domestic issue of a country where it might be the case that religion only plays a small part in the whole incident. Nevertheless, several groups in Indonesia consider the Rohingya case as acts of violence perpetrated upon Muslims living there (see, Bawazir, 2015). This claim is not wrong, since those experiencing violence are indeed Muslims. It is, however, indirectly concluded as a case of religious violence despite there being several factors which led the incident to its current state.

The responses given for cases experienced by Muslims in other countries prove that the world Muslim solidarity remains very strong, although it

may be temporary and casuistic. What is felt and experienced by Muslims in other countries will garner similar response in other Muslim countries, as is often observed in Indonesia. However, these responses are often expressed 'excessively', because the violence experienced by Muslims on the other side of the globe may be dealt with through similar means. Meaning that violence occurring in another place is subsequently countered with 'violence' in Indonesia as well. Ultimately, a non-conducive atmosphere flows vigorously into the country instead because violence is replied with violence although through relatively different means. Such conditions may even be camouflaged in various forms, starting from open violence such as attacks, rallies, and eviction of other groups particularly the minority.

Based on the above explanation, religion and violence or conflict are inseparable. Andreas Hasenclever and Volker Rittberger (2000) present three theoretical perspectives which may be utilized in reading the relation between religion and conflict. *First*, the primordialists argue that religion in itself contains inherent element that leads to conflict. When 'religious conflict' happens, religion is viewed as an independent variable, which is the element that does not depend on other aspects, and the difference in religious identity itself may be enough to stimulate conflict. The JAI and Shia conflicts in Indonesia can be a reference point for this perspective since they are considered to have deviated from mainstream Islam leading them to become a target of violence and trigger for conflict.

Meanwhile, the *second* perspective, the instrumentalists view the role of religion in 'religious conflict' as a mere instrument. Religion has no objective role in and of itself, thus conflict is triggered by the presence of economic and political interests. Religion merely serves as a rhetoric, its relation to conflict is a quasi one. Take the examples of the JAI and Shia cases, many people saw them as not merely a religious issue, but more concerning a political one. Elite politics directs the public to consider them merely as religious matters. Religious instrumentalization by the elites, even religious politicization seems effective in garnering attention and support of the masses. Muslims in Indonesia eventually considered Shia followers as deviant religious adherents who must be corrected and converted to pure Islam. JAI in Kuningan was not a mere ideological matter as well, since it was also imbued with nuances of religious politicization that was simply accepted by the public.

The *Third* perspective is the constructivists. This theoretical perspective lies between the two approaches in the above passages. Constructivists are in line with instrumentalists who view that the fundamental cause of conflict is not religion, but interest. Constructivists agree with primordialists who

see religion as having a real objective role, meaning that although religion is not the main cause of conflicts, it helps to accelerate them. In this case, once religion is involved in conflict, it may exacerbate the conflict into becoming more fatal. But, they disagree with the primordialists who argue that religion is an independent variable in conflict. This is because in their opinion, religion operates dependently, being reliant on other economic and political factors surrounding the conflict; to what extent does religion contribute in escalating conflicts depends on how acute are the clashes between economic and political interests in the conflict.

### UNDERSTANDING DIFFERENCES

Differences or diversity is an unavoidable social reality. It is the course of God or *sunnatullah*. Diversity is God's decree and it is unquestionably absolute. In QS. Al Maidah: 48, " *We have sent down to you the Book with the truth, confirming what was before it of the Book and as a guardian over it. So judge between them by what Allah has sent down, and do not follow their desires against the truth that has come to you. For each [community] among you We had appointed a code [of law] and a path, and had Allah wished He would have made you one community, but [His purposes required] that He should test you in respect to what He has given you. So take the lead in all good works. To Allah shall be the return of you all, whereat He will inform you concerning that about which you used to differ*", it is mentioned that it was God's will not to have made mankind into one nation (united in religion).

In QS. Al Hujurat: 13 "O mankind! *Indeed We created you from a male and a female, and made you nations and tribes that you may identify yourselves with one another. Indeed the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most Godwary among you. Indeed Allah is all-knowing, all-aware*", also reiterates that Allah created mankind into peoples and tribes with the aim that one may know another. And by knowing one another, mankind has the potential to gain mutual understanding so that all forms of disputes may subsequently be avoided.

Differences in ethnicity, race, religion, and such complete the life of man in this world. It is difficult to imagine mankind originating from one ethnicity, one race, and one religion. Perhaps, life will be monotonous without any variations eventually leading to ever present boredom and dreariness. In truth, religious differences may be interpreted and positioned as a means to understand one's own religion. Islam, for example, can be widely known because it is compared to other religions such as Christianity and Judaism. Hence, differences provide the opportunity for all people/groups to learn from each other and produce



a sense of mutual understanding and respect. Yet, concerning the reality observed in the life of the nation, it is instead the opposite wherein differences become a means for attacking and condemning each other leading to disputes and even conflicts occurring every where.

The low level of tolerance in accepting a different other which may well lead people toward becoming egoistic and fanatical. Egoism appears in the form of rigid claims that consider everything of foreign origin as something erroneous. They consider that only one truth prevails and it is one that comes from their own self and group. Whereas the presence of other people and groups are negated, both existentially and their roles in life. Other people or groups are positioned as competitors and enemies that must be annihilated even through violence. Violence has even become a means for coercing their will against others.

In addition to religious teaching which boldly instructs Muslims to invite others by way of *hikmat* or wisdom, the Indonesian nation also has a mechanism that has been proven to be effective in establishing harmony and resolving conflicts between differing communities. A local mechanism which is widely known as local wisdoms are present in every community throughout the Indonesian archipelago. For example, in the Maluku community, *pela* and *gandong* is recognized as a media for uniting two differing ethnicities into one amicable camaraderie. These institutions serve as a media for reconciliation and for strengthening social cohesion (see. Al Qurtuby, 2016:104). The people in those communities do not come from the same lineages (genealogy), yet they can live together in an atmosphere of peace founded on the spirit of friendship. Despite originally coming from different villages or regions, they are joined in a single alliance through the use of *pela* and *gandong*.

Thus is also the case in the Bugis community, wherein a local wisdom called *sipakatau* is widely recognized. *Sipakatau* literally means to humanize human beings. This is similar to the spirit of *ngewonke wong* found in the Javanese community. By using such spirit of determination, whatever differences there may be will be reduced to a single union, that is a union of respect to human dignity. This means that there should be no room for condemning each other let alone for eliminating one another for the mere sake of differences. Within the context of the life of the people and of the nation, differences or diversity should be understood as a source of power because it is a 'basic element' for establishing togetherness. Togetherness itself is not something that can be created in an instant, it is present through a long developing process. The togetherness or intimacy present within the frame of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) may be considered as undeniable evidence

concerning the results created from intermeshing existing differences. Any differences should be understood as a natural condition, hence, the existence of other identities would not be positioned as threats, but as partners who will mutually strengthen each other instead.

Differences should also be understood to mean grace and blessing so that our lives become more meaningful. And not the other way around, wherein differences are understood as a curse, source of disaster, source of disintegration, and source of conflict leading to mutual hatred and admonishment then ending in mutual annihilation. This is one of the challenges faced by humanity, particularly Indonesia as a nation of pluralities and established upon differences in ethnicities, race, religion, and other differences. Indonesia is, indeed, required to constantly reproduce its symbols of cohesion and unity to function more effectively so that disputes and violence (conflicts) no longer become a part of this nation.

Diversity can actually be managed based on a multicultural scheme (Nurkhoirin, 2007:3). It is a proven fact that there is a strong desire to carry out arrangements based on the spirit of uniformity rendering one of the distinctive features of the Indonesian nation, namely religiosity and pluralism, to be cut off. Management of differences and diversity, particularly concerning religion, should unconditionally be conducted accurately. The paradigm of management should also be directed at understanding the meaning of religious differences as something that must be accepted, not annihilated. Differences are an invaluable grace of God that should be maintained and preserved, not annihilated for the sake of any interest. This thought should be existed in religious institutions especially at local or grassroot level since they are directly interacted with various communities. This also leads to the significant role of religious insitutions in preventing communal violence. As Juan, Pierskalla and Vuller (2015) found, 'a high density of local religious institutions decreases the likelihood of communal violence.'

## CONCLUSION

The still prevailing religious violence in the current era of democratic Indonesia provides an illustration about the presence of a people/group relationship that is highly dynamic but tends to be closed-minded. The series of religious violence, either inter or intra-religious ones, are phenomena that have various implications in the efforts of creating a more harmonious and open relationship. Violence may happen from time to time and it causes fluctuating relations among religions and religious followers of the same belief. Violence itself, within the context of this article, may be observed from two opposing

contexts. *Firstly*, contestation of either inter- or intra-religion are very intense. Contestation does not only relate to 'struggle for followers/adherents', but also the struggle for influence in all things including the political field. *Secondly*, truth claims among religions become one of the tools of 'attack' causing violence to often become an option even a priority due to availability of text interpretations that only refer to the argument of their own group. *Thirdly*, the conditions of religious followers in other countries also influence the response of Muslims in Indonesia who conduct their actions on behalf of religion to pass judgment upon a particular group as a form of solidarity.

Religious violence may be avoided by changing the understanding of the meaning of differences. This can be accomplished through the following measures. *Firstly*, changing the paradigm in defining an existing difference. Differences that in many ways are considered as the main cause of violence, should currently be considered as main source of strength in building unity or togetherness. Differences are a main source of power. Differences which are regarded as a means to compete, can be changed to become a media for mutual synergy. *Secondly*, establishing awareness on the beauty and significance of differences. Differences should be understood as a way to do our best, not who is the best. Therefore, differences will no longer be seen as a source of disaster, differences will become a blessing that is most meaningful in a dynamics of social life that is religious and diverse.

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## RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS: Opportunity Structures, Group Dynamics, and Framing

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### ABSTRACT

*Explanations of violent religious conflicts usually focus on preconditions, facilitator causes or precipitating events at micro, meso or macro levels of analysis. As social psychology is the scientific study of the ways in which thoughts, feelings, perceptions, motives, and behaviors are influenced by interactions and transactions between groups and individuals, it can increase our understanding of the dynamics of religious conflicts at micro and meso levels. In this paper, I illustrate this point with a discussion of the utility of social movement theory for understanding the dynamics of religious conflicts. Social movement theory locates religious conflicts within broader contexts and complex processes by focusing on the interplay between micro and meso factors and the ways in which people perceive macro factors. Given certain conditions, religion can and often do contribute to collective violence. Religion is rarely, if ever, the main cause of intergroup conflicts, but is often used as an instrument for the mobilization of human and non-human resources. Appeal to religion may help conflicting parties overcome the collective action problem associated with intergroup conflicts. This does not necessarily mean that religious conflicts have unique characteristics or a logic of their own that sets them apart from other types of intergroup conflicts.*

**Keywords:** Religion, conflict, violence, social psychology

### INTRODUCTION

Religious conflicts are globally widespread and they tend to be more lethal, indiscriminate, and intractable than their secular counterparts (Fox, 2004; Pearce, 2005; Hassner, 2009; Toft, Philpott & Shaw, 2011; Svensson, 2007; 2012; Svensson & Nilsson, 2018; Isaacs, 2016; 2017). In the light of these findings, it is not surprising to find that the question of why people engage in religious conflicts have drawn attention from social scientists and scholars of religion. Several scholars argue that religion – or specific interpretations of religion – is a major cause of violence because it is absolutistic or particularistic (e.g., Hick, 1989; Kimball, 2002; Schwartz, 1997), irrational or non-rational (e.g., Appleby, 2000; Selengut, 2003; Jones, 2008), and/or divisive

(e.g., Huntington, 1996; Avalos, 2005; Juergensmeyer, 2008; 2017). There are a number of problems with this conclusion (in addition to the difficulty in clearly distinguishing religious from non-religious motives), including the assumption that religious cognition has a direct impact on people's behavior, the de-contextualization of religion (or religious actors), and the reduction of the causes of conflicts into a single causal factor.

Studies on the link between religious beliefs and behavior are inconclusive, with some finding that religious beliefs have an impact on people's behavior while others have shown a lack of correspondence between religious beliefs and behavior (e.g., Wulff, 1997). An extensive body of empirical research demonstrates that religion's influence on behavior is more in the situation than in the person (e.g., Hood, Hill & Spilka, 2009; Norenzayan, 2013). There are reasons to believe that religion encourages intergroup conflicts, but only under certain conditions. It is our job, I think, as social scientists and scholars of religion, to clarify the conditions under which religious beliefs promote intergroup conflicts (Lindgren, 2016).

Conflicts are interactive processes manifested in an actual or perceived incompatibility of goals between social entities, psychological processes, including cognitions, emotions, and motivations, and conflict behavior, such as the use of force to kill and injure the opponent, destruction of military or economic resources, verbal threats, and hostile gestures (Galtung, 1996). Religion can most certainly exert an influence on contradictions, beliefs, attitudes, feelings, motivations, and conflict behavior. But conflicts are by definition relational and the decision to resort to violence is usually a consequence of an escalation of a conflict, disillusionments with non-violent strategies, and/or a moral outrage at the opponent's aggression (Della Porta, 2013; Sageman, 2017). To understand why a religious group use violence we thus must take into account the political context of the conflict and the behavior of the opponent.

There is no doubt that religious beliefs have had an impact on several conflicts during the last four decades (Toft, Philpott & Shaw, 2011). Absolutism, particularism or irrationality may have contributed to the conflicts, but they do not explain why conflicts have broken out between some religious groups but not between other religious groups, who also have absolutistic, particularistic or irrational beliefs. The root causes of intergroup conflicts are always multifaceted (Barash & Webel, 2009). No single causal factor will therefore suffice to explain all or most cases of collective religious violence (Svensson, 2012). If a hypothesized causal factor, such as absolutism, particularism or irrationality, is present in at least two situations that occur under similar circumstances, and if the outcome is violence in

one situation and nonviolence in the other, then under most circumstances that factor is not a primary cause of intergroup violence. It is thus important to examine religious conflicts that do not occur as well as those that do occur. Why have, for example, Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland been involved in violent conflicts, while Protestants and Catholics in South Africa and the Philippines have not been involved in such conflicts? Why do different religious groups sometimes live in peace for centuries and sometimes not?

Religious conflicts are often described as binary conflicts between unitary and bounded factions that are defined by the participants' religious identity, and the participants are often portrayed as being motivated by religious beliefs. But all such descriptions oversimplify the complexity of most religious conflicts as they usually entail a combination of identities, motives, and goals. Religious conflict parties are seldom, if ever, homogenous groups. In the religious war in Maluku (1999–2004), for example, the main conflicting parties were divided into several subgroups, such as Muslim vigilance groups and Christian vigilance groups, organized Muslim militias and organized Christian militias, and Muslim criminal gangs and Christian criminal gangs. The members of these groups, who were recruited from a wide spectrum of social categories, used violence to achieve multiple, overlapping, and sometimes mutually contradictory goals. During previous field research, I identified four ideal types of combatants in the war: "the ideologist" (people who were pulled into the war by their beliefs in the ideological cause), "the opportunist" (people who participated in the war in order to achieve social and/or economic gains), "the player" (people who were attracted by the adventure); and "the reluctant fighter" (people who were pushed into the war because they saw no other options) (Lindgren, 2014). Religious identity labels thus tend to obscure the plurality of identities that exist within conflicting parties. Even if it could be demonstrated that a conflict group is religiously homogenous, it is not at all clear that religious beliefs are the reasons for their conflict behavior.

To be sure, religious beliefs might motivate action, but there are also other motivations that drive violent behavior, for example, the attraction of war, profit opportunities, and thrill (Mueller, 2007). Several studies suggest that religious beliefs are not among the most compelling motivations in the long run and in combat. More important is the social dynamic within the conflict unit, the ties among the soldiers, the loyalty to the brothers in arms, and the urge to contribute to the success of the group (e.g., Kalyvas, 2006).

Still, religion can and does exert an influence on violent conflicts, for example, by shaping and defining the conflicting parties that are engaged in fighting. It



means in many cases that religion shapes people's identities and loyalties apart from its beliefs (Toft, 2007; Fox, 2000). Religions, like most ideologies, divide people into us and them. Before Christians and Muslims can fight, as they did in Maluku, they must believe themselves to be Christians and Muslims and not divide themselves into some other categories. Whenever a religious divide is used as the basis of mobilization, it requires the suppression of the human proclivity to see other people as both "with us" on some measures and "not with us" on other measures.

A vast body of research demonstrates that the mere identification with a social group tends to trigger in-group love and out-group hostility (e.g., Tajfel, 1970; Castano, Yzerbut, Bourguignon & Seron, 2002; Halevy, Bornstein & Sagiv, 2008). But to turn "them" into an "enemy", usually requires an additional component, such as grievances and a process of mobilization (Basedau, Pfeiffer & Vüllers, 2016; Isaacs, 2016). To understand why people participate in religious conflicts we thus must demystify the conflicts by locating them within broader contexts and complex processes. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the utility of social movement theory for understanding the dynamics of religious conflicts.

## **SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY**

Social movement theory is an integrative approach that focuses on the relationship between institutional political actors and various forms of political contention. The theory emphasizes the political context in which social movements and rebel groups emerge, the structures through which people and resources are mobilized, and collective representations of the social world. The theory has coalesced around three concepts: opportunity structures, mobilizing structures, and collective action frames (McAdam, 1999).

Opportunity structure, the first theoretical component of social movement theory, refers to external aspects of the political environment that constrain or empower collective actors, such as the degree of political openness and the presence or absence of support groups (Tarrow, 1988). This means that the opportunities to engage in successful collective action varies over time and that these variations can explain the ebb and flow of contentious politics (McAdam, 1999).

It is a psychological truism that we live in a perceived reality (Lindgren, 2005; 2014b). Opportunities are subject to interpretation because no opportunity will invite to mobilization unless it is perceived as an opportunity. It is therefore important to pay attention to the interplay

between structural conditions and subjective perceptions. Kurzman (1996) points out that there are sometimes mismatches between them such that people fail to perceive opportunities when they do exist, or perceive opportunities when they do not exist. Although there is no consensus on what constitutes a political opportunity structure, it is clear that contentious religious groups are shaped by the political context and often respond strategically to perceived opportunity structures. Social movement theorists recognize that political opportunities are insufficient to persuade people to participate in collective action. Mobilizing structures, the second component of social movement theory, refers to the networks through which the mobilization of resources, people, and collective action occurs. It is, in other words, those collective vehicles, informal networks as well as formal organizations, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action.

Social movement theorists also stress the importance of social networks. As a number of studies demonstrate, members of religious and political organizations are typically recruited through social networks. They seem to be particularly important in recruitment to high-risk activism (McAdam, 1986; Della Porta, 2013; Sageman, 2017). Della Porta (1988), for example, found that 70 percent of the members of militant left-wing groups in Italy joined while they had at least one close friend or kin involved in the group. In a study of right-wing terrorism in Italy, Weinberg and Eubank (1987) found that 60 percent of the activists had siblings in the movement, 18 percent had marital and 12 percent had parental relations with members of the radical right. In a study of global jihadism, Sageman (2008, 66) found that “about two thirds of the people in the sample were friends with other people who joined together or already had some connection to terrorism.” Social networks can thus mold preferences before people decide to join a movement, socialize and build identities after they have been recruited, and offer participation opportunities to people who are sensitive to a particular issue (Passy, 2001). Social networks can also be an antidote to leaving a group and a support for sustained participation in collective actions (Della Porta & Diani, 2006). Friendship is thus a key to recruitment as well a key to keeping group members.

Social movement theorists also stress the importance of formal organizations. The key challenge for social movement organizers is to create organizations that are sufficiently robust to structure contention, yet flexible enough to reach out to the social networks that link people to one another. Tarrow (2011) argues that the best way to address this challenge is through local organizations that are connected by social networks and coordinated by formal organizations. Local organizations can provide crucial resources to a social movement, such as

members, leaders, communication networks, and enterprise tools (McAdam, 1999).

There is ample of evidence that social movements recruit participants most efficiently from existing organizations. It is a well-established fact that it is easier to recruit people with a shared sense of identity than to create new ones. Recruitment frequently occurs through “block recruitment” in which several or most members of an organization decide to join a social movement (Oberschall, 1973; McAdam, 1999). Social movements need leaders who “inspire commitment, mobilize resources, create and recognize opportunities, devise strategies, frame demands, and influence outcomes (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004, 171).” Sometimes leaders produce social movements and sometimes social movements produce leaders out of the struggle or from existing organizations. Finally, established organizations may provide communication infrastructures, practical tools and services, such as meeting places, office supplies, and lawyers (McAdam, 1999). But for the aggrieved to participate in collective action, there must first be a cognitive liberation or an insurgent consciousness, that is, “a collective state of understanding which recognizes that social change is both imperative and viable (Smith, 1991, 62).”

Collective action is not only constructed out of organizations, but also out of shared understandings that justify, dignify, and animate collective action. The third component of social movement theory is collective action frames. The term “frame” refers to “an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses ‘the world out there’ by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment. [...] Collective action frames not only perform this focusing and punctuating role; they also function simultaneously as modes of attribution and articulation (Snow & Benford, 1992, 137).” Thus, collective action frames define a social situation as a problem, including attributions of responsibility and targets of blame, articulate a proposed solution to the problem, devise strategies for addressing the problem, and offer a rationale for engaging in collective action.

Collective action frames are generated by an interactive, discursive process which involve a “connection and alignment of events and experiences so that they hang together in a relatively unified and compelling fashion,” and “accenting and highlighting some issues, events, or beliefs as being more salient than others (Benford & Snow, 2000, 623).” The framing process always occurs in a context in which various actors, such as social movement organizers, participants, authorities, media, and counter-movements, are engaged in intra-group/movement framing disputes and intergroup/movement

counterframing/framing contests. Framing is a strategic process that aims to achieve a specific goal: recruitment of participants, economic resources, and so forth. In order to achieve the goal, a frame must resonate with potential participants and the wider cultural context in which a movement operates. Social movement scholars have demonstrated that resonance is related to cultural sensitivity, credibility and salience (Williams, 2004).

The process through which social movements link their interpretative frameworks with people's values and goals is called frame alignment, of which there are four types: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation. Frame bridging is linking ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames. Frame amplification refers to a clarification, elaboration or revitalization of cultural beliefs or values that relate to a specific issue. Frame extension is to extend an interpretive frame to include issues and concerns that are secondary to the movement's primary goals but are of importance to a target population. Frame transformation, which is the most ambitious strategy, refers to a reformulation of a collective action frame or a formation of a new one (Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986).

Frame alignment processes thus serve to link a movement's activities and goals with a target of mobilization. Sometimes frames originate from ideologies and sometimes ideologies are influenced by frames. Although frames usually do not consist of a systematic body of ideas and ideals, some provide a more comprehensive understanding of the social world. This is particularly true of master frames, that is, "collective action frames that have expanded in scope and influence such that they color and constrain the orientations and activities of other movements (Snow, 2004, 390)." Master frames that are broad in interpretive scope, such as global justice, war on Islam, and anti-imperialism, allow "numerous aggrieved groups to tap it and elaborate their grievances in terms of its basic problem-solving schema (Snow & Benford, 1992, 140)."

## **MOBILIZATION FOR RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS**

Religious conflicts are willed actions and leaders usually play critical roles in instigating collective violence (Brass, 2003). They normally exploit popular grievances for economic, political or ideological gains. Some leaders thus mobilize along identity lines in order to advance their political or economic interests via conflicts, others mobilize along identity lines in order to advance their religious interests via conflicts (Barter & Zatzkin-Osburn, 2014). In both cases, the leaders must perceive a political opportunity and

mobilize human and non-human resources before they can engage in violent conflicts. Mobilization is facilitated when the leader is imbued with moral authority and embody the in-group identity. Successful leaders typically stand for the group, stand up for the group, craft a sense of us, and make the group members matter (Glenny, 1999; Haslam, Reicher & Platow, 2011).

Control over national mass media can have tremendous effects on conflict mobilization. If a conflict group can convey their action frames to millions of people, encouraging some to join them and others to take note of their claims, it becomes possible to create a large movement without incurring the costs of building and maintaining a mass organization. The importance of controlling mass media outlets has been observed in several conflict areas, for example, in Serbia prior to the wars against Croatia and Bosnia (Mueller 2000). Mass media can thus be used to win the hearts and minds of activists, supporters, and sympathizers. The use of religious rhetoric and symbolism can provide access to religious media channels. In Maluku, for example, both sides used religious mass media in order to mobilize human and non-human resources (Hasan, 2006; Lindgren, 2014).

Social media has changed the nature of religious conflict in many ways. It has, for example, extended the range of social networks internationally and diminished the importance of local organizations as bases for mobilization. Social media has made it possible for conflict groups to bypass government censorship and the filters of established media outlets, and communicate directly with members, sympathizers, supporters, enemies, and other political actors. Most conflict groups today use various network platforms to disseminate information and propaganda, mobilize non-human resources, and recruit participants, sympathizers, and supporters. Armed conflicts require material resources, such as money, weapons, ammunition and technology. Some of the most common sources of funding are robbery, taxation of the local population, and donations from external support groups. Appeal to religion can facilitate mobilization of external support because people tend to support their co-religionists when they are in trouble (Fox, 2002; Lindgren, 2014).

Conflict groups need organizations and social networks in order to participate successfully in collective violence. Conflict leaders must either create new organizations or transform existing ones into conflict organizations. To frame a conflict in religious terms may provide access to organizational resources. Religious organizations were turned into conflict organizations in several conflicts during the last four decades. In Maluku, for example, both sides had established headquarters in Kota Ambon, the capital of the province of Maluku. The Christian headquarter, which was located in the



Maranatha Church, served as a communication and crisis center. The church provided a network connecting Christian communities across the province, which facilitated the recruitment of combatants and the coordination of Christian troops. The Muslims had their headquarters in the Al Fatah Mosque, a stone's throw from the Maranatha church. From there, the armed struggle was organized under the auspices of retired military personnel. The Mosque also served as a communication center, hospital and a safe haven for refugees (Van Klinken, 2007). Homeless people lived more or less permanently in the churches and the mosques during the conflict, and the mere sight of the refugees strengthened the morale on both sides (Lindgren, 2014).

Armed conflicts require, of course, a large number of dedicated fighters. For conflict groups, it is important to identify people who are willing to make great sacrifices for long-term goals. To recruit people who are not sufficiently motivated often leads to problems as they tend to expect more short-term rewards than more motivated soldiers (Weinstein, 2005). There is ample evidence that young men tend to be more motivated to participate in intergroup violence than any other demographic group (e.g., Mesquida & Wiener, 1996; 1999; Reedy-Maschner & Maschner, 1999). Recruitment for an armed conflict thus does not require a large population base but a pool of young males, which many religious organizations can provide through "block recruitment". It is therefore hardly surprising that leaders typically address young males in their recruitment campaigns, and that many religious conflict groups are dominated by males under the age of 30 (e.g., Bose, 2003; Brass, 2003; McKenna, 1998).

