



ISLAM RELATION IN THE IBAN AND MALAY COMMUNITIES JONGKONG, KAPUAS HULU

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the position of Islam in the interaction between Iban and Malays in Jongkong, Kapuas Hulu. So far, people often place the position of Iban people as Dayaks, which in fact is in opposition to Malay and Islam. Islam is considered unfriendly to the Dayaks and has become a stigma reinforced by various actual events in West Kalimantan and in Indonesia. Data collected in the field in Jongkong and Pengerak, were obtained through interviews and observations and literature studies, the data shows that the relationship between Iban and Malays in Jongkong is very close. Interaction has been established for a long time, and Islam is present in that relationship through Malays and through Ibans who embrace Islam, through economic and educational activities. This relationship is so close that Iban non-Muslims are willing to go to the Jongkong Islamic School. In part, Iban youths are offered to marry Malays. This relationship can be a model for realizing a harmonious life.

Keyword : *Islam, Ethnic Relation, Iban, Malay, Jongkong*

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A. INTRODUCTION

Jongkong, Kapuas Hulu, West Kalimantan is known as the "Veranda of Mecca".¹ This view reflects the status for sustainability muslims people here: people who are religious, devout in religion, Islam is deeply rooted in the culture of the community. That's why talking about Jongkong, people often think that the population is 100% Muslim.

In fact, Jongkong has heterogeneity especially in terms of ethnicity, religion and culture. In Jongkong there are Chinese people who are concentrated in the Jongkong Kiri Pasar area, part of Jongkong Tanjung, and in Jongkong Hilir and Penggerak, there are Iban people. The Catholic Church in Jongkong Pasar and Chinese *Pekong* (Pekong: the worship building of Chinese) was built Jongkong Hilir Market. The two communities live in harmony with the Malays there, and they are religiously safe without interference.

Although Jongkong is one of the sub-districts in Kapuas Hulu, West Kalimantan, this fact can be a model to see how relations and interactions between ethnic groups and religions are built. The model shown in Jongkong can be an example for the promotion of peaceful, friendly and tolerant Islam.

At the very least, this situation can be a counter data to deal with attacks on Muslims that have emerged. So far there have been negative assumptions about Islam; for example Islam is said to be inhospitable to followers of other religions, Islam is intolerant and even becomes tyrannical, Islam spreads fear towards followers of other religions. Islamic phobia, attacks the minds of a number of people who consider Islam to be a rigid religion and its people act intolerantly towards other groups. If violence occurs in public spaces, radicalism becomes a scapegoat and Muslims become accused.

Aside from the question of ethnic relations, what is really interesting from Jongkong is the assumption that this is about the Iban. Iban in West Kalimantan in the social space was often protected by Dayaks, so the term Iban itself became somewhat unpopular. Even some outsiders do not know about the existence of Iban people in the rural area.

If we brows on Google search engines actually show irony, the word Iban is sought, what will appear are Ibans from Sarawak Malaysia. West Kalimantan Iban only appears to

¹ In a private interview with one of the religious leaders who was also the principal of MAN Jongkong and several people, that Jongkong was considered a porch of Mecca in Kapuas Hulu because the Jongkong area was the center of life activities such as: Islamic, economic and social religious education. In addition, from the 1970s to 2014 in Jongkong there were charismatic and respected scholars for the Kapuas Hulu level.

have little to do with Iban Sentarum, namely Iban who lives in Lake Sentarum, the largest lake in West Kalimantan².

Indeed, this is rather incorrect because of two things. First, the Iban mentioned here is actually Iban Pengerak. The name Iban Pengerak is covered by the icon Sentarum which is already known to the world³. Second, as stated in Wahyu Andika (2007: 51), Iban is one of the important indigenous communities of Kalimantan. Not only seen from the breadth of the distribution area but also from the perspective of their history and gait on the political stage⁴. Third, the area around Pengerak, namely Sekawi lakes, Vega, Belidak, Tawang, is the core area of the Iban people. Yusriadi (2014b) states that based on some writings this area is the origin of some of the known Iban people in Sarawak.

