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## TARIQA IN INDONESIA: SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF RELIGIOUS ADHERENTS

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper seeks to shed light on how tariqas [school or order of Sufism] play an important role in the socio-religious life of Indonesian society. Furthermore, this paper intends to explore research gaps from previous research by looking at how conflict and social integration among tariqas are in the reality of religious communities. In addition, this paper also aims to explain the causative and supporting factors originating from the tariqa structural institutions and the tariqa interests in social integration among the tariqa. Based on the collected data which were analyzed using a qualitative approach, this article found that the tariqas have become the main agent in maintaining social integration among the tariqa practitioners and minimizing the gaps of conflict between the existing tariqas. However, at the same time, a tariqa needs legitimacy from its followers so that it creates space for conflicts of interest among the tariqa practitioners, especially in the fields of economics, politics, as well as among their followers. This paper is based on research conducted using in-depth library research aimed to find out how conflict and social integration occur in society.*

**Keywords:** Tariqa; Social integration; Religious Adherents

### INTRODUCTION

Religion is often placed in a paradoxical dimension. This is because religion can bind human and divine into relations as well as human-to-human relations socially (social cement) with different backgrounds in a social-human integration. On the other hand, religion is also the root of conflict between its followers due to the so-called legitimacy and justification from its followers' understanding of religious practices (Priyono, 2016; Wibisono, 2021). The

role of religion then generates logical consequences as a force that is built both constructively and destructively (Utoyo, 2016), and thus it is not uncommon for religion to receive a negative stigma even though in reality every religion has a holy divine mission and teaches values that integrate three important components, namely God, nature and humans (Fahri & Zainuri, 2019). *Das sollen* [ideally], religion aims to provide mercy to the worlds. However, *das sein* [in reality] religion often plays a role in conflicts that always occur in the social reality of religious life. Therefore, religion is not only deemed to have failed with its mission, especially in matters related to humanity, peace building and religious harmony (Bachtiar, 2020; Strasser, 2021). Thus, it is not uncommon for religion to be blamed for conflicts that occur in society. Therefore, in addition to being a way of life, religion also faces a dilemma in its practical setting between the cause of conflict on the one hand, and a unifier in society on the other.

Negative assumptions about the role of religion as a force that triggers social conflict may be understandable. Because in reality, religion and religious communities are often dragged into prolonged conflicts (Rajab, 2018). However, making religion the only factor for causing conflict can also be debated. As sacred teachings, basically every religion carries a mission of peace (Kholiludin, 2018; Sutarto, 2018). With regard to religion and religious conflict, Abdurrahman Wahid viewed that violence and conflict involving religious communities do not actually originate within the religion itself. According to him, conflicts involving religious people are due to contemporary issues that underlie the situation and conditions of its adherents (Burhani et al., 2020; Devy Habibi Muhammad, 2021) as happened in various regions in Indonesia involving the *Ahl Sunnah wa al-Jamaah* and the *Ahmadiyah* (Sujadmi, 2013) and other conflicts involving the Naqsabandiyah, Qadiriyyah, Qadiriyyah and Naqsabandiyah, Shattariyyah, etc. (Faslah, 2020; Hakim, 2010; Rosyid, 2018). Based on the typology of conflict mapping above, it can be said that conflicts involving religions are predominantly caused by the subjective interests of its followers, both politically motivated interests related to power and the economy, as well as interests dominating others in terms of ideas and ideals. Abdul Hadi (Hadi, 2022), the two forms of interests are called political and ideological interests.

This research aims to see how differences in tariqa and their institutional interests are seen as triggering social conflict, in the socio-religious reality of the followers of the Shattariyyah tariqa and the followers of the Tijaniyyah tariqa at Pondok Buntet Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon. That being said, there are three questions that can be raised in this article, including (a) what are the

potential sources of conflict among the tariqas?; (b) what are the supporting factors and causes of conflict and social integration among the tariqas?; (c) what are the implications of conflict and social integration among the tariqas? These three questions are expected to be an attempt to see the dynamics of the tariqas that interact and manage conflict in order to create harmony between the two and live side by side in the reality of life.

This article is based on the argument related to the social reality of religious communities, social problems that arise due to differences in beliefs that occur not only in the relations between people, but also within religious communities. Various factors and sources of conflict are also present in the relations between the Shattariyah and the Tijaniyah. In addition to differences in tariqa institutions, political-sociological factors such as individual differences, interests and modernization are inevitable social facts, so the potential for conflict between the two tariqas is even greater. In fact, oftentimes the internal problem of religious communities are more difficult and more complicated to solve than that between religious communities. Contemplation (*uzlah*) in order to achieve spiritual heights carried out by the early Sufis has created a negative stigma that tariqa followers are individual, exclusive and anti-social groups. The tariqa cannot avoid institutionalization and structuralization so that the differences of the tariqa also have the potential to trigger conflict. This potential is getting higher due to social change, economic factors, politics, etc. (Ngabdurahman, 2016; Zainurofieq, 2021) The reality of harmony between the Shattariyah and the Tijaniyah shows that conflicts between religious people can actually be avoided if managed properly.

The dynamics of harmony and conflict among the tariqas can be examined with qualitative research by referring to primary and secondary data which cover processes that occur directly in the community that can be observed and confirmed on site through direct observation and interviews. This research involved local religious, traditional and community leaders, historians specializing in conflict histories, rituals, religious traditions and cultural practices. The research was first carried out by collecting secondary data through various religious references previously written by several other researchers, as well as tracing the history of the Shattariyah and Tijaniyah tariqas. The second step was to conduct direct research in the community by visiting research locations and observing and interviewing key figures. Interviews and observations were recorded using voice recorders, photographs and journals, the main basis for interpreting field findings.

The data analysis process was carried out in three stages. The first was data reduction, a process of organizing data in a more systematic form, especially

thematically. The second stage was the display of data to present the research results in the form of tables and graphs as well as excerpts from interviews with the informants. The third and last was data verification to conclude the compatibility of the data with the concepts and theories used in this study in the form of descriptive and interpretive data. As for analysis techniques, they supported the three stages of the analysis. The descriptive data served as a basis for interpretation by following trends and contexts that accompany the reality under study, such as field data proposed by Clifford Geertz (Geertz, 1988) which indicate the stages and techniques of analysis expected to direct this research to findings and conclusions that explain conflict and harmony among the tariqas.

### THE TRADITION OF THE TARIQA IN ISLAM

The purpose of the tariqa is to form noble or Islamic morals, subdue and lower desires of the soul, increase the purity of the soul so that a person feels calm and peaceful, form a character that has a good mental attitude and behavior (*al-akhlāq al-karīmah*), morals, ethics and courtesy, towards oneself, other people, the environment and Allah SWT, or achieving the degree of *al-insān al-kāmil* (Syam, 2013; Thohir, 2013). Furthermore, the peak of the aim of the tariqa is to gain a direct relationship with Allah SWT (Azwar & Muliono, 2022; Erina et al., 2022; Feriyanto, 2020). The journey to reach the destination of the tariqa above is not easy. Not everyone can get to that destination. The journey to God is full of temptations, very hard and very far away; there are unlimited distances, full of thorns, difficult and long so that only a few can get to the top of the goal (Badaruddin & Mahyuddin, 2021; Miftakhur Ridlo, 2020; Nasuhi, 2020). As for the urgency and importance of following the tariqa, it is a shortcut that shortens the distance and lightens the severity of the journey based on the experience and guidance of spiritual teachers.

Based on the historical facts above, it can be said that *zuhud* [asceticism] and *tasawwuf* [mysticism] are individual spiritual practices. Meanwhile, tariqas are institutionalized spiritual teachings and practices and carried out in groups (tariqa). In addition, it can also be distinguished that the tariqa is a practical dimension in the teachings of *tasawwuf* which has received institutionalization through the continuation of the *sanad* from the chain of tariqa teachers from time to time. While Sufism itself is the intellectual dimension of its esoteric teachings (Azhari et al., 2021). The emergence of the tariqa itself was caused by three factors, namely: First, the existence of the doctrine that learning Sufism must go through a teacher. Second, Sufism is only enjoyed by certain circles, therefore to help the general public, Sufi guidance is held. Third, since the 6th

century Sufism has been mixed with philosophy which is considered to have deviated from the traditions of the Prophet and his Companions. The tariqa was founded with the aim of protecting Sufism so that it would always be in the corridors of sharia. (Mawardi, 2022; Mulyati, 2011).

It is not known for certain which tariqa emerged first, as several early tariqas were found in by figures in different places, such as Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani in Baghdad, Shaykh Sayyid Aḥmad Rifa'I in Egypt, and Jalal ad-Din ar-Rumi in Persia. Meanwhile, according to Annemarie Schimmel, the first tariqa to emerge was the Suhrawardiyah founded by 'Abd al-Qahir Abu Najib as-Suhrawardi. At the same time, the Qadiriyah Tariqa by Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Rifa'iyah Tariqa by Sayyid Aḥmad Rifa'i were founded in Iraq. A century later the center of the tariqa moved to Egypt, and among the first tariqas in Egypt were the Badawīya Tariqa founded by Aḥmad al-Badawi of Tanṭha and the Shaziliyah Tariqa by Abi Ḥasan as-Syazili in Alexandria (Bhat, 2022; Suparyanto dan Rosad (2015, 2020). At least there are approximately 200 tariqa around the world (Ngabdurahman, 2016; Yuslia Styawati, 2020), while in Indonesia there are 40 *mu'tabarah* tariqas (Awaludin, 2016; Syam, 2013).

The tariqa is a practical dimension in the teachings of Sufism which is institutionalized through the continuation of the teacher chain. With respect to a tariqa as a practical dimension, every so-called tariqa means a *dhikr* tariqa (Djuhan, 2020; Sri Mulayati, 2005). In other words, the term *tariqa* is used to designate and has a distinctive connotation, which relates to the teachings and practice of *dhikr* [remembrance of God] that are carried out individually or in groups affiliated with the teacher who founded a particular tariqa. In fact, if one compares the existing tariqas, they are relatively similar: in terms of Kalam, the main reference is Asha'ariyah; in terms of Fiqh, the main reference is Imam Shafi'i; and the spiritual practices that are carried out are *wirid* and *dhikr*. The main thing that distinguishes these tariqas is the procedure for performing *wirid* and *dhikr*, especially in the recitation and its variations. The *dhikr* performed by the tariqa is divided into two types, namely specific *dhikr* and general *dhikr* (Masyhuri: 2010). Specific *dhikr* can only be practiced by students of a tariqa, while general *dhikr*, in addition to being practiced by students of a particular tariqa, can also be practiced by the general public. A specific or general specific is differentiated through recitation (*talqin*) which is accompanied by taking an oath of allegiance (*bai'at*) made by the teacher to prospective students in the teaching process.

## TARGET AND POTENTIAL CONFLICT

Tariqa is often seen as a sect or school of thought and an institution in Islamic religious teachings, in addition to being a path followed by a *salik* [a follower of Sufism] in a *suluk* [spiritual path] in order to get closer to God. Tariqa is also often associated with a spiritual order which is communally connected in spiritual and brotherly ties. (Kartanegara, 2006). Tariqa is always tied to an institution, organization and group that carries out rituals with certain practices and *dhikr*, this is confirmed by an oath (*bai'at*) that has been determined by the highest leadership or the founder of the tariqa itself. (Mulyati, 2011). Nur Syam (2013) mentioned that tariqa is not only practiced in religious doctrine but also serves a process to obtain the essence of various religious symbols which are more esoteric than exoteric in nature. Tariqa then becomes a spiritual path to achieve inner and outer peace by integrating the relationship between God, nature and creatures with certain stages.

The interpretation of the tariqa is more about the inward pattern of spirituality which is favored over the outward formality, as determined by the Sheikh al-Thariqah, the founder of the tariqa, this then becomes a teaching that must be carried out by *saliks* who have pledged allegiance to one of the tariqa (Apri, 2020; Feriyanto, 2020; Randa & Fatimah, 2019). Because tariqa is a subjective matter so that there can be differences between the *sheikhs* of al-Thariqah, it has implications for the doctrines being taught that are not the same even though they have the same goals, as are the denominations of religious teachings, schools and other institutions that have undergone structuring and institutionalization. So it is not uncommon for the logic that is built among tariqas to be very fanatical about loyalty to the *murshid* [teacher] and sheikh al-Thariqah as well as fellow members of the tariqa (Jamil, 2005). Therefore, even though the tariqa aims to elevate the spiritual level and purify the salik, it would be different when one tariqa is brought together with another tariqa which sociologically gives rise to egocentric groups that seem ethnocentric, especially regarding the claim of truth.

Relations between different tariqas have placed them in a position that is faced with institutional and structural interests related to politics, economics, and education. (Awaludin, 2016; Bruinessen, 1992; Ruslan et al., 2022). This is due to the truth claims held by each tariqa. So that in order to achieve the interests of the tariqa, the group prepares itself for a competition and sets aside the theological truth claims, because truth only belongs to the tariqa they adhere to while other tariqas are considered false (Zainu, 2013). Even though the space for dialog between tariqas is always favored, theoretically differences in views and doctrines have become the forerunners that may trigger conflict

between tariqas, especially social conflicts between followers of tariqas. (Rosyid, 2018). The long history of conflict between the Muslim ummah itself has occurred even during the time of the Prophet [p.b.u.h], this can be seen from the conflict between Anshar and Muhajirin (Pradesa, 2015), Shiites and Sunnis who have long been in theological, political, economic and educational conflicts (Fauzi, 2020; Ida & Dyson, 2015), and there are many other conflicts between groups, institutions, and doctrines of teachings in Islam. All of that happened in the name of truth.

### CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE TARIQAS IN INDONESIAN

In fact, tariqa can give rise to conflicts not only due to the doctrine of institutional truth, but also because of various interests. This can be seen from the many incidents of conflict between tariqas which involved their followers for a long period of time and some even became social conflicts. The involvement of Islamic esoteric groups is not the cause of rift between tariqas today, but the rift between followers of tariqas occurred in the early days when tariqas were established as institutions. (Danner & Lings, 1977). As the conflict that occurred among Sufism experts in the 3rd century Hijri between the Sunni school of Sufism and the Falsafi school where leaders of the Falsafi were considered false and punished with imprisonment and even death penalty because they were considered to have strayed from the teachings of Islam as experienced by al-Halaj (Syarif, 2019; Utoyo, 2016). The incident occurred as a decision that had been agreed upon by jurists in Baghdad so that the punishment for the conflict caused al-Hallaj to receive a caning, beheading and his body being burned in public. (Hamka, 2018). The dark record of the conflict, according to John Renard, placed al-Hallaj as the first martyr due to conflict between *tasawuf* experts in the historical record. (Muzairi, 2018; Renard, 2004; Reynolds, 2016).

During the developmental period after the establishment of tariqa institutions which is marked by the emergence of new tariqas and the increasingly complex social reality of community life, the space for conflict between tariqas grew wider, and it was not uncommon for conflicts between tariqas to involve more than two different tariqas. It can be seen in the conflicts between the tariqas in Indonesia, such as conflicts between followers of the Shattariyah and the Naqsabandiyah in West Sumatra (Akhimuddin, 2012); between the followers of Sheikh Hamza al-Fansuri (Qadiriyyah tariqa) and the followers of Sheikh Nur al-Din al-Raniri (Rifa'iyah tariqa) in Aceh (Rosyid, 2018); as well as the conflict between Sunni Sufism taught by Wali Nine and the Kejawen group led by Sheikh Lemah Abang and Sheikh Siti Jenal in Java (Syakur, 2014);

between the Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah (TQN) and the Aboge community members who are also the followers of the Shattariyyah tariqa in Ujungmanik Cilacap Village, Central Java; between the Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah and the Muhammadiyah in East Java (Ahmad Syafi'i Mufid, 2006; Latif et al., 2022); between Sammaniyah and Naqsyabandiyah tariqa in Bogor (Hakim, 2010); between the Tijaniyyah Tariqa of Pondok Buntet Islamic Boarding School and an anti-Tijaniyyah group based in the Benda Kerep Islamic Boarding School in Cirebon (Verdoorn., 1940); between the Tijaniyyah tariqa and the community in Sukabumi (Hamkah, 2020), etc., which were caused by various factors including the doctrine of truth and the institutions of the tariqa with various interest motives.

Conflicts that occur between the tariqas have shown differences in the institutional structure of the tariqa and the doctrine of truth which indicate that differences within the tariqa should not be overlooked (Febriyandi.YS, 2019). These differences should not be understood as an interpretation of esoteric dimensions and Islamic doctrines alone as different tariqa group affiliations will show differences in worship practices, *wirid*, methods of *dhikr* and of course different institutional and structural interests. (Burhani et al., 2020; Rohimat, 2012; Setiyawati, 2017). However, the differences in ideology --in addition to being the fundamental cause of conflict between the tariqa-- also serve as a way out for integration between tariqa groups and social communities (Shadiqin et al., 2020). Thus, the differences between the tariqa groups can be seen as a universal dimension for all Muslims and the followers of the tariqa so that it can give birth to an integration not only between the followers of the tariqa but also an integration in the social order of society.

### **SOCIAL INTEGRATION BETWEEN THE TARIQA**

The confluence between the tariqa and social harmony, theoretically-normatively, is actually not a complicated issue. Social processes aimed at creating peace that a better level of material and spiritual life can be achieved among Sufis can be linked to the term *al-akhlāq al-karīmah* (Perangin-angin, 2022). This understanding leads to the conclusion that harmony is not just a formal “attribute” of the tariqa, but rather the inherent substance of the tariqa itself. (Azwar, 2018). The existence of a tariqa correlation with harmony can also be understood from the tariqa teachings which are conceptualized in three ways: *takhallī*, *taḥallī* and *tajallī*. *Takhallī* is to abstain from all disgraceful actions; *taḥallī* is to do commendable deeds; while *tajallī* is to decorate oneself with commendable morals so that Allah will reveal light within him (Shadiqin et al., 2020; Taufiqur Rahman, 2019). In addition to *takhallī*, *taḥallī* and

*tajallī*, the formation of *al-akhlāq al-karīmah* in the concept of the Sufis is also associated with the doctrine of *tazkīyah an-nafs* (Hajjāj, 2011). *Tazkīyah an-nafs* is an effort of the human mind to eliminate various bad tendencies that can hinder moral development. With this effort, humans are expected to be able to overcome various conflicts in their lives, then grow as strong individuals who are capable of taking action in accordance with moral rules. (Ahmad, 2019; Hadi, 2022; Nasrullah, 2020). The process of *tazkīyah an-nafs* will certainly direct its adherents to *sidq al-qalb*, *sidq al-qawl* and *sidq al-ʿamal*.