To mobilize successfully, leaders must effectively manage two processes: consensus mobilization and action mobilization (Klandermans, 1984). Consensus mobilization is the process through which a conflict organizer attempts to convince people that a violent conflict is necessary and justified. Conflict groups promote such interpretations by disseminating collective action frames. As I said above, collective action frames are perceived more positively if they resonate with people's beliefs and values and the wider cultural context in which a conflict group operates. Incorporation of religious concepts, symbols, and metaphors into collective action frames is often a part of alignment processes. They can justify the cause, which bring hope in times of misery and purpose in times of despair, and they can help to dehumanize the enemy, which makes it easier to kill them.

Action mobilization is the process through which a conflict organizer attempts to motivate people to participate in a religious conflict. It includes promoting sympathy for the cause among the population, targeting sympathizers within the population, motivating the sympathizers, and

persuading them to participate in the conflict. Sympathy, which is typically the result of consensus mobilization, is based on people's identification with a conflict group. Identification is cheap and most people who identify with a cause tend to remain passive sympathizers. Leaders often target and motivate sympathizers by using kinship terms in the mobilizing rhetoric, such as "brother" and "sister". It was used by both factions during the religious conflict in Maluku. For example, Jafar Umar Thalib, the commander of Laskar Jihad, emphasized in the declaration of war that it was a religious duty for all Muslims to take up arms to defend their "brothers in faith":

What law in this world can oppose Allah's law when Allah states that we are obliged to fight to defend the oppressed people who cannot defend themselves? And what earthly law can prohibit the religious obligation expressed in the command of Allah, "And if they, your brothers in faith, ask you for your help, then you are ordained to help them." Therefore, I state emphatically that all laws and regulations that oppose Allah's commandments are actually invalid (Lindgren, 2014).

To induce a feeling of fictive kinship reduces the social complexity within the conflict group, strengthen the ties between the group members, and reinforce the differences between the conflicting parties.

Another way to motivate people is to evoke people's anger by focusing on the victimization of in-group members in the rhetoric. Most conflict groups, like the conflicting parties in Maluku, are built around a deliberate cultivation of anger or hatred. It is well-known that inducement of anger is an effective way to overcome fear, which tend to de-activate collective action. When the individual overcomes fear, positive emotions often take over, such as enthusiasm, which can generate a hope that risky behaviors will have positive outcomes (Huddy, Feldman & Cassese, 2007). Conflict groups need motivated people who are willing to expose themselves to great risks. Religions can be important in this regard when they justify the cause and promise heavenly rewards to those who die in battle. Religious beliefs and practices may strengthen the solidarity with the conflict, and help to overcome the collective action problem. Members of conflict groups must trust each other. Religion can build trust by demanding hard to fake rituals that signals commitment to the group (Sosis, Kress & Boster, 2007), and the activation of god concepts can help conflict groups to solve free-rider problems (Johnson, 2016). It is thus strategic to refer to religion in the mobilizing rhetoric.

## CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have reviewed some of the core concepts of social movement theory that can – and do – contribute to a contextual understanding of religious conflicts. The social movement theory framework locates religious conflicts within broader contexts and complex processes by focusing on the interplay between micro and meso factors and the ways in which people perceive macro factors, such as economic inequality, state repression and political exclusion. Adoption of such a framework can reveal how beliefs change as a consequence of participation in group dynamics. I suggest that the power of religion lies primarily in its mobilizing potential. Religious conflicts are elite-driven processes. Conflict organizers use religious concepts and symbols because they are efficient tools to mobilize human and non-human resources. And some aspects of religion may help conflicting parties overcome the collective action problem associated with intergroup violence, including the human tendency to free-ride and to leave the fighting to others. Thus, religion is as much a consequence as a cause of intergroup conflicts.

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**MULAI LAWAN BISMILLAH:  
Religiosity of the Banjar People in the Banjar Songs  
Composed by Anang Ardiansyah**

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**ABSTRACT**

*Local folk songs are often only enjoyed by local people and, of course, only a few of these songs can become national songs. However, through the song called Paris Barantai composed by Anang Ardiansyah, the Banjar song can become a nationally recognized regional folk song. In addition, Anang Ardiansyah's other songs have a message or religious content that reflects the Islamic culture of the Banjar community. Therefore, this paper explores religious content of four songs composed by Anang Ardiansyah with the aim that the local folk songs are not only sung but reinforce the distribution of religious values and knowledge in relation to the Banjar culture. The results of this paper describe the religious practice of urang (people of) Banjar related to faith, prayer and shalawat in everyday life and the term haram menjarah (surrender is forbidden) as Banjar people's struggle doctrine depicted from the Banjar song composed by Anang Ardiansyah. Therefore, through these songs it becomes an important part of the efforts to strengthen the Banjar religious identity and religious value distribution will take place continuously.*

**Keywords:** Anang Ardiansyah, religiosity, haram menjarah

**INTRODUCTION**

*“Wayah pang sudah  
Hari baganti Musim  
Wayah pang sudah  
Kotabaru gunungnya bamega  
Bamega umpat manampur di sala karang”  
(Paris Barantai, composed by Anang Ardiansyah)*

In 2017, there were two controversial issues related to the international and national music world. First, there was still sensitivity among the people of the world in giving judgment of a song lyrics like Despacito sung by Justin Bieber,

because the lyric is considered vulgar that this song was rejected in Malaysia (Alkhalisi 2017). This rejection did not seem to happen in Indonesia because electronic mass media such as radio or television did not air it but only carried the news of the controversial issue. Second, there was an international event where a South Kalimantan song entitled *Paris Barantai* composed by Anang Ardiansyah, as quoted above, sung by the Padjadjaran University Student Choir won the first prize of folksong category in 54th International Competition of Choral Singing in Spittal an der Drau, Austria, 7-9 July 2017. They also won the second place of the choral works category. But Metro TV one of the Indonesian national private TV stations mentioned in its headline news that the song *Paris Barantai* had been written Ken Steven and it received a lot of reactions from social media users, especially residents of South Kalimantan. Ken Steven who did not write the song immediately wrote an apology to the Banjar people and the songwriter of Paris Barantai, the late Anang Ardiansyah (Anonymous 2017).

Based on these two events, it can be understood that the lyrics of the song as a work of art is not only seen from the aesthetic factor of the beauty of chanting, but also to the depth of the meaning of the lyrics and the importance of maintaining the authority of the songwriter as the copyright owner. This is why art is a 'space' for the discourse where the 'mind' and 'taste' lie, so that the cultural configuration (Melalatoa 2000, 2) is encompassed, in spite of the fact that artwork is basically a mere fantasy, but when it is tangent to the political system then art is a political attitude. The work of art can actually be interpreted in various ways for its audience, especially when it is released from its creators to become public property (Mundayat 2006). This is seen, for example, in Java there was a legendary artist named Gesang famous for the song *Bengawan Solo*, Anang Ardiansyah from Kalimantan is his equivalent. M. Syaifullah, a Kompas journalist, wrote about the heyday of Anang Ardiansyah. The era of 1980s indeed belonged to Anang Ardiansyah. It was a time when many of his songs were recorded, either in the form of his own album or along with other banjar songs composed by other artists. The songs were arranged in the genres of pop, latin, jazz, and Malay. The song characters and lyrics that are easy to digest and have a moral message made them popular.

The lyrics of Banjar songs that he composed are mostly derived from folk songs in the form of pantun which in the past developed on the banks of rivers, coastal areas, and on lands. There are *rantauan* songs in the form of folk songs that flourish on the banks of the river with characteristics that resemble river waves. The shrill sounds like lamenting fate. While there are *pandahan* songs in the form of songs on *japin* dance that lives on in Banua Anam. These songs



are sung during *mairik banih* (removing the grains of rice from the stalks by trampling). Lastly, there are *pasisiran* songs that developed in Kotabaru area, usually sung to accompany the *japin sigam* dance (Syaifullah, 2008).

Hundreds of songs have been written Anang Ardiansyah compiled in various albums of songs: *Kambang Goyang* (1983), *Ballads of Faith* (1982), *Galuh Banjar* (1985), *Latinia* (as the title suggests, they have Latin rhythm, 1986), *Diang Katinting* (1987), *Curiak* (1988). The songs of Anang Ardiansyah are timeless, as they are always played from gramophones, cassettes, VCD / DVD players, sung in weddings to official events, into ringing tones or i-ring tones. The songs also often become background music in various local television shows, and in addition, one of the songs Anang Ardiansyah wrote was popularized by the Radja band which was sung in different versions or re-arranged. Therefore, this paper seeks to show Banjar urban religiosity through texts on Anang Ardiansyah songs by recounting and discussing the contents of the Banjar songs. To date, the religious content in songs is more identical to the spiritual songs or those sung by Nasyid groups, such as Rayhan, Debu, to singers Haddad Alwi and Sulis or Opick who sang sholawat to Prophet Muhammad SAW. In the dangdut music genre, Rhoma Irama's name is synonymous with singing the teachings of Islam, and he is not only referred to as the king of Dangdut and his religious poems, even his band is called the Voice of Moslem.

A lot of other variants of Islamic music are also found in qasidah, tambourine, and even Arabic things because, since the beginnings of Islam in Indonesia in the sixteenth century, Indonesian Muslims have been learning to recite the Qur'an, and to sing other religious musical genres with the language, melodies, rhythms, timbres, and musical aesthetics of Arab peoples (Rasusmen, 2005). In contrast, there is not much local music or regional songs - except Kiai Kanjeng and Emha Ainun Nadjib - who are shown conveying a religious message. Outside of Islamic music echoed from regional songs, it turns out that music in the past was considered all "musical" art closely related to the cult, especially the parties, where the actual function lies (Huizinga 1990: 221). Similarly, Induan Hiling, a female healer in the Meratus mountains of South Kalimantan, who linked her hymn to the shamanic codification process. Love songs are easier to reach than many hymns, because they are not covered in secrecy as are hymns and shaman spells and can easily be passed on to others (Tsing, 1998: 359).

Therefore, the important issue to be addressed is that despite the density of religious messages in regional songs, the reality will only be enjoyed by the aesthetics of music and songs, but not in the content of song lyrics. The writer

will try to fill the empty gap, that the local songs also have religious content, such as Anang Ardiansyah's work which is continuously sung to this day but not much in the study of religiosity and the relation of Banjar culture. This paper will further describe the study of religiosity in the urban Banjar, the framework of thinking about Islam in the local content, biography of Anang Ardiansyah, Banjar songwriters and singers, four selected songs to be discussed in this paper, and Banjar religious practice.

### SONGS AND RELIGIOSITY OF URANG BANJAR

The Islamic practice of *urang Banjar* (people of Banjar) is often attached as a form of the religion of the Banjar tribe itself who strongly upholds the teachings of Islam (Mujiburrahman, 2017). *Urang Banjar* are known as an Islamic society. That is seen for example from the rampant religious activities in this community. Architecturally the Banjar area is also known as the area of a thousand *langgars* (small praying houses). A condition that shows that the Islamic breath is very thick in this area (Noor, 2011: 145-146). This claim is affirmed by various things, among others, through the Banjar community convert from their former religion into adherents of Islam since the first Muslim kingdom of Banjar in the period of Prince Samudera with the title of Sultan Suriansyah as a consequence of the agreement between the sultanate of Demak that provided assistance when raging civil war against Prince Tumenggung, uncle of Prince Samudera (Bondan, 1953). Nevertheless, this history is still criticized, that what is considered to convert to Islam is Prince Samudera and his family as a gratitude, as well as welcoming the future, because at that time Islam was on the rise in the archipelago, in Banua Banjar earlier, but rather slow, conversion had changed quickly because the paternalistic / feudalistic people of Banjar immediately followed their king's religion. But Islam is not preached violently. Although Islam is the official state religion, its spread remained persuasive (Barjie B, 2016: 16).

Furthermore, during the reign of Banjar, a famous scholar named Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari became widely known with his phenomenal work in the form of fiqh book entitled "*Kitab Sabilal Muhtadin Lit Tafaquni Fid Din*". This book was written at the request of Sultan Tahidullah, written in Malay, in 1193 AH, and was completed in 1195 AH (1779-1780) and was first uncovered for the first time simultaneously in 1300 AH (1882 AD) in Mecca, Istanbul and Cairo. This book is well known throughout Southeast Asia such as the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, Brunei, Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos. Because the Muslims in these areas still use the Malay language as one of the language of instruction in the science of religion (Gratitude, 2003).

The above opinion is reinforced by Prasajo's study of Islamic teachings using Sabilal Muhtadin's book that goes deep into the hinterland of West Kalimantan, namely Kapuas Hulu to Sarawak, Sabah and Brunei Darussalam (Prasajo, 2017). In addition to the phenomenal book, the practice of Banjar urban religiosity is performed with the various teachings with the mass reaching thousands to tens of thousands as shown by KH Muhammad Zaini Abdul Gani or popular with the title of *Guru Sekumpul*, even those who are present at his *pengajian* (Qur'an recital) or meet him are from the elites such as Head of the District Military Command, Police Chief, Regent, Governor, Head of the Precinct Military Command, to the president and vice president (Rosyadi, 2004). Personally the *Guru Sekumpul* is considered a charismatic figure who has many advantages or glories and is regarded as *waliyullah* (Kariem, 2015). The figure of the *Guru Sekumpul* is of course interesting to be the subject of study, as the emergence of elite groups that play a role in the trade in the area of the city of Martapura, Banjar, shows that the religious and economic behavior of Banjar people has a very close relationship (Alfisyah, 2005). The study further showed that the existence of the Qur'an recital of *Guru Sekumpul* also fostered the middle class group in a market-friendly but Islamic-based lifestyle (Hasan, 2016). After the death of *Guru Sekumpul* in 2005, more teachers or clerics who hold *pengajian* (Qur'an Recital) with thousands of people such as Guru Juhdi, Guru Bahiet

Another study of Islam is related to the Banjar religious behavior described in various daily activities not only concerning the daily worship in the pillars of Islam i.e. *shahada*, prayers, fasting, zakat and pilgrimage in Islamic books and Banjar Society. Also discussed is about the pillars of Faith including the belief of spirits, healing ceremonies and various matters related to Banjar religious traditions (Daud, 1997). The book of Islam and Banjar Society has become a kind of master book for anyone who examines the Banjar culture.

Several other writings on the Banjar ethics (Hadi, 2015), Banjar thought or reasoning related to Islam (Noor, 2011), Banjar economic life have been featured in various studies, especially in Islamic economics (Hasan A., 2014). The religiosity of Banjar people is also displayed when the sale and purchase agreement with "selling as it is" is practiced in the purchasing behavior of Banjar people (Nasrullah, 2015). But among various studies, it seems the discussion of religiosity contained in the lyrics of the song has yet to be the subject. Whereas the late KH Muhammad Zaini Abdul, the renowned scholar of South Kalimantan always sang syair maulid and *bamaulidan* continues to be part of the Banjar religious culture. Similarly, the songs written by Anang Ardiansyah that contain lyrics of religious verses have not been raised in an

article despite the fact that they are always played, sung in every opportunity, especially among Banjar people.

### RETELLING ISLAM IN LOCAL CONTENT

The spread of Islam in Indonesia occurred through 'marrying' religious teachings with elements of local culture so that there is mix between traditional beliefs and Islamic teachings, so the practice of religion contains traditions of the past and elements of a novelty (Hermansyah, 2014: 60). In the Dayak community, especially the Bakumpai people in South Kalimantan who are mostly Muslim, they practice Islam and still perform traditional healing such as badewa, and local beliefs that accompany the various anniversaries of the Islamic day (Nasrullah, 2014). This success can also be seen in West Kalimantan, where most sultans are affiliated with the Arab world and some of the royal founders were Arab immigrants who spread Islam on the island of Borneo (Prasojo, 2017).

The 'marriage' between Islamic teachings and local content not only made Islam acceptable but also turned the religion into a movement. The Nyuli movement or the revival of the Dayak Lawangan people in Central Kalimantan has made many adjustments in Islam, even in the outer aspects of Islam are gradually widespread among the Dayaks; therefore in the Nyuli movement there are many true elements of Islamic customs (Mallinckrodt, 1974: 34). In the same era, the resistance of Prince Antasari in Banjarmasin to the Puruk Cahu area of Central Kalimantan to the Dutch is inseparable from the blend of Islamic teachings and local culture. Antasari used the myth of the people associated with his ancestors in the form of the Muning Movement to start a war: he now uses the *tariqat* in the form of *Beratib Beamal* to revive the spirit of war (Sjamsuddin, 2001: 256). This movement was allegedly derived from the Naqsyabandiyah or samaniyah tariqa, but it is unclear which is true (Mujiburrahman, 2017: 58) and clearly any of the tarekates of this Beratib beamal, his actions were regarded by the Dutch as a major threat to Dutch authority (Sjamsuddin 2001: 257).

Various opinions above, shows the connection between Dayak tribe and Banjar tribe. Even geographically and administratively, Banjar people are more dominant in South Kalimantan, but actually in many districts there are Dayak communities. This connection can be seen in Barito Kuala district, there are Dayak Bakumpai communities, especially Marabahan and Kuripan districts. In addition, in the western Meratus mountains, there is a fertile lowland rice producer, and swamps called Hulu Sungai, which has since long ago been the fortress of the Banjar people; for many Banjar people in this region, Hulu

Sungai is a peninsula characterized by civilization of the city surrounded by a vicious sea of “Dayak people” - Meratus in the east; Dusun Lawangan, and sand to the north; Ma’anyan and Ngaju in the west (Tsing, 1998: 261).

This geographical connection is also rigged with Dayak culture. Bakumpai people as Muslim Dayaks, for example, in Islamic tradition do not change as what has been done regarding Banjar people, so it will be difficult to distinguish between the Bakumpai and Banjar people, except the local language factor used and some traditions as a differentiator between the two Nasrullah, 2014). Even in Islamic spread in the past, Bakumpai area (Marabahan city) through Al ‘Allamah H. Abdussamad, who is the descendant of Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, that every month of Ramadan came the pious scholars from Martapura, Banjarmasin and Hulu Sungai to visit and studied the science of *Tariqat* and joined seclusion under his leadership (Anonymous, 2003: 6)

Later in the Banjar and Meratus relationships, the Banjar people in particular need the Meratus in terms of shamanism. Banjar people think the dukun meratus is a witch doctor, so they are expected to treat those who suffer from black magic (Tsing, 1998: 270), whereas for Meratus, the most honorable use of language is not the male language, but the language of outsiders who have authority (i.e., Banjarese language or other Indonesians). That is why there are many terms or words in Banjar and Indonesian which are not used in the daily speech of Meratus (Tsing, 1998: 284).

The relationship between Banjar and Meratus Dayak people in Hulu Sungai area is getting familiar with the existence of an old mosque, named Banua Halat Mosque. This mosque is a manifestation of Banjar and Dayak mythology, especially the Meratus which is considered the siblings of Intingan and Dayuhan which can be seen at baayun maulid ceremony (swinging children on a mosque pole) in every Rabiul Awal month. Therefore, Dayak Meratus Dayuhan descendants who live in Harait, Batung and other villages call the Banua Halat people who are Muslims with the title *dangsanak* or *badangsanak* which means brother, because they believe their ancestors were siblings of the ancestors of Banua Halat people (Wajidi, 2014: 214). The strong ties between Banjar and Dayak people, which opened the awareness that the arts of South Kalimantan should not be seen from the religious values of Islam, but the ethnic who live in the mountains, in the interior, and in coastal areas is actually an inseparable part of the sense of “*sapadangsanakan*” despite their different beliefs (Arijadi, 2013: 180)

The blend of Islam and the local content can be seen as the Living Qu’an is a symbolic universe as well as an interpretable text. As a system of symbols, the Qur’an is not only the object of interpretation of the commentators, but



it also serves as the interpretation of every Muslim, and even those who are non-Muslims (Ahimsa-Putra, 2012). However, in later developments when Islam is already engraved and rooted in a place, it does not mean that Muslims become static, because Islamic culture in this case evolved into an adaptive culture because religion has been influenced by ideology and market interests (Abdullah, 2010: 119). Such consciousness arises that people speak more often of ideal values, of how things should be in the view of Islam. Very rarely do people speak about the reality of Muslim life itself except for a brief impression and observation, not on the basis of a careful and in-depth study (Mujiburrahman, 2017: 57-58). Therefore, a religion must find an extensive and intensive distributive mode. Not only mosques that can create religious discourse in everyday life, religious museums, historical places, in performances or through music, religious values can be disseminated. The distribution center of values and knowledge of life should be created as much as possible, for example by creating religious dramas or songs, designing buildings with religious styles (Abdullah, 2010: 120).

The problem emerges when the religious teachings in this case Islam in which its adherents have found extensive and intensive distributive methods, such as referring to the religiosity of Banjar people in various aspects, they are sometimes only formalities. In other words, religious rituals are carried out with high intensity and quantity, but at the same time social problems are still emerging, either economically or politically oriented, to the high level of drug abuse as one can see happening in South Kalimantan (Mujiburrahman, 2017). Thus the distribution of values or religious channels such as through regional songs or in particular the Banjar songs of Anang Ardiansyah which are rich with religious messages will be meaningless and just merely chanting a lively regional song. But one of the ways is to tell or revive the religiosity of the songs. The same thing concerns restoring the awareness of the river culture in *Urang Banjar* by retelling the meaning behind the daily symbols in Banjarmasin Post (Nasrullah, 2017).

## BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF ANANG ARDIANSYAH

### a. Birth

Anang Ardiansyah was born in Kampung Arab, Banjarmasin. At that time, his parent worked as a *kiai*. The position of the *kiai*, or *Kiai Kepala* (Hoofd*kiai*), assistant *kiai* was a special position held by the indigenous civil servants (Wajidi, 2007: 23). Therefore, since childhood Anang Ardiansyah followed his parents to various regions for duty. His last trip with his father was to East Kalimantan.

Anang Ardiansyah spent his childhood in Long Iram until he was 5.5 years old. He often followed his father's journey to various rural areas, such as Long Nawang, Long Bagun. Over there, he met with various Dayak community as well as Dayak musical art that is so impressive, like *bagantung-gantung*, *tali-tali di batis*, *engrang*. Mahakam River and Dayak music later became his source of inspiration in writing songs. For him the art of Dayak music is beautiful, better than the Banjar music because Dayak music art is original with basic melody, although for most people it feels boring.

Childhood was both impressive and sad. In 1942, when he was four years old, the Japanese invaded Kalimantan and captured Tarakan and Balikpapan through the Philippines. At that time, there was a tragedy of the first massacre of the Kalimantan elites by the Japanese army. Japan wanted to make Kalimantan a permanent imperial territory. To pave the way, at the beginning of 1943 Kai-gun committed a massacre of dozens of Kalimantan's elite names, comprising nobles, intellectuals, public figures, and all the rich indigenous people and Chinese. In Mandor, West Kalimantan, Kai-Gun slaughtered 1,534 community leaders. In South Kalimantan (Ulin) and East Kalimantan, the same thing occurred. The exact number of victims of the massacre to date is unknown (Maulani, 2005: 21).

Japanese occupation of only 3.5 years was so cruel and Anang Ardiansyah also felt the deep pain. One afternoon, while playing around at home and being watched by both his parents, suddenly uninvited guests arrived. There were three to four Japanese soldiers coming to his house and forcibly took his father with them. Since then he never saw him again and with his mother he returned to Banjarmasin to be with his extended family.

#### **b. Song Writing Process**

After graduating from Taman Dewasa in 1957 in the city of Banjarmasin, Anang Ardiansyah went to Surabaya to meet his *mamarina* or relatives from his father's side. Apparently he did not stay long in Surabaya. He moved to Malang, East Java, to study at a high school. While in Malang, he won the fourth place of *Lomba Nyanyi Langgam* (singing contest). He once became a *qari* and won 1st place in Malang. Unfortunately, he was only in Malang for a year. He then moved to Surabaya and continued high school.

His musical talent was channeled during high school in Surabaya. At that time there was a group of orchestra called Rindang Banua which means longing for hometown. For Banjar people overseas, listening to Rindang Banua songs make them long for the Banua / birthplace. This group was founded for 7 years

before Anang entered high school, or circa 1946's. Initially only saw them exercise, but when they were looking for a guitar player, "Who can play the guitar here?" asked the players. Anang was immediately selected. Since then, he joined the orchestra Rindang Banua in Surabaya.

The Rindang Banua group practice at Pak Fahrudin Mohani's hotel, so when they finished practicing they got food from the hotel. In addition to Anang, other players included Adi Maswardi, Saleh Salfas, doctor Bardawi, doctor Arsyadi, etc, with a total of 7 people. All players of Rindang Banua came from Banjar, as well as the owner of Rindang Banua, Fahrudin Mohani, a rich man from Banjar. He also became the owner of the Pelangi Hotel near Jami Mosque in Malang, and opened a hotel branch in Surabaya.

Rindang Banua was founded after a fire in Samarinda. Fahrudin Mohani set up a charitable foundation to help the victims of fire, by calling a famous Latin band Gumarang orchestra from Jakarta to raise funds. After seeing the performance of Gumarang orchestra, Fahrudin then founded a Rindang Banua orchestra with Banjar players. Anang Ardiansyah and other Rindang Banua players learnt from Gumarang players in Jakarta for a week.

According to Anang, Rindang Banua is deeply influenced by the Gumarang group's musical style, whose players come from Minang. The Latin beat combined with the Cha-cha rhythm is known as a dance drummer in Latin America. At the time, Indonesian music was deeply influenced by the western, such as latin and cha-cha. Even Rhoma Irama prior to founding Soneta was infatuated with the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, etc. This phenomenon, created fear among the nationalists, thus the emergence of local music with the term orkes Melayu popularized by DR. A.K. Gani activist of the Islamic States Party (PSI) and Gerakan Rakyat Indonesia (Gerindo) as opposed to Western and Chinese music as well as spreading the spirit of nationalism (Frederick, 1982: 106).

Initially the group Rindang Banua performed without Banjar songs. Then by Pa Yusi, Commander of Military Region (Pangdam) X Lambung Mangkurat whose rank was colonel came to Surabaya and met with players of Rindang Banua. He suggested proposed "*coba pang buhan ikam, cari-cari lagu Banjar, mengarang, maulahkah atau apakah*" (Try looking for Banjar songs. Write or compose them or what ever you can do). According to Anang, he and his friends accepted the suggestion, after all the Kalimantan people in Java had no songs, while the Aceh people and those of other regions already had their own regional songs. When his friends from Aceh, Java, and other areas asked, "Where is the music of Banjar?" The question made Anang Ardiansyah feel intrigued since then he continued to create and sing Banjar songs.