The famous Iban community has been known as part of the Dayak community and is a non-Muslim religion. In fact, some writings were found mentioning that many Iban people were Muslim (Ibrahim, 2007; Yusriadi, 2014b). This assumption causes the Iban group who are Muslim to be rarely touched and get little attention. Rarely do you know that there are various Islamic Iban groups. Likewise, there are rarely researchers in West Kalimantan who are interested in exploring the Muslim Iban community.

The interesting facts above are the reasons why writing and research on Muslim Iban are interesting and important. In addition to being able to become a model in seeing the form of harmony between people and tribes, it can also produce something useful to show the true picture of the existence of one tribe in the rural of West Kalimantan.

This paper will discuss the interactions between Iban and Malays in Jongkong, Kapuas Hulu West Kalimantan; and provide an overview of where Islam is in the relationship between ethnicities.

B. METHODS

The data from this paper are the results of the author's research. This study uses data collection techniques in the form of direct observation to the field and interviews with informants consisting of residents, community leaders and religious leaders. The author conducted interviews with several speakers in Jongkong and Pengerak in February 2015 and July 2017. Those interviewed included A. Hilal (50 years), H. Sutardi (40 years), sub village

² Iban Danau Sentarum was introduced by the site and activities of the Earth Ripple Foundation. This foundation accompanies people from Iban in the activity of weaving mats, bags, with typical Iban motifs from bemban plant material.

³ Information in the field says that Kenasau, who was associated with Iban Sentarum by the Earth Riak Foundation, is now gone. The long oath there is no longer there. The occupants move to the Crusher.

⁴ The evidence that is still visible today in Pontianak is the presence of the Betang House on Jalan Sutoyo Pontianak. This house is the first traditional Dayak house built in the center of West Kalimantan province. The word betang itself is derived from Ibanik (Iban language and a family with it). However, the prestige of the Betang House is now dimmed by the presence of Rumah Radakng whose name is taken from the Kanayatn language.

head, former sub village head, adat leader, and craftsmen such as, Leokrita Diana (22 years), Yunita Kanca (24 years), Damak (50 years), Nawan (50), Helena (18 years), and Susana Gena (17 years). In addition, researchers also interviewed several Muslim Iban people such as Mina (60 years), Lana (46 years), and Min (45 years).

In detail, this paper will answer the question of how the interaction between Iban and Malays in Jongkong ? In what ways and how is the relationship formed? Where is Islam present in the interaction? The answers to those questions will be displayed below.

C. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

General description of Jongkong and its inhabitants

Jongkong names are often used in two purposes or two meanings. Jongkong in the sense of the name relates to a small town at the mouth of the Embau River, and Jongkong which has the meaning of a district administrative area. Jongkong as the sub-district capital in Kapuas Hulu Regency, is located in the upper Kapuas River. The travel distance from Pontianak to Jongkong is approximately 15-18 hours.

Jongkong as a sub-district is divided into five villages, namely the Lower Jongkong Left Village, Central Jongkong Kiri Village, Upper Jongkong Left Village, Jongkong Market Village, and Right Jongkong Village. Before 2000, this area was known as the Embau Sub-district in the Pengkadan River area and part of the current Embau.⁵

The Jongkong community numbered approximately 11 thousand people. They inhabit the outskirts of the Kapuas River and the outskirts of the Embau River estuary. This settlement pattern is closely related to the lifestyle of those who rely on the river as a source of economy and transportation. As fishermen they fish along the Kapuas River and the lakes found in the northern part of the area.

Jongkong community settlements are on the banks of the Kapuas River, the Embau River and the Old Embau River '. In some parts, their houses are high-rise to avoid flooding. The height of his house can reach 5 meters. The impact of high rainfall results in seasonal flooding that often engulfs this area for quite a long time⁶. This situation, besides affecting settlements, also affects the agricultural system, and various aspects of Jongkong people's lives.

The pattern of settlement in Jongkong is piled up. The distance between one house to another is close together and facing each other. The local people call it Linti as a connection for houses. This Linti becomes a connecting road from one house to another in a residential area. If the residential area is separate, they have to use a boat to get to the Jongkong Kanan and Jongkong Tanjung.

⁵ See Yusr i adi and Hermansyah 2003 concerning Embau.

⁶ Floods in Jongkong can occur for 3 months. The lands are all submerged in water so that all houses are built on water or floating.