Harmony in the religious aspect is indicated by the freedom for each individual to determine and choose a tariqa without coercion from the *kyai* or their own parents. This is evidenced by the different tariqas followed by one family, namely husband and wife, parents and children, or fellow siblings. This freedom is based on the understanding that the tariqa is an individual religious life (Masduki et al., 2017). Because of that, even though almost every boarding school takes the tariqa and teaches it, the teaching is only meant to introduce and give training. As for the students who want to take part in the tariqa seriously, they are given the freedom to choose, including choosing a tariqa that is different than the *kyai*'s. (Yuslia Styawati, 2020). Harmony is also indicated by the tolerance and freedom for each student to practice the tariqa. In fact, this can be seen from the practice in Islamic Boarding Schools. Chanting of tariqa *dhikr* is always heard before the Sunset prayer.

In the social aspect, harmony is present in various dynamic collaborations in the form of associative social actions such as mutual cooperation, community service, coalitions, accommodation and social tolerance. Mutual cooperation generally occurs in activities of the *pesantren* such as death anniversary and Qur'anic recitation activities. Community service and coalitions are carried out as institutional activities such as teaching modern schools, anniversary commemoration of Islamic boarding schools, celebrating Islamic holidays, public services for students, reciting the yellow book, language courses, computer courses and entrepreneurship training (Hidayat Siregar, 2009). Accommodation, among others, is done through the involvement of *kyai* from the existing tariqas. While tolerance and freedom can be seen in the use of the mosque to practice *hailalah*. Various forms of cooperation that are created in social relations as occurred in the Shattariyah and Tijaniyah tariqas in Buntet are very clear indicators that even though they have different religious affiliations, they are able to interact and socialize peacefully. (Faslah et al., 2017). Social cooperation is established in the form of mutual cooperation, community service, coalitions, accommodation and tolerance so as to create conducive social conditions.

In the majority of Islamic boarding schools, the development of family and kinship traditions is very common. According to Zamakhsyari Dhofier, this tradition is deliberately created and preserved to build strong cooperation and solidarity in an effort to maintain the sustainability of Islamic boarding schools. (Dhofier, 1990). One of the practical ways to build this kinship alliance is through endogamous marriages between families of *kyais*. Viewed from a sociological perspective, Ferdinand Tonnies categorizes social groups formed by blood ties as *Gemeinschaft* (association), namely the unity of human groups formed by the nature of God. (Siundiukov, 2021). The solidarity of the members of this group is bound by an inner relationship that is pure, natural and long-lasting. The basis of this relationship is a sense of love and a sense of inner unity which has been ordained by the Creator and is organic in nature (Soekanto: 2001). It seems that for them maintaining the integrity and integration of the *nasabiyah* is more important than the *tariqa* itself. In this case, ideological differences and conflicts are settled through religious interpretation that promotes integration.

The doctrine of the *tariqa* basically originates from and is an interpretation of Islamic teachings so that it can be ensured that all *tariqas* teach peace. This can be seen from the many doctrines that lead to social harmony such as *tazkiyat an-nafs*, *al-mujāhadah*, *al-akhlāq al-karimah*, *al-insān al-kāmil*, *al-futuwah*, and *al-iṣār*. According to Nur Syam (Syam, 2013), In general, the teachings of Sufism are conceptualized in the teachings of *takhallī* (abstaining from all disgraceful actions), *tahallī* (doing commendable deeds) and *tajallī* (decorating oneself with commendable morals so that God reveals light within him). At a practical level, one of the forms of applying this teaching is by practicing noble character and leaving behind disgraceful character. (Dodi & Abitolkha, 2022). Thus, peace and social harmony are in fact inherent in the teachings of the *tariqa* itself. This tendency was also shown by as-Singkili, the main character carrying the Shattariyah mission to the Malay Archipelago. As-Singkili was an evolutionary *mujaddid* (Faslah, 2020). He preferred to reconcile conflicting views rather than reject any of them. Even though he did not agree with the Wudiya doctrine, for example, he did not show it explicitly. He did not show frontal rejection as ar-Raniri did (Azra, 1995).

In the context of social integration within the *tariqa*, it can be seen from several aspects including: *first*, adaptation in the distribution of economic resources that is fair and familial. It is said to be fair because every *ṣāhibul wilāyah* cleric has the same right to build an Islamic Boarding School. While it is familial because there are efforts to help less developed boarding schools so that there is an equal distribution of the economic level of each *kyai*; *second*,

the common goals of the tariqa community are reflected in the commitment to maintaining kinship, being responsible for the tariqa institution and social solidarity. Therefore, actions taken should not be counterproductive to these goals, and a consensus is formed regarding power and the economy which is a source of conflict; *third*, levels of solidarity that unite individual tariqas are reflected in the solidarity in the implementing units, technical units, anniversary event committees, etc. In this case the authority of the tariqa, especially the chairman of the governing body, heads of departments, heads of units, regulates relations between the elements of society under them; *fourth*, the tariqa's collective values are reflected in the devotion to elders, commitment to kinship, and shared responsibility for maintaining the values. These collective values are transformed through religious activities, education in boarding schools, public schools, and household education of the *kyais*.

## CONCLUSION

This research has provided an example of exclusive and ethnocentric religious understanding that encourages conflict among religious communities. Therefore, in an effort to create religious harmony, it is necessary to develop humanist-integrative understanding that prioritizes human values such as peace, brotherhood and social solidarity. In the context of Muslims who have a tradition of tariqa practice, this humanist-integrative religious understanding can be formed through the teaching and development of the *fiqh* of tolerance (*fiqh tasāmuḥ*). In this case, ideological differences and institutional interests should be explored to find similarities and unity through the concepts of *al-maṣlahah al-'ammah*, *bid'ah ḥasanah*, *al-istihsān*, *al-ām*, *al-furū'iyah* and other concepts of collectivity. Furthermore, various cases of conflict involving religious communities show that group differences in religion or differences in religious understanding are merely the fuse factor, not the root of the conflict.

This work also shows the core of conflict which is in fact the issues of power and the economy which are considered to only take sides or be dominated by certain parties. Therefore, efforts to create religious harmony cannot be made based on religious aspects alone, but must also pay attention to sociological aspects, especially transparency and justice in the distribution of power and community's economic resources. Consensus functions as the rule of the game that serves as a common guideline. Exclusiveness hinders the process of communication and socialization in religious life. At a certain stage, the process of communication and socialization that is not conducive can lead to suspicion or misunderstanding. In an effort to create or maintain harmony, it is necessary to create a medium for socialization that integrates various elements so that tensions and social distance due to differences can be reduced

to contribute to the religious field, especially in the field of Islamic studies.

The limitation of this work is in the scope of research which was only carried out on the tariqa, so it only focuses on discussing experiences of conflict and social integration between certain tariqas and has not conducted out comprehensively to include universal tariqa communities in Indonesia. Therefore, this work recommends that it is important to look at the phenomena of conflict and social integration between tariqas in order to do comparisons with other tariqa communities in other studies, to see how conflicts between tariqas occur and how social integration between tariqas contributes to the community, the nation and the *ummah*.

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## **BEROBAT KAMPUNG: RELIGION AND TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE OF SEEKING RECOVERY IN BORNEO**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*This article explores the variants of tradition in seeking recovery within a group of religious community in the upstream Kapuas in Borneo island. It is presented using indigenous psychology, narrative analysis and psycho-anthropology. The data were collected using the techniques of in-depth interviews, psycho-anthropological observations, narrative interpretation and documentation. This work finds that the use of Quranic verses and dhikr as well as religious symbols are very prominent. The people of the upstream Kapuas river interpret and leave a legacy for traditional healing, beginning with an “agreement”, reciting a prayer, enhancing, testing to form and hardening. Passing occurs in a closed, difficult and secret process. The preservation of traditional healing is due to very important facts; that it is low cost, being located far from modern health facilities and short time between risk of death and health resources. In addition, the traditional healers are always ready, providing fast treatment, guaranteed recovery from certain types of diseases. This article suggests that the Sufistic-style traditional healing is profound within the tradition.*

**Keywords:** Berobat Kampung; Traditional Knowledge; Seeking Recovery; Islamic Psychology

## INTRODUCTION

Since the outbreak of the Covid-19 in 2018, the issue of vaccine and public health has been widely attracting the world community (Prada et al., 2023). All of a sudden, the health-related topics have become an important discussion of all circles. As an illustration, it can be analyzed from the studies conducted by Muhammad Adnan Shereen, Suliman Khan, Abeer Kazmi, Nadia Bashir, Rabeea Siddique (Shereen et al., 2020) about the highly contagious coronavirus-19 (COVID-19) outbreak that is causing a global pandemic around the world. There are no antiviral drugs or vaccines clinically approved for use against COVID-19. The following is a small part of research related to the above subject. Studies by Melika Lotfi, Michael R. Hamblin and Nima Rezaei; (Lotfi et al., 2020) Koichi Yuki, Miho Fujiogi, Sophia Koutsogiannaki (Yuki et al., 2020) are examples of research on COVID-19 which has drawn the attention of the world community in the last two years. Some of the research discusses all aspects related to Covid-19 as the disease outbreak that is devastating to the world community. Something that was unimaginable before.

Academic discussions about health are increasingly proving the urgency of this issue for humanity. In the context of [Islamic] psychology, health also includes both physical and psychological health [mental well-being]. In particular, the issue of mental well-being has become an important theme and concern. The WHO even launched the theme of mental well-being as an important agenda for the world community. For example, the publication of the Five Well-Being Index (WHO-5) (Sischka et al., 2020) some psychometric questions remain that concern the choice of an adequate item response theory (IRT) which is currently the most frequently discussed theme and the object of research in the field of psychology. It indicates that awareness of physical and psychological health has increased from local awareness to global awareness. The most intensive discussion related to the causes of the under-achievement of health conditions in these two aspects, in the global context, these two dimensions are now differentiated. Even the causes of “pain” are not only conventional causes but have transformed into extra-ordinary causes (Ren et al., 2021). The issue of environmental change, for example, has been proven to affect humans physically and psychologically (Mouratidis & Peters, 2022) teleconferencing, online learning, telehealth, and virtual meetings with friends and family all increased during COVID-19 compared to the pre-COVID-19 period. The next step in the analysis examined relationships between built environment characteristics and teleactivities before and during COVID-19. Telework and virtual meetings increased to a greater extent in denser neighborhoods than in lower-density neighborhoods. A larger increase in online learning

was associated with lower neighborhood density, lower accessibility to public transport, and more local facilities. Numerous local facilities were associated with more frequent telework and virtual meetings both before and during COVID-19. The substantial COVID-19-induced increase in teleactivities found in the study highlights the potential of information and communications technology (ICT) something that was rarely discussed previously.

Berobat kampung [traditional healing] is basically not a new theme. There have been so many articles that discuss this theme. Some of the discussions only focused on the procedures for traditional healing; some added a discussion about ritual (Satrianegara et al., 2021), spices (Djiazet et al., 2022), herbs (Liu, 2021) with all the benefits. There are also articles that discuss certain diseases that have been successfully cured using certain herbs. However, what distinguishes the theme of this research from the above is that this research involves a discussion of the Islamic style and the perspective of Islamic psychology related to traditional healing. Meanwhile, in the context of local community traditions, according to (Hariansyah, 2017) the mantra text contains elements of Sufism, fiqh [Islamic jurisprudence], fortune-telling and traditional medicine. In the coastal areas, mantras are used to treat various diseases. This is where traditional healing comes into contact with Islam (Elgazar et al., 2019) and is still in use by the Islamic communities in the coastal areas of West Kalimantan.

Adding a further description of Islamic dialectics and local people, (Hermansyah, 2016) stated that the Islamic community in the interior of West Kalimantan accepted Islam since its spread to a certain extent in order to accommodate local culture. The dialectical process of Islam and local culture is an example of massive acceptance of religion in areas far from the coast. This acceptance also included the traditional traditional healing using traditional methods through magic (Arenas, 1987). It clearly indicates the cohesion between Islam, psychology, Borneo cultural traditions and traditional healing. Therefore, this research seeks to prove that there is a point of agreement between Islamic studies, psychology and medicine (health) within the framework of Borneo's cultural traditions. In addition, the themes of health, physical and psychological well-being, and of course well-being in general, are being intensively discussed in the field of psychology, especially Islamic psychology.

This article discusses the transactional patterns and processes of Islam and the traditions of the local community in the upstream Kapuas River so that they converge to become traditional healing, as well as interpreters and pass down the transactional patterns with Islamic Psychology. This article explores the

patterns, processes and transactional patterns of Islam and the traditions of the local community in the upstream Kapuas River related to traditional healing as an effort to seek recovery from physical to psychological diseases that local people believe “only” *dukun kampung* [shamans] can provide. Diseases are not only caused by medical reasons. Some are caused by nature or by intent (Lee et al., 2020; Hermansyah, 2016). The recovery from these two types of disease can be provided by the health “services” of shamans. All of them are discussed in the “beliefs” of local people in the interior of West Kalimantan. Behind it --as metacognition-- there are so many psychological facts that are intertwined with religion that are interesting to examine.

### **BEROBAT KAMPUNG WITHIN THE UPSTREAM KAPUAS RIVER COMMUNITY**

This work is based on the data from some areas of West Kalimantan such as Nanga Mongko Sub-District in Sekadau Hulu with one shaman as the informant; Sajad village, Sambas District with 2 female shamans as informants, and Sanggau District with one male shaman and one female shaman as informants, and in Peripin village on the Entikong border with one authoritative informant determined through snowball purposive sampling from the local community. The data were collected using techniques of in-depth interview, psycho-anthropological observations supported by narrative interpretation and documentation of facts at the research site. In-depth interviews was intended to get the psychological impression of the respondents; psycho-anthropology aimed to get a comprehensive understanding of individual and communal behavior related to the research theme.

To obtain data on the psychology of the inland community of West Kalimantan, traditional healing, Islam and various physical and psychological illnesses, this research employs C.G Jung’s theory. As explained by Belgin Tanrıverdi and **Özlem** Apak, Jung’s theory on collective consciousness and primordial archetype suggests that human mentality is processed through human development within their life (Tanrıverdi & Apak, 2014). In the context of psychological development of human being, Jane Van Buren & Shelley Alhanati believe that mental primitive theory is dependent to certain meaning making, including the fantasy of being in the process of having and making the experience itself (Buren & Alhanati, 2010).

This work, however, employs Jung’s theory as the basis tool in analyzing the behavior of seeking recovery practices by the local people in West Borneo. The theory has also been widely used by researchers in the fields of psychology and the psychology of religion such as Belgin Tanrıverdi, Yıldız **Özta**n Ulusoya

& Hülya **Çevirmeb** who have done studies on collective consciousness and primordial archetype. This is based on assumption that the local people of West Borneo in the upstream Sungai Kapuas may provide early expression on their consciousness. And Jung's theory allows the researchers to discuss that natural behavior and mental development process may grow up within everyone and inherited from collective experience of previous generation (Tanriverdi et al., 2009). Regarding this theory, Walters (Walters, 1994) argues that the evolution of universal psychological adaptation is projected in Jung's conception of archetypes and the collective unconscious.

C.G Jung's "primitive" mental theory which is used as the frame work in this article is constructed as follows: First, "primitive" thinking is an inherent psychological symptom. Second, the idea of "primitive" mentality is universalized. For Jung, thinking in a "primitive" manner is the initial psychological state of all humans. Third, Jung valued "primitive" thinking and recognized it as an expression of the workings of the human mind (Hariansyah, 2017).

## ISLAM AND IN TRADITIONAL HEALING PRATICES

*Entama putik* is an example of traditional healing with religious values. Religion has become an important element in the healing tradition in West Borneo. As stated by the shaman of Paribang Baru Village, Tempunak Sub-District, Sintang Regency, the *entama putik* healing tradition is an example of how important the legacy of traditional healing is within local people of West Borneo. Local people believe that Mr. J is able to treat various diseases. Many people have proved to be fully recovered. The local community's typical illnesses range from fever, stomach pain, itching, *kayap* [herpes zoster], etc. Mr. J cures fever using "*entama putik daun merah betina*". The term *entama putik daun merah betina* is taken from the word *entama* which in the local language means treatment, and *putik* means to pick. Meanwhile, *daun merah betina* [literally meannig female red leaf] are the leaves as a treatment medium. The *entama putik* treatment is done by simply applying the ground leaves on the body of a patient who is sick with fever. This treatment process begins with picking some leaves and it must be in odd number for example three, five, or seven pieces, etc. Then the leaves are crushed and placed in a container of water and then a *mantra* is recite upon it. After that it is compressed on the patient's temple. The *mantra* consists of religious texts.

In addition to fever, *kayap* (herpes zoster) is also a typical disease in the village. This disease is still found in the United States today. D.R. Lazzaro, R. Ramachandran, E. Cohen, S.L. Galetta (Lazzaro et al., 2022) reported

through their research that herpes zoster may be a possible side effect of mRNA vaccination against the Sars-CoV2 vaccine. *Kayap* is treated using dry *mentawa* [*artocarpus anisophyllus*] leaves and jackfruit leaves. The use of dry leaves is intended to make it easy to burn and then take the ashes and add cooking oil. The procedure for giving the potion is by applying it on the affected part of the disease with a mantra [chant]. Traditional treatment for *kayap* disease in Peripin Village, Entikong, has also been practiced for a long time. As reported by shaman BR, the disease is similar to smallpox, but coils around the body. The Gunung people in Entikong and Sungkung Village believe that if this *kayap* disease has completely encircled one's body, it will be fatal and often ends in death.