**ANANG ARDIANSYAH AND HIS FOUR BANJAR SONGS**

The songs by Anang Ardiansyah numbered in hundreds. In addition to telling stories about the Banjar culture or society, there are also many stories about the life of the Dayak people in East Kalimantan where he had lived there when he was a child. The song, among others, titled *Apo Kayan*, *Diyang Katinting*, and *Tingkilan sepanjang Mahakam*. But to limit the discussion, the author only discusses four songs by Anang Ardiansyah related to the religiosity of the Banjar, namely: *Paris Barantai*, *Kampung Batuah*, *Sangu Batulak*, and *Didundang Disayang*. Here is a translation of Banjar songs by Anang Ardiansyah.

### Translation of Banjar Songs Written by Anang Ardiansyah

Paris Barantai	Translation	Kampung Batuah	Translation
Wayah pang sudah hari baganti musim wayah pang sudah	It is time when days change the season, it is already the time	Dimana turus, kadada bawatas Banjar, Banjarmasinku Panas bau sandawa	Where the pillars have no border Banjar, my Banjarmasin In flames of gunpowder
Kotabaru gunungnya bamega	Kotabaru has Bamega mountain	Di Pasar Lama, atau di sungai Mesa	In the Old Market, or on the Mesa River
Bamega ombak manampur di sala karang	(At the foot of the moun- tain) Bamega waves hit the sidelines of the reef	Tarus ka Pangambangan Alam Roh markas ba- gurila	Continue to the unseen world of guerrilla head- quarters
Ombak manampur di sala karang 3x	waves thumped in be- tween corals 3x	Tahunnya ampat lima anakku	Nineteen forty-five, my child
Batamu lawanlah adinda	Seeing Adinda	Nanang galuh di Banjar basatu	The youth in Banjar are united
Adinda iman di dada rasa malayang	Adinda faith in the chest feels drifting away	Angkat senjata melawan Walanda	against the Dutch in the fort of Tatas
Iman di dada rasa malayang 3x	faith in the chest feels drifting away 3x	Nang di benteng Tatas	Freedom or death is the oath
Pisang silat tanamlah babaris	Silat banana planted lined up	Mardika atau mati sump- ahnya	Blood blast on his shirt "surrender is forbidden"
Babaris tabang pang bam- ban ku halang akan	Lined up cutting down bamban I forbid	Basamburan darah di bajunya	Take over the land of Banjar The blessed village
Tabang pang bamban ku halang akan	Cutting down bamban I forbid	"Haram manyarah" Marabut tanah Banjar	The blessed village My Banjar
Burung binti batiti di batang Di batang si batang buluh kuning manggading	Binti birds perching on the stem On the stem of a bamboo yellow like a tusk	Kampung nang batuah	its citizens in bloodbath The blessed village
Si batang buluh kuning manggading 3x	On the stem of a bamboo yellow like a tusk 3x	Kampung Batuah Ban- jarku	Captured for the comfort of the grand- children
Malam tadi bamimpi badatang	Last night dreamed of proposing	Bapalas darah warganya Kampung Batuah	
Badatang rasa bapaluk lawan si ading	Proposing feels like hugs with <i>ading</i>	Dirabut bakal gasan Kanyamanan Anak cucu	<i>Coda: the blessed vil- lage.... 5x</i>
Rasa bapaluk lawan si ading 3x	feels like hugs with <i>ading</i> 3x	Coda: Kampung batuah .... 5x	
Kacilangan lampu lah di kapal	Sparkling lights on the ship		
Di kapal anak walanda main kumidi	On the ship, the Dutch children playing comedy		
Anak Walanda main kumidi 3x	Dutch children playing comedy 3x		
Kasiangan guringlah sabantal	Sleeping late on the same pillow		
Sabantal tangan ka dada hidung kapipi	on the same pillow, hand on the chest, nose on the cheek		
Tangan kadada hidung ka pipi 3x	hand on the chest, nose on the cheek 3x		

Didundang Disayang	Translation	Sangu Batulak	Translation
Arak Pangantin kuliling kampung	Newly-weds paraded around the village	Pisang silat pisang timbatu	Silat banana timbatu banana
Pukul Gandang babunyi agung	Drums and gongs are beaten	Kuganganakan bacampur cuka	I cooked them mixed with vinegar
Ading galuh padih di hati	Heartbroken	Mun jadi tulak, apa sanguku	If I leave, what to take with me
Larangannya duduk batatai	Her fiancé sits side by side	Sahibar doa, iman di dada	Just prayer, faith in the chest
Didundang disayang	<i>Didundang</i> it's unfortunate	Sambah sujud ampuni dosa	Worship for forgiveness of sins
Dundang dundang dundang lah disayang	<i>dundang dundang</i> it's unfortunate	Kasih satumat dalam dunia	Love for a moment in the world
Ka Palaminan bausung jinggung	To the wedding throne carrying the <i>jinggung</i>	Kilir-kikiran si banyu mata	Tears
Kuda gepang wan kurung-kurung	<i>Kuda gepang</i> and <i>kurung-kurung</i>	Kampung nang jauh bakal ku tuju	I'm headed for a far away village
Kasiyan galuh duduk di watun	It's a pity sitting on the floor	Kampung nang jauh kutuju	Reff 2x: Begin with <i>bismillah</i>
Mata basah luruh sarudung	Wet eyes are covered with veils	Reff 2x: Mulai lawan bismillah	I take the first step with my right leg
Didundang disayang	<i>Didundang</i> it's unfortunate	Batis nang kanan kulangkahkan	Then submit myself to Allah
Dundang dundang dundanglah disayang	<i>Dundang dundang dundang</i> it's unfortunate	Lalu tawakkal alallah	That's all I have
Reff: Kada pang sampai judunya	Reff: It's not her soul mate	Itu pang sanguku	Worship for forgiveness of sins
Kasih nang dijunjung, umai lawasnya	Lover she adores for so long	Sambah sujud ampuni dosa	Love for a moment in the world
Sudah pang takdir	Someone else marries him aaaa ....	Kasih satumat dalam dunia	Tears roll down
Urang nang ampunya aaaaa....	Wave the flag of the people	Kilir-kikiran si banyu mata	I'm headed for a far away village Good deeds and faith is all I have
Kibar bandira urang bahaderah	Salawat and salam o the prophet of Allah	Kampung nang jauh bakal ku tuju	<i>Coda</i> : Ya Allah, Ya Allah
Salawat salam ya nabi-ullah	<i>Galuh</i> prayed looking up the sky	Amal wan iman sanguku	
Galuh badoa langit dipandang	Hopefully a glance (of happiness)	Coda: Ya Allah, ya Allah	
Mudah-mudahan nang tuntung pandang	<i>Didundang</i> it's unfortunate		
Didundang disayang	<i>Dundang dundang</i> it's unfortunate		
Dundang dundang dundanglah Disayang			



Paris Barantai is one of the most popular songs by Anang Ardiansyah, but people often refer to this song as “Kotabaru” because the lyric of the song that goes “*Kotabaru gunungnya bamega*”, while the title of the song is not mentioned at all in the whole lyric. The popularity of the song Paris Barantai, among others, is because it is presented in the form of *pantun*, like the stanza of the song:

Burung binti batiti di batang  
 Titi batang, di batang buluh  
 Kuning Manggading  
 Malam tadi bamimpilah badatang  
 Rasa datang... rasa bapaluk lawan si ading

(Binti birds perching on the stem  
 On the stem of a bamboo  
 yellow like a tusk  
 Last night [I] dreamed of proposing  
 Proposing feels like hugs with *ading*)

The lyrics of the song Paris Barantai whose background is Kotabaru, one of the district capital in South Kalimantan, which is located by the sea and tells the longing of a man to the woman who is mentioned as *adinda* or the *ading*. In the 1960s the Paris Barantai was recorded in a disc by the Rindang Banua Malay Orchestra and the *Ampar-ampar pisang* by the Taboneo Malay Orchestra. Both songs are popular and continue to be played Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) throughout the country. Until now, there is no Banjar song as popular as the two (Syaifullah, 2008).

Still a story about a Banjar woman that is in the song *Didundang Disayang*. The song *Paris Barantai* tells about the longing of a man to his lover, on the contrary, the song *Didundang Disayang* tells about a marriage ceremony that parades the bridegroom around the village. At that time, as the lyrics say a woman called Galuh is grieving because her fiancé as the groom married someone else.

Like the song Paris Barantai, *Didundang Disayang*, as well as other songs by Anang Ardiansyah titled Kampung Batuah depicts a village in the city of Banjarmasin with a background of the youth's great resistance called Nanang Galuh against the Dutch colonialism. Anang mentioned Banjarmasin as the village of Batuah (the blessed village) which was recaptured (with bloodbath). The struggle is described as an effort or a goal for the future survival of posterity.

Unlike the other songs, the song *Sangu Batulak* (things one takes for a journey) tells about the plan of Banjar people to go on a journey. Through this song, Anang Ardiansyah illustrates how hard Banjar people leave their hometown to go far wandering. He describes sadness with tears, and simultaneously drawing sincere intention to wander based on the teachings of Islam.

### ***MULAI LAWAN BISMILLAH AS RELIGIOUS PRACTICE OF URANG BANJAR*<sup>1</sup>**

The majority of Banjar people are Moslems, and it often is claimed that Banjar is synonymous with Islam. They are also famous with their religioity so that the teachings of Islam are practiced in everyday life. The practice of religious teachings is not only observed communally, but also in activities based on personal or respective professions. Similarly, Anang Ardiansyah presents religious values through his songs which tell a lot about Banjar religiosity in various things.

#### **1. Faith is all one has**

As the lyric of the song *Paris Barantai* that goes  
*Batamu lawanlah adinda.*  
*Adinda iman di dada rasa malayang.*  
*Iman didada rasa malayang.*

*(Seeing Adinda*  
*Adinda faith in the chest feels drifting away*  
*faith in the chest feels drifting away)*

Repetition of the words “Faith in the chest feels drifting away” twice by the songwriter refers the actions of a person who must consider the values of faith as well as the impact of excessive longing on a lover called “adinda”. Faith is always attached under any circumstances, even when experiencing the joy of seeing a loved one. The result of excessive joy or longing makes faith in one’s chest assumed to be “drifting away” or faith disappearing from a person. Faith in the chest “should not be abandoned and must be maintained wherever one goes in any activity.

The lyric of *Sangu Batulak* clarifies the connection of faith in the Banjar religious life.

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<sup>1</sup> The word “*lawan*” in “*Mulai Lawan Bismillah*” means “with” or “together with” in the Banjar language.

## Part 1

.....

*Mun jadi tulak apa sanguku  
Sahibar do'a iman di dada*

(If I leave, what to take with me  
Just prayer, faith in the chest

## Part 2

.....

*Kampung nang jauh bakal kutuju  
Amal wan iman sanguku*

(I'm headed for a far away village  
Good deeds and faith is all I have)

The verses of the song above show that the song Paris Barantai with its lyric "faith in the chest" which means the faith of a person that dwells in him. The song *Sangu Batulak* tells the desire of a Banjar person to go wandering, but he has difficulty in leaving his hometown. The journey is called *madam* (living in a distant place) is not just a tourist trip (traveling) because for the Banjar, the trip serves as worship if equipped with faith. As the verse above confirms the strong position of faith in the lives of Banjar migrants. Part 1 asserts that the plan of departure to be carried out will be based on "prayer of faith in the chest). There is a mix of faith and prayer as what one can take with him in a journey, this may indicate the departure of the Banjar is without skills because there is a word "sahibar" (just) and it also puts the position of faith above all else. The songwriter displays the word "in the chest" to embrace the faith, but if it is associated with the dilemma of the person who is going to wander is actually experiencing the inner conflicts between leaving the home village far away from the family with the desire to wander, then the conflict also occurs in the chest. So that "faith" is to be maintained rather than all the raging inner conflicts in the chest.

In part 2 affirming the capital of the nomads in the overseas lands of "a village I will far go" (going to a distant village) is charity and faith as "sanguku" (modal) ". In the next section as the verse below refers to faith in Allah SWT.

## Part 3

Mulai lawan “Bismillah”  
 Batis nang kanan kulangkah’akan  
 Lalu tawakkal ‘alallah  
 Itu pang jadi sanguku

(Begin with bismillah  
 I take the first step with my right leg  
 Then submit myself to Allah  
 That’s all I have)

Part 3 of the song *Sangu Batulak* clarifies the faith that is addressed to Allah SWT as what one will take on his journey. The songwriter attaches the word “Allah” to the word “Bismillah” to start the right footstep heading to migrate. Also the use of “*tawakkal ‘alallah*” when the nomad is traveling to his destination. The strong religious values of Banjar may have a strong influence on the people in the overseas areas that are visited.

The direct movement of the ancestral land and indirect movement to settle in the transit area contributed to the survival and spread of Islamic propagation and Malay civilization and some evidence of Islamic teachings by Banjar scholars both in Kalimantan and outside as well as in non-Malay lands (Dayak, Dusun) in Kalimantan, especially areas that did not have royalty or sultanate (Arbain, 2013: 24).

## 2. Prayer and shalawat

For Banjar people all worship and prayer are addressed to God and cannot be addressed to His creatures; nobody grants prayer except Allah (David, 1997: 559). The religiosity of Banjar people is also applied by saying prayer as a solution to the problem of life as in the previous chapter, miserable suffering or heartbreak because her fiancé is married to another woman. The lyric of the song *Didundang Disayang* are as follows:

Kibar bandira urang bahaderah  
 Salawat salam ya nabiullah  
 Galuh badoa langit dipandang  
 Mudah mudahan nang tuntung pandang

(Wave the flag of the *bahaderah* people  
 Salawat and salam o the prophet of Allah  
*Galuh* prayed looking up the sky  
 Hopefully there's a glance [of happiness])

In the above verses, the story is contrasted. On the one hand, the people are enjoying the joy of "waving the flag of the *bahaderah* people" that is the ceremony of parading the newly-weds with a crowd of people carrying a flag accompanied by the music rhythm and percussion. During the parade, the dancers who performed dancing while waving the flag accompanied by some people singing a compliment to Prophet Muhammad SAW or singing prayers. At the same time, grieving Galuh made a decision by praying while looking up the sky. In such a situation the solution was to pray. At the same time, Galuh looks up the sky as the highest and infinite place, she does not look down as she will see the limit of the visibility. Praying is not for herself, but for the good of others, even the good of the former lover who chooses to marry the other woman. Prayer as a solution of this issue can be seen in the song *Sangu Batulak*, "*Mun jadi tulak apa sanguku. Sahibar doa iman di dada*" (If I leave, what to take with me? Just prayer, faith in the chest) as described earlier that prayer is a solution to a migrant person with internal conflict because of sadness of leaving hometown.

### 3. "*Haram Manyarah*" Banjar people's struggle doctrine

Explicitly religious values are not featured in the song *Kampung Batuah*, but instead it shows the strength of religious doctrine as the foundation against the invaders. The verses of the song "*haram korarah marabut Banjar*" is a strong doctrine that also does not provide other options to the Banjar people in addition to fighting the invaders. The term "*haram menyarrah*" does not guarantee that they will win the resistance, even the effect is either freedom or death. In addition, the impact of this "*haram menyarrah*" is "his clothes covered in blood". Through the song, the youths of Banjar are given a difficult choice as the impact of their persistent spirit of *haram manyarah* (surrender is forbidden) to achieve the vision for the future of a village in Banjarmasin i.e. the blessed village which aims for the good of generations to come (children and grandchildren).

If traced further, the term "*haram menyarrah*" is related to, as Andersen put forward, the Banjarmasin war which had political and religious aspects. For some resistance leaders, the war was a war of sabil (Sjamsuddin, 2001: 206). Similarly, the "unseen world" as the guerrilla headquarters shows that

in the Banjarmasin War this ideology was combined with the messianic and nativistic expectations of the Muning movement. Although the movement itself was short-lived, it became a powerful force in the spirit of jihad. This movement was a kind of assimilation between Islamic teachings and folk traditions (Sjamsuddin, 2001:253)

## CONCLUSION

The existence of art, i.e. the songs of the Banjar region written by Anang Ardiansyah, turned out to be an important part of the identity of religiosity in Banjar culture. This is evident in the following three aspects: First, in the midst of the various world musical streams entering the Borneo region and followed by the present generation, there are still regional songs (using local language and theme) that still survives to be heard and talked about. The power of local content in songs written by Anang Ardiansyah can provide space for Banjar culture with religious nuance to continue to be preserved through songs and appreciation of the song lyrics.

Second, Banjar songs by Anang Ardiansyah are home to civilization or Banjar culture built from the foundation of awareness of the surrounding environment by breathing the spirit of life. The discourse of love or women is part of attraction but fenced by the boundaries of religious values of faith. The basic foundation of all is the awareness of the religiosity of Anang Ardiansyah as a Banjar Muslim whose values of faith, prayer, belief in religious teaching are ingrained in his works. Perhaps that is why his songs are timeless because they are rooted in the the Banjar religious and cultural tradition itself.

Third, Banjar songs are not only aesthetic in meaning or beautiful to the sense of hearing, but the inclusion of religious teachings that are instilled continuously has strengthened the identity of Islam among the Banjar people. At the same time the distribution of religious values and knowledge through regional songs has strengthened by reinterpreting or at least retelling the content of the song's meaning.

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# DAYAK AND MALAY BROTHERHOOD IN THE MALAY COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF POST- INDEPENDENCE INDONESIA<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

*Each community in the world has a past in which their existence is commonly determined by things happening in their past. To preserve their past a community needs means of transmission, among others, through oral traditions such as stories, mantra, and way of life. They inherit stories, mantra, and ways of life with values that have related meanings to their life. The heritage of these things is very important to preserve and develop the collective identity of the community. As they continue to be passed down, they become the collective memory of a community. The West Kalimantan Malay society has collective memories that are relatively inherited in the form of oral traditions and other life practices such as cultivation. Part of the collective memory has awakened them to the brotherhood with the people called Dayak today. Nevertheless, the collective memory is confronted with challenges both coming from within themselves and from the outside that may eliminate them without a better replacement.*

**Keywords:** Collective, Memory, Dayak, Malay, Local Tradition, Belief, Heritage, Social Relations

## INTRODUCTION

Before Europeans came to West Kalimantan, the terms Dayak and Malay had not been used to identify local people. Popular local identification was the traditional tribal names which can be associated to the place of origin such as the name of the village or the name of the river and language. Within certain limits, this identification is still used today as a marker of the origin of a person. The Dutch came and provided a new identity construction for the

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<sup>1</sup> The article is absed on a peper presented at the *Dialog Borneo-Kalimantan XIII* held on 27-28 Desember 2018. The first basic draft of it is posted at <http://teraju.id/berita/persaudaraan-dayak-melayu-dalam-memori-kolektif-orang-melayu-4454/>. The terminologi of Pasca Independence era is given to explain the situation of ethnic relation in West Kalimantan Barat which is not being discussed within available otoritative resources such as works of Western scholars and the colonial reports that mostly give more attention to the ecsotism of the people in the region such as head-hunting tradition and other local culture aspects.

local population of Kalimantan with two main categories namely: Dayak and Malay. Meanwhile the main marker of the construct of ethnic identity was religion. Local people who observed traditional beliefs were called Dayaks. While those who had converted to Islam had a new ethnic identity as Malays. Later, Dayak not only became the identity of local people who embraced the original belief but it was also used to identify those who followed the Christian missionary religion. The most popular terms for the transition of identity to local people who converted to Islam are “to become Malay’ or ‘to enter Malaydom’ or ‘to return [and become] Malay’ (Veth, 1854; King, 1993; Chalmers, 2007; Heidhues, 2008, Hermansyah, 2010; 2018). The name Dayak itself is actually a ‘umbrella name’ for hundreds of sub ethnic groups with relatively different languages and cultures.

The issue of Islamic conversion as an entry into Malaydom for local communities in West Kalimantan has emerged at least 160 years ago. For example Veth (1854: 54) reported on the inhabitants of Embau.<sup>2</sup> According to him, a person’s religion means holding a Malay name. Veth (1854: 54) firmly noted: “*Daar zij voor eenige jaren den islam hebben aangenomen thans tot de malaijers kunnen gerekend worden.*” (meaning, “there, a few years before this, they (the inhabitants of the Embau River) have embraced Islam, they may be counted as Malay.”)<sup>3</sup>

The Malay-Dayak identification process to local communities based on the beliefs adopted by Dutch colonialists among others is intended for administrative purposes other than of course divide et impera politics. From a colonial point of view, the Dayaks were considered primitive<sup>4</sup> with their exotic image. While the Malay were considered more cultured because they were religious, became rulers of several kingdoms, and some of them were immigrants. This image slowly but surely affected the local people. The people who were given a new identity as Malays were flattered. Those who were called Malay felt that they had a better social status. Therefore the identification process that distinguishes Malay and Dayak was getting stronger. The further consequence of the kinship between the two --which is actually very strong because of the blood relationship—was increasingly tenuous. In fact, since then there has been negative image of the ‘brothers’ called Dayak.

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<sup>2</sup> A name of a river in Kabupaten Kapuas Hulu. The region consists of three lower levels of administrative regions including Kecamatan Jongkong, Kecamatan Hulu Gurung, and Kecamatan Pengkadan.

<sup>3</sup> Such identification process is also found within local people who converted to Islam in the past in West Kalimantan (see Enthoven, 2013).

<sup>4</sup> A colonial terminology commonly used by Europeans to label the people in their colonies which is associated to primitive, pagan and living in small groups of clan contrasted to modern Europeans

The separation grew stronger when in later times most of the so-called Dayaks then chose Christianity as their formal religion. In contrast, some Dayaks who converted to Islam were still considered Malay. In this context the colonial concept continues to be used. Later researchers are still reporting the same thing as Sellato (1992) who wrote: “Gradually over time religious conversion would result in a reclassification of the Dayak converts as Malay; the local Malay term for this process is *masuk Melayu* (‘to become Malay’ or ‘to enter Malaydom’) or sometimes *turun Melayu* (‘to come down [and become] Malay.’”<sup>5</sup>

The Malay and the Dayak are the two largest ethnic groups in West Kalimantan. Before becoming part of the Republic of Indonesia, these community groups were under the control of local leaders. The relationship between these two ethnic groups has been very dynamic. In some cases the two constructs of colonial identity are faced so as to cause tension. This condition is exacerbated by a handful of people making the Malay-Dayak identity a political tool. The use of ethnic identity as a means of winning the sympathy of the masses is increasingly widespread after the reform era especially in the elections of regional heads of government. The Dayaks began to have the awareness that Kalimantan is a Dayak land and they are the most entitled to inherit and lead on this island. While among the Malays also they developed the same thing that they are natives as well. This situation affects the bureaucracy, when one of these two groups is in power, it will be considered<sup>6</sup> there is dominance in government and in related sectors.

Meanwhile, several violent conflicts with ethnic backgrounds have occurred here. Although some of these conflicts do not involve Dayaks and Malays directly, it has caused deep historical wound to the people of West Kalimantan. However, it is not impossible that a conflict involving ethnic Dayaks and Malays will occur if both ethnic groups continue to be exposed to the pragmatic political interests of a particular person or group of people. The potential for conflict vulnerability in West Kalimantan has been hypothesized by Prof. Syarif I. Alqadrie (2007) which in its history happened every 30 years. One example of tension involving ethnic Dayak and Malay-Muslim members who almost instigated an open conflict, for example, occurred when the first parade

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<sup>5</sup> Lately the condition has not been found anymore in the region of Landak. The Kanayatn Dayak who convert to Islam in the region keep their ethnic identity (see Hermansyah (2013). For further reference, see also Prasajo (2011) who discusses the similar phenomena for Katab Kebahan Dayak in Melawi of West Kalimantan.

<sup>6</sup> The word is used for inavailability of research finding with regards to whether the statement is true. In fact, people massively keep the notion within non-formal conversation in their daily life. There is also an understanding about unjust meaning within the term.



of Gawai Dayak on May 20, 2017.<sup>7</sup> Previously, there were incidents at Gang Tanjung Harapan and Gang Landak Pontianak in November and December 1999 which also almost spread into conflict between the two ethnic groups.<sup>8</sup>

Amid fears of a conflict that may involve two of the largest groups of people in West Kalimantan, there is a real sense of brotherly feelings toward the Dayaks among the Malays that have been recorded in their common memories. Very likely that consciousness is also present among the Dayaks. This kind of awareness has, among other things, succeeded in maintaining a relatively good relationship for so long between the two largest ethnic groups in West Kalimantan. This is a 'capital' for the people of West Kalimantan to maintain social harmony.

There are various things that still remind local Malay of their Dayak origins into their collective memory, among others: aspects of trust, heritage, social relations, and cultural similarities. This collective memory has been passed down by generations. Unfortunately, behind this collective memory begins to be erased slowly either intentionally or not. This article will describe the collective memory of the Malays that may serve the bond of the two large communities in West Kalimantan. In addition, this paper will also present challenges or even threats to the existence of the collective memory.

## COLLECTIVE MEMORY

There are various terms used to refer to "collective memory". Some scholars prefer the term "cultural memory" (Erll, 2008), whereas most social historians and scientists use the term "social memory" (Olick, 1998; Fentress and Wickham, 1992) and "collective memory" (Lipsitz, 1990). In practice, this terminology differs due to different approaches to study it.

Memory is an individual phenomenon that begins with the activity of remembering in a person's head. Every meaning and symbol is born from individual human beings. We create symbols, and then interpret them. However, the process of interaction between individuals who create each other's symbols and interpret them will produce a certain collectivity which Durkheim refers to as a social fact, or collectivity itself. The process of creating and giving meaning to the symbol, and then passing it on to the next generation, requires memory. The process of remembering so many people on a certain time scale, and then being passed on to the next generation, will form a specific collective memory structure. This collective memory will

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<sup>7</sup> <https://suaranasional.com/2017/05/20/hampir-terjadi-bentrokan-saat-pawai-gawai-dayak/> akses 2 Mei 2018.

<sup>8</sup> See also Djajadi (2016).

remain, and passed on to the next generation, although times are changing, and tradition disappears (Wattimena, 2012: 2). According to Confino (1997: 1389) Memory as a study of collective mentality provides a comprehensive view of culture and society that is often lost in the history of memory.