When the last visit was held in September 2017 in Jongkong city there were four mosque buildings, namely Central Jongkong Left, Upper Left Jongkong, Jongkong Tanjung, Right Jongkong and Jongkong Market. While one Catholic Church and one Kelenteng called Pekong local community are in Jongkong Pasar.

In 1990, Jongkong was one of isolated area and slow progress. Because the community was very dependent on the river as the only transportation route while this mode of transportation is very limited. During dry season the community becomes paralyzed because there was no access to transportation to the district and provincial cities and regions that have been reached by road. Because the river paths are usually shallow, so it was difficult to pass water motors that carry goods and people.

In 2000, the government builds a road connecting Jongkong with South Cross Road. This road was built along the coastal villages of the Embau River. After the road was built, slowly but surely, transportation through the river began to be abandoned by the people here. The impact of the changes that have occurred has caused public transportation modes in this area no longer depend on boats and motorboats. They began to switch over land routes with land transportation modes such as trucks and buses connecting the district capital and the provincial capital. Now buses, taxis, and trucks and motorbikes pass on the Jongkong Senara Crossroad all day. A place that used to be far changed into a place that is close.

The old inhabitants of Jongkong were Malays since 1850. Dutch sources say that at that time Jongkong residents numbered 30 families. Along with the process of Islamization, many people converted to Islam, and the process of migration from villages in the upper reaches the Embau River, the population in Jongkong gradually increased (Yusriadi and Hermansyah, 2005).

Besides Malays and Ibans, there are also Chinese, a few Padangese and Javanese in Jongkong. The opening of land routes and the construction of docks by the local government has had an effect with the increasing number of new traders coming from various regions.

Malay and Iban in Jongkong

In terms of ethnicity, the majority of Jongkong's population is Malay tribe who are Muslim, then followed by other religions such as Catholicism and Confucianism from ethnic Iban and Chinese. Unfortunately the latest number of people is not available. To just get a picture, based on 2005 statistics presented by Hermansyah (2010) about Jongkong residents, there were 28,731 Malays from 29,034 inhabitants.

The existence of Malays in Jongkong is not yet known. The mention of Malay names occurs because they are Muslim. If there are writers mentioning them as Dayaks, actually, the population here already existed before the Dayak term was popularized. In fact, they themselves have only recently known the term⁷.

⁷ For grouping people based on ethnicity, people in this area are actually more about the names of groups such as Iban, Punan, Tebidah, Buak, Mmawu.

Generally Jongkong Malays are people who come from the rural area of Embau (Mohd. Malik, et al., 1985). Embau's hinterland includes Crow, Pedian, Mubung, etc.

Characteristics of Jongkong Malay society can be seen through traditional and cultural activities, for example on religious events that are synonymous with Islam, as in the tradition of marriage, fresh flour and hadrah / tar. These cultures are still preserved in Malay society here.

In terms of the language of the population they speak Malay, with various commonly used names, for example, it is called Mmau or Ulu, depending on who gives identification.

Iban people live beside Malays only in a few villages. The village is in Left Jongkong, or rather in a village near Jongkong Kiri. The exceptions are those who have become Muslim, married to Malays, they live among Jongkong Malays. In this condition, they are still considered Iban, until the next generation⁸.

The research data shows that some Iban people in Jongkong have become Muslim and some are Catholics. That is, in general, Iban people in Kapuas Hulu are non-Muslim. Iban who is Muslim in other villages, actually exists, but the number is limited. About Muslim Iban can be seen from the writings of Yusriadi (2007), Wahyu (2004) and Didi Darmadi (2008).⁹

Between Iban Islam and Catholic in Malay population there is no limit to the association of one another, so that in everyday life Jongkong people live in harmony. That's why Jongkong is very unique.

The results of the field research were also found by ethnic Ibans, some of whom adhered to Islam and some who followed Catholicism. Although in general Iban people in Jongkong have become followers of the Catholic religion as generally Iban in Kapuas Hulu, animist beliefs are still practiced by most Iban people. So that in everyday life they still strongly believe in the existence of magical rulers who are magical, such as ghosts, watchmen, and spirits of the dead they call *semongat*. Their belief in the magical power has created a lot of worship and abstinence ceremonies that must be done by Iban people. Whereas in Islamic's Iban there is no longer a tradition of worship and animist beliefs (Zainal Aripin, 2015).