In the Sambas community in the upstream Kapuas River, the pattern of Islamic transactions and local traditions is called *ditaware*. It is intended to ask Allah for recovery by mentioning the patient's name and then reciting a prayer. This traditional healing occurs and is carried out when the patient has been sick for more than a month. The length of "waiting" is because the patient has received medical treatment. The waiting process somehow becomes a requirement. Waiting is meant as "the shaman's ethic" when treating patients. The shaman is prohibited from interfering with treatment until the doctor declares that he is no longer able to treat his patient. Another reason is that they believe that there should be no mixing of 'medicine' between doctors and shamans.

This treatment is done by sticking herbal potion that is placed on the patient's forehead after a certain mantra is recited, then rubbed on the head or consumed directly. Tawar ambun is done by reciting prayer onto water, and adding other requirements such as nails or iron as a "hardener" and a modest amount of money that is handed over to the shaman. This "hardener" is intended so that the illness that has been treated [*ditaware*] will no longer recur and the patient can completely recover. Usually, the heat in the body "escapes" by being "removed" from the body through a mantra that is chanted. Another informant, Pak Cik, pointed out that in traditional healing, all patients are treated fairly. According to Pak Cik, the treatment is adjusted to the "conditions" of the patient. However, anyone can receive treatment. In Liku village of Sanggau Distric, a Dayak patient went to Pak Cik for treatment. He complained about heat on his back, as he said that if one puts an egg there, it will be cooked. This burning sensation is also accompanied by foul-smelling vomiting. According to the doctor, the patient has been diagnosed with a very serious heart injury. Then Pak Cik did a series of treatments using traditional healing, and thanks God that the heat began to drop. Pak Cik further said that he used a method of treatment which he calls the treatment of *Hak Allah*

[Allah's Rights].

With regard to this “traditional knowledge” of *Hak Allah*, one should not own too much “traditional knowledge” because he can become crazy. *Bismillah* [in the name of Allah], that's enough. *Bismillah* is the key to knowledge. The patient then recovered after undergoing three treatment sessions with Pak Cik after he was bathed in front of Pak Cik's house. Then, the way he treated the patient was only by giving him plain water that has been chanted with prayer. But if the patient's pain attacks the nerves, then it is massaged using oil specially mixed by Pak Cik. All the treatment processions are held because they carry out the Rights of Allah, completely done for Allah, which include from the “availability” of the methods and media [medicinal spices] in seeking recovery, the process of psychological belief towards recovery, to the removal of diseases from the patient's body. It is Allah who wills and moves the hearts of all those who are trying to seek recovery. So, all the patients who go to Pak Cik's house for treatment are all because of Allah's [guidance]. Allah guides the patients to seek treatment. According to Pak Cik, this is part of the knowledge of Allah's Rights.

Another variant of treatment with the knowledge of Allah's Rights, is also known as the *Lam Jalalah* treatment. If the patient is Muslim, the *Lam Jalalah* is written from the top right hand corner. As for the Dayak patient, the *Lam Jalalah* is written from below. This treatment technique was discovered by Pak Cik himself. It was written on the abdomen or back of the patient using chalk or saliva. Saliva is so effective because it indicates an oath. The use of saliva as an oath is interpreted to have natural power as a gift from God in curing illnesses. The saliva is believed to have “blended” with the shaman's “self”, believed to have “more” power than any media. Moreover, it is taken using the ring finger. That's the oath. For Pak Cik, saliva is the greatest gift from Allah that can be used in medicine, so it should not be wasted. But remarkably, saliva also has a double position: as a source of remedy, as well as a disease. Therefore, do not waste saliva carelessly. One can get a lot of diseases when one spits on the wrong place. There are many village diseases that can be “made” through the medium of saliva with relatively short time.

In order to be effective in treating patients, seeking knowledge of traditional healing should not be half-hearted. All stages must be completed and it must be done wholeheartedly. For those who seek knowledge, they must be really close to Allah. One should not merely stick to the shariah. Knowledge of the *Shari'a* [medium for healing] and its procedures are inadequate. Treating patients requires involving the *hakikat* [truth], *tarikah* [spiritual learning], *ma'rifat* [knowledge through experience], and *hakiki* [essence]. If it has

reached the essential level, night and day it is intended to always be in a state of “associating” with Him. The increasing intensity of closeness implies the stronger temptation to face. At this point, you must put your trust in Allah.

There are other basic principles that need to be adhered too. The principle is *Innalillah wa innaailaihi rajiun* [Indeed, to Allah we belong and to Allah we shall return]. So in this case, there is no need to be afraid. Hold the knowledge of Allah’s Right must be kept secret. Likewise God holds all our secrets. This is all for the afterlife later. “To Allah we shall return” is what is needed. So that we will return to Him later with provisions. It is feared that later when we die, we will become ghosts. Many events are based on oral stories in Nanga Soka. So, in seeking knowledge, we must do it wholeheartedly. Traditional knowledge should not make us turn into ghosts. In seeking knowledge of healing, it is not only in the Shari’a. It must be balanced and “whole”. We must be in unity with Him. As reported by Pak Cik, treating a patient must be done with the essence. The point is illnesses are from Allah, and healing is also from Him. One should never say, “I healed the patients. We should not be egotistical. Later it could be the cause of our unpeaceful death. In the process of traditional healing, a shaman must be sincere. He should not wait for Allah to be sincere, then we will be sincere. We have to be sincere first. No matter how people treat us. Let it go. Sincerity is the medicine of all medicine. So we are considered not to be able to treat people until we are able to be sincere in the series of treatment processes. The point is that the heart must be sincere. The key to all kinds of illness is in the heart. So with Allah we must be sincere.

Thus, the medicine of all medicine is a sincere heart. As long as we are sincere, we are protected from all kinds of diseases. Otherwise, then a lot of diseases will come to us. Physical illness begins with ‘illness’ of the heart. The practice to treat various diseases is *bismillah* [in the name of Allah]. For this you have to believe, in the truth of certainty, not just the eye of certainty. There is also a secret to treating patients by using *dhikr ha*. Treatment with *dhikr ha*, as a healer, first you should “kill” your inner self before treating patients so as to be fair in treating them in addition to a sign of closeness to Allah. When you are close to Allah, all healings and pains shall return to Allah as the owner of everything.

Another technique of traditional healing which is different from Pak Cik’s method can be found in Peripin Village and Nanga Mongko Village which is known as *nyampi*. It is done by carrying out movements such as picking something up [gently holding the fingertips together] onto the painful body part. Strangely, there is a shaman who uses *nyampi* to treat his patients by inserting a fishhook into his finger until it penetrates to the base of his arm.

This method is intended to facilitate the magical treatment process. With that fishhook, the shaman pulls the disease out of the patient's body. However, during the treatment process, the patient will feel pain even though the fishing line is invisible. *Nyampi* is believed to have the ability to cure almost all indigenous diseases. It even includes diseases caused by ghosts.

When doing *nyampi*, the shaman places his hand on the spot where the patient complains of pain. While performing movements such as picking something up, the shaman picks up [even several times] the patient's illness until the pain is thought to have gone away. The process of picking up the illness can take a short or long time depending on the level of "severity" of the illness. Almost all patients treated in this way admit that there is "something" that they feel being "uprooted" and "removed" of somethings from their body. This indicates that the disease is interpreted as having a material "body" that can enter and interfere with the patient's body.

In children, the most common illness is fever. This illness is treated with *nyampi* using *rumput pemutus* [breaker grass]. Interestingly, the use of various herbal plant ingredients can be replaced with other plants if medicinal plants are not actually available. For example, breaker grass can be substituted with the *babuhe* plant. This phenomenon seems to be a sign that traditional healing is very dependent on the availability of herbal plants. A worrisome problem now is that these herbal ingredients are getting scarce. It is hard to find around the village even though one searches everywhere except in the forest despite the healing of the illness suffered by the patient being largely determined by these various herbal plants. This was also reported in a study by Ambrish Kumar Srivastava, et.al. (Srivastava et al., 2022) who revealed that herbal plants that had the potential to inhibit SARS-CoV-2 are extracts of *harsingar*, *aloe vera* and *giloy*.

## ISLAMIC PSYCHOLOGY IN TRADITIONAL HEALING

Remarkably, according to Mr. BR, all cases of *kayap* are guaranteed to be cured. This guarantee of cure is the magic power that appeals to the local community for the existence of this traditional healing. In addition, there is also a stigma that "village diseases" can only be cured by traditional healing. Shaman BR feel very happy when he is successful in treating his patients. This success is interpreted as being able to save human lives. Different from the treatment in Entikong Village and Sungkung Village, the *kayap* disease in Sintang district can be cured by using herbal ingredients, namely unripe jackfruit. The treatment that Mbah K [one of the shamans in Sintang] provides has proven to be effective. This is directly experienced by one of the authors of this article.

Villagers in Sintang refer to unripe jackfruit as *kebabal*. In the process of treatment, it begins by chewing a *kebabal* while chanting a healing *mantra*. The *mantra* consists of religious text as well. The next step is the chewed *kebabal* is sprayed from the mouth onto all parts of the body of the person affected by the disease. It is done to ensure that the *kebabal* evenly covers all parts of the body affected by *kayap* as well as to speed up the healing process. Based on interviews with the patient, it took only half a day for the *kayap* to dry up and heal. This is what makes local people believe in traditional healing which is effective against village diseases.

During the *kayap* healing process, there is only one taboo that must be observed, namely the patient is not allowed to take a bath. Bathing can cause the herb to lose its efficacy. The taboo ensures that the herb that has been sprayed onto the patient's body can work effectively and the healing process for the disease can also be faster. According to Mr. BR, the treatment for *kayap* is cured using herbal ingredients, namely *Mentawa* leaves and old jackfruit leaves and added with cooking oil. These old leaves were chosen so that during the burning process it is easier to take the ash from the leaves. The method of making this concoction is that the *mentawa* leaves and jackfruit leaves are burned together until they turn into ash and then mixed with cooking oil. Then, it is applied to the part of the body affected by the disease. Regarding how much ingredient is used for the treatment of *kayap* disease, it is adjusted to the part of the body that is affected by the disease. So there is no need to calculate how many leaves are required, but it is determined until the ash from the burning is sufficient to be used as medicine. During the treatment process for *kayap* above, the concoction is applied to the affected area and followed by a *mantra* recitation.

Based on the respondent's account, before the treatment was carried out the respondent felt a burning pain and itching in the area affected by the disease. But after being treated with the concoction earlier, the body gradually cooled down and the "burning sensation" and itching gradually subsided. The temperature of the body that was high, slowly decreased even though it didn't happen drastically. This is the strongest reason for local people to choose traditional healing over medical treatment. The recount of the traditional healing stories above is an indication of the local community's efforts in seeking recovery. Seeking recovery is in fact a dilemma. On the one hand, there is a strong local belief that all village diseases can be cured. This fact makes traditional healing only positioned as a "prerequisite" for the formality of treatment. While on the other hand, village diseases can only be cured with traditional healing. This is interesting that there is a kind of asymmetric relationship between the

two, which is in a relation of being logical and illogical. But it all boils down to seeking recovery.

Almost all of the traditional healing methods along the upstream Kapuas river are Islamic in nature. This is marked by the use of verses of the Qur'an, Shalawat, Islamic symbols, all of which are combined with various herbal ingredients. Some treatments use massage to speed up the healing process and eliminate taboos. And psychological dimension is clearly embedded within the practices of seeking recovery of the local people in West Borneo. This has indicated that the studies of psychology of religion are calling scholars to pay attention on this very important issue of seeking recovery within local people in the globe that connects to interdisciplinary issues, especially public health.

### **TRADITIONAL HEALING AND ISLAMIC PSYCHOLOGY: BETWEEN EXPRESSIONS, PATTERNS AND MEETING POINT**

Belief is an important instrument in traditional healing, shaman's ability and seeking recovery. The three are intertwined into the power to seek recovery. There is a kind of postulate in the local community that there is no village disease that cannot be cured through traditional healing. As far as this research goes, traditional healing has become a feature of local communities. Interestingly, this treatment has occurred in a hybrid between traditional healing and Islamic traditions. In fact, this method has been taken by one of the village shamans who is non-Muslim. In the same context, in the Malay community of Nanga Jajang, Islam as a religious rituals are inseparable from the traditional rituals. There are no clear boundaries between traditions and religious rituals, as seen in *ma`syiral jum`atan*, *begunting rambut* (hair cutting ceremony), *sunatan* (circumcision) and *barobat kampung* (traditional healing) (Ibrahim MS, 2015). Traditional healing by incorporating Islamic elements in it has become a tradition in almost all communities in the the upstream Kapuas river community. The implication is that the use of Islamic symbols is inevitable. Remarkably, this traditional healing is actually a "last resort" when medical treatment can no longer be relied on. In fact, it is used as the first treatment when experiencing symptoms of physical or psychological pain that cannot be explained by medical science.

In addition, sincerity and patience and only hope for Allah's help as the Healer of all diseases becomes a cure for diseases. It is interesting to note that verses of the Qur'an and blessings on the Prophet are used with the intention of bringing the effort of treatment closer to recovery. These two things are believed to be able to bring us closer to as well as a medium of dialogue with God. At this point, there are similarities in patterns and transactions with

symmetrical patterns of local community traditions in the upstream Kapuas River. Surprisingly, this similarity occurs not only in the treatment method of Muslim shamans, but also non-Muslim ones. The symmetrical pattern starts from the use of chants that are sometimes added to verses from the Qur'an, the types of herbal ingredients used, the use of water media to the treatment procession – the use of equipment, decorative items or objects to healing ceremonies – which tend to be the same. Research by Marie Christine Köberlein (Köberlein et al., 2022) many musical activities, such as rehearsals and lessons, but also voice therapy sessions, have been restricted in many countries. Consequently, transmission risks and pathways have been studied, such as aerosol amounts generated by exhalation tasks, convective flows in rooms, or the impulse dispersion of different kinds of phonation. The use of water resistance exercises such as those utilizing LAX VOX®, are common in voice lessons and as vocal warm-ups. With this context, this study investigates the impulse dispersion characteristics of aerosols during a voiced water resistance exercise in comparison to normal singing. Methods: Twelve professional singers (six male, six female) can be used as an illustration of treatment using the water medium.

From a psychological point of view, the symmetrical pattern of traditional healing is based on the belief in recovery even though there will be variations in the healing time [healing process]. Islamic teachings also maintain a commitment to seek recovery. In the treatment process, there are events that are difficult to explain by empirical reasoning. Especially during treatment that uses drum beats where the manang [healer] is in a state of unconsciousness when treating the patient. At this time, the manang may injure the patient's limbs using a machete or other sharp weapon that he holds during the healing procession. But remarkably, this "injury process" is not fatal to the patient. It only leaves some scratches. Not long after, these scratches will soon disappear by itself. This process of injuring the patient is considered by the local community as a way of "removing" the disease from the patient's body. The "disease" that is in the body will come out with the wound, which is in fact very difficult to understand and explain through common sense. This is a sign that traditional healing has become a trait for the people in the upstream Kapuas River in their endeavor to "seek health." Traditional healing is considered to be more effective and of a higher class than medical treatment. This temporary conclusion, we believe, is a way for local people in the village to take care of the health of their people physically and psychologically.

In light of the earlier description, it is evident that the meeting point between traditional healing and Islamic psychology lies in the psychological impact

caused by physical pain conditions. Physical pain and its prohibition are the evidence. Physical illness due to violating taboos. The treatment of illness will have an effect on anxiety and stress disorder such as *becutak* (postnatal mothers who are angry and stressed out due to overconsumption of sweet leaf [*Sauropus androgynus*] and pumpkin). Local people believe that *becutak* is caused by dirty blood rising to the head which causes headaches. Likewise, in cases of difficulty in the childbirth process, it is also believed to be due to anxiety factors. This is supported by Tzu-Chi Kuo (Kuo et al., 2022) who confirmed that the training intervention during the postpartum period was effective in reducing the fear of childbirth in pregnant women. This anxiety can be overcome by drinking *selusuh* water. The use of the *selusuh* water is intended to facilitate the childbirth process. Technically, the *selusuh* water is a mix of plain water and coconut oil, and chanted with a *mantra*. Strangely, in some cases this water is mixed with soft drinks with the intention of stimulating the baby to come out quickly, so there is no need to push it manually.

To enhance the effectiveness of this *selusuh* water, the traditional midwife usually recites *basmallah* and *shalawat*, especially when cutting the baby's umbilical cord using a *selimbu*. The procession continues from the birth process, followed by bathing the baby. This bath is referred to as *mandi asal* so as to clean up the baby from blood to avoid skin diseases (local people call it as *bekoris*). There is something interesting about this traditional healing. Many times a village shaman expressed his refusal to be called a shaman. This "down to earth" attitude teaches humility not to claim to be "smart" or to be considered a "smart person" who is perceived as "capable of curing" various diseases. For this second argument, for him there is a kind of worry about being trapped in being arrogant, conceited and even claiming to be able to cure diseases. For him, recovery from illness is not determined by himself but it is due to "God's will". At this point, it is very clear that the patterns and expressions of Islamic psychology are connected with traditional healing.

## CONCLUSION

The pattern and process of Islamic transaction and traditional healing using verses from the Qur'an and *dhikr* [remembrance of Allah] as well as religious symbols are the most prominent. The most interesting fact is the use of symbiotic *mantra*: the beginning always begins with reciting *basmallah* [in the name of Allah], in the middle using the local language and at the end reciting *berkat laa ilaaha illallah Muhammad Rasulullah*. This *mantra* is intended to bring healing efforts closer to recovery. This finding clearly shows that religion or believe has become an important element in the seeking recovery

with emphasizing on psychological dimension of the community in the West Borneo. In addition, the preservation of traditional healing is by the demand of the people. They continue to the use of traditional healing due to several reasons. First, it is cheap because the shaman does not expect “remuneration”. Second, geographical condition that are far from modern health facilities has supported the continuation of the healing practices. Third, the short time between handling anxiety at risk of death and available health resources has lead them to continue using the services by the shamans. Fourth, shamans are always ready at unpredictable times. Fifth, the traditional healing procession was handled quickly. Sixth, guaranteed recovery. Seventh, the efficacy of healing for certain types of diseases.