Each community in the world has a past. In fact, as Robert Bellah claimed, the so-called communities are determined by what happened in their past. He argued, that a true community is a community of memories, a community based on a past, and never forgetting it. To preserve its past, a community, according to Bellah, needs a story. They create stories that contain meaningful values for the community. Such stories are very important to preserve and develop the collective identity of the community. However, not only are stories told about the good and success of the past, but also stories about painful events, and failures that can be learned. Stories of negative events from the past can actually become the bond of a strong collective identity, and create a deep sense of togetherness. "And if a community is completely honest," as Bellah wrote, "they will remember stories not only of the suffering it receives, but also the suffering it causes --dangerous memories, because it invites the community to transform the ancient evil" ( Wattimena, 2012: 6).

Olick (Widjaja, 2010: 15) mentioned about the three principles for analyzing memory and processing the content in it. First the collective memory is not monolithic. Collective warning is a very complex process, involving many different people, practices, materials, and themes. Secondly, the concept of collective memory will encourage us to see memory as an authentic residue of the past or vice versa as a dynamic construct in the present. The complex recall process is always a fluid negotiation process between today's desires and relics of the past. Third, it must be remembered that memory is a process, and not an object. Collective memory is something we did, not something we had. Therefore a sensitive analysis tool that is sensitive to diversity, contradictions, and dynamics is required. Thus the memory first forms in the present as well as in the past and is something that is not fixed. Memory is something that lives in dynamics at both the individual and collective levels. For the purposes of this paper, the term collective memory refers to the collective memory among the Malays in the form of past stories, beliefs, practices, and which have become traditions such as farming.

## **BELIEF**

Although belief / Religion --in addition to language and culture-- as a major marker of the Malay and Dayak differences, traces of old beliefs can still be traced in the daily life of the Malay and the Dayaks. This trust trail shows the

collective memory of the Malays. Some of these will be described below. In the Malay community, especially in the interior, there are people who still perform the *ancak* ritual. *Ancak* is woven trays for offerings to supernatural beings (Gimlette, 1971: 2). The offerings are usually made up of food ingredients. It is believed that performing the ceremony can affect the luck and misfortune of a person in addition to treating the sick. This ceremony was prevalent among the people of the archipelago in the past. Among the rural communities of West Kalimantan, this ceremony was performed by the Dayaks as well as by Malays.

There is also a *tolak bala* (prevention of misfortune) ceremony. The ceremony is performed with certain ceremonial devices in the form of food that will be placed on the border of the village. The purpose of this food disposal is to feed the magical powers in order to persuade them not to disturb the peace of the village. Along with the ceremony was reading prayers according to Islamic beliefs (Hermansyah 2002). The Malays continued their ancestral traditions before Islam in the form of feeding the supernatural beings believed to affect their lives along with the recitation of Islamic prayer.

In addition, there are also beliefs related to the livelihood. In land-clearing for farming, for example, it should start on certain days or based on instructions through dreams or listening to the instructions that come from the sound of birds. Likewise the determination of the day begins to sow the seed and during harvest. In fishermen communities, they also develop certain beliefs for example one should not whistle or say dirty words at the time of looking for fish associated with the catch and the safety of fishermen.

There is also a belief called *kempunan* sometimes called *kepunan* or *mpunan*. *Kempunan* is a dangerous situation caused by a person's desire to eat and drink that has been declared or an offer to eat or drink that is not met.<sup>9</sup> This situation causes a person to be threatened or bitten by certain animals such as snakes, centipedes, scorpions or accidents such as falling because of being driven by supernatural beings. Usually a person who does not fulfill the wishes or take offers to eat or drink, he will get misfortune like a wound, falling off or being bitten by a venomous animal which is believed to have occurred due to a *kempunan*. To avoid the situation, someone must eat or drink, or at least does *mlopus*.<sup>10</sup> Evidence that this *kempunan* being part of the collective memory of the Malay can be traced to the Dayak society. According to Bernstein (1997: 67) *kempunan* is an integral part of daily culture in the upper Kapuas River,

<sup>9</sup> Compare to the definition of *kempunan* by *Kamus Dewan* (2002: 535) and Wilkinson (1959: 553).

<sup>10</sup> Touching food and beverages with your fingers and put the left over food and or beverages in them to your mouth (Hermansyah, 2010: 82, 94).

including in the Dayak Taman community, which became the focus of his study. Apparently such a belief not only belongs to the Kapuas River upstream community, the Kadayan Dayak community in Brunei also has a similar belief (Maxwell 2005).

The belief in the “spirit” of many living and dead objects is another example of the existence of the Dayak and Malay origins. Another example is associated with *pantang larang* (prohibition). Traditional people of West Kalimantan believe that rivers and lakes should not be poisoned because it will lead to natural events that threaten human safety such as rain accompanied by thunder and lightning. *Pantang larang* is related to keeping the water ecosystem and the water itself from pollution (Hermansyah, 2016: 351). Respect for the right to living freely is not only given to humans. Some West Kalimantan people believe that animals should not be laughed at or tortured, especially for prospective parents. If breached, it will result in the same fate that befalls the baby to be born. This belief is called *kenawa*. Besides *kenawa* Malays also believe that, hurting animals and laughing at them can lead to *lobur*. *Lobur* is the occurrence of storm accompanied by lightning and thunder that turns a person who hurts animals and laughs at them into a rock (Hermansyah, 2010: 58). The fact that this belief is a form of Malay collective memory of the ancestral heritage prior to Islam is seen in similar beliefs among the Dayaks. Beliefs about this *lobur* for example is similar to the Dayak Kayan belief called *Adat Dipuy*. In this custom the Dayak Kayan people believe that treating animals, especially monkeys, frogs, pigs and dogs arbitrarily and laughing at them can cause strong winds and thunder. The difference is, in the strong wind and thunder does not turn a person into a rock (Rousseau 1998: 105).

## HERITAGE

In the collective memory of the Malays, they have long claimed to have a kinship with the Dayaks. To prove it, they usually have a *tembawang* inherited from their ancestors. The owner of the *tembawang* consists of Dayaks and Malays. *Tembawang* is an old farm planted with various fruit plants such as durian, mangosteen, rambutan, mango, and so forth. In the fruitful season, the Dayaks will tell their Malay relatives to take some fruit or sometimes send the fruits to them. Likewise, if the Dayaks go to the Malay village, they will be accepted and treated as relatives. In the past, many Dayak people sent their children to school and entrusting them to the Malays. The Malay host is even responsible for providing food, drink, and tuition for the Dayak children.

In addition to *tembawang*, the Malay (and possibly Dayak) inherited the same story as the Dayak. According to Wattimena (2012: 4) stories about the past

usually settles into a kind of folklore that contains moral values going to the next generation. The story becomes meaningful, because it contains the past wisdoms that need to be inherited and interpreted by the next generation. In the stories of the past, and the moral and wisdom values contained therein, collective memory plays an important role in giving meaning and context. Folklore becomes a tool for collective memory to give a social identity to a particular community. In Kapuas Hulu, there is a famous Demang Nutup story as their ancestors. Here is a version of the story (Hermansyah, 2010: 211-212):

“Grandfather Demang Nutup came from the people of heaven. His wife was Sunta Bonang. They had sixteen children who then became the Chinese, Kantu, Iban, Taman, Tebidah, Punan and Bugis. The one who became Malay was in our place [Embau].

Grandfather Demang Nutup always went to the top of Beluwan Hill --which was then still connected with the Ampan Hill-- to see the tree of a thousand branches growing on top of the hill. The tree of a thousand branches was wrapped in the roots that end up in the sky. The roots were used by the Grandfather Demat Nutup to come down from heaven to earth. Apparently the roots were also used by the Siang Burung ghost to descend to earth to kill humans. One day Grandfather Demang Nutup went to see a thousand branchwood trees to watch if the Daylight ghost descended to earth. Because of concern for the safety of his children, the roots were cut off by Grandfather Demang Nutup. From then on, no man could climb to the land of heaven anymore.

After cutting the roots, he felt hot. To cool his body, Grandfather Demang Nutup bathed in the Klawan Bluwan pool. During bath, Grandfather Demang Nutup got a Tambun fish which is big as an adult gurami fish. When he finished bathing, he went back to the village with the Tambun fish wrapped with a bathing cloth. Arriving at home, the fish was immediately given to his wife for cooking. When his wife opened the wrap, all she found were the bones of fish because the meat had been eaten by the tuma. Even so, the fish bone was still cooked with cucumber leaves.

After the fish one and cucumber leaves was ready, his son immediately ate it. During the meal, his son had a bone stuck in his throat. Grandfather Demang Nutup was furious. He immediately went to the foot of the hill and kicked the hill. “Seves you right! the fish that I got from your pond caused my son to get bone stuck in his throat,” he said. The Ampan Hill at the top of Beluwan Hill was finally separated. Ampan Hill then floated in the air. Seeing the Ampan hills floating in the air, other hills asked him:

“Ampan Hill, where are you going?”

“I want to cover the Embau River,” said Ampan hill.

Hearing the conversation, lokan<sup>11</sup> Maram replied, “Wait, let’s cover the River together. Please drop by here first. I still have unfinished work.” When Ampan Hill stopped there, half the hill plunged into the ground and could not move anymore. That’s where the Ampan Hill stopped so it’s now downstream of the Nanga Pedian village.”

The story above is actually a legend about the origin of a hill. But in that story, the central figure believed by them as their ancestor was also the ancestor of the people of other tribes. In addition to the story, the Malays and the Dayaks inherited a number of similar folklore. The story of Pak Saloi --or in some places called Pang Alo-- is an ancestor’s folklore about the humorous figures shared by the Malays and the Dayaks.

Furthermore there is a legacy of the same farming system among the two ethnic groups. Overall, the cultivation system among the Malay cultivators / activities which is the main activity of rural communities in the interior is mostly the same as that of the Dayak. The time-consuming farming activities of the Malays were reported Hermansyah (2010: 25-27) as follows:

The first activity is Ngabas Tanah. This is an activity to check and review some places planned to be used as a field or *huma*. At the time of examining this land sometimes they also got a *burung-biu* (signs)<sup>12</sup> whether the land should be used as a *huma* that year or look elsewhere. The sign can be a dream, a feeling or can also be a state that can be used as a guide like a sick family member. If during the search for a suitable field and no unfavorable *burung biu* is found, the next stage is *Nobas*. This activity takes place around May or June.

*Nobas*, is the activity of cutting the grass on the sidelines of a large tree located on the land to be used as a *huma*. For those who will farm in *mpalai*<sup>13</sup> which is rather new, usually this activity is take place later than those who will take on the old *mpalai* or open a new land. This

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<sup>11</sup> *Lokan* means swamp

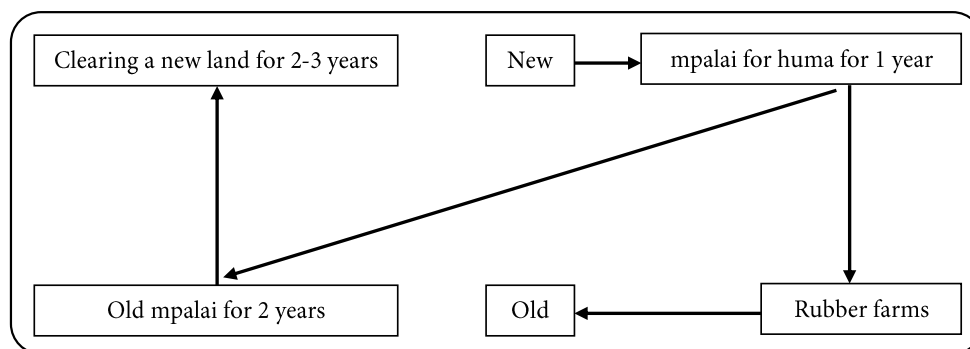
<sup>12</sup> Similar belief to Dayak people. Within the Dayak people, a bird has an important role for giving hints for human life as reported by Van Hulten (1992: 218-219). In addition, the Dayak people also believe that forest is also inhabited by supernatural beings that must be respected so that when starting the work of new land for a farm in the forest, for example, they need to ask for a permission. This kind of belief within Dayak people is also repoted by Radam (2001: 328-337) and Fatmawati (2011: 133).

<sup>13</sup> A piece of land that has ever been used as a farm in the past years. *Mpalai* means smal bushes and woods. The level of work to spend to the bushes and woods depends on the length of the *mpalai* being left for unsed.



farming system is commonly known as shifting cultivation. Although the farming land shifts, they have traditional wisdom to preserve the forest. Instead of believing in certain forces that govern nature, they are also accustomed to taking advantage of the *mpalai* after being left for several years. So they do not clear a new land every year. For land that is not productive because of reduced fertility if used as a field then the land will be used plantation, especially rubber. In contrast, old rubber gardens that are less productive are cut down and used as fields. This shifting cultivation system proves to be not only an appropriate answer to the "struggle" for sustaining life on infertile soil, it is also a major alternative and appropriate mechanism, at least in transition to a fully settled agricultural system. In the last ten years it has been very rare for Malays to clear new forests for agricultural land. The following illustrates the cycle of land use for Malay people:

Chart of  
Land Cycle for Farming



After finishing *nobas*, the next activity is *nobang*, which is cutting down wooden trees. This activity is only done on a new land or an old *mpalai*. After being cleared, the land is left for about a month waiting to dry before the next activity.

*Nunu*, i.e. burning the *uma*, is done after the trees and grass have been cut down and let to dry. If the land is adjacent to the forest or farm, then before the burning, the land should have a *doda*<sup>14</sup> of 3-5 meters wide. Before burning the land, the owner of the field will tell the owners of the surrounding land to keep the fire from spreading.

After completion the *nunu*, the next activity is *ngokas*, that is activity to clean

<sup>14</sup> Means clearing dried grass/bushes and woods on the land bordered with forest and farm so that help protect the fire to escalate to unwanted area when the burning work takes place.

the remains of burning. The length of time for this *ngokas* depends on the first burning result. If the season is less hot, usually it is not good and the time to do *ngokas* will be longer and vice versa. Unburned woods in the *nunu* period will be cut and stacked for re-burning.

When finished with *ngokas*, the next activity is *nugal*, that is planting rice with *tugal*. Between the rice plants, people usually grow vegetables, such as mustard greens, *jawa'*, *pare*, spinach, corn, chives, chili, eggplant, cucumber, and pumpkin.

The next two months came the *mabau* period, which is clearing the grass that grow on the sides of the rice and vegetables. At this time some types of vegetables can be picked, such as spinach, chives and young corn. Approximately a month after the *mabau*, for those who plant the *pulut* (glutinous rice), came the time for *ngompin*. *Ngompin* is the activity to make *ompin* (*emping*) from sticky rice. A month after the *ompin* season came the harvesting season (*ngotam*). Rice stems are harvested one by one, collected and then threshed to remove the grain. After that the grain is dried in the sun, it is burned with a bushel. After that, some of the rice is separated for seeds for the next planting season, some are ground to be used as rice and some are stored inside *kujuk*<sup>15</sup>, if they need it, they will take the rice from the *kujuk* to be ground or sold.

The whole series of farming activities are usually done by way of *bebung*, which is doing the *huma* en mass with a roll from one *huma* to another. The most frequent activities by way of *bebung* in *berhuma* are *nobas*, *nugal*, and *ngotam*. In addition, there is also magic called *ilmu* among the Malays that is inherited from their ancestors prior to Islam. Hermansyah (2010) reported that a number of *ilmu* shows the heritage of the ancestors.<sup>16</sup> In addition to the Islamic element in *ilmu*, there are also local elements that show the heritage of tradition, among others, similar or even the same beliefs with those among the Dayaks. Here are some examples;

*Semati anak mati anak*  
*Mati ditingang tanah tamak*  
*Totak buluh panyang panak*  
*Pakai nyuman porut simati anak*

<sup>15</sup> A peace of work in the form of a box made of wood to store *padi* (rice). *Kujuk* is normally in 1.5 x 5 meters and placed in a room between kitchen and main body of the house.

<sup>16</sup> It is also the same as the people of Dayak Lawangan who have converted to Islam as reported by Mallinckrodt (1974)

*(Dead child [ghost]  
Died of landslide  
Cut baboo long and short  
To stab the stomach of dead child [ghost])  
(Hermansyah, 2010: 145)*

This mantra indicates a heritage of the ancestral belief of the Malay prior to Islam that the bleeding that occurs at the time a mother gives birth is caused by the ghost of a dead child. To treat it, then the mantra is recited. This belief is clearly a belief of an unknown tradition in Islam. Another example of another mantra used to treat children who cry a lot as follows:

*To bathe a crying child  
Kuak kabak cencang dade dulang  
Daging dan tulang tekerambak  
Buang luge dalam tulang  
Nek uyuk merang kajang  
Teparang kamunie  
Antu buyuk antu bajang  
Sahabat manusia  
(Lala, 2007: 93)  
**Tawar sawan Serabi**  
Kaciku secangak secingar  
Ngacip kaki babi  
Ambik kencor dengan jeringau  
Aku menawar nenek rerabi  
(Lala, 2007: 94)*

In contrast, the Dayaks were influenced by the Malays in their spells. Although they do not convert to Islam, they have been influenced by the Malays, more precisely by Islam in their mantra while maintaining the local elements. Here are some examples of mantras that show the influence of Islam practiced by the Dayak Kanayatn in Landak area.

**Tawar api/air panas** (Burn treatment)  
*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim  
Turun jaki naik jai  
Makan rokok sirih sakabat  
Bukan aku nawari' kena' api/air  
Aku nawari' hujan yang lebat  
(Apan in Hermansyah, 2013: 349)*

Tawar mata (Eye treatment)  
*Bismilah ya rahman ya rahim*  
*Ambun ijau ambun kuning*  
*Ambun manikam raja manawar*  
*Aku nuruntan tawaran saribu*  
*Anak ikan putih dari lautan*  
*Panas sajuk barat ringan*  
*Tajam tumpul bisa tawar*  
*Sah tawar*  
 (Maria Ate, in Hermansyah, 2013: 349)

Tawar Kempunan (Kempunan treatment)  
*Bismillah ya rahman ya rahim*  
*Pariu' si parunggu*  
*Barisi' ruman padi*  
*Turun dato' petara guru*  
*Nawari' kempunan ku tadi'*  
*Jilat makatn*  
 (Alau Akbar in Hermansyah 2013: 349)

This situation also occurs among the Dayak Tunjung and Benuaq people who are Christians in East Kalimantan practicing mantras with those influenced by Islamic beliefs such as in the following *ilmu asar* text:

bismillah neraman arahim	in the name of Allah, The Merciful and Compassionate
sang putih raja manak	White Lord, King [of] Children
asal orang putih tak belawan	because of a man's white origin, he shall not resist

(*Hopes* 1997: 112)

From some of the above examples it is evident that the Islamic element in the Dayak mantra is the mention of *bismillahirrahmanirrahim* which means 'in the name of Allah the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful'. This sentence is the first verse in the first Surah of the Quran that is al-Fatihah. It has become common knowledge among Muslims to make this sentence a greeting to start a good work to be of value before God.

## SOCIAL RELATIONS

In order to maintain social relations and respect for their Dayak relatives, the Malays chose to call themselves *orang darat* (land people). Even this is very common when they are talking about a Dayak as a third person. The term *darat* (land) refers to a marker of direction among the people of Kalimantan other than the *laut* (sea), *hulu* (upstream), and *hilir* (downstream).<sup>17</sup> *Laut* refers to the river, and land is in the opposite direction. “*Hulu*” refers to a water source or upstream of the river and “*hilir*” points toward the mouth of the river. The direction of the wind is unknown in the traditional direction system of the people in Kalimantan. Even if using the sun as a sign, they just call the direction of the sun *lives* and the sun *dies* to refer east and west. The north and south directions are completely unknown. They do not want to call their relatives *Dayak*. For in the beginning the name of Dayak was an insulting term for non-Muslim indigenous peoples in the interior of Kalimantan (Sellato, 1989). In the perspective of scholars of colonial anthropology at that time, the term Dayak was always depicted in the Western world as an underdeveloped group of humans who like to wage war between tribes and move from one region to another (Isman 2016: 364).

While among the Dayaks in Melawi and Sintang, they call their Muslim brothers as “*senganan*” (Fatmawati, 2011: 167) which means the right side in the sense that they still are close relatives. In fact, these Muslim ‘*senganan*’ still continue their Dayak customs that are modified and adapted to Islamic teachings. By doing so, the Muslim ‘*senganans*’ realize that they are actually Dayaks or at least have the same ancestors as the Dayaks. In contrast, the Dayaks recall that they also have brothers who subsequently turned their ethnicity into a ‘*senganan*’.

In the context of relations between ethnic groups there are good habits and continue to be maintained until now, especially in the interior. In certain Dayak villages, there is a special custom of serving Muslim guests. In order to respect the Muslim guests they prepare special cutlery and cookware that they do not use.<sup>18</sup> In addition, sometimes guests are also served with food that has not been cooked. That way, Muslim guests can process their own food without feeling anxiety. Therefore, Muslims who come to a Dayak village will feel at

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<sup>17</sup> Maunati (2006: 178-179) mentions that the Dayak use direction terms as *hulu* (*ulu*) or upper area and *hilir* (*ilir*) or lower area since most Dayak settlements are located in the river sides so that they understand the direction as associated to river flow. In addition, the *ulu-ilir* terminology also has important symbolic meanings for the Dayak. *Ulu* also means life and *Ilir* means death. *Ilir* is also associated to city or more developed area or urban. Maunati does not give an explanation on the concept of *darat* and *laut*.

<sup>18</sup> As commonly understood, Islam has a specific concept of law with regards to food and beverage, some of them are allowed to be consumed by Muslims and some other not.

home.<sup>19</sup>

In regulating social relations, the traditional communities of West Kalimantan have customary law. Customary law is still applied by some Malay communities, very closely related to the Dayak customary law. For example, in rural communities of West Kalimantan, particularly in Hulu Gurung, Kapuas Hulu District, they recognize the term of the customary law namely *pamar darah*. The *pamar darah* penalties apply to a person or group of people who create a rowdy atmosphere and shock people; for example someone walking in the middle of the village carrying a machete or other weapon while shouting. The perpetrator will be subject to certain customary sanctions. These customary laws have prevented fights or vigilante actions. Among the Dayak Landak people, they have a similar custom called *Pamabakng* custom which is made to resist various acts of violence (Kristianus, 2009: 121).

## CHALLENGES

The Malay collective memory lives in a vibrant sphere of life. Therefore, changes due to external influences or the drive from within is inevitable. There are many things that affect the collective memory of a community. At least there are four things that are very influential on the collective memory of Malays in West Kalimantan namely, social segregation, modernization, politics, and religion. For a long time, local Muslims who converted to Islam --and gained a new identity as Malay--made new settlements separate from the original. Thus geographically the Dayaks and the Malays have long been separated from each other. Almost no more heterogeneous villages exist --in terms of a relatively balanced number of Dayaks and Malays-- in West Kalimantan. Although there are some, but one can hardly find villages inhabited together by the Malays and the Dayaks. There are indeed Dayak villages in which some Malay people live or vice versa. The social separation of the Dayaks and the Malays has begun during the Dutch colonial era, as mentioned in the previous section, for the purposes of running public administration and daily social communication of the general public, and to support the spread of Christianity to indigenous people labeled as Dayak people.

It must also be stated that there are other situations among Dayaks who convert to Islam in Kalimantan. For example, Dayak Bakumpai people in Central Kalimantan and South Kalimantan still maintain their Dayak identity even though they are Moslems (Nasrullah, 2014) as the case of the Benuaq people in East Kalimantan (Yusriadi et al., 2012: 55). Likewise in Brunei, in the country's constitution it is stated that the Malays consisted of the original

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<sup>19</sup> Compare to Fatmawati (2011: 145-146)



Brunei friars of Belait, Bisaya, Brunei, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut and Tutong, regardless of their religion and belief (Hermansyah, 2015: 2 ). Based on such circumstances, especially in East Kalimantan, Maunati (2006: 85) asserted that the boundaries between Dayak and Malay are not very strict, and the limitation of one's Dayak identity is always changing. Thus according Maunati the use of ethnic terms in the context of religious differences is misleading.

Modernity that brings nature to rational thinking has transformed people who believe in supernatural and mythology to something logical and empirical. The process of modernization is channeled through education and cultural literacy. Education and cultural literacy has brought a new cultural element among people of Kalimantan. The stories in the textbooks come mostly from other cultures. While the oral tradition speakers who remind their past are diminishing. In everyday life the use of modern tools and technology among the Malays is increasing. This has improved efficiency and reduced their dependence on nature. By itself, some of the collective memory that bridges them in touch with nature with its various beliefs is also eroded.

Another factor that also greatly affects the collective memory of the Malays is politics. Strong ethnic politics has influenced the Malay ways of thinking and acting. When the election of competing regional head candidates is Malay and their political opponents are Dayaks then identity politics is strengthened. The strengthening of ethnic identity --in this case Malay and Dayak-- is needed to attract the sympathy of each group. The rivalry of political elites involving ethnic identity has had an effect on the lack of harmonious political relations among some Dayak elites and the Malay in politics (Isman 2016: 362). In this context the collective memory that reminds them of their brotherhood may be forgotten, as opposed to the political interests of the elites. The collective memory here is seen as the subjective experience of a social group that can basically support power relations (Confino, 1997: 1393). This situation will get worse if there is dominance control of government bureaucracy --ignoring the competence and professionalism-- when members of one ethnic group wins the election of the regional head of government. This political competition has also affected their collective memory. Because of the competition, some people find it unnecessary to maintain a collective memory that reminds the similarity of their origin. Differences of interest can make memory a captive of reductionism and political functionalism (Confino, 1997: 1395).

Religion is also a factor that greatly affects the collective memory of the Malays. The presence of Islam has brought many changes to West Kalimantan Malay people who choose to embrace this religion, including in terms of culture. Although the Malays do not entirely abandon local traditions, the

Malay reasoning slowly supersedes the old ways that al-Attas (1969: 4-7) aligned it with the transition of Western worldviews previously influenced by the Greek mythology to the world of reasoning and enlightenment. As Islam gets stronger, some of the traditional beliefs and practices are abandoned. The elements of abandoned local culture are especially contrary to the teachings of Islam. In this perspective, practicing local culture can disrupt their Islamic “purity”. Moreover, lately there is the behavior of religious fanaticism of some Muslims under the banner of Islamic fundamentalism which is trying to suppress everything they call un-Islamic. With this kind of religious approach, the Malay collective memory that reminds them of their origins and their brotherhood with the Dayaks is also affected and even gradually eliminated. Nevertheless, the Islamic teachings on the equality of human origins and human degrees before God can be the bond for these two ethnic groups (Surah Hujurat: 13).