They also have a high tolerance for religion. Not infrequently in a Muslim Iban house there are several followers of Catholicism. Examples of Mina aka Nur Minah (60 years), Mana aka Clara Manda (72 years), Susana Gena (17 years), and Helena aka Latung (18 years), their brothers, grandchildren and nieces live at home. Mina 'embraced Islam, while her brother Mana, her grandson and nephew Susana Gena and Helena adopted Catholicism. Differences in beliefs do not make them break up or hate each other and mutually hostile to each other, but instead they live side by side like a family that has one belief.

⁸ In many instances they are often also identified as Malay. It may be noted that it eliminates the characteristics of Iban culture and fully follows the Malay way of speaking and customs.

⁹ Yusriadi and Wahyu mentioned the existence of Iban in the Bunut Hulu area who became Muslims in the process of Islamization simultaneously with a long house or a village. While Didi Darmadi mentioned about the existence of Muslim Iban among the Buyan Malay community. This Muslim Iban moved from another area after he married a resident in a local village.

Jongkong History and Islamic-Iban Relations

Mohd. Malik et al (1985: 45) stated that before there was a kingdom in the Jongkong area there were already people who embraced Islam. The origin of this area of Jongkong, from the hinterland called Ribang Tamang. This area was founded by Remi Demang Nutup's children. After leaving Remi, his grandchildren moved several times and finally they settled in Landau Village or Kampung Parit by establishing a village. Here they developed until the occurrence of royal rule in Kampung Parit. Then the village was called the Embau because it was located at the mouth of the Embau River or known as Jongkong, this name was taken from the name of a tree that grows a lot in this area.

Mohd Malik et al (1985: 46) in his notes mentioned Abang Abdul Arab was the first king in the Jongkong kingdom with the title Pangeran Abang Abdul Arab. Since his reign stood the First Islamic empire in Jongkong in the 17th century AD Prince Abang Abdul Arab was an assertive and brave king. The laws applied by the king have led to Islamic law. This prince is famous for his supernatural powers, so most feared by the Iban Dayaks, so that many Iban Dayaks convert to Islam. After his death Prince Abang Abdul Arab was replaced by his son named Abang Sulaiman who later held the title of Prince Abang Sulaiman approximately 1800 AD During his reign Islam continued to develop. By 1900 AD Prince Abang Sulaiman died, and then replaced by his son named Haji Abdullah then held the title of Young Hajj. He is the last prince in power in Jongkong. There were only three princes in power in this area, then entered the ruling Dutch invaders.

Note Mohd Malik, et al (1985: 47) together with the record Abang Izhar (2015: 148) citing JU Lontaan (1975) and Zahri Abdullah (2002), stating that in the document notes Memorandum of Demang Van Selimbau, said the founder of the kingdom and Jongkong palace is a descendant of Demang Nutup a Majapahit Hindu follower. The first king was Pangeran Muda Abang Abdul Arab. Pangeran Muda Abang Abdul Arab has a descendant named Abang Unang which is titled Prince Sulaiman Surya Negara. It feels rather difficult for researchers to get a definite description of when the establishment of the Jongkong kingdom in the two notes above. After comparing the notes above with other sources, the researcher gets a clearer picture.

According to Hermansyah (2010: 15) citing Marzoeke (1939) and Zahri (1988) in 1882 Jongkong became a *Landschap* ruled by King Sulaiman Suria Negara. In December 1899 Abang Alam, with the title Pangeran Muda Gusti Alam, succeeded his father to become king of Jongkong. In 1917 the government of Jongkong *Landschap* was abolished and converted to *Gouvernementsgebeit*. Pangeran Muda Gusti Alam received compensation of £ 1,000 and stopped being a king. At that time Jongkong was merged under the authority of the *Ditricthoofd* Embau located on Gagak, while Jongkong was only governed by a village head, namely Raden Nata, the former minister of the kingdom of Jongkong. In 1920 *Grootkampoonhoofd* or *Complexhoofd* and Raden Nata who ruled at that time. He was successively replaced by Gusti Hamzah, then Ade M. Dahlan and Aris bin Kebuk. Meanwhile, the entire Embau area was ruled by a demang until mid-1952. At the end of 1952 Embau was ordered by assistant wedana until 1960. After that Embau was led by a sub-district head.