This article recommends that research on traditional healing with a Sufistic pattern is important, especially to see the way the people think about their religious practices within the local primitive thinking environment. Healing in this way, from different point of view, is genuine because it turns out to be able to “transcend” psychological and religious boundaries. Everyone has the right to see and understand their actions within their efforts to be healthy and free from illnesses.

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## **UMPASA AND UMPAMA IN BATAK TOBA CULTURE AS A MEANS OF CATECHISM IN MEDAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*This article explores Umpasa and umpama of Batak Toba culture as a means of catechesis within Catholic churches. The work uses qualitative methods with observation, interview and documentation. Descriptive analysis technique is employed based on the triangulation results of techniques and sources. The study targeted 20 adults, 3 Batak Toba cultural practitioners, and 2 priests and bishops who were on the island of Samosir Lake Toba. The work suggests that churches that live and develop today are based on tradition. Tradition is meant to include everything (such as customs, beliefs, habits, teachings, and so on) that is downwardly inherited. One of the traditions of Batak Toba that is still preserved to this day is umpasa and umpama. This tradition is considered wise because it is used for prayers, petitioning God, and giving advices. Umpasa or umpama has always been used in the teaching of the Medan Catholic Church to the community of Batak Toba in Samosir and its surroundings and has truly become a model of church catechesis, not only by the society of Batak Toba but also as a model for catechism. The work is based on church studies within the Archdiocese of Medan.*

**Keywords:** Umpasa and umpama; Batak Toba culture; Catechism; Medan Catholic churches

### **INTRODUCTION**

The Catholic churches take an open attitude towards cultures including the culture of Batak Toba. This is in accordance with the rule the Pope established regarding the Church's missionary activity during the Second Vatican Council. There are several chapters that specifically support the construction of the local Catholic church, namely Article 10. It says that "The Church must all enter into the cultural group with the same intention as Christ himself, for His purposes, has attached himself to the social and cultural conditions characteristic of man, with whom He lives." Article 22 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation states: "The local church occupies its place in church communion only if the churches adorn themselves with their traditions and show their identity as local churches." (Hardawiryana, 1991). The church always

preserves and continues to grow and develop its teaching and personality from generation to generation. This tradition began in the time of Jesus with his apostles. This period was later called the “Primary Church.” After the First Church, the Church continued to develop and deepen the expression of faith contained in the Scriptures. (Konsili Vatikan Vatikan II, 1993).

The Catholic Church, with its distinctive characteristics of being one, holy, Catholic, and Apostolic, is believed by its embracers as a religion awakened to the purity of its teaching. In its presence in the midst of a society rich in its culture, the church is not immediately accepted as an inculturation that can be recognised by the church. Inculturation can be interpreted as the formula of the question “how to continuously strive for faith to be lived in the local culture”. In this case, the measure of inculturation is not limited to the lack of local cultural elements such as indigenous clothes, music, songs, symbols, and so on. But it is easy for them to believe in it. “ The Catholic Church accepts its mission to preach the Gospel to ten peoples by entering into the lives of the people themselves. The church’s task of proclaiming Christ through the catechism or the teaching of the faith will be more acceptable when it enters the culture of local communities. (Paulus VI, 1967). The purpose of preaching is to unite cultures so that people, or listeners, can more easily accept and live the teachings of faith. Through culture, we will attract the interest and attention of local communities. The profound spiritual life of the people is united with the experiences of faith in their lives, so whether in catechesis or in evangelization, it should be Christ who is presented, including in local culture.

On the increase of the teaching of faith or the preaching of the faith, there are various types of construction that can be done, among them recollection, meditation, reflection, retreat, spiritual pilgrimage, the deepening of the Scriptures (the term in the Catechism), and the Catholic society itself is influenced by various factors. One of them is the cultural life of a particular community, which plays a very important role and cannot be released. In this context, especially in the marumpasa tradition, the culture is considered noble by the Batak Toba society itself. Marumpasa as part of culture is an aspect that can build a personality that requires good behaviour and contains cultural norms in order to have sufficient knowledge of the content of the Christian faith and have a sincere spiritual and personal experience so as to understand the meaning and purpose of his life.

The Batak Toba community system is defined and regulated by the Dalihan Na Tolu concept, which means *tunku nan tree*. The three legs each have functions and positions that cannot be separated and exchanged with each

other to maintain balance. Marga, as an identity obtained on the basis of a patrilineal line, is used as a reference to determine a position in the community system. The position of a person in the Dalihan Na Tolu system is said to be a democracy, meaning that each individual is given and his position against others according to the identity of marga. (Pardosi, 2008). There is a “value” that is so firmly held as a principle by the Batak Toba society that to say something, it must be covered with words that make the meaning disguised but quite understandable. Communication is saying something to someone or a group of people using the umpasa and the like. Umpasa and umpama are pantun and fairy tongues in the Indonesian santra category. Umpasa or pantun that is loaded with the hope of obtaining a pas-pasu or blessing by reaching something or making a prayer restu so that it is not the origin of one that is heard or whispered only in the sense of humour. Every word or phrase in each line contains a deep meaning and is related to each other. As soon as this is revealed, all those who listen to it will hear Emma Tutu, which means hope (or blessing and justification for what is expressed in the umpama) (Sinaga, 2013).

Umpasa and umpama are frequently used in every ulaon or meeting and in various aspects of the life of the Batak Toba community as expressions, prayers that contain requests, hopes, advice, and motivation for those present. (Toruan, 2012). This is a verbal triad with conditions of beating, shooting, rhythm, and the number of lines and parts of a certain word. The words that are structured in the contents of umpasa and umpama contain poetic values, contain the living philosophy of the Batak Toba tribe society, and contain the ethics of sophistication, laws, and the life of the Batak Toba tribe itself. The umpasa is more likely to contain the prayers that become the ideal of life for every person: hagabeon (happiness), hamoraon (wealth), hasangapon (respect), and saur matua (longevity and well-being). (Sitompul, 2009). Here is an example of the example used when the child is baptised: This is the promise of Mary, Hatubuan ni si tulan, nungnga sahat hata na uli, Sai Sautma i dipasahat of the Lord. The meaning of the above word is that all our prayers and hopes for the child who has been born and baptised will be answered by the Lord. Umpasa is often used in meetings; in this hat huta, in the tubuan lata, manang tudia pe hita, disi do Debata. The meaning of this word is to say that wherever we are, God will always be with us. Examples of umpasa when the event is the military of some place, home, or other: Martantan ma baringin, Marurat jabi-jabi, Mamora ma hita badingin, this tumpahon Ompunta Mulajadi. The meaning of the word above is that all cities are blessed by God. Examples of umpasa in marriage are: star na rumiris, ombun na sumorop, son pe riris, and boru pe torop. The meaning of the above is that the couple that has been established in marriage is given to the offspring of a male and a female by God. Previous

research on “Legitimation of Divinity in Baptism in Batak Toba Aboriginal Events” by Bendhauer Pasaribu, 2015. That the speech used in the baptism represents the legitimacy of God, both implicitly and explicitly, indicating the hope that man seeks and the relationship of man with God. The novelty in this study is that the marumpasa tradition can be used as a means of catechesis in the Catholic Church. Then, judging from the thickness of the marumpasa tradition in the Batak Toba society, the researchers are interested in digging up data to determine whether this tradition can be made one of the means of catechesis, especially through the presence of the Catholic Church in the Toba Batak community in North Sumatra.

The focus of this research is Umpasa, and the same in Batak Toba culture can be used as one of the means of catechesis, or the teaching or reporting of faith. This marumpasa is very thick and cannot be released from all aspects of Batak Toba’s life itself through various events or ulaon. From the birth of a new family member, adult and married, to the event of death, Umpasa and the like are the means of communicating prayers of supplication to God, hopes to be achieved, and advice or motivation for all listeners around him. Thus, the tradition itself unites in the practise of customs and religions that are considered to have the same meaning and purpose, namely to convey the expression of prayer, a request, and the hope that the Lord would fulfil it. Therefore, the researchers were interested in looking at how the Catholic Church viewed the “marumpasa tradition” as a wrong means of catechesis. The purpose of this study is to analyse and describe how umpasa and umpama are used in the entire Batak Toba community and how the Catholic Church views the use of umpasa and umpama as a means of catechesis or teaching the faith.

The community of the Toba Batak tribe is one of the Batak ethnic groups that exists in North Sumatera and is among the largest tribes spread throughout the district and city area. The Batak Toba tribe has a variety of cultures, traditions, customs, and habits of indigenous groups, such as the system of friendship and marga, or warrior, that to this day is still preserved. As part of the tribal heritage that is still preserved, many local and international researchers who conduct research even dig the rich culture and customs of the Batak Toba tribe. So that these cultures are recognised and made into local wisdom, which is considered to contain high moral, religious, social, and other values. So the researchers are interested in one of the types of culture of the Batak Toba tribal traditions that are considered to have a value “more” as a local wisdom that is still strongly ingrained to this day: the tradition of “marumpasa” or “Umpasa and umpama”. This tradition is used in every aspect of the life of

the Batak Toba community, from the event of the birth of family members, representation, to death, as well as in various aspects such as events of joy and sorrow, and even in giving advice and following rules that are contained in the values of the “marumpasa”.

Cucumbers Zucchini Summer Squash and Carrots Kale Radishes Broccoli Rosemary Basil Pole Beans Peas Arugula Bibb Lettuce Cutting Lettuces Potatoes Usually, umpasa is used at the time of customary istiadat execution, while umpasa is often used in everyday life situations. Umpasa is almost the same as pantun in Malay-Indonesia; there is pantun advice, there is pantun humour, and so on. (Sitompul, 2009). It is a prayer to the Lord to give him grace, prosperity, salvation, and all good things. Then for the people of Batak Toba Marumpasa, it means the tradition of rowing that is carried out at the time of customary ceremonies such as marriage, death, the inauguration of a tugu or tomb, birth, entering a new home, and gratitude. Umpama is a literary language that contains norms, sanctions, rules, prohibited things, or abstracts that should be followed or done. (Toruan, 2012).

The Batak Toba community generally believes that the umpasa is a blessing or hat-pasu word given by the hula-hula party to its board or parents to their children, and so on. (Sitompul, 2009). A parable is a parable that contains the emblems around it. (Sinaga, 2013). These are norms, things that should be followed or not followed. According to R.H.P. Sitompul, 2009, in his book, he wrote the umpasa Batak Toba contains characteristics among others: the umpasa consists of four lines (in general), the first and second lines are sampiran, the third and fourth lines are the content, the sound equations in the last quarter of the first line with the third and the second line and four are ab-ab, and there is a link between the sampiran (first and second line) and the content. (baris ketiga dan ke empat). According to R.H.P. Sitompul, umpasa and umpama that are often used in Batak Toba culture have ranges such as: Pasahathon ulos mula Gaga (delivering ulos), Dakdanak na new sorang or child born (birth of a child or a new family member), Tardidi who is a babtis or a bath, malua manghatindangkon haporseaon, Parbogason or marriage (range of stages in the Batak Toba marriage), as well as death and comfort. The use of umpasa differs on each event, such as the birth of a new family member, marriage, birthday, and death.

On the occasion of the customary birth of the child: *dakka ni diara, tanggo pinagait-aithon*, in the child, *na sorang on, sai sitokka ma panahit-nahiton*. This umpasa gives meaning, and meaning is the tree of the day, strong when climbed, as well as this child born, free from all diseases. Umpasa on the customary marriage events: *star na rumiris, ombun na sumorop, son pe riris*,

boru pe torop, whose meaning is to accompany the stars, and meresap the morning embun, may be given to offspring of boys as well as daughters. In the event of death: balga tiang ni ruma, balgaan tiang Ni sopo, nungnga erga na saur matua on, sai unggabean ma hamu na umposo. The larger the column of the house of rice, the greater the number of descendants who have died from this matua, as well as the number of descendants who are still young. On the occasion of the birthday: andor haduppa togu-togu ni lombu, andor hatiti togu-togu ni horbo, pengpeng saur matua ma hamu patogu-togu pahompu, sahat tu na marnini, sahat Tu na Marnono. The meaning and significance are that Haduppa Haduppa carries cows, and the cord of hearts carries cowboys, so that the Lord gives long life to his grandchildren, up to the grandson even, Buyut.

On the occasion of the customary ceremony of tugu or makam: martantan ma baringin, marurat jabi-jabi, mamoraa ma hita badingin, tumpahon ni Ompunta Mulajadi. The meaning is rooted in the trees, rooted in the pig tree, as well as in the prosperous city, blessed by the Lord. At the end of every customary event: sahat sahat ni solu, sahat ntu bontean, lelung ma hita mangolu, sahat ma tu panggabean. The meaning of it is to the end, to the goal: may the Lord give long life to us and many offspring. The usual usage in everyday life is that of philosophy: tu ginjang ninna porda, tu toru pambarbaran, tu ginjan ninna roha, and patutoruhon do sibaran. The meaning and meaning is to grow to the top of the porda, to the rest of the cut; the treatment of anguish is the beginning of destruction. Umpama contains the ethics of courtesy: pattun hangoluan and tois hamagoan. Meaning and meaning are the capital of life; pride is the beginning of life's destruction. Umpama contains customs and laws: pauk pauk hudali, pago tarugi, na tading ta ulahi, na sega ta pauli. The meaning is the cangkul with the pacul, which we missed again and corrected. One of the most famous things about society: sotung forgot horbo sian barana and sotung peut ulos sian sangkotanna Do not forgive the people, do not forget the people.

The people of Batak Toba generally understand the meaning contained in Umpasa and Umpama. It is a prayer of prayer, of hope, of desire, of counselling to those who listen to it. Examples are: pauk-pauk hudali ma, pago-pago taruli, na tading taulahi, na sala hupauli. In this phase, the first and second lines are side lines, while the third and last lines are content. This word contains meaning, for which its function advises that any unfinished or wrong work be corrected. Likewise, the meaning or messages contained in the umpasa and other umpama serve to give a picture that advises how the Batak society can live in a good society (Tambunan, 1982).

The traditional use of umpasa and umpama cannot be left out of every indigenous event or ulaon in the daily life of Batak Toba society. The purpose of the umpasa is a form of prayer, while the aim is only a parable or a proverb that has a moral message, advice, or a complaint that is compared. (Toruan, 2012). Tradition marumpasa is a form of appeal to God to apply everything that the Batak Toa society expects in the form, context, and situation of a particular event. The prayer of the Lord or the prayer in the form of a prayer. But in the case of those who do not know the truth, they will never forget the truth or the truth of all things. The usage of umpasa among the people of Batak Toba is different at every event or meeting, although it is often used in everyday life. Therefore, it is better for parents to give advice to their children and for children not to listen to what has been a rule and advice to live in conformity with custom. The term is used, for example, at the gathering event, the birth of a new family member, the stage event towards marriage, the marriage itself, the birthday, or the death event. (Tambunan, 1982).

The umpasa and umpama used in the Batak Toba society have differences. The difference lies in the purposes of each one, where the umpasa is delivered to the Lord as a form of prayer, whereas, e.g., only as a parable often used in daily life. (Toruan, 2012). It is the prayer of the Lord for blessings, blessings, and more blessings. On the other hand, the umpama, which is more frequently used in daily life situations, is usually classified into four divisions: the umpama that contains about philosophy, the umpama that contains about ethics of consciousness, the UMPama that contains about custom and hookum, and the UMPAMA that contains about norms and rules of society.

The marumpasa tradition in the Batak Toba society is believed by each person in the tribe to have a very rich cultural value, so it is preserved to this day. Umpasa is considered to have the value of hagabeon, where this value means all prayers to God and the hope of longevity, happiness, and having offspring. Where in the custom of Batak Toba did Gaga say it was a man who had many sons and daughters? The value of Hamoraon means possession of wealth. It is said that it is rich in the Masyarakat Batak Toba if it has a job and business, has a savage and a farm, and has livestock. The religious value of which is verbally expressed by Batak Toba expresses the belief of the Batak community itself. The value of affinity, having the meaning of the status of a person's relationship with others, plays an important role in the social life of the Batak Toba community. The value of hasangapon is that there is a meaning where the people of Batak Toba respect and respect each other. This is especially important in the Batak Toba culture, where this is based on his philosophy of life "dalihan na tolu".

## CATECHISM

The word catechesis comes from the Greek word *Katechein*, which is formed from the words *kat*, which means go or spread, and *echo*, which means flatter or speak. *Katchein* means flattering or sounding out. This word contains two meanings. First, *katchein* means a message being delivered. Secondly, *katchein* means teaching from leaders (Paulinus, 2022). In the Holy Scriptures, there are some who use the word catechesis, whose original meaning is to make a rhetoric, causing something to shake. (Teleumbanua, 1999). Thus, the mission of catechesis is to present the word of God so that man can meet Christ personally. Catechesis is primarily the self-revelation of Christ. A preacher must therefore truly realise that what is preached to the people is Christ and that, in his preaching, he is the instrument used by Christ to introduce Christ to people.

The church is the assembly of the people of God who believe in Jesus Christ. The church develops itself through the five tasks of the church so that the people can also develop themselves, in particular in their faith life, in the real practise of life in their environment. Therefore, preaching or catechesis as a communication of faith is the effort of people to exchange and exchange experiences of faith, to establish, develop, direct, and revitalise their faith. The feast of faith in the worship of the people reveals their faith and responds to the work of salvation of the Lord with gratitude, thanksgiving, repentance, prayer, and glorification. The catechesis instills a basic attitude in every Christian: the attitude of faith. The core and central truth of the preaching or teaching of faith is the person of Jesus Christ himself. The source and substance of the activity and teaching of catechesis everywhere and on every occasion are Jesus Christ, who is the fulfilment of all revelation. In Jesus, God tells us in a reasonable way so that we can trust how to live and why to live and what is the true purpose of man's journey on earth. Marinus Teleumbanua says in his book that catechesis is an effort on the part of the Catholic Church to help people understand, live, and realise their faith in daily life. So that people, wherever they are, can know the love of God in Jesus, who is preached through the presence of the messenger of the word, and can prove God's faithfulness. (Teleumbanua, 1999).