Nevertheless, the similarity of the fate of the Dayaks and the Malays is a factor that can strengthen their collective memory. The removal of local people (read Dayak and Malays) from land ownership in the name of economic growth, development and modernization on the worst side has slowly made them lose their livelihood. At the same time the power of capitalism has eliminated their cultural roots which are very close to nature. If collective memory of the same origins is preserved by them, it is not unlikely that it will be a trigger to rise up against the forces that eradicate their history.

## CONCLUSION

The relationship between the Dayaks and the Malays in West Kalimantan is relatively harmonious. This good relationship has a strong historical roots in the people of West Kalimantan. As many researchers have noted, the vast majority of people who are now called Malay in West Kalimantan are actually local people who have been Muslim since hundreds of years ago. The awareness of being brothers to a local community now called “Dayak” is in fact an entirely historical consciousness. Therefore, the consciousness of a more genuine relationship because they come from a common ancestor is commonplace. In fact, recently the awareness has been disrupted by the interests of a handful of elites who take advantage of ethnic and religious issues for specific purposes.

The relationship is recorded in the Malay collective memory --and possibly also among the Dayaks. Memory is formed in the present as well as in the past and is something that is not fixed. Memory is something that lives in dynamics at both the individual and collective levels. Memory is maintained or removed depending on the needs. The collective memory is maintained or eliminated

by various factors. Among the important factors that may accelerate the loss of collective memory include: social segregation, modernization, politics, and religion.

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## THE INVOLVEMENT OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION WITHIN TOLAKI PEOPLE OF KONAWE DISTRICT

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### ABSTRACT

*This study aims to identify the various socio-cultural conditions of Tolaki people in Konawe that often engaging in inter-family conflict. The process of identifying the socio-cultural conditions leads to find the correlation between socio-cultural conditions and the types of inter-family conflicts and how they get resolved at the community level. Religious leaders are part of the efforts of solving the conflicts. In addition, this study is also aimed to determine and analyze the types of inter-family conflicts that exist and the processes for conflict resolution among families in the Tolaki in Konawe. The research data is based on two categories of informant; traditional leaders and ordinary informants that are public figures such as religious leaders, government officials within the scope of sub-district, village, and community members both at the level of individuals, families, and communities. The traditional leaders get involved in conflict resolution while public figures have experience on dealing with such conflicts and are sometime involved in a conflict. The work indicates that the conflicts in the Tolaki people take the form of closed and open conflicts. While the sources or the causes of the conflict come from tulura (speech), peowai (actions), and powaihako (behavior). The sources of the conflict then are manifested in the daily life of Tolaki people and become sisala'aineperapua (conflict in marriage), sisala'aine hapo-hapo (conflict by treasure), and conflict in social relations. Social and cultural conditions that often lead to inter-family conflicts are the difference in social strata, economic inequality, and religious differences. Tolaki People then settle their conflict through the expertise and charisma of religious and cultural leaders by the completion of melanggahako, mesokei, peohala, mombopoo'rai, sombalabu, and mosehe.*

**Keywords:** Tolaki, religious, leader, inter-family, conflict, resolution.



## INTRODUCTION

There are two patterns of conflicts commonly found arising in the life of human beings namely vertical and horizontal conflicts. Vertical conflict is the conflict between communities and the government. The use of instruments of state violence, causing casualties among people is something commonly seen in such kind of conflict (Susan, 2009:99). While horizontal conflict is a conflict involving agencies at the community level or that occur among the people themselves. Horizontal conflicts can occur internally and externally as well. Internal conflict is normally involving agents contained in a community. Interpersonal conflict is targeted at the persons in the group and externally involving agents in a community with agents from other communities (Tomagola, 2006:41). Horizontal conflict in a society can arise for many reasons such as those based on inter-ethnic and inter-religious causes including what happened in Poso known as the Poso conflict (Li, 2010; Sangaji, 2010; Klinken, 2007; Hasrullah, 2009, Trijono, 2006; Karnavian dkk, 2008), conflict in Maluku (Klinken, 2007:147-148; Tumanggor, 2006:279) and conflict between Dayak and Madurese in West Kalimantan (Davidson, 2010:245-268; Prasojo, 2011). In addition, the social condition of a society often raises the trigger of a conflict (Maunati 2006:194-195; Suparlan 1993:37).

Conflicts between the members of society, both inter-ethnic conflicts, religious conflicts, internal conflicts within society or community, as well as other conflicts in any form will be the same also for the community causing loss of life, social relations, and possessions. The efforts of conflict resolution can be reached in many ways including negotiations such as what have been done in Poso and Maluku (Karnavian at.al, 2008:206; Hasrullah, 2009: ix; Waileruny, 2010:225). Tolaki people have recognized their various traditional mechanisms adopted to resolve conflicts in their lives. Conflict resolution in the Tolaki community closely related to one of their ways of life namely Tolaki *inae kona sara iyee pine sara, inae lia sara iyee pinekasara*. It means that someone who knows customs will be appreciated, but those who do not appreciate the indigenous values will be sanctioned. In addition, the community requires for *moambongi* (forgiveness) when a conflict occurs. The community would demand for *monggolupe* (forgetting) when the conflict is resolved.

The Tolaki is the tribe who inhabit the island of Sulawesi and Southeast peninsula known as the mainland of Southeast Sulawesi Province. Currently the Tolaki people inhabit five districts of the eleven districts/cities in the province. The work is based on research in the five districts in which the Tolaki people have walked together with other tribes such as Bugis, Makassar, Java, Bali, Lombok, Muna and Buton, who also came to the region persisting

for several generations until today. In addition to ethnic diversity, there is also a diversity of religions in the region. Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, and Hinduism have coexisted since the times of their arrival. This paper highlights the lives of the Tolaki people as they have shown different from what happened in some locations experiencing conflicts between ethnic groups in the region. The Tolaki people, who also coexist with other tribes, have almost never experienced ethnic conflicts. The conflicts that often occur in their everyday life precisely occurred among their own fellow Tolaki people. The conflicts that have been found is in a form of a conflict that involves a family with another family members or conflicts within family members.

The work is supported by data that is obtained through very intensive observations and depth interviews with important key informants. The observation is conducted in the setting of direct experiences being in the situation of the phenomenon. In other words, it is based on a direct view of concrete events that occur in the society being studied (Hasan & Koentjaraningrat, 1997:9; Bachtiar, 1997:112). Thus, this observation is an activity to gather as much information on the basis of what is visible on the targeted research (Bachtiar, 1997:114). While in-depth interview is aimed to collect information or data about human life, in this case the Tolaki community and convictions of those engaged in it (Koentjaraningrat, 1997:129).

## **THEORIES OF CONFLICT AND THE TOLAKI PEOPLE**

Experts on the conflict studies have provided some definitions. For example mismatch belief, interest opposition, rivalry, disagreement and debate (Williams, 1970). It is also understood as a result of the interaction between the goals of two or more parties in a competitive situation (Oberschall, 1978), physical confrontation between parties (Webster as quoted by Pruitt & Rubin 2009: 9), as a competition (Schmidt, 2001:2) and as an example of contention between the “indigenous” majority against the minority from outside (Chua, 1999). In this paper, the authors are much influenced by the theory of conflict proposed by Pruitt and Kim (2004:7-8) defining conflict as a perceived divergence of interest, a belief that the parties current aspiration are incompatible.

A wide variety of major conflicts often arose from a dispute that seems trivial, whether it is between individuals or between families (Ahimsa-Putra, 1999:142). The work focuses on conflicts that occur between families and refer to Pruitt and Kim (2004), Oberschall (1978), and Bartos and Wehr (2002) believing that conflict between families can be interpreted as differences of perception about the importance of a family with other families. It refers to

the behavior that implies opposition or competition in the objectives of the parties that are mutually dependent. The family here is meant to be a social entity that is formed as a result of a marriage, often referred to as a household.

This work also uses a functional-structural paradigm where its origin can be found in the works of Auguste Comte (Poloma, 2010:23). This paradigm is sometimes called the theory of consensus with the argument that the rules of the culture of a community, or a structure may determine the behavior of its members, to channel their actions in ways that may be different to other communities (Jones, 2009:8-9). Besides Comte, structural functional theory proposed by Talcott Parsons also produces the most extensive elaboration of the structural and functional theory a major contributor to the earlier theory (Haryanto, 2012:19; Ritzer, 2012: 408-410). Emile Durkheim is also a thinker who contributed to the structural functional theory. According to Durkheim, a society in which there are various kinds of social institution is a social organism. These social institutions, as well as the body parts of a living organism, have their respective functions. The function of social institutions is conformity (correspondence) between these institutions with the needs of the social organism (Ahimsa-Putra, 2007:181).

In addition to Durkheim, one of the most important scientists in the field of anthropology is A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (Turner & Maryanski, 2010: 63) adopting a functional method of structural Durkheim. Brown, in applying the concept of function as one of the main concepts in functional-structural paradigm, often makes the analogy between social life and organic life. Because of a certain perspective, social life has in common with the life of the organism. The function of this social institution is the correspondence between the institutions with the needs of the social organism. As disclosed by Brown: "Durkheim definition is that the 'function' of a social institution is the correspondence between it and the needs of the social organism. I would like to substitute for the term 'needs' the term 'necessary conditions of existence'" (Brown, 1965:178). The concept of the needs of Durkheim, by Brown replaced by the conditions of existence (conditions of existence) that the conditions necessary for the existence or existence of something or the conditions required. For example Brown will see the essential conditions of social systems to reveal the continuity that is as the maintenance of rights and obligations between people so that interaction can take place (Turner dan Maryanski, 2010:74). The use of the concept means also for their acceptance of the notion that human society is also necessary existence of certain conditions, as well as in the world of animals or other living things (Ahimsa-Putra, 2007:182). In addition, it is important to mention here the concept of conflict resolution.

Conflict resolution is any effort made to provide a solution to the controversy/ conflict, which can be accepted by all parties (Pruitt & Rubin, 2009:311). Many ways of resolving conflicts or disputes in Indonesia, such as the war of words and mutual silence, compensation, bargaining through intermediaries, deliberation, and fighting ability (“war”) (Ahimsa-Putra, 1999:159-164).

The Tolaki people view conflict as a dispute, misunderstanding of both intentional and unintentional that causes quarrels, fights until finally breaking of the rope *silaturrahim* or kinship, as well as the breakdown of communication between individuals with other individuals. Conflict in Tolaki People’s perception is something that is highly undesirable to happen in their lives. But there is no denying that in the end, the conflict is a phenomenon that cannot be separated from public life in general and in particular the People Tolaki. The following will discuss several issues related to the conflict and more specifically in relation to inter-family conflicts such as type, shape, and a source of conflict in the People Tolaki in Konawe.

Tolaki people share some kind of conflict that often occurs in their lives namely (1) conflicts between man and nature, (2) conflicts between humans and the supernatural, and (3) conflicts between man and man. The types of conflicts emerge or transform in the form of covered or silent conflicts. No talk and interaction is found among those involved in the silent conflict. Those who are involved in the conflict will also avoid meeting both individually and in meetings involving many activities, for example in the wedding and other public gatherings. Beside silent, open conflict is also found within the Tolaki people. The open conflict is often openly manifested in the form of a fight and even murder cases.

## SOURCES OF CONFLICT WITHIN THE TOLAKI PEOPLE

Some sources or causes of the conflict are found within the Tolaki people. They are identified in local language. The work provides the description of them with more detail explanation of *Tulura* (speech), *Powaihako* (behavior) and *Peowai* (acts). Tolaki people believe that one of the causes of conflict in daily life is because of a person’s words and also how someone speaks the word. They call it *Tulura* (speech). Therefore, Tolaki People maintain ethics in speaking; to always pay attention to who is whom they speak with. For example, talking to an older person would not be the same as when talking with someone younger. In *tulura* or speech that may be the cause of this conflict, there are some specific things that are often a source of conflict in the People of Tolaki including *Mowukuti* or criticizing others, *Mowinduki* or defamatory, *Mososangge* or disgrace tell someone, *Monduutulu* or accused,

and *Mondomboka* or convicted/accused.

*Powaihako* (behavior) that often leads to conflict is a behavior that does not comply with the rules and regulations, norms, and ethics in the life of man Tolaki. *Powaihako* actually a behavior or a behavior that does not directly harm another person, for example, throw spit in front of people or grumpy and say rude words in front of people without a clear purpose which direction the anger and harsh words were. Fraternal relations, kinship, may be disrupted or interrupted as a result of such behavior that is not in accordance with the general norms.

*Peowai* or acts that often cause conflicts are actions that are considered inappropriate because it does not correspond to the prevailing customary norms. The inappropriate actions include, for example, intentionally holding or touching another man's wife on inappropriate parts such as the breast or sexual organs. The misconduct example is an act that is not in accordance to the customary norms of decency and considered to trample on women's dignity, especially the family of her husband. Various sources of conflict between families that often occur in the lives of the Tolaki are also identified in this work. The conflict is usually originated from marital life which is derived from social relations and sometimes comes from possessions. The following are some important terminologies of marital based conflicts within the Tolaki people.

The Tolaki people recognize *mombolasuako* that means running/fleeing. This happens when a man and a woman agree to run or go from their homes to a place, for example to the house of a traditional leader (*Tolea, pabitara, toono motuo, or puu'tobu*), to the house of a government official (RT, RW, or village head), or to one of the families either side of the family. There are three reasons why elopement is commonly happening in the Tolaki community. First is *molasu* in which a man and a woman agreed to run away together because their parents do not approve their relationship. Second is *pinolasuako* where a man and a woman agreed to run for one of the parties, especially her parents disapproved of their relationship. And third is *mepolasuako* in which a woman invites a man to elope or a woman complained relation to the traditional leaders (*toono motuo, Tolea, pabitara*) or to the priest and asked them to keep her taken care to mate with a male. They also know *momboko mendia* or unwed pregnancy. *Momboko mendia* occurs when a man impregnates a girl and they are not in marriage so that conflict occurs within the two families.

The cause of conflict between other family originating from a marital problem is if there is a *terako* or being captured. This happens when a man, whether he is a young man or married, found being together with a woman in a deserted

place and are doing something improper done by those who are not bound by a marital relationship. The Tolaki believe that this kind of act violates traditional norms of decency and gives a shame to the family. In addition, the Tolaki people also know *umo'api* (cheating). *Umo'api* can be interpreted as infidelity and is considered as one of the very serious conflict in the social life. *Umo'api* is one of the actions that is forbidden and considered a very despicable and embarrassing. They even believe that *umo'api* may not only cause a big conflict but also give a bad impact to the social life of the people such as natural disasters including floods, drought or prolonged rain or harvest failures.

The Tolaki also recognize property-based conflicts or *sisala' ine hapo-hapo*. Conflicts between families due to the problem of property is more specialized to land inherited from their elders. In this case, there are several types of land ownership to be a source of conflict between families in the life of the Tolaki. *Wuta tiari* or land legacy is inherited from a common ancestor to his descendants. *Wuta walaka* is the land area of the former buffalo preservation. *Walaka wuta* is owned by a broad family originating from a common ancestor and in *walaka* that each of the family of a broad family originating from a common ancestor can release the buffalo. *Waworaha* which is the land of former residence of a family grove is characterized by the presence of plants or plant long-term and sago clumps on it. *O'epe* is the area where the growth of sago and *o'galu* or rice fields that belong to a large family of one cluster of common ancestors. In short, those all sources of conflict that can be the trigger for this land issue is land that formerly belongs to the family grove from a common ancestor that can be inherited.

## CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND LOCAL BELIEVE OF THE TOLAKI PEOPLE

Several principles of resolving conflicts in the People Tolaki are identified. First is the principle of *mbendeporombu* or deliberation. Deliberation is a form of cooperative spirit which has always pursued and carried out by the traditional leaders, community leaders, including religious leaders, the elders in the community, and government. The elements that are always played an active role bring together the parties involved in the conflict along with his whole family. The second is *Mbeokotu kombo, mbeohai* (literally are siblings, children). It means that all people Tolaki brothers, whether it's siblings, a close relative, or brothers away. Therefore, the second principle is more emphasis on kinship or blood relationship or kinship. Below are some important findings from the Tolaki Community in dealing with conflict.



## 1. The Patterns of Conflict Resolution

The process of conflict resolution in the People Tolaki inseparable from the role carried out by traditional leaders, community leaders, and local authorities. The pattern of conflict resolution performed by traditional leaders, community leaders, and the government in resolving the conflict in the Tolaki is a pattern *pesoro mbundu* or mediation, *mbetulura* or dialogue, *metawari* or negotiation, and *mombesara* as the last part in conflict resolution. But in the case of certain conflicts caused by *umo'api* (cheating) and *mombetudari* (oath), then the last part of the settlement of the conflict is *mosehe*. Those kinds of pattern have been done since the time of immemorial and are still implemented by the Tolaki people.

### ***Pesoro Ndulura* (Mediation)**

Every conflict, then that becomes the first step in the process of conflict resolution in society Tolaki is the process in the form of mediation. Which is a mediator in the mediation process is *puutobu*, *toono motuo*, and *Tolea / pabitaru* (referred to as traditional leaders), religious leaders, their elders in a society that is often referred to as community leaders, and government in terms of the RT, RW, Village head, and head. But the mediator, especially in the mediation process are the traditional leaders as they will facilitate communication of those two parties were involved in a conflict. The core of the mediation process undertaken by traditional leaders are asking the willingness of the parties involved to meet and dialogue to bring the parties to the conflict, the government, the elder, and presenting those who directly witnessed or know exactly sit the case of the causes of conflict (eg, to know the exact history of a piece of land that is a source of conflict).

### ***Mbetulura* (Dialogue)**

The next stage should be done in the process of completion of the People Tolaki conflict is dialogue phase. Phase dialogue was conducted to determine what is really the main cause of the conflict or what underlies that dispute. In addition, the dialogue is also intended to seek a solution completion, open space of peace for the parties who are involved in the conflict, as well as the initial communication either by traditional leaders, community leaders, local authorities, and they are in conflict. With dialogue involving many parties, who cut off communication between the conflicting will reconnect.

### ***Metawari (Negotiation)***

According to Fisher (2001:115) in the process of negotiating a settlement of conflict is the first step made by those who are in conflict when communication lines are completely cut off. According Tolaki, *metawari* or negotiation done to reopen the closed communication between those in conflict. *Metawari* process is actually to deliver custom stages that must be passed in the process of conflict resolution and what the obligation of one party against the other party. The most important thing in this *metawari* process is determining which side should fulfill its obligations and which side to accept it as the right stages, conditions, and obligations to be fulfilled by one party to the other later so that become a customary decision. The next step is a consultation to determine the final process of conflict resolution, which is called *mombesara*.

### ***Mombesara (Laying Down of Adat)***

The last stage in the pattern of conflict resolution in the Tolaki community is *mombesara*. It is conducted by Tolea/Pabitara with *kalosara* before *pu'utobu* (traditional leader), with the essence of the talks: the preface, containing the purpose and objective of the meeting; explaining in detail all the information and recognition of the offender, including evidence of his actions or the offense as well as his appeal to the customary meeting to be reconciled; describing in detail the particulars of the victim; an opinion or advice on alternative forms of punishment or fines imposed on the offenders deserve in accordance with the form of acts committed by the offenders. It is followed by comments, suggestions, and opinions of the *puu'tobu* (traditional leaders) and suggestions and opinions from *toono motuo* as the chairman of the customary village. Then suggestions and opinions of indigenous elders or those who are elder in the village are being heard. Requesting the demands from those representing the victim's family is also found here. Then it is followed by request and apology from those representing the perpetrator. Submission of conclusions by the *puu'tobu* to ratify the legal decisions is handed down to the perpetrators, including the claim that the decision is final, binding, and undeniable. It is also found in this stage the determination and execution of providing any liability that has been required in the process of *metawari* from the perpetrator to the victim, represented by Tolea. The word-the closing words of *pabitara*- also marked that the case has been completed and the custom event of *mombesara* also been completed.

## 2. Models of Conflict Resolution Based On Local Belief

The Tolaki people only know their fines or restitution in the settlement of the conflict. Fines are applied in a provision that is standard according to customary of the Tolaki. Here are three different ways or mechanisms for resolving conflicts, particularly the conflicts among families, according to the custom of the Tolaki People in Konawe.

### ***Melanggahako***

The People of Tolaki recognizes what they call *melanggahako*. It is a way of conflict resolution having function to solve several types of conflicts including *momboko mendia* or pregnancy of an non-married woman. This occurs when a man impregnates a girl or a widow. In this *melanggahako* ritual, the man is obligated to pay a penalty to the woman's family. The first option is to pay *powoka obiri* consisting of two elements; goods and *pohunggai worumata* (one piece of *sarong*). The second option is to pay *pohunggai sokibiri* (one piece of *sarong* and *pelanggahako* (a piece of cloth). The last is the indigenous *Taapombonaanaa a'koa* consisting of two (2 eyes), namely two pieces of gloves and a buffalo. After the above conditions have been paid to the woman through *mombesara*, then the process continues with the administration of customary marriages under a normal marriage procession of the Tolaki community.

### ***Terako or Telangga Nirako (being caught)***

*Terako* or *Telangga nirako* is also called busted situations. This happens when a man and a woman, whether a girl or a widow staying together without anyone else, doing things that are not appropriate to religious and customary norms. The fines or compensation should be given by the deemed guilty in two cases. The first is *powoka obiri* consisting of two subjects, namely *pohunggai worumata* (1 sheet of cloth and gloves) and *pohunggai sokibiri* (1 sheet of cloth and gloves). The second is *pelanggahako* (1 piece of cloth) and indigenous *Taapombonaanaa Akoa* (2 pieces of gloves and one buffalo/cow). The current situation the buffalo can be replaced by paying an appropriate sum of money. If all the fines mentioned above have been submitted through the customs or *mombesara*, then the process continues with customary marriages under normal marriage of the Tolaki tradition.

### ***Peohala***

Conflict resolution through this *peohala* will be executed if the community

finds information from someone that a man and a woman having inappropriate intercourse outside of a marriage but the news was not true after being investigated. The person who spreads the news will later be penalized to pay for a fine. The application of penalties in this *peohala* differs according to the status of the contributing case. The application of the financial penalties is dependent on the case as well. If the maligned person is a girl (not married), then this is called *peohala mohewu* (*mohewu* = small). The penalty is by one piece: one piece of cloth/white gauze gloves or a single sheet. If the slandered person is a woman who has a husband, then this is called *peohala owose* (*owose* = large). The penalty is in the form of one (1) piece of *kaci* (white cloth) and a buffalo. If the slandered person is a girl who is being engaged, the sanctions fines equal to the *peohala owose*. For the mentioned types of *peohala*, the sanctions of defaming the fine is to be handed to the maligned through customs or *mombesara*.

### ***Mesokei***

The *mesokei* process of resolution is conducted when the community finds a case of a man and a woman who had a relationship of *molasu* (escaping from the community). *Molasu* means running away. The couple should get married immediately. This kind of marriage can occur because of three conditions. *Molasu* condition is when the relationship is not approved by both parents of the men sides and the girl side. *Pinolasuako* occurs because a man and a girl agree to get together but the girl's parents did not approve their relationship while the parents of the man have agreed. *Mepolasuako* occurs because a girl invites a man to elope in the house of a priest, traditional leader, or a government official to get married. *Mombolasuako* is the opposite of *mepolasuako* where a man takes a girl in to the house of a priest, traditional leader, or government official to get married. The financial penalties imposed on the male are called *rembinggare* (two pieces of gloves), *sokei aso kasu* (one piece of cloth), *peosawa'akoa* (one buffalo/indigenous buffalo), *pekopu* (custom delivery of children to their parents) with one copy of female dress and one long linen sheet. After the fine is paid and delivered through *mombesara*, then the community continues with *mesambepe* which goes on to an agreement for the implementation of a marriage for those who are being caught.

### ***Somba Labu Or Popolo Soro***

The term of *somba labu* is actually equal to marriage and divorce. *Somba labu* or *popolo soro* happens usually caused by two conditions. First, it is when found

a pregnant woman but her pregnancy is suspected to have an unidentified biological father. This happens because the woman has sex with more than one male (for many different causes). Intimate relationships by more than one female and one male can occur because of rape or other causes. Second, *somba labu* or *popolo soro* is implemented if found a pregnant woman but the families do not want the unification of the pregnant woman and her male partner in a marriage. It can occur because of differences in their belief background. Financial penalties are applied to men in *somba labu* or *soro Popolo*. The man should pay fine of *melangghako*, consisting of one piece of linen, one buffalo/custom buffalo, two pieces of gloves, a pack of chalk series, areca and tobacco, wrapped in one copy of glove. The other penalty is for the man to pay for all the requirements of a normal marriage. Another option is *mobinda*, to pay a fine of one piece of fabricate linen and one buffalo. The last is to pay a penalty in the form of fees for waiting for the baby's birth and his living expenses for two years. Fees and living cost for waiting the birth of a child during the two years is tentative and depends on the outcome of deliberations. *Mobinda* process or *mowea* (divorce) can be done at the time of the payment of fines and can also be done three months after the woman giving birth to her baby. It depends on the outcome of deliberations both sides.

### ***Mombopo O'rai***

*Mombopo o'rai* happens if the community finds a husband and his wife to decide to divorce. Financial penalties are applied to people asking for a divorce. The penalty is equal to both the husband and the wife. The penalty fee is one piece of linen cloth and one buffalo (indigenous buffalo).

### ***Mosehe***

Literally, *mosehe* an amalgamation of two words *sehe* and *mo*. *Mo* means to do something, and *sehe* which means holy or health. *Mosehe* means self-purification efforts of all wrongdoing. Or in other words, *mosehe* is liberating people from various disorders and problems that make people depressed, threatened, and which cause discomfort. *Mosehe* on the Tolaki consists of five kinds: *mosehe ndiolu* (purification ceremonies themselves by using an egg as a victim), *mosehe manu* (purification ceremonies themselves by wearing a chicken as its victims), *mosehe dahu* (purification ceremonies themselves by wearing a dog as its victims), *mosehe ngginiku* (purification ceremonies themselves by wearing buffalo as its victims), and *mosehe ndoono* (purification ceremonies themselves by using its human cost) (Tarimana, 1988: 236). At the

present time, *mosehe dahu* (purification ceremonies themselves by wearing a dog as its victims) and *mosehe ndoono* (purification ceremonies themselves using humans as its victims) no longer practiced. It began after the arrival of Islam in the Tolaki and therefore deemed to be inconsistent with religious norms.

There are two kinds of *Mosehe* functions including the function of resolving conflicts that occur between men both individuals and between families and the function of as purification of domestic/village if there is a variety of things that bring misery to humans such as disease outbreaks, natural disasters, or failure prolonged harvest. *Mosehe* in the Tolaki community is to apply when there is *umo'api* or infidelity.