Based on the records of the researchers above, it is not surprising that many Ibans in Jongkong converted to Islam. The central Jongkong and the Malays who lived in the center of the government had influence in ethnic relations here, and were influential in attracting the hearts of Iban people.

Iban Relations with Malays

In everyday life Jongkong people do not know the social strata. Hermansyah (2010: 108) states that even though in Jongkong there was once a feudal Malay kingdom, among which was seen from a certain degree for the family of the family, but now only the story remains. There is no special respect for the descendants of the Jongkong kingdom, even though they still use distinctive title names, such as *gusti*, *ade*, *brother* for men, and *ladies* and *gentlemen* for women.

Interactions occur without limitation of caste and social strata, for example, between Iban, Malay and other ethnic groups, both non-Muslim Muslims in Jongkong. The title inherent in the naming of the family mentioned above is not used in the interactions of daily life. This degree is only used in written matters, such as birth certificates, family cards and diplomas. The title used is not a significant influence in the interaction between ethnicity and religion. Ethnic social relations are intertwined in harmony. Inter-ethnic social interaction in the Jongkong community occurs because of several supporting factors that can strengthen relationships including: the context of marriage, economy and education.

Marriage Context

As explained in the previous section in terms of religion, generally Iban Jongkong people are Catholics. In addition there are also those who embrace Islam.

There are various reasons why Iban people embrace Islam. Among other things because they feel they don't get peace in the old religion. There also embraced Islam because of the religion of the family who had embraced Islam. There are also those who embrace Islam for more pragmatic reasons, namely because of marriage ties, especially those who are married to Muslim men or women.

Unfortunately, during fieldwork there were no definite data on the number of Iban who embraced Islam. Based on information from several informants in *Joki* (Jongkong Kiri) it is estimated that no less than 10 Iban people converted to Islam. If assessed, this figure is considered large compared to other ethnic groups who converted to Islam.

Mina 'alias Nurminah (60 years old) , Ros Juliana alias Tayuk (46 years old), Min (50 years old), Jamal (72 years old) and Rustam (62 years old) are examples of Iban people who married Muslims and married in Jongkong. Most are married to Malays. After marriage they lived in the Malay community and followed the Malay way of life. However they are still identified by others and identify themselves as Muslim Ibans.

Even though they have embraced Islam in Jongkong for 10-30 years, they still maintain communication with their non-Muslim and Muslim relatives. His relatives live in

several villages which are scattered in several sub-districts in Kapuas Hulu and even in neighboring parts of Sarawak Malaysia. One example is that they communicate each other and visit with their Iban Muslim relatives on the Buah River.¹⁰

Haitami Salim (2012: 110-111) states that the phenomenon of conversion (conversion) is an ordinary phenomenon in the course of the history of human life. It is not considered strange.

In addition, a religion can also be chosen for certain reasons. In the context of Jongkong and relations between ethnic groups there, marriage is one of the mediums of unification which is not just a union between two humans. After the qabul, two family ties were established, and two communities were confirmed.

Economic Transactions

The flow of people and goods has brought economic impact to the Jongkong people, including Iban and Malays, especially to the Chinese. Stretching the economy of the community grew significantly. This can be seen from the growth of ownership of private vehicles such as trucks, cars, motorbikes, and motorboats¹¹. According to the informant, this economic stretch was caused by the existence of roads and docks that were built by the regional government a few years ago. In addition, the swift nest business that is very promising makes people enthusiastic about building swallow houses, so it is not surprising that many rows of swallow houses are found in Jongkong.

Iban people include Iban who are Muslims and Malays are bound in the same economic space. Therefore they are interconnected or have reciprocal relationships, while the Chinese are intermediaries of the economic process¹². Economic activities include agricultural product transactions: types of vegetables planted in fields, river fish, rubber products, on the one hand, and on the other hand there are rice, clothing, and other basic necessities that are not produced by them.

This statement is in accordance with the facts in Jongkong. For a long time, Malays and Ibans sold their products to Chinese people. Because in general, Chinese and Padangese people Jongkong were traders and have big shops there. Because of the economic pressure, the Iban people had relations with the Chinese and Malays. So it is not surprising that Chinese and Malays put trust in Iban in the form of capital loans for their business needs. Economic relations like this create close kinship and strengthen harmony in the Jongkong community.