This research uses methods with a qualitative descriptive approach by digging data and understanding the phenomena experienced by the subject of research related to the perpetrator or user "Umpasa and, e.g., in the culture of Batak Toba as one of the means of catechesis in the Catholic Church". The research approach with this descriptive method is used because, in detail, it can dig into the social conditions experienced by the perpetrators directly in the

Kevikepan Santo Thomas Apostle Pangururan, which includes 4 large paroki of the Catholic Church, namely, the Parish of Saint Michael-Pangururan as the centre of the Kevikepan of Saint Thomas Apostle, the Paroki of Saint Antonio Mario Claret-Tomok, Saint Francis of Assisi-Palipi, and Saint Paulus-Onan Runggu.

This study was conducted in the Kevikepan of St. Thomas the Apostle, with a case study of four large parishes that were in the shadow of the Kevikepan. It is then implemented with steps that include the planning stage, the implementation stage, and the finalisation stage. According to Bogdan and Biklen, the purpose of this case study is to conduct a detailed examination of a particular topic, location, object, location of document storage, or event. (Ona Sastri, Cenderato, 2022). The stages of the qualitative descriptive method have unique characteristics in themselves. This qualitative research digs up data in a naturally occurring setting, where the results of the data obtained are the natural conditions that occur in the field as well as the conditions that the subject is experiencing. The primary data sources in this study are obtained from the participation of researchers as role observations as well as participant observation, in-depth interviews, or in-depth interviews on the subject of research, namely the pastor, church manager, who is at the same time the leader. The researcher adds an angle to be able to reach generally and extensively, as well as documentation. On the analysis of the data dug, including the process of data reduction, I performed data presentation, subsequent data verification, and drew conclusions. The study was conducted within a one-year limit.

***Umpasa is used as a catechesis tool containing spiritual messages.***

In addition to the moral message, there is also the umpasa and umpuna (pantha or parable), which contain a spiritual message. The umpama (pantun or parable), which contains the meaning of prayer and hope, is the expression of the umpasa that the researcher intended to convey a spiritual message. This prayer and hope is more focused on a belief in God's intervention in every human being, especially the Toba broom. The words used by the Toba Batak through Umpasa and Umpasa (pantha/parable) have become common. Every word contains a message, a meaning. In a certain context, umpasa and umpasa (parable) contain meaningful prayer. In the prayer, there is the message of Umpasa and Umpama (a parable), such as expressing thanksgiving, prayer, praise, and worship of God or the Lord, who is called Debata in the language of Batak Toba "Debata". Based on the results of the interview, the informant said that the umpasa and umpama are usually spoken by the elderly (or persons

who are considered to have a statement about the umpa and umpama) when conducting an event or meeting. But in the context of the home, the family, and the parents ordinary speech, this is umpasa and umpama. Informant also said that, almost generally, the Batak Toba community believes that the Umpasa and the Umpama spoken contain goodness, such as a prayer of petition to God with shared hope that can be a blessing for those who receive it.

***Umpasa and umpama contain the meanings of praise and request.***

Batak Toba people often use expressions such as umpasa, for example, to speak to children or family members in the form of prayer. Prayer expressed through the languages of Umpasa and Umpama is a very profound expression of heart content for the Batak Toba community and for those who will be prayed for. This prayer is expressed in the form of prayer and thanksgiving. This tradition is inherent in the daily life of the Batak Toba community and can be used as advice to live better and give advice. Based on the interview, the informant said that the young people of today sometimes have a hard time receiving input or advice from parents when they are directed, but when they hear the umpasa and the umpama spoken, they can understand the meaning or message delivered and the consequences.

***The meaning of prayer in the wedding ceremony***

In the customary ceremony of marriage, Umpasa and the same are also spoken to married couples, with the hope that the family will live harmoniously, get a rescue, always be under the protection and thanksgiving of God, quickly have offspring, and so on. The form of expression through the umpasa is a source of hope for all those who carry out the marriage and also for a large family. Prayer and hope for happiness and harmony become hopes for the spouse. It becomes a provision, motivation, encouragement, message, reminder, or warning to the new family that forms the household. Based on the results of interviews with informants who were of general adult age, they said that umpasa and umpama in marriage were very many, which contained the meaning of a prayer of reverence to the married couple, the request that the household life be blessed by God and given to the offspring of men and women, and so on. This period begins with the stages of marriage preparation and ends with the marriage stage, where there are many stages to go through before marriage itself to discuss all the important things between men and women. Cucumbers Zucchini Summer Squash Carrots Kale Radishes Broccoli Rosemary Basil Pole Beans Peas Arugula Bibb Lettuce Cutting Lettuces Potatoes The meaning of this chapter is that the Lord bless the offspring of sons and daughters with

long lives and be removed from all diseases.

***Prayer and wishes of parents to their children.***

Praying to the Lord to give resurrection, blessing, power, and participation from the Almighty is a form of expression that parents always do for their children. The form of belief or belief in the presence and blessing of God on children is the hope for all parents. In this context, it is also missed by the parents of Batak Toba. Informants generally say that the meaning behind this marumpasa is prayer. The distinctions in the territory of the Batak Toba community can also affect the differences in the umpasa and its interpretation, but in their understanding it remains the same. Based on an interview with the informant, who identified himself as “Raja Parhata” or the elderly and said he was concerned enough to see young people around him who are less concerned with the culture of Batak Toba, he said that the umpasa has been spoken since the ancestors who contained the “prayer” to God. He believes that what our ancestors have advised as an inheritance must be applied to the present.

***Dealing with leaders or officials of the community and the church***

Chennai Madurai Salem Delhi Mumbai Pune Bhopal Trichy Tirupur coimbatore Cuddalore Dindigul Erode Kanchipuram Karur Nagapattinam Namakkal Perambalur Ramanathapuram Pudukkottai Thanjavur The informant generally refers to the statement that “Umpasa is the worship of the Lord Debata,” which means prayer or a request to God. Umpasa and umpama have existed since the development of the Batak Toba people and are used in indigenous events. But it does not have to be in ordinary events; it can be in the family and in everyday life as rules or rules of conduct or advice that is always connected with the present.

Chennai Madurai Salem Delhi Mumbai Pune Bhopal Trichy Tirupur coimbatore Cuddalore Dindigul Erode Kanchipuram Karur Nagapattinam Namakkal Perambalur Ramanathapuram Pudukkottai Thanjavur The value system contains moral and spiritual aspects. The guidance and guidance of the prayer, the guidance, the advice, and the warning The moral message contained in the parable empowers the leaders and all the listeners of the time to meet all the needs of society or the church according to the demands of the time. As a leader, you should be able to give a living example, have more knowledge, and have a spirit of leadership. A leader has a spirit of loyalty, responsibility, courage, and willingness to sacrifice, and also has an attitude of transparency and attention to small communities.

From the results of data discussions based on qualitative, descriptive, and quantitative angket, the following results can be obtained: the use of queries in the form of the given angket can lead to the conclusion that Umpasa and the like in the culture of the Batak Toba society have a significant role in the face of catechesis. This is demonstrated by tests that show that  $r$  counts a table  $r$  with a value of 0.708 0.312, which means that if  $R$  counts the table  $r$ , then there is a significant influence. Then Umpasa and Umpama proved to be a real part of the traditions that are still preserved by the Batak Toba society to this day. This is evident from the custom of marumpasa used in every event or ulaon, which is considered to contain moral wisdom and the values of prayer in the form of a request of all their hopes to the Almighty God. Therefore, the role and contribution of the catechist or teacher of the faith greatly influence the improvement of catechism, as evidenced by the results of qualitative observations and interviews with research informants. Observations on church leaders when preaching also include the use of umpasa and the like. It should be noted that there are no events, activities, meetings, customs, or ulaon of the Batak Toba community that do not use this umpasa and the like.

It shows its connection with catechesis that the primary function of the preaching or teaching of the faith is to provide the core of the message of Christ. The umpasa and umpama that Batak Toba society always uses contain spiritual values, wisdom values in everyday life, moral values, and so on. The worship of the worshippers, the prayer of the Lord, the pleasure of the people, and the blessing of the Lord The community of Batak Toba passes on Umpasa and Umpama to each generation through various aspects of daily life activities, also believing that Umpasa and Umpama contain sacred elements that cannot be altered without delay, delivered by the person represented. The community of Batak Toba passes on Umpasa and Umpama to each generation through various aspects of daily life activities, also believing that Umpasa and Umpama contain sacred elements that cannot be altered without delay, delivered by the person represented. Seeing the fact that Umpasa and Umpama are very relevant, they are used as one of the means of catechesis and support for the people, in particular the Batak Toba community. Thus, catechesis through the marumpasa tradition is not omitted as a means of communicating faith. This research is also supported by the previous study, "Synthetic polars of word selection in umpada and umpama by Anni Rahimah, 2017. As well as the analysis of meaning and inner values in the umpasa umpama custom Batak Toba by Astuti Samosir, 2018.

## CONCLUSION

Culture can be said to be a form of implementation of all actions and results performed by humans that give meaning to their surroundings. In other words, culture is the essence of human effort and the result of infusing his life with the nature of reality through his mind. Thus, if you want to understand mankind as best as possible, you must conform to the cultural context. It must be taught because culture is the sphere in which human beings must live. That is, culture is a dimension of human behaviour. Man is born, grows, and develops not only as determined by the environment but also as supported by his culture. In the culture of the Batak Toba community, Umpasa and Umpama are very likely to become one of the means of catechesis because this tradition is always used in every customary event, or *ulaon*, in religious meetings or other meetings. In the context of building the faith of the people, of course, responsibility plays a very important role in increasing the interest of people so that people are made easy. This can be done by the existence of people's constructions through local culture, one through Umpasa and the other.

The researchers cited the results of the discussion formulation presented in the priest study in 2017, which reads: "In the cultural context of the Batak Toba society, a pastoral or catechesis officer paid attention to the language in the context of Batak Toba culture. Humpa has a lot of moral values in him. In the study of culture and language, a pastoral officer must prioritise the attitude of openness of a priest to participate in the course programme held at KAM. As pastoral ministers, we must remember that not knowing the language does not mean knowing local wisdom." Marumpasa, or the use of Umpasa and Umpama in the culture of the Batak Toba society, is still running and has been preserved. Umpasa and umpama) cannot be freed from the Batak Toba people and have proven to be always used in various aspects of the life activities of the Toba Batak, both in the celebration of sacraments and sacramentals. It should be noted that there are no events, activities, meetings, or customary people of Batak Toba who do not use Umpasa. This shows its connection with the catechesis that the primary function of the proclamation of faith is to provide the core of the message of Christ. Chennai Madurai Salem Delhi Mumbai Pune Bhopal Trichy Tirupur coimbatore Cuddalore Dindigul Erode Kanchipuram Karur Nagapattinam Namakkal Perambalur Ramanathapuram Pudukkottai Thanjavur Theni Thirunelveli Hyderabad Madras Karnataka The tribe of Batak Toba passes on Umpasa and Umpama to each generation through various aspects of daily activities, also believing that Umpaza and Umpama contain sacred elements that cannot be altered without delay, delivered by the person representing them. Seeing the statement that Umpasa and the like in the Batak Toba society are very relevant as one of the means of catechesis as a means of

communication of faith in various aspects of life, it is hoped that in addition to continuing to preserve this culture, the facilitators of catechism will also be equipped with a number of knowledges about catechesis, methods, and means that can be used through the effort to enter and study local culture.

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## **KAMPUNG BETING: FAMILY RESILIENCE AGAINST RELIGIOUS RADICALISM**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*The work captures the rise of terrorist movements involving families. The studies of family involvement in acts of terrorism in Indonesia have not much been done. The work is based on research conducted in Kampung Beting of Pontianak City, which is stigmatized as a drug trafficking village. It explores family parenting patterns and family responses to live problems especially on community literacy about religious radicalism. The findings include, first, the pattern of instilling religious values in families is relatively vulnerable. Family parentings have shown physical resilience, social resilience and psychological resilience. The work finds the important roles of parents in instilling religious values and building communication with their children and the ability of families to solve problems they face. Education has been found very important within the community. Second, with regard to the existing conditions, people choose to “make peace” with the reality. The attitude of the people is split from pessimistic, pragmatic and optimistic. Third, public literacy about religious radicalism is quite good among ordinary people and religious and community leaders. Being radical in society’s point of view is an act of violence, while adhering to religious principles is considered not being radical. Defending the honor of religion is a matter of principle, thus encouraging them to fight. Fourth, four factors fortifying the community include the open and straightforward attitude of the community, the community involvement into the city security network, the high community mechanical solidarity and the effective role of religious leaders in fostering society.*

**Keywords:** Family Resilience, Religious Radicalism, Kampung Beting.

## INTRODUCTION

In recent times, the issues of religious radicalism have surfaced again, in addition to being part of political issue, the acts of terror are attributed to certain groups of religious organizations. As a political issue, when the President appointed the Minister of Religious affairs, Fakhurrazi, the first task the Ministry of Religious Affairs was expected to do was to carry out 'deradicalization' efforts. This issue continued to roll around, in pros and cons, from its definition to attaching a label of 'radicalism' to a particular religion (in this case Islam). Apart from this polemic, it is clear that Indonesia is currently facing the threat of radicalism (manace of radicalism) both in the context of socio-religious and socio-political life. Radicalism is not only in the context of ideas or ideology (cognitive radicalization), but violent radicalism continues to occur (violent radicalism). A few cases of the the latter were the attack carried out by a family against Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal and Security Affairs, Wiranto, and the terrorist attack in Medan, North Sumatra.

The issues of radicalism, especially those that have transformed into acts of violence is of course contrary to the spirit of national and state life. And should a measure not be taken, it will threaten the unity and integrity of the nation. However, what we need to realize is that the issue of radicalism (especially violence) does not occur due to a single factor, namely ideology (or ideas) alone, but, it is also related to socio-political variables (structural factors) such as injustice, poverty (underdog state) and social discrepancy. With the above assumptions, as long as social problems are not properly addressed, the issues of violent radicalism will continue to haunt the nation. Therefore, to overcome these problems, a comprehensive approach is needed, both culturally and structurally.

The vulnerability of the spread of ideology and acts of violent radicalism does not only hit the public space, but can also enter personal and family spaces. The spread of radicalism or commitment to commit acts of violence occurs not only in an exclusive work organization, but also in the family institution. There are several recent facts showing that the family is one of the approaches or ways to build militancy and resistance. For example, the attack on the Coordinating Minister for Political, Forestry and Security Affairs, where the executors were a husband and wife and their children. Although the child lacks the guts to attack. Then the attacks on the Pentecostal Church, the Santa Maria Tak Bercela Church and the Indonesian Christian Church in Surabaya were carried out by a family that was said to be related to the Jama'ah Ansharud Daulah Network. (Ninis Chairunnisa, 2018)

The phenomenon of family relations in an act of violence has in fact been

going on for a long time. As in the case of the 1st Bali bombing, it turns out that the Amrozi brothers did it. Mohammed M. Hafez (2016; Vol.9) in his article *The Ties that Bind: How Terrorists Exploit Family Bonds* (The Jakarta Post February, 2016) states that, based on publications from New America in 2015 there is a family relations between the perpetrators of the attack. In the case of the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center (WTC), USA, it turned out that 6 of the 19 hijackers had family relations with each other. Then, a study of The Italian Red Brigades from 1970 to 1988, almost 25 percent of the perpetrators of terrorism were related (or had family ties).

Realizing this, various efforts have been made to fortify families from radicalism, as was done by the European Union through the 2019 Radicalization Awareness Network (RAN) Program and the Positive Parenting Program (The Triple P) initiated by the University of Queensland. A collaborative program between the Faculty of Health and Behavioral Sciences and the Family Support Center, Faculty of Psychology, University of Queensland, UIN Walisonggo Semarang and the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA). So, the family can take on the role of fortifying radicalism, as well as deradicalization efforts (especially in the context of exposure to radicalism).

Strengthening the family ties has become a major, important and urgent issue lately, in order to tackle the issues of radicalism and acts of violence. Has this become the consensus of our society? This is an important question that must be answered. In this case, we sought to understand how family literacy is related to this role, as well as the family's resilience in an effort to fortify family members from the influence of radicalism. Another variable that is also crucial to this research is the existence of a family institution in a structural context. This is related to the idea that thought radicalism and violent radicalism occur due to various factors, including socio-political factors.

The people of Kampung Beting in Pontianak City have a tough choice because this area has its own socio-economic, religious and cultural characteristics. The Beting community is often identified with a negative stigma, such as a place for drug trafficking and other social issues. However, the bond of community solidarity is quite strong and the existence of Kampung Beting is in the center of the Pontianak Sultanate and the Center for the Spread of Islam. These unique characteristics will make it more interesting to examine especially regarding the resilience of the family institution in fortifying the spread of religious radicalism.

This research focuses on the resilience of the family institution of the Kampung Beting community in Pontianak City to the spread of social and religious radicalism. In light of the issues discussed above, this research also focuses on

the pattern of instilling religious values among the families in the Kampung Beting, the views of the Beting residents on social and religious issues in their neighborhood, and the literacy of the Kampung Beting families regarding radicalism, along with the factors that fortify the Beting community from the spread of radicalism.

The method used was the field research, namely research that seeks to construct a theory based on data and facts obtained in the field. According to Roye Singleton (1988:308) field research originates from two related research traditions, namely anthropology and sociology. Ethnography is related to culture, then ethnomethodology is concerned with understanding human daily activities and behavior. Garfinkel (in George Ritzer, 2007: 322) states that ethnomethodological research focuses on the objective reality of social facts as a socially fundamental phenomenon because the reality is created and organized by the community. Through this method, this research sought to understand and analyze the explanations provided by the informants based on their perspectives.