## CONCLUSION

Socio-cultural background is very important to understand the conflict within the Tolaki community. The study shows that the conflict between families that frequently occurs is triggered by differences in social class, level of economic life, and religious differences. Indeed, the social classes have now experienced a shift in meaning, especially to the traditional societies with social class system. In the past, The Tolaki people recognize this social class in the forms of royal and non-royal. However, this classification often appears to be raised again in case of a conflict involving either among individuals or families. In the context of the individual relations (relationship of men and women), people count on social structures that sometimes triggers a conflict. Similarly, with to doing marriage, someone usually questions others of their social status. Religious leaders would have an important role here as the important elements in the society with better social status.

The conflict resolution mechanisms within the Tolaki, such as *Melanggahako*, *Peohala*, *Mesokei*, *Somba Labu* or *Popolo Soro*, *Mombopo O'rai* and *Mosehe*, show that all things pertain to the settlement of the conflict within the framework of maintaining the ties of kinship between people. In any case, the Tolaki believe that they have ties of kinship and blood ties that can be traced through the family tree (*kuku'aha*) inherited and transformed from generation to generation. In this process people need someone who are highly respected due to their capacity and status. Religious leaders play a significant role here as the knowledgeable person who get people's trust.

Customary law, which is believed to be the important public norm within the Tolaki community, actually has an element of force, in the sense that the community should be subject to the customary rules. It is in place to maintain



the harmony of life. Therefore, provisions which are governed by and through customs should not be violated. The rule breakers will be punished socially and with the punishment of *sangia* (God in old Tolaki tradition. The belief now has changed, the Tolaki believe in Allah SWT since they hold Islam as their religion). The phrases of *inae kona sara iyee pine sara, inae lia sara iyee pinekasara* is derived from the value of *kalosara* that is still very effective in resolving conflicts between families. A person or a family who will not be reconciled through the media of *kalosara* means the person or the family is the person or family who *mate sara* deserving social condemnation and punishment from Allah, the Almighty. Another important point that should be noted is that although the Tolaki are sometimes in conflict, they are very easily reconciled. In many cases of conflict, the *Kalosara* is still regarded as a symbol to unite all parties. The sacred values of the *kalosara* is highly respected and regarded as a source of values that can solve all the problems within the Tolaki society. Through the media of *kalosara*, all things associated with the error, no matter how it is, is inexcusable. Tolaki people who make mistakes can be rehabilitated through the mechanism of settlement of indigenous Tolaki systems.

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## CHRISTIAN TORAJAN YOUTH IN PERCEIVING ALUK TO DOLO

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### ABSTRACT

*The fascinating influence of world religion has given important impact to the existence of indigenous religion such as Aluk To Dolo within the life of the Christian Torajan Youth who live in Yogyakarta. Aluk To Dolo as one of indigenous religions in Indonesia, in fact, is almost in the position of weak as its followers are decreasing in its region of origin, Tanah Toraja of Sulawesi. It is found that only one leader is still remaining in Toraja accompanied by the practice of Ram-bu Solo which is also still being maintained in the region. This work is based on the view of the youth toward Aluk To Dolo as the youth play an important role to determine and negotiate the inheritance of their religion including indigenous religion within their life. This article examines how Christian Torajan Youth perceive Christianity and Aluk To Dolo. Data collection is conducted through depth interview and focused group discussion with a group of Christian Torajan Youth members who stay in Yogyakarta for their studies. They are affiliated to Torajan student organizations and Torajan tribal church in Yogyakarta. This work concludes that Torajan students perceive the Aluk To Dolo as pendamping agama or the companion of religion they practice (Christianity) besides perceiving it as their cultural home base. In other words, they mean the Aluk To Dolo for cultural practices supporting their Christianity practice in their life. It is also found that the decreasing of the practice of Aluk To Dolo by the students is more caused by three factors including the distance to the origin land, the influence from the Toraja tribal church, and the literatures having influence in their believe. As student, although the Christian Torajan youth are close and more influenced by literatures in Christianity (church), they also practice the teachings of the local religion to keep their cultural identity.*

**Keywords:** Torajan, Christianity, Youth, Aluk To Dolo, Domination, Church

### INTRODUCTION

Some layers of identity have shaped people for a long time through generations. Culture and religion as part of identity elements are also flux into identity formulation process (Barbara Stark in Kymlicka and Norman 2000, 199). Therefore, every generation will always bring those elements as its characteristic. The transformation process of identity heavily depends

on how the verbal and nonverbal communication are done within a certain community. In a verbal way, people use the writing and oral communication. This way is inherited to the portion of identity which contains culture and religion in the idea and thought. In a nonverbal setting, people use gestures, body language, symbols, dialect, intonation and so forth. This long process influences culture and religion resulting the interwoven threads which is difficult to be re-unraveled. Regarding from where the influence of culture and religion comes from, it seems like the everlasting complexity of hybridity around the people within the community.

Indeed, people would commonly attempt to look for their authenticity within the culture or religion. In many cases, the level of culture and religion in one community has to be debated: which one is part of the culture and which one is part of religion. The perennialistic philosophy suggests that culture is the medium and the space for religion to enter into the society (F. Schuon, 1976). How the guidance from the esoteric one turns into exoteric other. However, religion itself formulates culture among the human and non-human later. It has drawn us to the encounter between culture and religion. Furthermore, it is interesting to see the encounter between religion (indigenous) and religion (world religion) where those have interwoven with particular culture in the previous particular religion.

As the phenomenon in the world, the encounter between indigenous religion and world religion negotiates each other. In the particular region of South Sulawesi, many narratives provide the history of indigenous religion encounter with a world religion. For instance, the early belief of Buginese-Makassarese encountered with Islam, Ammatoan encountered with Islam, and the early belief of Torajan encountered with Christianity and so forth. Hence, those phenomenon result some kind of conditions that show how the process of negotiating between indigenous religion and world religion was run. The scholars use terms of complementary, contestation, syncretism, persistent, and intermingle to explain the result of the encountering. Some diversities of conditions such as many *Bissues* in the palaces of South Sulawesi have been killed for the political (feodal) and religious reason (infidel) (Pelras 2006, 339). Ammatoan people who were Muslim in animistic ways, who practice Islamic teachings, but they never leave their local traditional belief called *Patuntung* (Samsul Maarif, 2014). We can see it in the way they treat the nature using *Patuntung*. In some forests, there is particular time to visit it and take the natural resources as enough as for their needs. Further, they keep the concept of God, *Patuntung*, in their everyday rituals. The Ammatoan does not try to contrast and problematize between Islam and *Patuntung* instead of harmonize

them. Probably one of the reason is because the Ammatoan region is quite safe from the modernization which influences Toraja regions as the favourite tourism destination.

The Christianity in Toraja also has resulted a scholar of theology there who has big influence among the Christian people in Toraja towards their local belief. Conversely, Javanese Muslim who doing Islam and Kejawen concomitantly create the particular character of Islam in Indonesia (C. Geertz 1960; Woodward 1988; A. Beatty 1996; Hilmy 1998; M. Khusen 2005; Suwito 2007). Commonly, in the case of Islam Kejawen, people practise such -the offering to the nature or what they perceive as the spirit around them, while Islam has shaped them in some ways. People who practice Islam Kejawen in Yogyakarta do not need to feel threaten for being Muslim Kejawen as long as the Sultan and *Kraton* still practice many rituals as the inheritance of their ancestor. Hinduism in Bali has its own concept which considering three important aspects of relation between Hinduism and local tradition. The concept is called *Desa Kala Patra*, meaning place, time, and condition. Scientifically this concept is highly inclusive and tolerance. Those three words portray the principle of Hinduism in viewing the local tradition in a particular place, time, and condition. It is not wondering why Hindu Bali does not try or force itself to be similar with the Hindu India's characteristic. Almost the ritual of Hindu Bali is the assimilation process between Hinduism and traditional local belief there. Therefore, Michel Picard (1997) stated that we could not deny that Hindu has been characterized, yet it is too narrow to say that Bali is merely Hindu because the traditional local belief has a big portion in Bali. .

Some of Indonesian scholars has studied about the process of dialogue between world religions, national politics, and indigenous religion (Atkinson, 1983; Kipp and Rodgers, 1987). They presented how the construction of religion in Indonesia is determined by political consensus and the domination of world religions. For example , the redefinition of Sumbanese spirit worship as a "religion" came from the Christianity church and Indonesian government for a tourism reason (Atkinson, 1983 ; Scarduelli, 2005). M. Adams (1993, 55) has examined how indigenous and Christian notions not only coexist but intermingle and at times compete in the Christian Torajans. In this paper, I attempt to see how youth Christian Torajans perceive both the indigenous and Christianity notions today. What I mean as Youth Christian Torajan here is a group of students from the descendent of Torajan tribe. Their age is between 19-23 years old, and Christianity is their religious faith. My concern is the youth Christian Torajans who study in Yogyakarta where they interact with the other cultures and conditions that probably affect their perspective on



*Aluk To Dolo* and Christianity<sup>1</sup>. Discussing the encounter between indigenous religion and world religion can lead us to see how the state treats and polarizes official religions and traditional local beliefs. That negotiation arrived and used in youth perspective of religion and local tradition. I wonder how if people who were affiliated to indigenous religion or *penghayat kepercayaan* can mention their belief in the identity card earlier, probably they who declare their traditional local belief will not feel threatened. For example, *Suku Anak Dalam* in Jambi who has converted to Islam because they do not have any choice, they have to convert to Islam for send their children into school and get subsidy from government. They have lost their livelihood because the forest where they live becomes oil palm plantation now. I decide to choose Youth as the subject of this paper because they become the starting point in seeing the continuity or dis-continuity of a religion and tradition. They are challenged in threatening their - local tradition which has been internalized and their new modern world that could not be avoided. For instance the *Suku Anak Dalam* tribe have to break some mores in order to get the modern education outside their region. However, I have to underline that the matters between *Aluk To Dolo* and Christianity have to be considered in the first time in the encountering between both religions. Meanwhile, as the third generation of Christian Torajans, they face different discussion from the first encountering.

## THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN ALUK TO DOLO AND CHRISTIANITY

The early Toraja has been limited to the lowland of politic, culture, and religion, even though Toraja has the relative relation to Luwu that has maintained a kingdom. Toraja and Luwu have the same idea about *To Manurun* ancestor, yet different in some terms (Waterson 2006, 70). In the beginning, Torajan totally has hold *Aluk To Dolo* (The ways of the ancestors) religion. It has guided the Torajan in their way of life. M. Adams (1993) argued that indigenous religions in insular Southeast Asia are oriented towards practice than philosophy. Therefore, when people want to understand the *Aluk To Dolo* religion, it has to be understood through their rituals. In the sense of *Aluk To Dolo*, Torajan practices two kinds of rituals such as *Rambu Tuka'* (rituals of life) and *Rambu Solo* (death rituals). In the past, those rituals have depended on the social strata. The higher the strata, the higher is the cost of ritual. However, now it has been shifted, as it is more determined by the economic resources like a migration of

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on interview and group discussion data conducted in Yogyakarta with the a group of Youth Christian Torajans (Gerardo, Davis, Devi and Hedwik) who affiliate in the Torajan Students Forum in Yogyakarta. Two of them (Devi and Hedwik) were born and raised in Kalimantan which is mean that they are descendent of Torajan but live in the different culture. While Gerardo and Davis were born and raised in Toraja.

Christian Torajan who send their money for ritual needs (Volkman 1979, 1).

Dutch colonialism came to Toraja in 1905, then in 1913 Christianity entered to the Toraja through the first missionary namely Rev. A.A. van de Loosdrecht<sup>2</sup>. A form of proselytising by the Dutch missionaries in Toraja is by underlying the similarities of Christianity and *Aluk To Dolo*. They drew a parallel view between Christian and Torajan beliefs. They depicted the God of Christianity and *Puang Matua* as the creator figure of Toraja mythology by same structures. Other efforts to persuade the Torajan in order to convert to Christianity were through education, employment and prestige (Bigalke 1981, 152).

Finally, Christianity has come to Toraja for a century, and 90 % of Torajan has converted to the Christianity, 5 % still has been affiliated to *Aluk To Dolo*, and 5 percent has been Muslims (John Liku-Ada' 2014, 180). However, I want to underline that it is quite difficult to categorise Torajan who is no longer doing *Aluk To Dolo* rituals, Torajan who is still doing some part of rituals, or Torajan who is still totally applying *Aluk To Dolo* in their life. Based on the interview and group discussion with the youth Christian Torajan, people who have converted to the Pentecostalism are forbidden to do the ritual neither *Rambu Tuka'* nor *Rambu Solo* (contestation model). Whereas, Torajan who hold Protestantism and Catholic are allowed to do both rituals, yet they are forbidden to do gambling in the *silaga*<sup>3</sup> and *sibitte*<sup>4</sup> as part of the ritual process (intermingle or complementary model). In the contestation and complementary model, Torajan faces two different demands: what is ordered and disordered in *Aluk To Dolo* and Christianity. Then, people who totally still hold *Aluk To Dolo* mostly live in the forest (*pangngala'*) in which they are more than 5 % from all the total of population in Toraja (persistent model). Today, the religious leader of *Aluk To Dolo* is the only one called Ne' Tato' Dena'.

According to religiosity of Torajan above, first I argue that it can be different between the encounter of indigenous religion and world religion, the purposes of colonialism, and proselytising suggested by the government rules particularly about identity card or public administration matters. Virtually, in 1969 *Aluk To Dolo* has been recognised as official religion affiliated to Hinduism (M. Adams 1993, 56). When I interview Gerardo, he explained that he has seen his aunty who has Hinduism religion in her identity card, yet only she practices *Aluk To Dolo* in her daily life. That event shows that there is no significant debate -when Torajan at that time has used Hinduism only

<sup>2</sup> He was killed at the age of 32 years and buried in Toraja Land, 1917. Many perspectives came to explain why he was killed. Church and Torajan believe that it was because some people ban missionaries who offer new religion in Toraja.

<sup>3</sup> Silaga is compete the buffalo

<sup>4</sup> Sibitte is compete for the chicken

for administration purposes. It was similar with the case of Ammatoan who still holds their traditional belief while the government recognizes them as the Muslim especially in the census matter. In Maarif (2014, 151), Ammatoan does not has such controversy between Islam and *Patuntung* among them, as Maarif explained both are complementary and all-encompassing each other.

### **CHRISTIAN TORAJAN YOUTH IN PERCEIVING *ALUK TO DOLO* AND CHRISTIANITY**

Recently in 2013, Christian Torajan and other Christians celebrated a century of gospel in Toraja. It has reflected how the relation between *Aluk to Dolo* and Christianity to date. Related to the people that I have interviewed, all of them are the third generations of Christian Torajan. It means that their grandmothers and grandfathers have converted into Christianity when they were young. Christian Torajan Youth is a group of students consisting of the descendent of Torajan people. They are aged around 19-23 year old holding Christianity as their religious faith. Gerardo told me that his grandfather has become local missionary incorporating with the Dutch missionaries. However, his grandfather in that time has had an important role in *Aluk To Dolo* rituals. Therefore, he has still inherited insights of *Aluk To Dolo* from his family and the environment in Toraja when people doing the rituals. Gerardo fluently has explained what *Aluk To Dolo* through the meaning of every part of the ritual. He stated that people who want to understand what *Aluk To Dolo* is, they can join prominently the ritual of *Rambu Solo*. It is because through the ritual, Torajan relates to their ancestor who will be *To Membali Puang* and grace of their descendent. Broadly, the cosmology of Torajan is explained in their rituals. Until today, Gerardo still believes that *Aluk To Dolo* is his ancestor religion and he has to inherit it to his generations. After his death, his generations must do *Rambu Solo* ritual for him. Virtually he got confused when he can relate between *Puya* and heaven, or *Puang Matua* and God. He said, one day there has been a Pastor who has attempted to explain that *Puya* is not the last destiny of Christian Torajan. People have to reach the heaven after arrived in *Puya*. Gerardo told that he does religious activities both in *Aluk To Dolo* and Christianity. He does not problematize where they will arrived after death, even though other people problematize it as duality. Interestingly, Gerardo the only informant who strictly will maintain the ritual of *Rambu Solo*. It has related to the social strata in Toraja where Gerardo has the highest social strata called *Puang* (dignity).

Importantly, when Gerardo still believes *Aluk To Dolo* as religion, Davis, Devi and Hedwik perceive *Aluk To Dolo* as the culture or religious companion

(*pendamping agama*). When they mention term “*agama*”, they always refer to Christianity as the world religion instead of *Aluk To Dolo*. They are more influenced by the values and thoughts of Christianity. They “rationalize” the reason why they should not totally believe the mythology of *Aluk To dolo*. Devy and Hedwik, born and raised in Kalimantan, the more know about Toraja and *Aluk To Dolo* after joining Torajan Student Forum. One of the reasons that they asserted is how the number of buffalo sacrificing can determine whether people are easier or more difficult to reach *Puya* or heaven. How about the good deeds and bad deeds of people which should be the main factor of people go to the hell or heaven. In the ritual of *Rambu Solo*, they will not force their families or generations to do it for them after death. Many cases has proved that ritual of *Rambu solo* has forced and burdened the family for the costs of the ritual. Moreover, after *Rambu Solo* ritual, the family has many debts because all of the animal and the other things that people bring to the ritual are counted as debts. When the family could not return the same gifts one day, they will be ashamed (*siri'*) in the society. When the family have not yet had enough money, the death body is only assumed as *To Makula* (the one who has fever) (Tsinjilonis 2000, 5), so that the family only focuses to collect the many for the ritual. One of the books written by the descendent of the Torajan (father) and Dutch (mother) who born and raised in Jakarta city, he has criticised the demand of customary law for him and his family in Toraja where they have to do *Rambu Solo* ritual with the high costs as a form of honour to his father who has the high social strata in Toraja (Saroengallo, 2008). Pragmatically, he did not live with that customary law and have to obey it. Suddenly, it is difficult for him to unite his modern perspective and his status as the descendent of Torajan whose high social strata.

### THE DISCOURSE BETWEEN ALUK TO DOLO AND CHRISTIANITY

When I asking those students what does it mean to be a Torajan? They responded that to be Torajan they should have three principles: smart (*manarang*), brave (*barani*), and rich (*sugi*). Those principles originate from the ancestor, and those are in line with the ritual of *Aluk To Dolo* virtually. Indirectly, they argue that Torajan cannot be separated from *Aluk To Dolo*. However, usually people perceive that *Aluk To Dolo* is merely *Rambu Tuka'* and *Rambu Solo* while many values and the way of life of Torajan regularly has been disappeared from Torajan. In addition, they are affiliated to Torajan Student Forum (IKAPMAJAYA; *Ikatan Keluarga Pelajar Mahasiswa Toraja Yogyakarta*) where they can learn each other about the identity of Torajan. In addition, they are affected by the environment of Yogyakarta as the city of education. They meet new people and new cultures that lead to reflection of

their identity as Torajan. They are demanded to contextualize *Aluk To Dolo* today. The youth Christian Torajan does not want to lose *Aluk To Dolo* in their life, but they want to reform some of rituals which are no longer relevant in the modern society, such the high cost of *Rambu Solo*.

Through the third generations of youth Christian Torajan, it can be seen how the discourse that they got to understand and perceive *Aluk To Dolo* and Christianity can be a starting point why they tend to be influenced by Christianity and *Aluk To Dolo* in their life. Firstly, *Aluk To Dolo* is only practiced in Toraja whereas Youth Christian torajan in Jogja is in distance from Toraja. Thus, there is discontinuity of *Aluk To Dolo* in which it has the risk whether it still has the space in Youth Christian torajan in Yogyakarta or not. Moreover, Devy and Hedwik who were born and raised in Kalimantan have twice risk even though they always come to Toraja when their family holds some events. Secondly, Toraja has the tribal church (*Gereja Kristen Toraja*) which is the second largest tribal church after HKBP (*Huria Krsiten Batak Protestan*). One of the churches is located in Yogyakarta where almost Youth Christian Torajan worship there and are affiliated to that church community. Their environment is mostly shaped by Christianity that affects their belief. Thirdly, as the student, Youth Christian Torajan interact with religious texts/literatures that mostly provided by texts of Christianity. Gerardo mentioned two interesting books namely *Reinterpretasi & Reaktualisasi Budaya Toraja: Refleksi Seabad Kekristenan Masuk Toraja* (Reinterpretation & Reactualization of Toraja Culrute: Reflection of a century Christianity in Toraja) and *Aluk To Dolo Menantikan Kristus: Ia Datang agar Manusia Mempunyai Hidup dalam Segala Kelimpahan* (*Aluk To Dolo* Waiting for Christ: He Comes so that Human live in Abundance). Briefly, those books represent the discourse about how *Aluk To Dolo* is a less or incomplete religion, then Christianity comes in order to complete it. Relate to that kind of discourse, people are regardless how Torajan applied *Aluk To Dolo* in their everyday life. Through the world religion's perspective, people have determined what is appropriate to be called religion and culture or local practice (Huston Smith, 2006).

From those books I found some narratives that portray *Aluk To Dolo* and Christianity in two opposite sides. There is a new statement why *Rambu Solo* has been allowed by the missionaries in the past is because Torajan deeply internalise the ritual and it would be the obstacle for the spreading of Christianity if the missionaries banned it. Furthermore, some subtitles in the second book above such as *Masalah Agama dan Transendensi Mutlak* (Liku-AdA' 2014, 130) which problematize how Torajan make the creator (*Puang Matua*) less-transcendent in that idea because they depicted God very



anthropomorphically. In this case, the Western context about supernatural always does the dichotomy between the natural and supernatural (M. Jindra, 2003; M. Klass, 1995). In addition, the subtitle *Alukta Bukanlah Ritual* explains that *Aluk To Dolo* is the universal truth which is in accordance with Christianity and does not need ritual virtually. Also, there is no contrast between religion and culture. Whereas as I mentioned above that to understand *Aluk To Dolo* we have to understand its ritual. The other term which underlines the opposite between Christianity and *Aluk To Dolo* is within subchapter of *Aluk To Dolo* versus Christianity in the first book. Briefly, in a century when Christianity has come to Toraja, the church states that *Aluk To Dolo* especially *Rambu Solo* is problematic because the value of *Rambu Solo* has shifted from harmonisation to the prestige and wealth. I have argued before that through the world religion perspective, the church only assesses *Rambu Solo* as the representation of *Aluk To Dolo* and ignores the other values in the everyday religion of the Torajan because *Rambu Solo* is only hold when a Torajan dies. The church has to find other concept of *Rambu Solo* as a replacement of the role of *Aluk To Dolo* in doing *Rambu Solo* because the Pastor only involve it in the pray time (Bert Tallulembang 2012, 96).

As the same case in North Sumatera, Karo people who do rituals and give offerings to the Sinabung mountain are perceived as an infidel by the church. Moreover, they are punished by not to practise it anymore. Importantly, some cases have indicated that there has been shifting ideas in the concept of inculturation and contextualisation in Christianity in which it did not problematize some rituals that people do in the past. Then, gradually Christianity reduce that traditional local belief especially in the rituals as the way of people expresses their belief. Tanudjaja (200) portrays that contextualisation is a mission strategy to invite local people attention and thought that there is no contrast between their local traditional belief and Christianity. Meanwhile, Bajo people who practice Islam and sea religion<sup>5</sup> can express both in a ritual. When Bajo people give the offering to Mba Mo Dilao, they start with praying “basmalah” as the influence of Islam. However, a problem comes from the people in the land outside Bajo people and the government. They perceive Bajo as doing shirk, superstition, polytheist in practice (Baskara, 2016). Thus, the government has suggested Muslim preacher to guide Bajo people to purify their Islam and advise gradually to leave their traditional local belief. In addition, similar to Toraja, mostly the rituals in Bajo people become the commodity of tourism. So, the

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<sup>5</sup> Sea religion or *agama laut* is a concept for Bajo people who live on the sea and believe that the reincarnation of their ancestor named Mbo Ma Dilao have a big power and keep the sea. Bajo people doing sea nomads where for particular time they move from one to the other place in the sea.



question is whether the rituals are practiced because of their traditional local belief or merely for the tourism demands.

## CONCLUSION

Religion is a journey. The religiosity of a person is determined by where he/she was born and raised and where he stands now. The encounter between *Aluk To Dolo* and Christianity is resulted from three models: contestation where some rituals in *Aluk To Dolo* are forbidden, complementary where the church is also involved in *Rambu Solo* ritual, and persistent where a little number of Torajan still totally believes and practices *Aluk To Dolo* in their life. Four youth Christian Torajans who study in Yogyakarta tend to leave the ancestor religion, *Aluk To Dolo*, and consider it as a culture. The only reason I found why youth Torajan who was born and raised in Toraja still believes and wants to continue *Aluk To Do* in their life because of the high social strata that they have. When youth Christian Torajan leaves Toraja to study in Yogyakarta, there has been a shifting idea in the way they perceive religious matters. Yogyakarta provides Christianity environment more widely which leads the youth Christian Torajan to be more active in the Torajan Christian church. As a student, Youth Christian Torajan is more rational in the way they perceive *Aluk To Dolo* and Christianity. The discourse and discussion about those religions are more influenced by Christianity that sees *Aluk To Dolo* through world religion perspective in which the concept of God, spirituality, heaven and mystic have to be an essence and not merely a function. Youth Christian Torajan demands to reform the *Rambu Solo* ritual from the high costs to be more economical. Moreover, some of them do not want to be buried using *Rambu Solo* ritual because it will burden their family later. However, many values or the way of life of Torajan in *Aluk To Dolo* need more inquiries, because *Aluk To Dolo* is not only about *Rambu Tuka'* and *Rambu Solo*.

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# RELIGIOUS-BASED HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION AND HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT: A Case Study of Universitas Pesantren Tinggi Darul Ulum Jombang (UNIBDU)

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## ABSTRACT

*The role of higher education is very crucial in developing human resource because it is a future investment which has great effect on the improvement of real sector. Higher education is proven to be an effective agent of social change. In human resource management, the role of higher education is embodied in community service program which is more known as "Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi" including acquisition, transmission and application. Human Resource management is basic administrative description or educational management based on a series of interrelated processes in guiding the behavior of individuals as the member of an organization in order to achieve its goals. The process can be identified as follows: planning, compensation, recruitment, selection, induction, appraisal, development, maintenance, performance, security, integration, and information.*

**Keyword:** Higher Education, Education, Human Development

## INTRODUCTION

Islamic Higher Education constitutes one of human civilization forms. Civilized society tends to develop varied institutions to excavate, develop, transform and apply science for public prosperity, and in this context, higher education has the most important role. Besides, it is an institution which develops social development knowledge as a part of science and technology.