Some notes about the life and economy of Iban people say that Iban people still depend on farming or farmers by planting rice. The data can be seen from the fact that the farming activities for Iban people are still important to fulfill the family's rice needs. It's just

¹⁰ The Iban Sungai Buah is an Iban who converts to Malay after embracing Islam, around 1965. See Yusriadi (2004) and Wahyu (2007).

¹¹ See also Yusriadi (2018). The description of change in this small town in a few decades is stated here.

¹² To understand this pattern, see Eko Handoyo et al. (2015: 9) . He said, in the colonial period, the division of society based on race influenced its production patterns. The Dutch, for example, produced in the plantation sector, the indigenous population in agriculture and Chinese as a marketing class (marketing-class) became an intermediary between the two.

that the farming patterns of the Iban here are different than other Iban people. The Iban here plant on tidal land, so their planting season depends on the water conditions of the lake or river around them. Thus, this cropping pattern makes them look the same as Malays in Jongkong.

In addition, in their fields they also plant various types of vegetables such as corn, cucumbers, pumpkins, and other types of local plants. Later, the results of some of these plants they sell to Malays in Jongkong.

In addition to farming, Iban people can also earn from fish. Ismail Ruslan (2005: 93) states that Iban people also live around lakes to find fish, as fishermen.

The proximity of Jongkong residents to rivers, lakes and forests, makes most of them depend on the lake. They work as farmers and fishermen. They do not catch fish with nets or local people call them mini jermals, electric shocks or poisons. Even for Iban people catching fish in these ways is prohibited. So it is not surprising that large and small fish are easily obtained in the fishing areas of Iban people rather than the Malay fishing areas in Jongkong.

They sell fish with Malays who come to buy fish. Usually the fish they catch keep within two, three days or a week at the location of fishing before being sold.

This pattern of life is interesting if associated with Ibrahim's research (2006: 21). According to him, the Iban (Iban Badau) has his own term in identifying himself as an *Army* and Malays with sea people. Iban people live in hills or mountains, in the forest with their livelihoods are farmers, farming, and harvesting forest products. But other classical literature states that Iban is a tribe that lives on the coast of the river (Kapuas), and tends to choose places close to the sea / river. Although the study never identified Iban livelihoods as generally coastal river people such as fishermen and delivery. Will there be a historical shift towards the pattern of life of Iban people from the coastal river to the hills and mountains or vice versa.

In addition, through the skill of weaving women in making wicker with various motifs and patterns, they became famous to various foreign countries. This activity became an economic source for Iban people; either Muslim or not.

The majority of Iban women are enthusiastic in weaving and creating their plaits with various motifs and colors. Within a few years, weaving brought the Iban Pengerak women to Jakarta and even abroad, such as: Malaysia, the Philippines, Bangkok and the United States in the context of a cultural exhibition. (Zainal Aripin, 2015). In some countries, woven handicrafts from the Iban village of Pengerak have high quality, are very popular and have high selling value. Now they are weaving not only in leisure time, but as a source of income for Iban women in Jongkong with promising results to support the family economy. Now woven mats of Iban motifs have been introduced more widely to outsiders.

This creative economic activity made them connect with Malays Jongkong and even outside of Jongkong. This relationship is actually reciprocal, having their own interests and advantages. Iban people need other people, and vice versa others also need Iban people.

To facilitate trade communication, they use Malay language with anyone who interacts daily with them. For example, vendors of goods, rubber buyers, fish buyers from the surrounding Malay villages who stopped by or those who came to the village.

Educational Activities

Jongkong is known as the city of Islamic education in the rural area of West Kalimantan. The founding figures and teachers for this education include H. Ahmad HAB. H. Ahmad founded madrasas ibtidaiah, tsanawiyah and aliyah in Jongkong, precisely Jongkong Kanan (Yusriadi, 2009; Yusriadi, 2014). The presence of schools and teachers made Jongkong known as the center of Islamic education and the center of Islam, which in the early part of this paper introduced the term "Veranda of Mecca".

The presence of this education makes the education of Malays in Jongkong better, while education among Iban people is still very low. The older generation of Iban rarely completes basic education, especially the generation of the 1980s and below. Lately, only a few Iban have successfully completed elementary, junior high and high school education. Whereas the Iban Jongkong people who continue their education to tertiary education up to now do not yet exist.