#### **INFILTRATION OF RADICAL DOCTRINE TARGETING FAMILY INSTITUTION**

There are many studies regarding family and radicalism, both at home and abroad, such as research by Ervi Siti Zahroh Zidni (2018), A. Syafi' (2017) and Elga Sikken, et al., (2017). Ervi focused her research on the role of the family as a means of early education for the children and the ability of the family institution to counter radical movements. Ervi's research shows that a pattern of equal and harmonious partnership between husband and wife in the household, as well as good literacy by parents regarding an inclusive understanding of religion will have an impact on the education of children in the family. This includes efforts to prevent radicalism.

The research conducted by Syafi' As is more or less the same as Ervi's research, where the role of the family is to make efforts to prevent radicalism. Shafi' is of the view that one of the causes of radicalism is alienation. The alienation in question is the individual's response in the family towards the moral decadence of their environment, the alienation of the individual from the underdevelopment of the family's economic conditions and the alienation in the field of education. Syafi' wanted to test his hypothesis that a *sakinah* family (where there is love between members, harmony with the environment, able to live and practice the values of faith and noble character) will be able to play a role in fortifying against the spread of radical ideology.

Meanwhile, Elga Sikken's (et al.) research focuses on former extremists and their families in perceiving the influence of parents on radicalization and deradicalization. The specificity of Elga's research is in families whose family members have been exposed to or participated in acts of violence (extremists). From these three studies, there is no link between the role of the family in fortifying against the spread of radicalism with the environmental context of the family institution in their social sphere, not to mention, the social sphere with special characteristics.

### **1. Family Concept and Role**

The family is the smallest institution in the social system, where parents and children live. The role of the family is vital as a means of achieving prosperity and happiness. The family plays a role in at least two aspects, namely being the first social environment that introduces love, religious morals and social culture, and at the same time as the main defense against various negative influences of social development. (KP3A and BPS, 2016: 5)

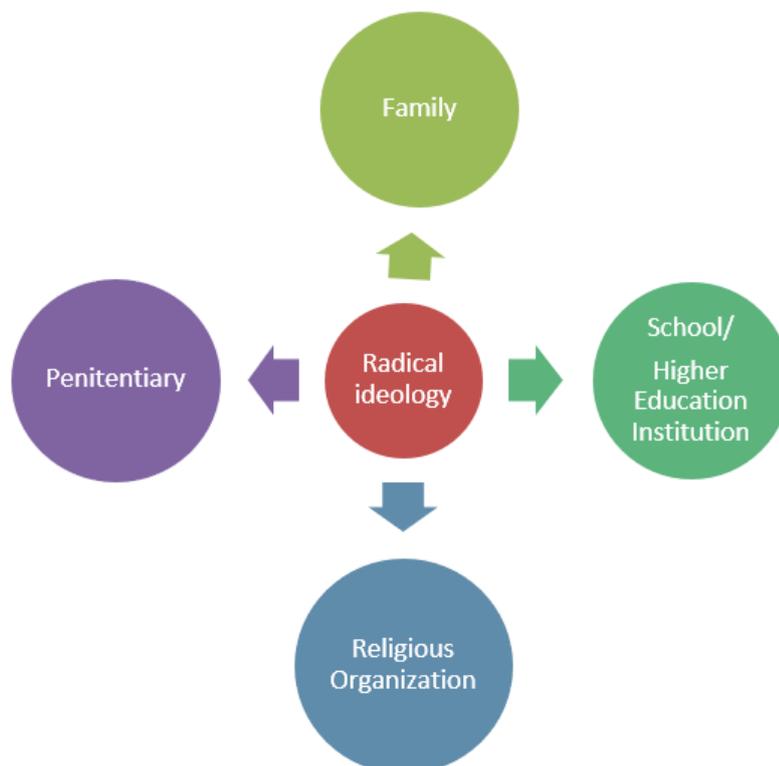
The Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KP3A) together with BPS compiled a Catalog containing the Family Resilience Development strategies. In the catalog, it is stated that there are 4 family characteristics, namely; (1) composed of several people by marriage, blood or adoption; (2) live in one place together; (3) interactions between family members, communicating and creating social roles for each family member; (4) maintenance of shared cultural patterns in family member relationships based on the general culture of society.

As for family functions, in accordance with Government Regulation (PP) Number 21 of 1994 there are 8 clauses namely; religious functions, social culture, love, protection, reproduction, socialization and education, economics and environmental development functions. Ibnu Miskawaih (in Ervi Siti Zahroh Zidni, 2018: 41) argues that the family plays a very important role in the formation of a child's character model. The environment will have an impact on child development, if it is good then the child's growth will be good as well; if it is the other way around, then the results can be negative. Therefore, Ibnu Miskawaih emphasizes the importance of parenting by both parents.

The family is one of the social institutions currently targeted by radicalism, in addition to other institutions such as religious organizations, educational institutions and correctional institutions. In fact, these institutions play a dual function, on the one hand they can act as a breeding ground for radical ideology, but on the other hand they can also be a means for carrying out the function of deradicalization.

Mohammed M. Hafez (2016; Vol.9) that, based on publications from New America in 2015, it shows that there is a tendency for perpetrators of attacks in the West to have family ties. In the case of the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center (WTC), USA, it turned out that 6 of the 19 hijackers had kinship with one another. Then, a study on the Italian Red Brigades from 1970 to 1988, almost 25 percent of the perpetrators of terrorism were related (or had family ties). These data show us that family relations (kinship) have an important role in the spread of radicalism. There are several reasons for this, including; First, acts of violence (terrorism) require a high level of solidity. They should feel intimate with the other. Second, acts of violence also require high trust between the perpetrators. Due to the high need for confidentiality among the perpetrators. Third, in terms of instilling ideology, it is easier with people who have kinship than those who do not. Fourth, the process of instilling radical ideology is relatively difficult to detect in the domestic sphere of the household because the family institution is very closed, compared to society in general. On the basis of these considerations, recruiting family members will be very easy, both in terms of spreading ideology to carrying out acts of violence.

**Figur 1**  
**Institutions that are Vurnerable to the Spread of Radicalism**



The religious institutions here are religious associations or organizations, where education and cultivation of religious ideology is carried out. So far, much attention has been paid to these institutions. In the Indonesian context, several religious organizations were popular such as Jama'ah Islamiyah (JI), Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI), Jama'ah Anshar Tauhid (JAT) and Jama'ah Anshar Daulah (JAD) for the local context, and Al Qaida and ISIS for the international context. (Asman Abdullah, 2018:215)

In addition, educational institutions are also considered vulnerable to the emergence of radical ideology because in these institutions, an intensive teaching and learning process is carried out. When there is a teacher who has been exposed to or is deliberately affiliated with a radical movement, then it is very likely that he will instill similar ideas and views on his students. At least, he will teach cognitive radicalization. Therefore, to anticipate this, it is necessary to develop education (peace education), both in formal and non-formal educational institutions. (Eka Hendry Ar)

So far we have considered penitentiaries as places to punish people or to deter people from committing crimes, but now they can become grounds for indoctrination of radical ideology. Based on a report from the International Center for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence (ICSR) (2010: 7) that prisons are often described as hotbeds of terrorism. The report says, according to Harvey Kushner (American criminologist) that Western prisons are Al Qaeda's main recruiting ground. Therefore, in 2006, the US issued an American policy report based on the opinion of a panel of 15 experts who came to the same conclusion that the radicalization of prison inmates is a serious (and undetected) threat of unknown magnitude to the security of the united states.

## **2. Family Resilience Concept**

According to Frankenberger (in KP3A and BPS, 2016: 6) the concept of family resilience (family strength) is a condition of sufficiency and continuity of the family in accessing income and resources to fulfill basic needs such as food, clean water, health services, education, housing, time of participation in society and social integration. PP RI 21 of 1994 emphasizes family independence as a definition of family resilience. A family is considered independent if it has perseverance, strength, as well as physical, material and mental abilities.

The opinion of Sunarti and Walsh (in KP3A and BPS, 2016: 6) emphasizes the family's ability to manage resources and problems to achieve welfare. Walsh emphasizes the ability to adapt to changes that occur and a positive attitude

towards life's problems. KP3A and BPS (2016: 6) emphasize the ability of families to prevent or protect themselves from various problems and threats, both internal and external (including in the context of the environment, community and country).

The indicators for the level of family resilience are as follows: mutual service, closeness between husband and wife, parents who teach and train children to face various challenges, leadership of both parents with love and obedience of children to parents. (KP3A and BPS, 2016:6-7) In addition, there are at least three indicators for families with high resilience, namely; (1) physical resilience which is marked by the fulfillment of food, clothing, housing, education and health needs; (2) social resilience which is marked by being oriented towards religious values, effective communication, and high family commitment; (3) psychological resilience which includes the ability to deal with non-physical problems, positive emotional control, positive self-concept, and husband's care for his wife. (KP3A and BPS, 2016:8)

### **3. Understanding the Substance of Radicalism and Relations with the Family Institution**

Etymologically radicalism comes from the word *radic* which means roots. Meanwhile, in terms of terminology, there are various definitions of radicalism, and there is almost no universally applicable definition that can be accepted in both academic and government circles. (Alex P. Schmid, 2013:5). Furthermore according to Alex P Schmid radicalism is now becoming more politicized. There are so many definitions, although there are also many that are not quite right.

*“In recent years the term ‘radicalisation’ has, like the term terrorism, become very politicised, i.e. it has been used in the political game of labelling and blame attribution. Academics too have come up with multiple definitions that often lack precision”.* (Alex P. Schmid, 2013:17)

According to Neuman (in Elga et.at., 2017: 194) radicalization does not actually exist, but it is merely a term constructed by the media, government and security agents. Therefore, it is distinguished between cognitive radicalization and violence. (Bartlett, Birdwell and King, 2010; Vidino and Brandon, 2012 in Elga, 2017: 194)

Experts distinguish between radicalism and violence (or terrorism). Being radical does not necessarily mean that someone becomes a terrorist, but radicalism is the forerunner of escalating acts of violence. Regarding the term

used by the Indonesian National Counterterrorism Agency (BNPT), it is said that radicalism is the embryo of the birth of terrorism.

BNPT in its report entitled *Strategy for Dealing with Terrorism-ISIS Radicalism* (n.d.: 1) defines radicalism as an attitude that yearns for total and revolutionary change by overturning existing values drastically through using violence and extreme actions. Meanwhile Elga Sikken et al., (2017: 194) define radicalization as a dimension of increasing extremity of beliefs, feelings and behaviors that support inter-group conflict and violence.

While there are also those who define radicalization as a process that moves individual beliefs from moderate to extreme views, they differ in the use of violence to achieve ideological, political and social interests or religious change. (Attorney-Generals Department, 2014; Striegher, 2015) or religious change (Striegher, 2015) (Yulina Eva Riany, n.d. : )

Based on the definitions mentioned above, it can be concluded that radicalism is not violence or terrorism, but radicalism is an initial condition that can escalate into violence or terrorism. In addition, radicalism is not always related to religion, because radicalism can also occur in a socio-political context. This means that radicalism can relate to social change, political change and even ideological struggles. Therefore, in this study, we did not mention religious radicalism alone, because radicalism is a form of reaction to existing problems.

Therefore according to Bartlett et al. and Vidino and Brandon (in Elga et al., 2017: 194) most scholars distinguish between violence and cognitive radicalization. Cognitive radicalization according to Vidino and Brandon (in Elga et al., 2017: 194) is a process in which individuals adopt ideas that are contrary to the mainstream, reject the legitimacy of the existing social order and try to put this legitimacy back in a new structure based on a different belief system altogether.

Based on the various categories and definitions above, several indicators have been developed to identify those who are exposed to radicalism. BNPT said there are 4 indicators of radical attitudes and ideologies, namely: (1) intolerance, namely attitudes and beliefs that do not respect the opinions and beliefs of others; (2) bigotry, namely the attitude of always feeling right and considering others wrong; (3) exclusiveness, namely distinguishing oneself from the general Muslim community; (4) revolutionariness, namely using violence to achieve goals.

Yulina Eva Riany et al (n.d. 1) stated that there are 3 characteristics of people who are identified as radical, namely: (1) implementing Islam in a complete and literal context based on the Qur'an and Hadith without a flexible

understanding of Islam; (2) being reactive in responding to violence regarding something that is considered secular and materialist and often uses violence through language, ideas, physical action or even war; (3) fundamental Islamic teachings as the basis for rebuilding society and the state.

The indicators stated above are inseparable from the fact that radicalism occurs in the context of religion. Because perhaps the focus of attention is from the radicalism referred to in the religious context. However, this does not mean that radicalism only occurs in the context of religion, but has the potential to occur in various other fields such as in social and political contexts.

With regard to the relation with the family, according to Maccoby and Merton (in Elga Sikken et al., 2017: 199) that family or parents have at least 2 roles, namely parental warmth and control function. If this role can be maximized then it will be able to produce positive results for children (the most positive child outcomes). A similar opinion was expressed by Smetana (in Elga Sikken et al., 2017: 199) that effective interaction between parents and children will greatly help the moral development of children. In fact, according to Hoffman (in Elga Sikken et al., 2017: 199) it can build pro-social moral internalization.

On the other hand, according to Hoeve et. al. (in Elga Sikken, 2017: 199) if support, supervision, discipline is too harsh, parents' inconsistent attitudes, delinquency of family members and problems that exist in the family, then this can cause children to develop deviant behavior.

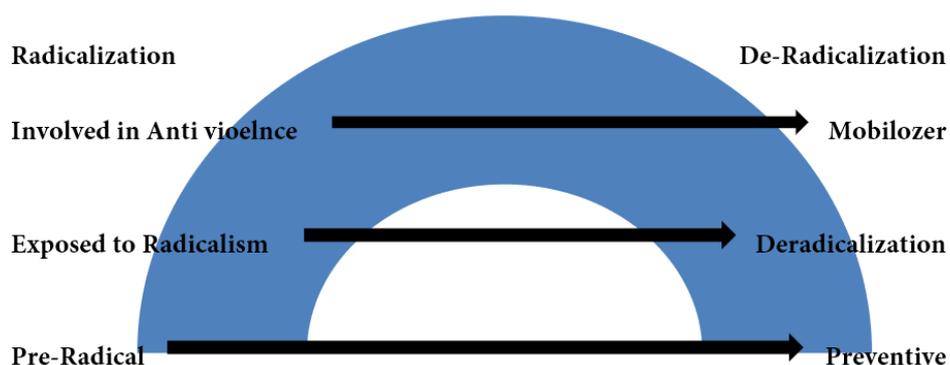
Meanwhile, what is the relation between family and radicalization, according to Elga Sikken et al. (2017:199-202), there are several roles of parents related to radicalism. First, parents have a direct influence on radicalization; Second, parents have an indirect influence on radicalization. Third, there is no parental influence on radicalization. Fourth. Parents influence deradicalization efforts. This relation is based on various empirical studies that have been carried out. Parents who are exposed to radicalism have the potential to influence their family members with radical views. Meanwhile, social and the family's economic conditions can contribute indirectly to radicalization. However, the fact also shows that there is no direct influence of the nuclear family on radicalization, but there is a relation with the family in a broader sense. Finally, it turns out that the family can also function to carry out deradicalization, especially for families who have been exposed to radicalism or have participated in acts of violence.

With regard to prevention methods, the Radicalization Awareness Network (RAN) (2019: 5-6) compiled guidelines for preventing radicalism from turning into terrorism and violent extremism, with family support. The

guidelines describe the methods used in the context of empowering families to overcome radicalization. There are three levels of family support methods. This approach adjusts the level of family exposure to radicalism and violence. The three levels are primary prevention, secondary prevention and tertiary prevention.

Primary prevention means that the majority of the families can apply early prevention methods by providing support interventions to prevent radicalization and violence. The form of intervention could be public awareness courses in schools and community centers (such as interfaith organizations). Secondary prevention means that smaller families are at higher risk and require greater efforts to reduce radicalization and violence. Many factors influence family conditions such as unstable family dynamics, frustration and disappointment, history of abuse, communication and cultural issues. Families like this need support to improve the ability to prevent their family members from becoming perpetrators of violence. For families at this level, it is necessary to build communication about life experiences and problems encountered and the need for assistance and counseling. Meanwhile, the tertiary prevention level is an even smaller family group that needs special intervention and support because the process of radicalization has taken place in the family and there are family members who have been involved in acts of violence. Forms of intervention that need to be carried out include intensive family counseling and deradicalization programs that involve all family members.

**Figure 2**  
**Escalation of Radicalism and De-radicalism**



Based on what was stated by Elga Sikke et al. and the RAN draft provides guidelines that each family can play a different role in instilling radical ideology on the one hand (both directly and indirectly), while on the other,

they can also be empowered to carry out deradicalization. Efforts made to reduce radicalization depend on the level of family position related to radicalism. It can be in the form of prevention and can also be in the form of deradicalization. Prevention is done especially for families who have not been exposed to radical ideas, are vulnerable to such exposure, or have a family member who has been exposed. Meanwhile, deradicalization is carried out for families who have been exposed to, are involved in radical actions or come from areas of war (both as perpetrators and victims of war).

### **KAMPUNG BETING: A PORTRAIT OF A “MARGINALIZED” SOCIETY.**

Beting is the name of an area at the junction between the Kapuas River and the Landak River. Administratively, it belongs to the Dalam Bugis Village, East Pontianak Sub-District. Dalam Bugis Village is bordered by Tanjung Hilir Village to the north, Tambelan Sampit Village to the south, Tanjung Hulu Village and Saigon Village to the west. In the east it is bordered by Kapuas River. There are several opinions with regard to the origin of the name of this area. Some said that Beting is *aeik nyorong*, the ground surface which is getting shallower due to waves. When the tide is high, the land sinks. If the water recedes, then the surface arises. (Zulkifli Abdullah, 2014:11) While there is another opinion that says Beting means there is a niche at the four junctions between the Kapuas River and the Landak River. Originally, the people lived in *lanting* [floating homes], so during the dry season the *lanting* were stranded on the ground and tilted. According to Mr E.D., the tilted position of the *lanting* is called Beting.