Previously, higher education is only a community of experts and students which focuses on teaching moral and humanity, but later it is named as modern university by Kerr according to organism model of Abraham Flexner's research (Keer, 1982; 2). By the presence of this modern university, science replaces the role of philosophy; research replaces teaching; and specialization replaces generalization, Flexner. Higher education is an institution which

serves science, finds solution, and appreciates critically to achievement and high training (Keer, 1982; 4).

Further, Islamic higher education is an institution consisting of various communities and activities: community of diploma, undergraduate, and postgraduate degree, community of humanities and social science, community of professional academician, and community of non-academic and administrative staff.

In Indonesia, the nature of higher education is mentioned in the constitution number 20, year of 2003 regarding the national education system article 1, verse 19: higher education is further level of senior high school which is held to prepare students in order to be a member of society who has academic ability, and is professional to apply, develop, and create science, technology, and art. It is an institution which has three main missions; they are education and teaching, research, and social service.

These missions, according to Perkins, are based on three aspects of knowledge: acquisition, transmission, and application. Knowledge is obtained through research process, and is taught to future generations in order to survive. It is then transformed and applied so that it will be useful. Meanwhile, social service programs are a right place to apply the knowledge in order to develop the society. The three missions are popular as *tridharma perguruan tinggi*.

Islamic higher education is an organization that assists children or group of people to have good personality, think, decide, and act according to Islamic teaching and law (Zuhairini, 1995).

It is also defined as an educational institution in which its learning programs are based on Islamic perspective and values (Buhori, 1989). It means that Islamic educational institution is all activities of an organization or institution to internalize Islamic values to Islamic students.

One of Islamic education institutions is *pondok pesantren* led by *kyai*. It teaches, develops, and spreads Islamic knowledge (Zuhairini, 1995). It has been existing for long time and is very influential especially among villagers in Indonesia. It is also a home stay for *santri*, and is usually near to *kyai's* house or mosque. The word *pesantren* is derived from word '*santri*' which is added with prefix *pe-* and suffix *-an* then turns into *pe-santri-an*, and eventually becomes *pesantren* or a place for *santri*. Meanwhile, the word *santri* is derived from Tamil word means the expert of Hindu holy book. Nowadays, the term '*santri*' is student who stays at boarding house (*pondok*), except those who live near *pesantren*. Further, *santri* is considered as a religious group, and is the opposite of *abangan* (Geertz, 1981;172).

Wahid states that *pesantren* is a separate place from its surroundings (Wahid, 2001). It consists of residence for the caretaker (known as *kyai* in Java, *ajengan* in Sunda, *nun* or *bendara/ra* in Madura), mosque, and dormitory. The fundamental elements of *pondok pesantren* are *kyai*, *santri*, *pondok*, and mosque, while modern *pondok pesantren* also provides formal education/school.

Types of *pesantren* include traditional and modern *pesantren*. According to Sudjoko there are four types of *pesantren* namely type I: mosque and *kyai*'s house; type II: mosque, *kyai*'s house, and *pondok*; type III: mosque, *kyai*'s house, *pondok*, and school; and type IV: mosque, *kyai*'s house, *pondok*, school, university, hall, sport center, and so on. Type III and IV are more likely able to deal with global competition (Sudjoko, 1974:47)..

Generally, based on its educational form *pesantren* comprises *salafiyah* and *khalafiyah*. *Salafiyah* only exposes religious teaching, while the latter is considered as modern *pesantren* which not only teaches religious knowledge but practical skill as well. *Pesantren* along with its elements is an educational, *da'wa*, and social institution coloring the life of villages. It grows and develops with society for centuries (Hasan, 1989: 49).

Its presence is in accordance with the dynamic development of society, and is a solution to social problems. Meanwhile, the existence of higher education cannot be separated with the presence of *pondok pesantren* since it is an embryo of Islamic higher education in Indonesia, particularly Java.

## THE ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

One of the three higher education's missions is to educate students in order to be able to improve their reasoning, knowledge, science, dedication, and responsibility which are developed through research, and is aimed for social benefit. Meanwhile, community service program is the implantation of science and technology in developing community, and is a proof of higher education's concern as a reflection of social dynamics.

Rifai affirms that higher education, in the context of community development, is center of creativity according to sense of purpose, sense of mission, and sense of commitment, and gives contribution to social intellectual modernization (Rifa'i, 1996). Further, it does not compromise with conservative ideas, intellectual conformity center or soulless building. Community development should be followed with the reform of social culture and economics along with quantitative and qualitative aspects. The process of community modernization includes social and psychological changes are more suitable with new political,



economic, and social structure condition. Therefore, Islamic higher education must play active role, and be able to create change designer and pusher as entrepreneur and innovator.

### **THE ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN LONG-TERM DEVELOPMENT PLANNING**

The role of higher education in long-term development planning is as a center of science and social development, and organizer and developer of higher education, science, technology and art. Campus as scientific community aims to create well-educated people and conducts beneficial research for community life standard improvement. Hence, higher education is expected to be a qualified and professional center of community development in order to deal with the needs of complex high development.

Almost all campuses constitute center for potential professionals in developing the surrounding people through research, collection, and data analysis. For that, higher education can be an active center of community information and development.

Higher education is a center of culture which is in accordance with the main guidance of culture of UN (1986): 1) strong national cultural values awareness is marked with the development of technology and global economic order; and 2) firm national identity awareness is marked with the legacy of upright values, historical consciousness, and creative power.

Higher education has instrumental role to achieve the goal for it is a guiding place for intellectual community to learn science, technology, and art. Therefore, the community should have both social professional and intellectual competence. Social professional competence consists of concept, behavior, and science and technology applicator, while the intellectual competence includes awareness of social and environmental problem and truthful concept and common interest of society.

### **DEVELOPING HUMAN RESOURCE**

Indonesia has huge problems in developing human resource in which this country must face globalization and also economic crisis that leads to political and social crisis and even disintegration of the nation. National reform movement has changed the policy of national development into democracy, admitted human equity, and implemented decentralization. The change has caused micro and macro problems of education. Micro problem is quality of

education while macro problem is related to decentralization and management of education.

The main character of Indonesian people is that they are democratic, and uphold values of humanity, equity and justice, tolerance, and law enforcement (Fadjar, 2001;24). Hence, individual and community need developing because independent society requires motivation, strong capability and active participation. In this case, education is believed a most influential factor to empower the individual and community.

The factors comprise 1) holistic human development including adaptive survival skill; 2) community education development that grows historical perspective: the awareness of needed values to create Indonesian independent society; and 3) mass education development through the use of mass media: printed or electronic media.

During the transformation process, education must be able to give optimum contribution in creating independent community. Therefore, complete philosophy is required to balance between education and community dynamic change. In this case, education includes three processes of learning, economics, and socio culture.

Meanwhile, global environment is marked with open market system based on rapid change and advanced information technology application. Besides, the need of qualified human resource is increasing in line with fast transformation of environment. Further, national crisis consists of four aspects: economic, politic, law, and socio-cultural reform.

Therefore, the new paradigm and development goal in national education system is required. Previous paradigm is centralistic, top down, partial, economic development, politic stability, and assembling technology oriented, government dominant role, and low non-school institution role, while new paradigm is autonomous, bottom-up, holistic development oriented, varied cultural tolerance, upholding moral value, enforcing humanity and religion, creative, productive, and juristic (Jalal & Dedi S, 2001).

The principles contained in the new paradigm is a) equality between education sector with other sector, b) social reconstruction oriented, c) national development, d) social infrastructure empowerment, e) qualified independent culture, f) good condition for tolerance, consensus, and diversity, g) integrated horizontal and vertical planning, h) learner centered, i) multi-cultural education, and j) education according to global perspective (Castetter, 1991; 316).

## **THE EFFECT OF HUMAN CAPITAL INVESTMENT ON INCOME**

Salary or income of a person is decreasing according to his age in every sector. In the future, human will be more productive and skillful, and will be paid based on his capacity. Meanwhile, those who are unskillful will only become marginal spectators.

## **EDUCATION AND HUMAN RESOURCE TRAINING**

Education and training is a medium to improve working productivity which leads to better profit. The good productivity is caused by education and training, and skillful workers will be paid higher than who are unskillful. The unskillful workers will be trained by job training bureau. The training is believed to give rate and return of investment in certain period.

Education provided by the school is a more comprehensive human of investment. It is very time consuming, and requires high tuition in the form of opportunity cost. In this case, higher education is more able to prepare well-educated individuals to deal with working market with higher salary than those of secondary school graduate. So that, it must have better basic capital such as age and cost.

## **HUMAN CAPITAL AND FAMILY**

Human empowerment through education cannot be separated from family economic support. Better economic level tends to enable one to have better education level. Further, economic level is influenced by various factors: job, parent, number of children, and education quality. Hence, family has crucial role in human empowerment.

## **QUALIFIED HUMAN RESOURCE AS EDUCATION INVESTMENT**

Rate of return is an approach often used in education investment research. Some aspects as the result of education are income, productivity, and economic change. Becker even groups the intelligence according to graduate level in three percentage groups: 18, 16, and 20% (Becker, 1983). The intelligence of elementary school graduate is different from those of junior high school, while senior high school graduate is 30 % than the graduate of junior high school. This result is reflected from prosperous level according to education investment level and qualified human resource. Education investment leads to the improvement of qualified human resource supply, and it requires qualified academic staff.

Academic staff is a determinant component in empowering human resource according to national education system<sup>1</sup>. His professional capability and performance will contribute not only to quality of graduate (output) but also the performance of the graduate (outcomes). Many studies and research show the central position of academic staff in every educational institution. Castetter stated that staff development is closely related to institutional change, so that education development qualitatively related to the quality of academic staff (Castetter, 1981; 316).

Meanwhile, the managerial function of education is to design, implement, and evaluate teaching and learning result holistically. It is associated with the planning made by academic staff since it is a milestone to get good result, and constitutes one of determinant factors of the success of learning. Besides, planning is one of fundamental managerial functions. Therefore, good education management changes bad situation into good condition, and on the contrary, bad education management turns good condition into bad situation (Uwes, Sanusi, 1999).

Academic staff management is also known as personal management, personal administration, and human resource administration. It is a part of human resource development and a core of administration and management of education. Next, the role of human resource in the process of education is very important because the productivity of education depends so much on its contribution through its function and activity.

Human resource is basically a description of education management or administration in an interrelated sequence of functions. Morphet et al. identify the functions in following processes: human resources planning, compensation, recruitment, selection, induction, appraisal, development, maintaining and improving performance, security, union relation, and information. Meanwhile, Randall mentions the functions as follows: planning, staffing, appraising, compensation, and training (Randall, 1987; 29).

## METHODS

This was a descriptive qualitative research, and aimed to depict the role of higher education in developing human resource based on facts found in the research field (Lexy J Moeleong, 2001), A Multi Cases Study at Universitas Pesantren Darul Ulum Jombang. Moreover, this research exposed the reality of the role of higher education in developing human resource, and was conducted at Universitas Pesantren Tinggi Darul Ulum Jombang.

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<sup>1</sup> (PP. No. 38, 1992)

Meanwhile, its research subject was the foundation of Pesantren Tinggi Darul Ulum (YAPETIDAR) and Darul Ulum, rector, vice rector, dean, vice dean, departments of the university, general chief of the foundation, caretaker assembly, chief of bureau and unit, head master, vice head master, teacher, and staff.

Next, the data of the research was collected through interview, observation, and document review. Then the data were analyzed using interactive model data analysis: data collection, data reduction, data display, verification or conclusion drawing. To assure the trustworthiness, the researcher conducted triangulation and focus group discussion (FGD).

## THE PROFILE

UNIPDU is the abbreviation of Universitas Pesantren Tinggi Darul Ulum. It is one of accredited private universities; its level of accreditation is B. It was established in Jombang, West Java in 2001 by a charismatic Islamic scholar, K.H. Muh. As'ad Umar who is also known as an Islamic nationalist.

Even it was built inside the *pesantren*, it is not only good at religious knowledge but also scientific studies. It has reached many achievements in the field of education, research, and community service. The student of faculty of science and mathematics of UNIPDU once became a finalist in Pekan Ilmiah Mahasiswa Nasional (PIMNAS). The organization structure of the university is rector, Prof. Dr. H. Ahmad Zahro, M.A., vice rector I, Ahmad Zakaria, S.K.M., M.Kes., vice rector II, Dr. dr. Zulfikar As'ad, M.M.R., and vice rector III, M. Imsin Al Mustofa, S.E., M.P.

At present, UNIPDU possesses a hospital "RS UNIPDU Medika" inaugurated by Vice President of Indonesia, Drs. H. Muhammad Jusuf Kalla in September 2007. It proves that UNIPDU concerns people health. Even, former rector of UNIPDU, Prof. Dr. H. Ahmad Zahro, M.A., stated that the campus will have faculty of medicine. Besides, *pondok pesantren* Darul Ulum consists of Islamic and public elementary, secondary, and tertiary level of education.

## DISCUSSION

This research focuses on a) "How does UNIPDU face the future?" and b) "What is the role of UNIPDU in developing human resource?" UNIPDU is a center of human resource development. This is shown by its program of community service in which it helps schools around the campus to manage their curriculum, students' activity, learning facility, and achieves. As the result, the schools under the authority of the foundation of *pesantren*

Darul Ulum become role model of other schools. This is in line with Rifa'i's statement: the role of higher education in developing human resource is a center of creativity to face the future according to the sense of purpose, sense of mission, and sense of commitment (Rifa'i, 1986). Therefore, UNIPDU forms several centers of study: center of qur'anic study, center of language, center of computer technology and internet, and center of ASEAN study. Furthermore, it also actively participates in international forums such as Association Youth Interfaith Camp, and is one of 20 Asian leading universities.

The role of UNIPDU in developing human resource through *Caturdharma Perguruan Tinggi*: 1) Education and Instruction, 2) research, 3) community service, and 4) Islamic study. The university involves the nuance of *pesantren* in instructional activity. It has 2 diploma/D3, 11 undergraduate/S1, and 1 postgraduate/S2 programs which are accredited by Badan Akreditasi Nasional Perguruan Tinggi (BAN-PT) or National Accreditation Board for Higher Education: 1) Faculty of Islamic Studies, Department of Islamic Education, Undergraduate/S1 Program (accreditation 'B'); Department of Islamic Elementary Teacher Training, Undergraduate/S1 Program (accreditation 'B'); and Department of *Ahwal Asy-Syakhsyah* Undergraduate/S1 Program (accreditation 'B'); 2) Faculty of Technique, Department of Information System, Undergraduate/S1 Program (accreditation 'C'); 3) Faculty of Administration Science, Department of Commerce Administration, Undergraduate/S1 Program (accreditation 'C'); Faculty of Language and Letters, Department of English Letters, Undergraduate/S1 Program (accreditation 'C'), Department of Japanese Language, Diploma/D3 Program (accreditation 'B'), and Department of English Education Undergraduate/S1 Program (accreditation 'C'), and 4) Faculty of Medicine, Department of Nursery Undergraduate/S1 Program (accreditation 'B'), Department of Midwifery Diploma/D3 Program (accreditation 'B'), and Department of Nursery Diploma/D3 Program (accreditation 'B'); 5) Faculty of Natural Science and Mathematics, Department of Mathematic Education, Undergraduate/S1 Program (accreditation 'C'); Department of Mathematics, Undergraduate/S1 Program (accreditation 'C'); and 6) Graduate Program of Islamic Education (accreditation 'B').

Next, UNIPDU has 6 lecturers having master degree, and some lecturers with Ph.D. degree. This in line with Castetter's statement: staff development is closely related to institutional change so that the development of education qualitatively related with the quality of the academicians (Castetter, 1981; 316).

Academic and non-academic activities of the university is according to standard operating procedure (SOP) such as lecturing activity, community



service, research, scientific paper writing (guideline of script and thesis), and financial management. Those activities are under the supervisory of quality insurance unit. Meanwhile, in promoting human resource the campus holds following workshops: workshop of performance, lesson plan design, and field trip. Besides, it also cooperates with other institutions and individuals based on the sense of brotherhood and tolerance. In order to maintain the health of its all members, the university conducts several programs: a) gymnastics, b) health guidance, c) maintenance of environment cleanliness, and d) lunch gathering. For the financial transparency, it uses networking application. Further, it gives reward for good performing staffs, and provides training to teachers of public and Islamic elementary and secondary schools. It also provides 25% scholarship for teacher who has working at the institution for 5 years and 50% for those who has working for 10 years. This is in accordance with Kepmendiknas No. 13 year of 2007 which states that the academic degree standard of headmaster is master degree/S2 (Permendiknas, 2007).

Moreover, UNIPDU develops students competence through workshops based on the concept of *tafaquh fiddien*. It means that the graduates of the university will have professional competence and behave according to Islamic teachings so that they can manage to get suitable job and position. Besides, such a competition is required by companies as the user of the graduates. Further, as a *pesantren* based university, UNIPDU provides higher education as comprehensive human investment. Even it requires students to pay tuition as opportunity cost, yet when working, its graduates will be paid higher than those of elementary or secondary school.

The research focus of the university is on science and technology development, and is conducted according to the principles of cooperation, way of thinking, active and creative work, and sustainable contribution. The campus provides research funds, 5 million rupiahs for beginner, and 40 million rupiahs for intermediate researcher and 100 million rupiahs for advance researcher. Meanwhile, community service program conducted by the university is based on Islamic studies therefore it can be accepted well by the people such as the program of youngster counseling, imam training, quranic learning center management, Al-Qur'an recitation training, and so forth.

The community service program is intended to create agent of change to achieve short, middle, and long term goals. Therefore, it is implemented based on the principle of community development or social design aimed at enabling people to be independent. It includes religious guidance or da'wa and entrepreneurship.

The Fourth *Dharma* is having qur'anic recitation at 12.00 a.m. after zhuh

prayer and delivering Islamic speech. The function and role of *Caturdharma Perguruan Tinggi* of the campus are interrelated. If one of them is missing it will be less qualified. Thus, all members of the university must actively participate in improving academic quality of the campus.

The function and role of higher education is to guarantee the students' quality in order to satisfy the stake holder. To assure the quality of lecturing performance, the university involves students to audit and assess lecturers' performance when teaching. This assessment is used to identify teaching weaknesses and then find its solution. Usually the assessment is objective for students experience instructional process so that they can give their real opinion about the process; whether or not it is satisfied.

## CONCLUSION

UNIPDU (Universitas Pesantren Tinggi Darul Ulum) as a higher education constitutes a center of creativity which is expected to prepare students to face the future by contributing in intellectual and social development based on following senses: sense of purpose, sense of mission, and sense of commitment. The role of UNIPDU in developing human resource is by creating independent and innovative change designers and pushers who have good behavior according to *akhlaqul karimah*. Hence, the campus implements the fourth *darma: pesantren* based Islamic studies.

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## Heterogeneous Islam as a Cultural Identity of Multicultural Communities in the Suburbs of Pontianak

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### ABSTRACT

*This article discusses the variant of Islam that lives in a multicultural society in the Sungai Ambawang area in the suburbs of Pontianak City, West Kalimantan. In the Javanese, Bugis, Malay and Madurese communities, Islam has served as an important element in the formation of their cultural identity, thus causing them to be synonymous with the Islamic community. Islamic elements that are used and have become part of the culture of society include the choice of Islamic dates such as the Hijri month in determining the time of cultural activities, the use of Al-fatihah and several other verses from the Qur'an as well as shalawat and prayer, the use of mosques as a center of cultural activities and the involvement of Islamic religious leaders in traditional ceremonies. The use of these elements has become a hallmark of the community culture and its form has been preserved until today.*

**Keywords:** Nusantara Islam, Culture, Identity, Multiculture, Sungai Ambawang

### INTRODUCTION

The reaction of the Nahdliyin to Mama Dedeh who said “Nusantara Islam” has to be crossed out because the term does not exist in Islam, indicates a problem in understanding Islam in the Muslim community in Indonesia (NU Online, 2018: 1). At least, the preachers still need to figure out how to explain Islam to various groups. From an academic point of view this shows the scholars need to find out the ways to overcoming the problem of failing to understand socio-anthropological facts. Scientists have shown that the interaction between Islam and local communities in a particular space presents the face of Islam in a different society. Abudin Nata, Ed. (2010) has shown that Islam must undergo a process of touch with the social environment<sup>1</sup>, which then presents

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<sup>1</sup> See Barth (2001) to see how the environment affects a community. One community that spreads in different spaces will gradually show a different identity.

a different form of Islam from one place to another.

Azyumardi Azra (2015) argued that Islam in Indonesia has a distinctive form of display which he called 'flowery Islam'. The forms of behavior and religious affinity have led the community to have its own characteristics. In Indonesia, we know of groups such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Jamaah Tabligh. On the other hand, the academic world has the terms of traditional and modern Islam, or cultural Islam, syncretic Islam, and Nusantara Islam, which has been used for more than 10 decades. This paper presents an overview of Islam that comes with local nuances in the community. This paper seeks to see the culture of the Islamic community that lives among multicultural communities. The data were taken from a multicultural community in Sungai Ambawang, the suburb of Pontianak, and from some additional literature on the community in his area.

### **ISLAM AND WEST KALIMANTAN CULTURE**

Studies on Islam and culture in the community in West Kalimantan were conducted by Yusriadi and Hermansyah (2003). This study described the form of Malay people's belief in supernatural power. Islam practiced by the society is referred to as syncretic Islam and part of Islamization. Based on these studies, the term Islamization of science emerged which describes the compromise of two belief systems as a way for the spread of Islam. Similar descriptions are also presented in Hermansyah (2004, 2007, and 2010). Faisal Amin (2014) reinforced this conclusion. He used the term 'hybrid' to indicate the existence of one form of Islam that grew out of a mixture of native and local Islam in the community in Kapuas Hulu. This study found local elements which were mixed in people's beliefs when they worshiped. Yusriadi (2014a) also observed Islamic identity in the Malay community in the upper reaches of the Sambas River. This research stated that Islamic identity is used by the people to confirm their identity as Malay. Islam has significantly affected their culture, such as art and marriage. Islam is part of the cultural identity of society.

There are also other studies conducted in Kartiasa, Sambas, and Temuyuk, Kapuas Hulu (Zainuddin Isman, 2003). Similarities and differences in Malay culture in these two places are influenced by Islamic elements. Islam is the core of Malay culture here. While the difference lies in the paradigm of society in looking at something good or bad for them; the view that a good and valuable culture underlies the choice to maintain a certain cultural form in society (Muttaqien, 2016) In addition, there is a study by Prasojo (2011) regarding Islam that grows and gives nuances to the Dayak Kebahan people in Melawi.

Islam is a differentiator in these rural communities. The presence of religion, in this case Islam, in people's lives certainly has created its own pattern.

A well-known study by Clifford Geertz (1968; 1997) among others, describes how the social level of Javanese society influences the form of Islam. Social factors, especially occupations greatly influence the form of religious practice in society. For example, farmers tend to be grouped in the Abangan Islamic group, while employees belong to Priyai Islam. These factors --work and social class-- were also discussed in Robertson et.al (1997). Robertson elaborated the political issues that influenced the form of religious community. Although religion and politics are two different things, in practice, religion is often part of political life, and it affects other life's aspects. Political policies taken, especially relating to the field of religious life, will form or bring certain effects on the development of a religion and the behavior of its adherents.

Abudin Nata et.al (2010) mentioned a form of cultural Islam in society, to describe the form of acceptance of the religion. Although it is recognized that it is not easy to distinguish such religious typologies, because they are layered with other typologies, the characteristics of this adherent of cultural Islam are to translate religious practices in a local form. Azyumardi Azra (2015) used the term "flowery Islam" to describe the dynamics of religious practice in society. The practice of religion in one community when compared with another community often shows "differences" or distinctions, ranging from 'ritual' of *tahlilan*, *nyekar* or *tomb pilgrimage*, *walimatus-safar* (*walimatul haj/ umrah*), *walimatul khitan*, *tasyakuran*, to four monthly or seven monthly pregnancies, etc. All of these forms enrich the face of Islam. From an identity perspective, the forms of religious rituals displayed by the Muslim community above can be used as a differentiating aspect between one community and another. The identity used as a form of group markers is constructed from various aspects. There are aspects of language, art, food, tradition, ethnicity and religious knowledge (Shamsul A. Baharuddin, 2001, Abdur Rahman, 1999). These characteristics are maintained and developed so as to represent as the current form, in order to remain relevant as a characteristic of a cultural community. There is training, education, promotion or advertising, carried out by a group of people for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening that identity (Shamsul A. Baharuddin, 2001).

## MULTICULTURAL RESIDENTS IN AMBAWANG

Sungai Ambawang is one of the residential areas located on the suburb of Pontianak City. It is located the east, in the Kubu Raya District. The population in Sungai Ambawang consists of Javanese, Malay, Bugis, Madura, Ahe or



Kanayatn, and people of Chinese descent. In terms of religion, most Javanese, Malays, Bugis, Madurese, and a small number of Kanayatn and Chinese, are Muslim. Meanwhile, Kanayatn and Chinese, as well as a few Javanese, are mostly Catholic, Protestant, Hindu and Buddhist. Javanese are a fairly dominant group in the Sungai Ambawang region. In fact there is a village called Jawa tengah (Central Java). Regarding the Jawa tengah village in Sungai Ambawang, it was mentioned in Lontaan (1975: 23) who visited this village in the 1960s. The Javanese lived in the Sungai Ambawang area because they were given land from the Sultan of Pontianak in the 1950s (Turiman as quoted by Yusriadi, 2014; 2014b). However, some reported that they lived in Sungai Ambawang and formed their own villages through a settlement process, such as transmigration.

In addition to the Javanese, there are Madurese people. They have lived in the Sungai Ambawang area for a long time. Lontaan (1975) said the Madurese have been around since the 1960s. In the 1990s people affected by the riots in Sanggau Ledo and Sambas chose to live in this region. One of the ex-refugee villages of the Sambas Riot is Durian Village which is located not far from Jawa Tengah Village (Yusriadi et al., 2009). The Malays are also found in the area around Sungai Ambawang (Lontaan, 1975). However, identification for them is often disguised by Bugis or Javanese identity. Bugis and Javanese who do not strictly implement traditional customs, are often referred to or refer to themselves as Malays. It is also the case with the Banjar people. Inter-marriages between Muslim communities who later in the family environment uses the Malay language in communication, has identity implications. They also became Malays<sup>2</sup>.