The lack of education of Iban people compared to Malays in Jongkong is due to the difficulty of getting a place to study. The absence of schools around Iban settlement in Left Jongkong, as well as the distance between schools and their settlements, became a barrier. Apart from that, the economic level of Iban people is not very good. To minimize the constraints mentioned above, in order to get an education Iban build independently at the primary school in 1990 - early around their settlements. Because of the lack of operational funds and teaching staff, in 2010 teaching and learning activities stopped and eventually the school collapsed with age.

If Iban children go to primary, secondary and upper education generally they attend Joki (Jongkong Kiri) they prefer to continue their education in public schools such as elementary, middle and high school in Joki than they choose religious schools such as madrasa ibtidaiah, tsanawiyah and aliyah who is in Joka (Right Jongkong). Public schools were chosen because they felt closest to their homes when compared to religious schools. Before the establishment of junior high schools in Joki in 2008, some of them attended junior high school 1 of Jongkong in Joka.

Economic levels that are not too good, the distance from school to home so that the amount of transportation costs incurred is a reason for them not to go to school. While those who go to school they prefer to stay at the home of relatives who are married to Malays and become Muslims rather than going home every day from their homes.

As explained in the previous section, it is common for a Muslim Iban house to have several followers of Catholicism. That happens because they learn to gain knowledge. Education has opened the horizons of the younger generation of Iban. In school they interact with peers and teachers of diverse backgrounds. Education in school and everyday life becomes an important part in developing a sense of fraternity among the Iban. Through formal institutions they learn about ethics and manners and religion. Whereas in their daily lives they learn to get along in society even they also learn about Islam. Many of them were

attracted to *converts*. Education through science has changed the lives of Ibans and Malays in Jongkong¹³. Education has formed the background of a growing sense of tolerance and brotherhood between non Muslim Muslim Ibans and Malays in Jongkong regardless of each other's background. If they visit each other and attend activities or ceremonies in their families, they have greater tolerance.

What happened in Jongkong is actually a representation of what happened in West Kalimantan. In West Kalimantan, according to Zaenuddin (2008: 249), Dayaks with Malays are two ethnic communities that have unique religious identities. This is related to the fact that there has been a long and serious process of relations and interactions between local traditions and culture and the activities of missionaries who spread modern religions such as Christianity and Islam in the West Kalimantan region. The process of relationships and interactions is formed by the factors of the times and their development brought by new civilizations that enter and interact with local traditions. The new civilization entered through education, organization, and other forms.

D. CONCLUSION

Jongkong, which is called the "Veranda of Mecca" is the shadow of some people 100% Muslim and one tribe. However the fact is there are ethnic and religious diversity. Apart from Malays, Jongkong also has Iban and Chinese people. In general, there are Molem and non-Molems.

The diversity of ethnicity, religion, and belief in Jongkong does not cause the people to hate each other and be hostile. Each of them runs his religion and belief freely. Tolerance is built in the community.

The interaction between Iban Islam, Malay and other ethnicities in Jongkong is well-established, such as through the context of marriage, economy and education. Through marriage, there is a cross-cultural, understanding Muslim Iban living with Malays, but they are not cut off from their relations with other Iban people. In fact, this marriage, even if it is a bond between two individuals, brings closer group relations and makes the Iban more familiar with Islam. Economic activities make these groups interact. Then interactions occur without ethnic or religious boundaries, likewise with the presence of education. Education in Jongkong became an excuse for Iban people to get closer to the Malays. In fact, there were once Iban people who were non-Muslim but attended madrasah Islamic schools. Iban people, who want to continue their secondary education, attend school in Jongkong, live and mingle with Malays who in fact are Muslim.

Jongkong shows a safe space for group relations. So far there have been no conflicts between ethnicities and religions. In fact, Islam is a unifying relationship between Malays and

¹³ In fact, interestingly before there were schools in Iban village, some of them went to Jongkong, specifically the Jongkong Madrasah. At least the informants remembered that there were two children of Iban who studied at this school in the 1970s - now they have become grandparents. However, for various reasons, they did not complete their education.

Ibans, or at least gives color to this relationship. Therefore Jongkong can be a model in the interaction of Islam not Islam.

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