Beting means that there is a niche at the junction of the Kapuas river and the Landak River, because at that time the houses of the residents stood on stilts, and during the dry season they tilted. The area that causes the *lanting* houses to tilt is called *Beting*. At that time, to pass or walk through the area, [people] used a footbridge made of a few pieces of wooden boards. (Interview with E.D, June 13, 2022)

In addition, administratively, the Beting area is in fact not known, but it is called Dalam Bugis Village. The term Beting is only the informal name given by the community. Pontianak people in general are more familiar with the name *Beting*, rather than the Dalam Bugis Village. In the Beting area itself there is also a kind of demarcation between Masjid Village (Kampung Pulau) and Beting. This boundary, in fact, is more imaginary and carries stigmatization, that is, it wants to emphasize each other's position and identity. Kampung Masjid is in the vicinity of the Kadariah Mosque, and the residents do not

want this place to be identified as a place for drug trafficking. The boundary marked by a ditch.

“Officially it doesn’t exist, the Mosque Village and Beting Village are just the names given by the people. In fact, Beting and the mosque village are included in the Dalam Bugis Village area. So there is no definite boundary between Masjid Village and and Beting Village. But as far as I know, the ditch to the right of the Sultan Syarif Abdurrahman mosque marks the boundary between the Beting village and the Mosque village.” (Interview with SC, August 2022)

Based on the 2020 Dalam Bugis Village Profile, the population was around 19,244 people. This data must have changed, but the Village Office itself has not updated the data. The education level of the community was mostly high school graduates/equivalent, around 3,745 people. While college graduates (with a bachelor’s degree/equivalent) were only approximately 383 people. (Dalam Bugis Village Profile, 2020:18).

Based on ethnicity, no written information was found. However, based on the information obtained from the residents of Beting, most of the population are ethnic Malays. There are also some from the Syarif / Syarifah (Arab) lineage and now other than that, especially migrants who married local residents. But overall, the characteristics of the community are quite homogeneous in terms of ethnicity and religion. The majority of the residents of Dalam Bugis Kelurahan are Muslim (18,436 people), including in the Beting area, the majority of the population is Muslim. The specific population data for Beting Village has not yet been obtained. Based on information obtained from the Dalam Bugis Village, there is no special population data for RW [ward] and RT [neighborhood association]. This shows that population data is still “scarce” in the Bugis Dalam Village.

The religious life of the people can be seen from various religious activities, such as worship activities at the Kadariah Palace Mosque, religious activities both carried out at the mosque and those held at Qur’anic assemblies, such as the Al Hijrah Assembly led by Ustads Mawardi and the LBTQ Council under the care of Ustads Al Haidar, who is originally from Beting Village. The children’s religious activities were seen at the Qur’anic learning center at the Kadariah Palace Mosque, and also at the Islamic teachers’ houses where children learn to read the Qur’an.

**TABLE 1**  
**DALAM BUGIS VILLAGE RESIDENTS BASED ON RELIGION**

RELIGION	MALE	PEREMPUAN	JUMLAH
MUSLIM	9.269	9.167	18.436
BUDDHIST	205	219	424
CATHOLIC	97	99	196
CHRISTIAN	94	66	160
KONFUCIAN	11	17	28
HINDU	0	0	0

*Source : Dalam Bugis Village Profile, 2020*

As for the occupation, most residents are casual daily workers (1,784 people), and around 1,718 people work as private employees. Meanwhile, there are more than 6,000 residents who are not [yet] working (6,598 people). These figures show that there is a large potential “social burden” facing the community. In addition, the conditions for developing the Dalam Bugis area, especially the Beting area are quite challenging. In this relatively large area, it turns out that there are no public high schools. There is only 1 public junior high school (SMPN 4) and several public elementary schools. For the Beting area, there is only one public elementary school, namely SDN 25. This condition has not changed much for several decades, forcing children to leave the area to continue their studies. Most of them continued their high school at Tanjung Raya 2, or at other schools in Pontianak City.

The Beting community feels the same way, most of their children have to go to school far outside the village, especially to get junior and senior high school education. Therefore, there was an attempt by the Beting community itself to establish a school in the Beting area. According to one of the religious leaders there, Mawardi, this plan has yet to be achieved. Even though an approach with the Pontianak City Government has been made, with the intention of using the green area. The hope is that with a school in existence in the area, it will improve the somewhat negative image of Beting. Related to the negative stigma of Beting being a drug trafficking area is common knowledge among the Pontianak people, and even West Kalimantan. Like Kampung Bahari in Tanjung Periok, Jakarta, Beting is considered a black market, where drugs and

crime circulate. The people who are native to Beting are actually uncomfortable with this stigma. They think that this stigma comes from outsiders who don't understand what this area really is. Then, if it is true that Beting later became a place for drug trafficking, it was due to the arrival of outsiders into the area, and that there are certain people who want drug trafficking to continue. This problem is what many residents complain about, when this research was being conducted. For them, the negative stigma is a "burden", especially when dealing with outsiders. Like getting access to work in various companies for Beting residents (especially men) is quite difficult, not to mention trying to get loans from the bank.

The Beting community is still waiting for the Government's attention, especially in helping to erode the negative stigma, in order to build trust in the Beting community. The community does not expect much from the government to build various infrastructure in the area, because the residents here are quite independent. From the government's perspective, they have tried to "open" the Beting area, with various programs such as building facilities such as water fronts, water tourism, women's welfare activities, integrated health centers, family planning, and formation of the Beting Mining Group. However, for the community this is not sufficient, because what they need is indiscrimination. The Beting community feels that all this time without government assistance they can survive, so they still can stand on their own feet, even though they are only boat taxi drivers, parking attendants or small traders. This attitude actually depicts insinuation or subtle innuendo to the Government which is considered to be ignorant of their circumstances.

Meanwhile, the people of Beting also want to be remembered and known for positive things. In the past, the historical role of Beting for the Kadariah Palace, and the role of preachers that had lived and thrived in the Beting area (Kradesajid Masjid). JMD as a native of Beting recalls his childhood when there were a lot of religious activities in the area. RD and RS told me that in the past Beting had an artist (named Wak Nambon) who was quite famous in East Pontianak. Now this art is continued by his son (a violinist). There also used to be a well-known doctor (dr. Bakhtiar) who originated from Beting. He practiced at the Tanjung Pura Healthy pharmacy. He was also known as the doctor who was in charge of health examination during a police entrance test. This means that the Beting people want to be remembered for the positive sides, not just the dark ones. Until now, the hope is that the normal and positive social side of their lives should be understood by outsiders. They also have hope, they also want a better life. In fact, Ustads Mawardi, a young Islamic teacher who is now dedicating himself to his hometown, believes that

one day Islam will rise from Beting. His prophetic prediction is not without reason, but based on current conditions where awareness of the importance of education has emerged among the Beting community members.

### **1. Building Empathy for Beting Residents.**

Based on the results of the data collected from the field, a construction of the reality of the Beting community is illustrated as follows. A society that is always looked down upon by the majority of outsiders. The people are always blamed for being the trouble makers in Pontianak and West Kalimantan in general. After this research was conducted, we should see the reality by keeping things in proportion and with empathy.

The Beting Society basically illustrates a society that is trapped in a labyrinth of dilemmas, where they are aware of the reality around them that must be negated, but on the other hand they are powerless, and then forced, finally have to “make peace” with reality, try to define reality and give a more positive meaning to it. To understand the reality in Beting Village, its relation to how they maintain the function of the family institution in overcoming the existing problems, including in fortifying against radicalism.

This research was originally based on the hypothesis, “where there is social pathology (or anomaly), the potential for developing radicalism will be greater”. It turns out that through this research, we are presented with a complicated social reality, fighting with all the shortcomings and trying to find a better future. With their various social capitals, the Beting people form their own defense mechanism in dealing with the infiltration of values and beliefs that are considered radical or contrary to what they perceive.

To understand the Beting community, we can use the deconstruction approach proposed by Jacques Derrida and the theory of power relations by Pierre Bourdieu. For Derrida (2005: 79-80), our society tends to be hegemonic by a structuralist style of thinking, where there is a binary position in every reality, where there is one value that is more important (superior/ordinate) compared to the others (inferior/subordination), such as rich vs poor, educated vs uneducated, urban vs rural, essential vs symbolic, cause vs effect and so on. In this binary position, it is as if the cause is more important than the effect, so that being educated is more important, superior to being uneducated. For Derrida, this view is not quite right, because all sides must have their own advantages and truth. Therefore, he put forward an antithesis called deconstruction, namely destroying the hegemony of certain values or sides.

Derrida's theory of deconstructionism is suitable for understanding

marginalized community, such as Beting. The hegemony of negative stigma against Beting is already very strong. There is even a researcher who used the title of “the Crime Nest”, completely overlooking the good dimension of the Village. While on the other hand, the community is indeed powerless to defend themselves, because as stated by Bourdieu (2020: 234-240), this is a result of ‘symbolic violence’ (dominant culture) which is basically unbalanced.

According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence occurs through the domination of the dominant class that seeks to impose its *habitus* on the class that is controlled, one of which is through language instruments, because language is not merely a means of communication, but also ideology. Language conveys not only messages, but also intention. Violence occurs in narratives, in body language as well as spoken and written language. Symbolic violence commonly occurs due to those who have power (dominance) over narrative or discourse.

Labeling it as a ‘crime village’ or ‘drug village’ is a form of symbolic violence through language and stigma. Of course this labeling is made by those who are dominant, both economically, politically and culturally. The Beting community is actually trying hard to get rid of this stigma, but it still sticks with them. Law enforcement actions in the area seem to confirm that Beting is indeed what it is labeled. The community hopes that the government will step in to help clear up the situation, because they feel powerless to do so.

The people really hope that the government will help them, because this stigma has had an impact on their everyday lives. They have difficulty getting a job, because companies refuse to employ them because of their residence in Beting. For society, this is not fair; this is discrimination. Why does this assumption grow, because they suspect that there are (dominant) powers who deliberately allow it. They know that illegal drugs do not simply enter the area without the intervention of certain “forces”.

## **2. Society Forced to “Make Peace” with Reality**

However, even though there is anger, there is disappointment with reality and the stigma attached to the community. At the end of day, life must go on. In the end, society must behave, either being apathetic, pragmatic or remaining optimistic. The first thing society is forced to do is to try to “make peace” with reality. Making peace is actually a dilemmatic choice, but on the other hand, this option is considered “safest” and the most “reasonable” way to deal with difficult conditions.

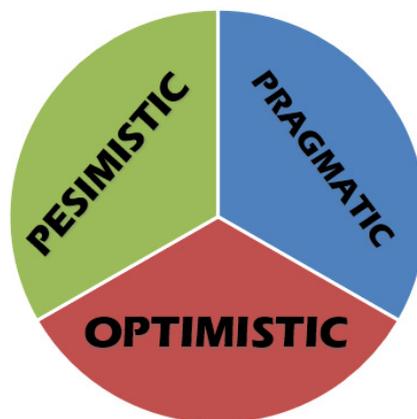
These community actions can actually be categorized as instrumental-rational actions and value-rational actions, like Mark Weber’s theory of social action.

Weber (2012: 115) categorizes four forms of social action based on the motive and purpose of the action, namely; (1) Traditional Actions, actions determined by habits that have taken root and have been practiced for generations; (2) Affective Actions, which are actions determined by the conditions and emotional orientations of the actor; (3) Instrumental Rationality, which is an action aimed at achieving goals that are rationally calculated and pursued by the actor concerned; (4) Value Rationality, namely rational action based on values, carried out for reasons and purposes related to values, especially personally-held values regardless of the success or failure of the action.

The people's choice to make peace with reality actually reflects instrumental-rational action because there are pragmatic considerations for a particular purpose. And it can also be categorized as a value-rational act, because there is a value base that underlies the choice. In the context of the Beting community, the values that are held here are religious, social, educational values and values of hope for a better future.

Acts of instrumental rationality and values appear in the choice of people's attitudes. The attitude of society is divided, between pessimistic, pragmatic and optimistic. Those who are pessimistic and hopeless, then often become part of the crime. But those who then think pragmatically, how to take practical benefits from the existing reality legally, such as taking advantage of the crowds by selling food, becoming water taxi driver and parking attendants. Those who are optimistic believe that there is still hope for a better future. They choose how to prepare a better, more educated young generation so that their standard of living will improve because only in this way can the existing evil be "fought".

**FIGURE 1**  
**RANGE OF PUBLIC ATTITUDES OF**  
**MAKING "PEACE" WITH REALITY**



### 3. Vulnerability of Family Resilience

Regarding the role of the family in dealing with the problems that occur around them, based on the data collected in the field, there are fundamental problems in society related to the parenting role for their children. Ideally, the family plays two crucial roles, namely being the first social environment that introduces love, religious morals and social culture; and second, being the main defense against various negative influences of social development (KP3A and BPS, 2016: 5) These two minimal roles relatively do not function optimally in the Beting community.

The non-optimal functioning of the family institution is inseparable from the conditions of the community itself, especially the economic conditions. Basically, parents are aware of the urgency of the family's role in parenting, but there are circumstances that force this role to be not optimal. The big question is, what causes the relatively low standard of living of the people in Beting? What factors contribute to poverty? Is it due to the cultural or structural factors? Because, it is common knowledge that the people in Beting and Dalam Bugis Village feel that they have been left behind in development. Although the government has the pretexts to deny this reality.

This research shows that the low economic level of the Beting community is not due to the culture or attitude of the people. This phenomenon is disputed, because the majority of the community are hard workers, both as water taxi driver, speed boat owners, traders, coolies at Chinese shops, small-scale food sellers and parking attendants. We suspect that the cause of the low economic level of the community is more due to the slow development in the Dalam Bugis Village area in general, and Beting in particular.

Data on labor in Dalam Bugis Village in 2020 showed that there were more than 6,000 (3,437 men and 3,161 women) who were unemployed. There were more than 1,700 people (1,771 men and 13 women) working as casual daily laborers and around 1,600 (1,485 men and 233 women) as private employees (Dalam Bugis Village Profile, 2020). From the data above, even though there is no specific data for Beting, it shows there are problems with employment, so that more than 6,000 people are unemployed. This number is almost unbelievable, and at the same time raises the question whether it will lead to social issues.

Our analysis shows that the low level of society can be explained through at least 2 major paradigms, namely Neo-Liberalism and Social Democracy. (Syahyuti in Sayifullah and Tia Ratu Gandasari, 2016: 242) The Neo-Liberal paradigm holds that poverty is an individual problem, everyone's business. In this view, poverty can only be overcome by these individuals themselves,

without dependence on the government. This paradigm develops in capitalist countries. This paradigm is considered to have failed to capture the complete phenomenon of poverty. Meanwhile, the paradigm of social democracy holds that poverty is a structural problem, that is, it can be caused by injustice, social inequality in the midst of society. Or to borrow Dom Helder Camara's term as structural violence, injustice that results in poverty. Such poverty, according to Camara, has the potential to create a cycle of violence.

With regard to poverty being an impact of the non-optimal role of parenting in the family institution, it must be seen from the cycle of violence caused by uneven development in the Dalam Bugis Village and Beting area in particular. However, even though the community is aware that the parenting function for their children is not optimal, the community then "hands over" the function of coaching and protecting their children to Islamic teachers at mosques, at home and Islamic learning centers, teachers at schools and Islamic boarding schools. This is the reality in Beting; the role of Islamic teachers and public school teachers is very important.

Such conditions are in fact quite concerning, because the family should have resilience, where it meets the standards of sufficiency and continuity in accessing resources, so that their basic needs are met. (Frankenberger in KP3A and BPS, 2016: 6) According to the concept of family resilience is a condition of sufficiency and continuity of the family in accessing income and resources to fulfill basic needs such as food, clean water, health services, education, housing, time of participation in society and social integration.

According to KP3A (BPS, 2016: 8) a family is considered to have resilience with at least three indicators, namely; physical resilience, by meeting basic needs, education and health (social security), social security with religious values, effective communication and high family commitment. Finally, psychological resilience, such as coping with psychological problems, emotional control, self-concept and caring in the family.

Therefore, with the weak functioning of caring for the family institution in Beting, it could be because the community does not have adequate family resilience as a result of limitations in accessing various resources to fulfill their needs. This condition is actually quite worrying, as it will become a vulnerable factor, so an appropriate and fast solution is needed.

Sociologically, this phenomenon is a kind of substitution process from one role to another, namely the role of parents to the role of Islamic teachers and public school teachers. However, it does not mean people have no role at all. Based on research by Elizabeth Harvey from the University of Massachusetts in 1999

and a team from the University of Texas in 2005 as quoted by Itabiliana and Hadiwidjojo (Muhammad Rizky Afif Zakaria. (2018: 4) shows that, there is no significant impact on children whose parents work (especially mothers). At least this research provides an answer that, with working parents (especially mothers) actually does not always have a bad impact on children.

However, it cannot be denied that there is an opposite view that when parents work outside the home, negative impacts on children are inevitable. In the perspective of structural functionalism, society and social institutions are systems whose all parts are interdependent with one another and all of which seek to achieve equilibrium (I.B. Wirawan, 2012:42). In other words, when one institution (social structure) does not function as it should, society will have an impact on other structures. In fact, according to Ritzer (in I.B. Wirawan, 2012:42) changes in one part will bring changes to other parts of the institution.

The family functions the smallest institution of society, in which there are functions played by father, mother and children. When one of these actors does not function properly, then in the view of structural functionalism it will have an impact on other actors. So, when parents are not optimal in their parenting role, it will certainly have an impact on the fulfillment of the parenting function for children and also on the balance in the family. This means that the family will potentially face problems, such as disharmony and lack of education and moral issues.

#### **4. Literacy and the Role of Family Institutions in Fortifying Radicalism**

As discussed in the previous section, there is great concern about the weak resilience of the family institution. This condition can be the entry point for various problems, such as the involvement of children in criminal acts or opportunities for radical views to infiltrate. Trying to test these assumptions in the field, is it true that the vulnerability of the functioning of the family institution will become the entry point for various issues of social pathology.