The Bugis, although in the context of their culture are often synonymous with Malays, however, can still be identified by their own ethnicity. Lontaan (1975) described the existence of the Bugis community there. Veth (2012) also implicitly mentioned the existence of Bugis people who cultivate coconut in the North-Eastern region of Pontianak City. Some Bugis people who live here are relocated from various regions: Sungai Kakap, Teluk Pakedai, and Pontianak. The Bugis are concentrated on the banks of the Ambawang River or in small trenches as tributaries of Ambawang, as can be seen in the Parit Aim or Parit Seribut areas. The Bugis people settled along the small trenches of the Ambawang River. Since they are concentrated and living not too far

<sup>2</sup>There are two examples for this situation. The Secretary of the Malay Youth in Ambawang, Solihin, for example, actually has Bugis parents. While the Chairman of the Malay Youth, Edi Hasbi, has Javanese parents. The dual ethnic identity of the Malay in Sungai Ambawang has made ethnic identification a little complex and needs a long explanation. However, for the sake of this research, self-identification (claiming to be a certain ethnic group) is used.

from the original area –it takes no more than a day of river travel-- it is easy for them to maintain or hold traditional and cultural activities.

The existence of the Ahe or Dayak people as a common name in Sungai Ambawang is also mentioned in Veth (2012: 572). Quoting Van Lijnden N.T., Veth mentioned the move of Dayaks from Mempawah to the Sungai Ambawang area. So is the Chinese. They are spread around Kuala Ambawang, the area around the Ambawang Bridge. On the other hand, in the newly built housing in 2010, there were quite a lot of Chinese people, for example, those living in Permata Trans Kalimantan housing complex. Outside the area, for example around the Ali Anyang Monument to Kampung Jawa Tengah, the Chinese were hardly found. This situation is indeed due to the fact that Chinese people are relatively new to this area<sup>3</sup>.

Practicing tradition in the community in the Sungai Ambawang region is quite strict. Every day or in a series of life cycles, the activity is carried out. This cultural activity is part of the identity of the groups. Ethnic rivalry in socio-political relations at the district and provincial levels of West Kalimantan, has to an extent affected this situation. Each competes to maintain its identity. In addition, the concentration of residential areas based on ethnicity also causes cultural activities to take place continuously.

## CULTURE OF THE PEOPLE IN AMBAWANG

There is a tradition of “*naik ayon*” in the Malay-Bugis community in Ambawang when welcoming the birth of a child. The *naik ayon* is held on the 14th, 21st or 40th day of birth. But most of the Ambawang people chose the 40th day, on the grounds that they could save some money and the mother is quite well to take part in the ritual. The ritual for the mother is called *baso lantai* or also called *cuci darah*. This 40th day is the last massage for the mother, as well as the puerperal bath. This process is carried out by a shaman. This 40-day determination is in line with the concept of Nifas in Islam (Rasyid, 2001). In this event, the shaman plays an important role. The shaman leads the procession of the activity, by sprinkling fresh flour water on the chicken while reading the Shalawat. Then the chicken feet are rubbed against the floor where the mother gives birth on. If she did not give birth at home then the process of rubbing chicken feet can be done anywhere, but still in the mother’s and baby’s bedroom. After the procession was finished, it is followed by a congratulatory prayer read by one of the religious leaders.

This procession can only be held with one person or can also be witnessed

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<sup>3</sup> In Enthoven (1905) there is absolutely no mention of Chinese in the Ambawang area. The Chinese at that time lived around Pontianak, Sungai Kakap and Kubu.

by many people depending on food preparation from the host. After a new congratulatory prayer, there is a sermon which is usually attended by many people. When it is read aloud, parents can cut their child's hair with scissors, if desired. People who cut their hair are selected from the elder (religious leaders, community leaders or the child's close relatives) who are present in the event. In the month of Safar, the 7th month of the Islamic calendar, there is a *buang-buang* ritual. *Buang-buang* is a cultural activity related to throwing things into the river. The real intention is to make offerings in the river for supernatural beings who lives in the vicinity in order to get permission for the activities to be carried out<sup>4</sup>.

The properties needed for the procession are: *bereteh*, yellow rice, beeswax, raw chicken eggs, Bugis oil (*bauk* oil), betel leaves, areca nut, betel lime, and gambier. In this buang-buang activity, chicken eggs are also used. The eggs are splashed with a small amount of oil. After that, they are discarded simultaneously while saying: *Bismillahirrahmanirrahim*, *Assalamualaikum Nabi Haidir* (then the names of the descendants who perform the ritual). After *buang-buang*, the white plate where the items are to be wasted were placed is filled with water and rubbed onto the face of the person who holds the event. In the ritual of *naik ayon* then the face of the father, mother and baby are rubbed. In a bridal event, the face of the bride is rubbed, and in a circumcision event, the person to be circumcised is rubbed. This ritual is performed by a village shaman and a traditional midwife.

*Maulid* is one of the important activities in the community here. In the month of Maulid, the people of various ethnicities welcom the birthday of Prophet Muhammad with various events. Also in the month of Maulid, the birthday of Prophet Muhammad is celebrated on a large scale in the Madurese community, in their homes and mosques. Cooking and eating together are packed with reading and prayer. The preparations have been made several days before the birthday of the Prophet. In addition, the Madurese also make a special speech during the Hajj month. Like the events of other months, this activity is carried out at home and also in the mosque or musalla.

The same can be seen in the month of Ramadan. In this month, Muslims are required to fast. In the Javanese community there is a *Medunan* event, which is a salvation program in their homes to welcome the coming of the holy month of Ramadan. In this activity they invite neighbors, for one month, alternately. When fasting takes place the atmosphere in the community, day and night looks lively. Pasar Juadah appears along the way presenting various cakes or

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<sup>4</sup> The *Buang-buang* procession is still carried out by the Ambawang community, among others, in the events of wedding, *naik ayon*, and circumcision.

snacks to break the fast. Some snacks are traditional foods that occasionally appear. Breaking fast together is carried out between families, arisan groups, colleagues, and even communities. In particular, before breaking the fast and Eid, bamboo cannons and carbide cannons are sounded, making the space boom.

Ramadan is an important month in the Madurese culture. The Madurese hold *selekoran* on the 21st night of Ramadan. Before evening, residents prepare food and distribute it to their relatives and closest neighbors. Generally the food they cook is rice and side dishes, such as chicken and eggs. Women also prepare food to be taken to the mosque for the night because in the evening after the tarawih prayer, people gather to read prayers and eat together. All food brought here will be put in the middle and prayer will be read first. Two days after this, a special event called *skemi'an* will be held. On the evening of this day, they prepare sticky rice and eat together at the mosque. They also deliver the food to the nearest neighbors. Usually when delivering sticky rice to a neighbor's house, the plates they use will be replaced with new ones or filled with sticky rice. They return each other's favor. After that, in the Eid-ul-Fitr festivities, the Madurese people welcome it with joy. Like other communities, *Lebaran* (*telesan*) is celebrated several days. The first Eid is called *telesan kupa'*, when each family prepares *ketupat* and other types of food for the relatives who come to visit. After that the next Eid day is filled with visits between neighbors, relatives and colleagues. Muslims of various ethnic groups also give color to the Hajj month. Especially in the Madurese community, the Eid of Hajj is filled with a *ter-ater* tradition. In Bugis and Malay society, cakes and snacks are served.

Circumcision is the cutting off of the foreskin of a young boy/man's genital which is an Islamic tradition following what Abraham did. Circumcision with traditional processions is performed on boys. Circumcision on boys is generally filled with thanksgiving events, both before and after the event. Before the circumcision is carried out, both parents must prepare a traditional ceremony which aims to make the child in the circumcision process easier and not disturbed by 'evil spirits'. The item that must be prepared is yellow cloth in the form of a sarong. People believe that if they do not use yellow cloth, they may have difficulties and long periods of healing. Before the event is held, there is a *buang-buang* procession with the aim that the boy being circumcised will not be disturbed by the unseen beings.

In the month of Safar, the Bugis-Malay people in Ambawang hold a *makan kampong* (village meal ritual). This event is associated with the belief that in the month of Safar there are a lot of major disasters. Therefore, according to

some people, if eating the village is not implemented in the coming season, there will be a disaster. For example, some people may drown in the river). The food that must be prepared is roasted chicken, yellow sticky rice and boiled eggs. In this procession, villagers are also involved in making and carrying the *ketupat tolak bala* (sticky rice wrapped in coconut leaves for chasing the evil away). *Ketupat* is brought by each family on Wednesday morning, collected by a kind of committee<sup>5</sup> and after that it is served at the venue. People who come to the event sit facing each other, and in the middle they serve a dish. In addition to carrying *ketupat* with them, villagers also prepare seven-color threads, which are used as bracelets. The 7-color threads are spun and then cut into short pieces of about 20 cm, enough for a bracelet. Bracelets from these threads are distributed to those who come at the time of the prayer reading. Those who wear the bracelet are believed to be not disturbed by evil spirits, especially those traveling on the Landak River. The prayer is read on a bridge in the downstream river. The event is led by a village shaman who is also a Muslim religious leader here.

The Qur'an verses, Surat Alfatihah, certain verses and shalawat are read by the village shaman to "heal" people. This is part of the village medical treatment. If there are children who are sick, they will be brought to the shaman. The shaman here is called Abah who gives out medicine in the form of water which has been read out with prayers. The same thing is found in the Madurese community. Recitation is the entrance for seven monthly activities. For the first child the tradition must have been carried out by most Madurese people. The procession starts by inviting the men or neighbors to the recitation activities and reading the prayer at home. After the recitation, a procession is performed to bathe both the prospective father and mother led by the shaman or those who understand the ritual.

Another hijri month celebrated by Madurese is the month of Muharram. They hold recitals or shalawat in mosques and invite religious teachers to lecture. They also make Muharam porridge which is eaten at home and partly delivered to neighbors. This Muharam porridge consists of white rice mixed with sweet potatoes, such as cassava and sweet potatoes and then mixed with sweet corn. Muharram is also celebrated by the Javanese. On the first day of *Suro*, the Javanese people here gather in one place, usually in the field or village hall. They come in the afternoon after Ashr prayer time, carrying rice with them complete with side dishes wrapped in banana leaves. All rice is collected or lined up and then recited by local religious leaders. This ritual is held at night

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<sup>5</sup> Actually it is not necessarily a formal committee, because the activity preparation meeting and the formation of the formal structure of the organizers has never been done. So, those who play such roles as food collectors are actually due to their own initiative.

after Maghrib prayer. They also perform fasting for one day and do not sleep for a day and a night. During that no-sleep period, they pray and read the Qur'an.

## ISLAM IN THE CULTURE OF THE MULTICULTURAL PEOPLE IN AMBAWANG

As mentioned before, several ethnic groups in Sungai Ambawang are Muslim. The religion is an important part of the culture they practice. Religion is inseparable part of the culture of some communities here. This assumption is based on the fact that in society, the timing of various cultural activities is based on the Islamic calendar. *Beruah* in the Javanese community in Ambawang is carried out after Maghrib prayer. The *selekoran* event for the Madurese community is carried out after *Tarawih* prayer. Meanwhile, other hijri months that are celebrated in the cultural activities of the people in Ambawang include the months of Muharram, Sya'ban, Maulid, etc. For example, there is the celebration of the first day of Suro which is held in the month of Muharram. Celebration of *Sya'benan* in the month of Sya'ban. The activities of *Moliten* or *Maulidan* among Madurese are carried out in the month of Maulid. Maulid is the birth month of the Prophet Muhammad, namely in the month of Rabiul Awal, the Madurese people welcome this momentum with sermon, prayer and meals together.

The activities of the *selekoran* among the Madurese are based on the Islamic calendar, namely Ramadan. This activity is held on the 21st of Ramadan. It also applies to the *skemi'an* activity, which falls on the 25th night of the Ramadan. On that night, people eat black and white sticky rice. The determination of the *beruah* in the Javanese society is based on Islamic calendar, too, namely in the month of Ramadan. *Beruah* is held at the beginning of Ramadan to welcome the arrival of fasting. Therefore, among Javanese, the *beruah* event is also called *selamatan puasa* (ritual for welcoming the fasting month) or *selamatan ruahan*. The preparation of Muharam porridge is also based on Islamic calendar, namely the month of Muharram. This porridge is made in Muharram, but the date or day is flexible. The months of Rajab and Sya'ban also serve as a marker for the time of the implementation of earth charity among the Javanese people.

In the life cycle of multicultural communities in Sungai Ambawang, it is clear that Islam is an important part of their culture. For example, the Qur'an is read on the 7th anniversary of pregnancy among Madurese. At that moment, they read Surah Yusuf and Maryam. Certain verses in the Qur'an are also used to treat sick people by the Madurese and Javanese here. These verses are



recited onto a glass of water which is then drunk or applied to the body part of the sick person. Prayers in Arabic are materials that are also used in the culture of the people in Sungai Ambawang. For example, the recitation of a prayer after a woman gives birth in the *baso lantai* event. The prayer is also recited during the village meal ritual which is held on a bridge in the lower part of the river at Parit Aim I, Sungai Ambawang. Likewise, at the time of treatment, the village shaman recites a prayer onto the water that is drunk or rubbed on a particular part of the patient. In addition, prayers are also recited at the *Selekora* event. Prayers are read when mosque worshipers had gathered around the food delivered by women. Prayers are also recited at the time of conducting *maulidan* activities, at the *Selekora*, and at the *sedekah bumi* event. *Shalawat*, an expression of praise for Prophet Muhammad is used in several cultural activities in communities in Sungai Ambawang.

Shalawat is recited in the seventh month bathing event for pregnant women in the Madurese community. Before bathing the prospective father and mother, shalawat is always recited first. Shalawat is also used to conclude spells in healing by village shamans among the Madurese. In fact, according to one informant in almost all activities involving many people, a prayer is always concluded with shalawat. This shalawat serves as the closing part of the whole series of activities, as well as being a marker for the host and invitation to part. If shalawat is already recited, it means that the guest may leave the invitation assembly. Shalawat is also recited during the procession of a groom headed for the bride's wedding home in the Javanese customs. This shalawat is recited with tambourine playing so it is often part of entertainment in this activity.

Apart from Prophet Muhammad, Prophet Khaidir, a prophet mentioned in the Qur'an, is also involved in traditional events in Ambawang. In the event of *buang-buang*, for example, when dissolving a number of traditional properties into the water, it is recited as follows: "*Bismillahir rahmanir Rahim. Assalamualaikum Nabi Khaidir.*" *Serakal* or sometimes called *srakal* and *srokal* is the name referred to in one part of the contents of the book *Al-Barzanji* written by Ja'far bin Hasan al-Barzanji<sup>6</sup>. As seen in the community in Sungai

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<sup>6</sup> The book *Barzanji* which is well-known for the name "*Mawlid al-Barzanji*", is the most popular and most widespread *mawlid* book spread throughout the Arab and Islamic countries, both in the East and in the West. Many people memorize it and read it in religious social activities. The development of *Barzanji* recital in West Kalimantan has been more or less influenced by ulama in the Pontianak Sultanate, Uthman Al-Puntiani bin Syihab Al-Din. He was known as a student of Muhammad Shalih, brother of 'Abdallah Al-Zawawi, the Mufti of Pontianak in 1891, and 'Uthman also translated Al-Barzanji's mawlid. (Van Bruinessen, 1998). The contents of the book *Al-Barzanji* is summary of *sirah nabawiyyah* which includes the story of birth, apostolate, migration, morals, war and the death of the Prophet.

Because it originates from the Islamic world, containing praise for the Messenger of Allah, written in Arabic, this sermon is considered a type of Islamic poetry. By the people in

Ambawang, Islamic poetry is chosen as part of recitation in children's haircut ritual. *Serakal* is recited after prayer.

Places of worship such as mosques have long been known as symbols of a Malay community (Yusriadi, 2014). In Sungai Ambawang the same conditions are also common. The mosque is also a cultural identity of the people there. In some areas of this place, the mosque serves as the center of activities. For example, activities in the Madurese community are mostly carried out at the mosque. The Muharram celebration is also held at the mosque by inviting preachers. So are the maulid activities, in addition to being held from house to house, they are also held collectively at the mosque. There are sermons and meals during the activity.

Almost all customary events, as reported by the informant, involve religious officials or people who understand about Islam. Muslim leaders have the task of reciting prayers on the *baso lantai* event. Religious leaders are also involved in reciting prayers during the first day of Suro celebration in the Javanese community. Prayers are recited for food that has been collected. Their involvement in cultural activities has these activities rich with Islamic characteristics. Presumably, this is what causes the people in the Sungai Ambawang region, the Malay tribes, Bugis, Javanese and Madurese, to be synonymous with Islam. If you mention the names of ethnic Malays, Bugis, Javanese and Madurese, then what comes to mind is a Muslim ethnic groups. The involvement of the leader, clothing, place, time, or the use of certain recitation from the Qur'an and prayers in Arabic, is a sign that the Islamic element is an ethnic identity in Sungai Ambawang. It gives the same nuances, namely the reflection of Islam in people's lives, as well as being a distinct identity in identifying the form of "Islam" in the community here, while at the same time showing that local Islam is indeed colorful (Abudin Nata, 2010). Islam that is practiced and demonstrated by the people in Sungai Ambawang becomes flowery, as is the characteristics of Islam in the archipelago in general (Azyumardi Azra, 2015).

What happened in the community shows that there is an effort to maintain or strengthen identity. There are several ways that people usually do to maintain their identity, including: using it often, there is a learning process, and there are activities for the creation of psychological images (Abdur Rahman, 1999). The use of Islamic elements in the culture of the people in Sungai Ambawang shows that identity will continue to be maintained. The indications include routine activities; that is once a year for certain activities. In fact, to keep the

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Ambawang and various places in the Indonesian Archipelago, reciting this poem is an important part of the prayer asking for a child's safety ritual.

routine going, sometimes included with the myth<sup>7</sup>. Because these activities are carried out consistently, Islamic traditions can continue to be maintained. Certain people involved in the activity will remember how the prayer should be recited. They will also pass it down to the next generation. In certain activities, it appears that there are indeed learning activities. The next generation learns from the previous. For example, in reading the Qur'an, almost every place there is a Qur'an study group. It is also the case with Islamic art such as *hadrah* and *serakal*. These activities are passed on by conducting joint exercises that seemed semi-formal.

In addition, such preservation also occurs because there are pragmatic reasons for imaging. In terms of actors, as mentioned in Shamsul A. Baharuddin (2001), there is always an element of the interests of the actor to maintain a cultural form. The performance of a form of culture will be a stage to appear in public. This stage will give a good image, because from the social perspective, there are positive implications for the actor. Religious leaders, for example, gain more respect and appreciation than other citizens in the activity. Their sacred role will make them an important person. In addition, this position will have an impact on one's image in everyday life. A ceremony leader, including a shaman and prayer reciter, is an important person in the community. In another sense, they are not ordinary people and therefore they must be treated as important and respected people. Therefore, it is natural that later on from a certain point of view, the community would recognize the necessity to preserve a form of culture. If certain cultures are not preserved, then there will be unwanted impact on their life. Those who are supposed to carry out certain cultural or customary activities but do not do it will encounter misfortune.

## CONCLUSION

The communities in Sungai Ambawang, Kubu Raya, are made up of various ethnic groups. There are ethnic Malay, Bugis, Javanese, Madurese, and Kanayatn or Ahe and Chinese. They can easily be found in the social space of life in Sungai Ambawang. They organize cultural activities for certain moments as part of their life cycle. These ethnic groups practice various forms of culture. The Malay, Bugis, Javanese, Madurese, have many forms of culture that reflect the Islamic elements or language. The Islamic elements, among others, are the time selected to hold events in the hijri calendar, the use of verses or words from the Qur'an, prayers in Arabic, Shalawat and Islamic poetry, activities in mosques, and the involvement of Islamic figures in these activities. The use

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<sup>7</sup> The myth, among others, "If people do not carry out these activities, they will have disasters", "If someone does not carry it out, they will be criticized maliciously", etc..

of Islamic elements is maintained in the community in Sungai Ambawang, through educational activities and the creation of impressions. The image generated and the implications of some cultural activities strengthen the Islamic identity.

The use of Islamic elements in culture has led to a mix of cultures, which has implications for the face of the local culture of each ethnic group. In the end, as seen today, the face of Islam is flowery and colorful. That is a reflection of local people's acceptance of Islam. That is part of the form of Islam that lives in the middle of the Nusantara society, which is identified as the Nusantara Islam.

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## BOOK REVIEW

**Tasawuf Amaliyah.** Jombang: Februari, 2018.

*By Moch. Djamaluddin Ahmad*

Reviewed By

Ahmad Masfuful Fuad

*UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta*

### PRACTICING *IHSAN* WITH *TASAWUF AMALIYAH*

As Islam is spread out by the Prophet of Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him: PbUH) for the seeks of becoming the blessing for the universe (*rahmatan lil 'ālamīn*), Islam offers three main pillars namely *iman*, *islam*, and *ihsan*. The first pillar of *iman* consisting of its principles (*rukun*) is the manifestation of the belief of a believer which is known as theology (*akidah*). The second pillar of *Islam* together with its five principles is the manifestation of the practice of Islamic teaching (*syariat*). And the third pillar of *ikhshan* is the essence of the practicing of the values of Allah the almighty God and the values of the worshipers as later known as *hakikat*.

In order to be able to better practice the three pillars of Islam in daily life, every Muslim is obligated to have the required knowledge prior to understanding them including the knowledge of *tauhid* (*iman/akidah*), Islamic law or *fikih* (*Islam/syariat*), and *tasawuf* (*ihsan/hakikat*). The three required kinds of knowledge are supposed to be mastered together so that they may prevent Muslims from miss practices of Islamic teaching as meant by Allah the Almighty and Muhammad His messenger. Imam Malik mentions in his important work that:

“Those who learn the *fikih* without learning *tasawuf* may become a *fasik*. Those who study *tasawuf* without studying *fikih* may become a *kafir* or *zindiq*. And those who learn *fikih* together with *tasawuf* are those who walk toward *hakikat*.”

What is meant by Imam Malik is also supported by another great and well-known imam as well, Imam Syafi'i. He mentions that every

Muslim should practice Islam in a comprehensive way or *kaffah*, not only having understanding of Islam using *fikih* (*syariat*) but also studying *tasawuf* (*hakikat*) to support their efforts of understanding the teaching.

The book written by Moch. Djamaluddin Ahmad is aimed at becoming a guidance for Muslims in their practice of Islam. The book provides a good guidance to practice *ikhshan* through *tasawuf* which is not only offering theories and concepts but also showing the details of how to practice or known as *amaliyah*. Therefore, the title of the book of *Tasawuf Amaliyah* is very appropriate as supported by the aims of the book and the intention of the author.

The book consists of 9 chapters. The author provides comprehensive explanations on how to understand the basic *tasawuf* (Chapter I), steps of practicing *tasawuf* toward closing to Allah the almighty (Chapter II), building appropriate friendship and the right hospitality of students to their teachers (Chapter III), the genealogy of the prayer or *berzikir* (Chapter IV), the variety of appropriate hospitality (Chapter V), requirements of becoming the teacher of the leader in Sufism of *mursyid* (Chapter VI), *wali* (Chapter VII), *nafsu* (Chapter VIII), and *sufi* leaders from time to time (Chapter IX).

Bu quoting Sayyid Abu Bakar Muhammad Syatha ad-Dimyati, the author of the book explain that the knowledge of *tasawuf* is the knowledge to understand the variety of *nafsu* and its symptoms, both the positive and negative parts of the *nafsu* (Page 1). Practicing *tasawuf* means making efforts to keep human hearts from being contaminated by negative values and habits so that they can transform the good norms into daily practices both physically non physically.

*Ihsan*, as also being mentioned in the hadist by Abu Hurairah, is being defined as “worshiping to Allah as he can see Him, and if he cannot see Him so he should understand and be aware that Allah sees him.” Practicing *ikhshan* is impossible without having the knowledge of *tasawuf*. It is because the knowledge of *tasawuf* is needed since when someone does the *amaliyah* he should pray toward Allah the Almighty. This is also found in the Qur’an Q.S. Az-Zāriyāt (51): 56).

One of the important elements in the knowledge of *tasawuf* is the politeness and hospitality, especially to Allah, parents, teachers, and to human beings. Sayyid Ali Al-Khawwas mentions that those who misbehave they are like behaving to betray toward the knowledge of

*hakikat* and the secrets of Allah the Almighty (page 191). Al-Khawwas mentions the important of the politeness and hospitality. What Al-Khawwas means is that all the values are being taught by the Prophet Muhammad to mankind as he said that “I am the messenger of Allah and being sent to you to guide human being to have good behavior.”

Allah the Almighty gives human beings both mind and *nafsu*. The mind is intended to guide human being to able to control and manage their *nafsu*. The *nafsu* is not meant to be removed from human beings since it is impossible to do so. Human beings are expected to control it. The question is how to do so? The book provides the tips in doing so as being done through practicing *riyāḍah* (practice) and *mujāḥadah* (fight). In order to be able to do so, human beings are required to understand the level and kinds of *nafsu* within them.

The *nafsu* is not always being connoted to negative judgment since sometimes it is also positive. The book elaborates carefully about the levels of *nafsu* consisting of 7 (seven) kinds including *ammārah*, *lawwāmah*, *mulhimah*, *muṭmainnah*, *rāḍiyah*, *marḍiyyah*, and *kāmilah* (page 255). It is important to understand the variety and level of *nafsu* carefully so that every Muslim know exactly who is friend and opponent within themselves. The Prophet Muhammad said that the fight against the infidel or *kafir* is a small war (*aṣḡar*), but the fight against the *nafsu* is the one being called as the big war (*akbar*).

In the end of the book the author explain about the important to know the history of the *sufi* leaders. He provides the profiles and *sufi* leaders from time to time starting from the second Hijri to the 14th Hijri. The explanation about the *sufi* leaders is meant to provide knowledge and information for those seeking the knowledge and information about *tasawuf* so that they can take a lesson (*‘ibrah*) and good (*uswah ḥasanah*) from selected people who had been able to improve their quality of life through having great practices of *iman*, *islam*, and *ihsan*. They are the examples that can guide them in doing *tasawuf* and becoming their *role model* for *sālik* (the way toward Allah the Almighty) in doing the practice required by the teaching of Islam as Allah the Almighty has guided human beings.

As for the scientific responsibilities by the author, the book is also equipped by *footnote* and bibliography for references (*marāji’*) from appropriate books of *tasawuf* of *mu’tabarah* (standardized). The book is also written in a very careful intention with appropriate diction, words, sentences and paragraph. The author intends to help readers

to understand easily about the *tasawuf*, especially to those who are new in the world of tasawuf. (\*)

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