Based on the data obtained in the field, it shows that even though the community's literacy is not very good about the issue of radicalism, the resilience of families who are also relatively vulnerable does not mean that the community is easily infiltrated by radicalism. So far this research has never been found a case of spreading radicalism in society. This information was conveyed by almost all informants and so was the data recorded in Dalam Bugis Village.

After the we examined the factors that caused radical ideas not to develop

in society, the data showed that, one of the characteristics of the Beting community is the high level of solidarity and commitment to Islamic values. The Beting community and its surroundings are very sensitive to the issue of blasphemy against Islam. If this happens, the community will act reactively, such as taking to the streets. It's different in the case of crimes, such as in cases of fights, the public will not react, because for them it is their own business, and the community also thinks that it is a personal business.

What factors prevented radicalism from entering, and moreover, developing in Kampung Beting? There are at least 3 factors that keep radicalism away from the the community, namely; the presence of a defense mechanism in society in the form of an open attitude and straightforwardness. In addition, there is also the factor of involving the community in being part of the network of security forces. Next is the factor of community solidarity. Lastly, the role of religious leaders in fostering the local community.

The self-defense mechanism factor is that the Beting people have the characteristics of an open culture, especially in terms of responding to something new and coming from outside. This attitude of openness is manifested by an attitude of building communication, making confirmation and being straightforward. When a group of people who are suspected of being Christian missionaries enter their area, the community immediately budges, by calling on them, asking them and making confirmation. They would tell them that such activity is in the wrong place, because if one wants to spread religion, they should not do it to people who already have religion. This action turned out to be effective, and did not lead to acts of violence.

The second factor is the involvement of the community to be part of the security network. Even though this is an old style religious approach by making the community as agents of the security forces, like Banpol in the past, it is not entirely bad. In addition, this practice is consolidated through a formal institution called the Kodim Coordinating Body. It means that the detection process is carried out in a formal and open manner, so that it does not seem like a secret operation.

This involvement turns out to be effective, as a form of public participation in early and rapid detection of various social problems in society. This involvement also makes the community more proactive in maintaining security and order in society. Based on the experience at Beting, the role of the Coordinating Body is felt to be beneficial. What's more, those involved in the Coordinating Body are community leaders such as Mr. Edy who is known as a village elder, leader and also the head of the local neighborhood association. As a local figure, he also cleverly builds communication and information network cells

under his coordination. Thus, all information is quickly accessible.

The next factor is the high level of social solidarity among residents. Solidarity according to Doyle Paul Johnson (1994: 181) is a state of relationship between individuals or groups based on a state of morals and beliefs held together and strengthened by shared emotional experiences. According to Johnson, this bond is stronger than a contractual bond that is built with rational considerations. In the context of the Beting community, their solidarity is built from the same place of domicile, the same religion, the same social burden they receive and the emotional similarities related to facing negative stigma.

The form of solidarity formed among the Beting community is called mechanical solidarity. Emile Durkheim (in George Ritzet, 2012: 145) divides solidarity into two forms, namely mechanical and organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity emphasizes collective consciousness, which relies on the totality of shared beliefs and sentiments that, on average, exist among the same members of society. Shared awareness rests on the totality of beliefs and sentiments shared by members of the same community. Meanwhile, organic solidarity arises because the division of labor increases. This solidarity is based on a high degree of interdependence.

The solidarity that is built in the Beting community is more in the form of mechanical solidarity, as a result of the shared domicile area, the same religion, the same social burden they receive and the emotional similarity related to facing negative stigma. The manifestation of this solidarity can be seen in gathering mutual support in every social-religious moment, such as death, marriage, religious activities, culture and including solidarity in protecting religion. This strong mechanical solidarity is also a strong capital in fortifying society against various radical religious views and movements.

The final factor that also contributes to fortifying the Beting community against infiltration of radical views is the role of the *ustads* [Islamic teachers] who are active in fostering the community. It is recorded that there are several *ustads* who come from Beting that are active in fostering the community, from children, youth to the elderly. Their role is not only to teach people how to recite the Qur'an, but they also play a role in increasing people's awareness of various existing issues.

When people encounter problems, they can directly ask the *ustads*, so the problem can be quickly solved. Meanwhile, most of the *ustads* who teach religion adhere to the Ashari school of thought (*ahlus sunnah wa jama'ah*) and the Shafi'I school, which the community follows. Another role of these *ustads* is to foster religious morals for children. They replace the role of coaching that

should be carried out by parents. Together with the *ustads*, children learn to recite the Qur'an and learn about religious sciences. It is hoped that they will be fortified against the bad influences of the surrounding environment. So indirectly, the role of these religious leaders can be a catalyst to keep society (the younger generation and parents) from various possibilities of infiltration by radical religious ideologies.

## CONCLUSION

Strengthening the role of family has become a major, important and urgent issue lately, in order to anticipate the issues of religious radicalism and acts of violence. This work suggests that family literacy is an effort to fortify family members against the influence of religious radicalism. The existence of family institution in a structural context matters in promoting better family education. This is related to the idea that cognitive radicalism and violent radicalism occur due to various factors, including socio-political factors, especially for the marginalized people like the Beting Village community members with their specific socio-economic, religious and cultural characteristics.

The pattern of instilling religious values in families in Beting Village shows that families are aware of the importance of their surroundings. The family resilience is quite vulnerable with indicators of poor economic conditions (physical resilience), social resilience (the role of parents in instilling religious values and building communication with their children) and psychological resilience (the ability of families to solve problems). In addition, the views of Beting residents on socio-religious issues in their environment show that they hope to get empathy from others. The Kampung Beting community basically rejects and opposes the negative stigma towards their village. However, people realize that they are not capable to fight the existing conditions, so that the most appropriate rational choice is to "make peace" with reality. Finally, the high solidarity among the community members is a result of the shared culture and religion, and there is a common awareness of the negative stigma attached to their area. The role of religious leaders in fostering the local community has been importantly mattered. The role of these local religious leaders is very dominant, both in religious and in social lives.

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## INDONESIAN BAHÁ'Í COMMUNITY'S PERSPECTIVE ON GENDER EQUALITY

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### ABSTRACT

*The conception of gender for Indonesian context is understood socially, politically, culturally and even religiously biased. Gender equality, which is always regarded as respect for women, is actually a detrimental action for women themselves. This work seeks to explain the concept of gender equality in Indonesian context from the perspective of the Baha'i faith and find out the views of its followers about the role of women in gender equality. This is also to describe the principles of the teachings of the Baha'i faith in promoting the awareness of women's equal role in Indonesia. The article is based on research that falls under the descriptive qualitative research cluster using a gender study approach. The data were collected using observation, in-depth interviews and sources from previous studies. The work suggests that the followers of the Baha'i faith view the differences between men and women only from biological factors that exist in both sexualities. Those differences are merely due to the cultures of the people so that the understanding about gender equality becomes a biased concept. This is because the people in Indonesia observe to a patriarchal ideology which considers men to be superior and versatile while women are weak and marginalized in terms of social situation. The Baha'i community believe that God create humans from the same source, namely dust, so that no humans would exalt over the others. Humans are the same and equal between men and women.*

**Keywords:** Baha'i Community; gender equality; Indonesia

### INTRODUCTION

Gender is a very sensitive topic of discussion in a country that holds patriarchal values (male domination). Discussion of gender from the past to the present has become a central topic of discussion in placing the role of women in everyday life, both from religious and social relations. The concept of gender in Indonesia is still overlapping, especially with regard to women's role in public, so that women are hampered in playing their role for change in society.<sup>1</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Sarah Apriliandra and Hetty Krisnani, "Perilaku Diskriminatif Pada Perempuan Akibat Kuatnya Budaya Patriarki Di Indonesia Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Konflik," *Jurnal Kolaborasi Resolusi Konflik* 3, No. 1 (2021): 1-13.

discourse of seeking claims has raised its own problem, seeing that there is still a gender bias that places men as superior in society.<sup>2</sup> Differences in the context of the distribution of the roles of men and women in society are generally discussed in several theories. First, the Nature theory distinguishes men and women in a biological context, making a difference in the position of women in the social perspective (relationship). Second, the Nurture theory that holds that social differences are distinguished by the culture of the local community<sup>3</sup>. The two theories above are a reference in the bias in understanding gender among Indonesians particularly regarding in giving roles to women.

The role of women in Indonesia has yet to achieve equality between men and women.<sup>4</sup> Women have not been able to awaken due to restrictions on their environment which dominated by patriarchy.<sup>5</sup> This concept has marginalized women in gender roles, especially in the public sphere. This issue can be viewed broadly from two sides; first from the external side where there is a contradiction in understanding of patriarchy; second, from the internal side where women who limit themselves in playing a role in the public realm.<sup>6</sup> External factors will set boundaries for women so that it is difficult for them to actualize their role in public. The role of women is quite strategic in social relations because they provide a balance in the role that men are unable to play, such as taking care of children and being a nurturing educator in general, even though men can take care of children and protect them, they will not be as good as women. The patriarchal concept only views men as hard workers while women are not, or in other words, women are weak and men are strong (superior) even in public, women have a limited role.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, there is a significant gap in society and there is a sense of inequality. Efforts or studies to promote equality between men and women in Indonesia have been carried out since 1970.<sup>8</sup> However, to date, little has been achieved.

The issues of gender equality not only concern the social, economic, political

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<sup>2</sup> Sumadi, "Ideologi Bias Gender Dalam Lembaran Fikih Populer Di Indonesia," *al-Afkar, Journal for Islamic Studies* 1, no. 1 (2018): 1–15.

<sup>3</sup> Mutmainnah, "Kesenjangan Gender Ditinjau Dari Persepektif Islam.," *Gender Equality: internasional journal of child and gender studies*. vol 5, no. 2 (2019).

<sup>4</sup> Ingesti Lady Rara Prastiwi and Dida Rahmadanik, "POLEMIK DALAM KARIR PEREMPUAN INDONESIA," *JURNAL KOMUNIKASI DAN KAJIAN MEDIA* vol 4, no. 1 (2020).

<sup>5</sup> Fransisca Jallie Pattiruhu, "Critical Legal Feminism Pada Kedudukan Perempuan Dalam Hak Waris Pada Sistem Patriarki.," *Culture & Society: Journal of Anthropological Research*. vol 2, no. 1 (2020)

<sup>6</sup> Farida Hanum, *Kajian Dan Dinamika Gender*, (Malang: intrans publishing wisma kamitro., 2018).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 212

<sup>8</sup> Mutmainnah, "Kesenjangan Gender Ditinjau Dari Persepektif Islam."

or legal matters but have also extended to the religious matters. The Baha'i faith has a concept of equality. Even the concept of gender equality in the teachings of the Baha'i faith upholds women. The Baha'i prophet said, "Don't you know why we have made you all from the same dust? So that one does not elevate himself above the other"<sup>9</sup> Therefore, Baha'i adherents obey him and uphold equality between men and women. However, in Indonesia women still face discrimination and their role is second to men.<sup>10</sup> Even though this country is known for its rule of law, the fact is that discrimination still occurs against women. However, the majority of religions in Indonesia uphold the dignity of women, especially those in Islam.

Similar research was conducted by Hikmatir Pasya and Muhammad Haekal Hakim (2016) entitled *Gender Compatibility (a critical study of gender equality)*.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, another study was conducted by Erna Ermawati Chotim (2020) entitled *Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women in Indonesia: Desire and Inevitability of a Pragmatic Approach (Study of Cirebon SMEs Home Made Products)*.<sup>12</sup> From the two studies above, several points can be drawn, such as: a) inequality in the concept of gender, be it related to economic, social or religious matters; b) understanding of gender is still too general; 3) the Indonesian government's dilemma to make a decision on gender equality. These facts serve as the basis for gender research in Indonesia from the perspective of the Baha'i teachings.

Most research on gender equality has been carried out to date and it has not well-received by Indonesian women. Some people still view women from a biological perspective (gender), and there are those who view them from the socio-cultural side of society that has patriarchal views, so that women do not get freedom in social relations or in relations between communities, even in the public eye.<sup>13</sup> Even though in the field there are some women who have the same role, even more than men. However, people's mindset has not changed from time to time. The importance of gender studies is from various cultures, customs and even religions. However, the current researcher looks at gender equality from the perspective of the Baha'i faith, which sees women from the

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<sup>9</sup> "Kalimat Tersembunyi, Sabdah Baha'ullah" (n.d.).

<sup>10</sup> Louisa yesami krisnatalia, "Perempuan, HAM Dan Permasalahannya Di Indonesia.," *Binamulia Hukum* vol 7, no. 1 (2018): pp. 71-80.

<sup>11</sup> and Hakim Muhammad Haekal Pasya, Hikmatiar, "Konformitas Gender (Studi Kritik Atas Konsep Kesetaraan Gender)," *Jurnal STUDIA QURANIKA* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1-28.

<sup>12</sup> Erna Ermawati Chotim, "Kesetaraan Gender Dan Pemberdayaan Perempuan Di Indonesia: Keinginan Dan Keniscayaan Pendekatan Pragmatis (Studi Terhadap Ukm Cirebon Home Made)," *AKSELERASI: Jurnal Ilmiah Nasional* 2, no. 1 (2020): 70-82.

<sup>13</sup> Ratna Dewi, "Kedudukan Perempuan Dalam Islam Dan Problem Ketidakadilan Gender.," *Noura: jurnal kajian gender dan anak*. vol 4, no. 1 (2020).

perspective of its teachings. The explanation makes this article important in the study of gender in Indonesia, from the perspective of Baha'i teachings. This work is inspired by the raise of some questions on the concept of gender from the perspective of the Baha'i teachings, as well as the views of the Baha'i adherents in seeing gender in Indonesia today, and the changing trends of the times. This is what this research seeks to explain so as to present positive values that can be taken for future changes. Every religion has a perspective on gender equality, but this article seeks to examine gender from the perspective of the Baha'i faith which is relatively new after Islam.

### **GENDER ISSUE IN IDONESIA**

Gender issue have been discussed with many topics such as discrimination against women, patriarchy, violations of human rights against women and subordinated role of women in Indonesia. Ade Irma Sakinah and Dessy Hasanah Siti A. (2017) discuss a strong patriarchal culture in Indonesia,<sup>14</sup> showing that men have better position compared to women so they are discriminated in this country. This article shows that patriarchal culture is a barrier for women to play a role in society, so that its concept and practice have become gender bias which causes injustice to women. The gender bias that occurs in Indonesian society is a frightening phenomenon that has inspired women to voice emancipation. From this, women are increasingly losing their freedom.

Mutmainnah (2019) talks on gender disparity from an Islamic perspective<sup>15</sup> and indicates that the concept of gender in Islam is still an organic issue because the interpretation of the Qur'an is not comprehensive so that the existing classical understanding in society is still quite common, resulting in discrimination and exclusion of women still occurring among religious communities who should be able to apply religious recommendations and understandings contained in the Qur'an. A lot of people view gender as issues that are merely concerned with discussing sex (gender) given the position of women especially for men who believe in the patriarchal system. Islam has clear definition on the role of women, but in practice, it is still a taboo and a lot of men claim that women are only weak creatures that are dependent on men. However, women are capable of doing what men can do, so this point of view has refuted by the role women play.

Another study which is in line with the research above was conducted by

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<sup>14</sup> Ade Irma Sakinah dan Dessy Hasanah Siti A, "Menyoroti Budaya Partiarhi Di Indonesia," *jurnal social work*, vol 7, no. 1 (2017): p. 71-80.

<sup>15</sup> Mutmainnah, "Kesenjangan Gender Ditinjau Dari Persepektif Islam." p. 1-7

Louisa Yesami Krisnalita (2018) which discusses women, human rights and their problems in Indonesia.<sup>16</sup> The discussion in this article explains about women's discrimination because Indonesia currently still adheres to the patriarchal ideology which places women second to men, so that it extends to human rights which is still an issue in Indonesia, which makes women's rights clash with the laws and culture of the local community. In addition, because of the discrimination that exists among women, many women do not get their roles in citizenship positions. Subsequent research was conducted by Wery Gusmansyah (2019) entitled *Dynamics of Gender Equality in Political Life in Indonesia*.<sup>17</sup> From this research several points were drawn which became the discussion topics, namely: a) women being marginalized in public; b) women being ostracized in the political sphere; c) women being disfavored by the concept of gender itself. A study discussing gender in the workplace was conducted by Maulida Nurul Innayah and Bima Cinintya Pratama (2019) entitled *Challenges and Opportunities for Women in the Work Environment*.<sup>18</sup> This research shows: a) restrictions on women from advancing to higher positions in the work environment; b) perceived implicit quotas for women in employment positions.

Studies on the role of women have been done including the one by Aisyatin Kamila (2020) entitled "Women's Role as the Backbone of the Family in Increasing Children's Learning Motivation Amid the Covid 19 Pandemic"<sup>19</sup>. The points of her work include that; a) women play a role in giving understanding to the nation's children; b) women play a role in giving affection and understanding to children. Similar research was conducted by Zainuddin Abdullah (2021) entitled "The Role of Women in the World of Education from the Hamka Perspective"<sup>20</sup> The points of this research are; a) women have the basis as being effective to become a leader b) women with the role they play have the right to get what they deserve in the public sphere. A study on the Baha'i community conducted by (2018) entitled *Conflict Resolution between the Baha'i Community and Muslims: A Case Study in Pati, Central Java*.<sup>21</sup> This

<sup>16</sup> Louisa yesami krisnatalia, "Perempuan, HAM Dan Permasalahannya Di Indonesia." pp. 71-80

<sup>17</sup> WERY Gusmansyah, "Dinamika Kesetaraan Gender Dalam Kehidupan Politik Di Indonesia," *Hawa* 1, no. 1 (2019): 1-18.

<sup>18</sup> Maulida Nurul Innayah and Bima Cinintya Pratama, "Tantangan Dan Kesempatan Wanita Dalam Lingkungan Kerja," *Jurnal Manajemen* 13, no. 2 (2019): 1-8.

<sup>19</sup> Aisyatin Kamila, "Peran Perempuan Sebagai Garda Terdepan Dalam Keluarga Dalam Meningkatkan Motivasi Belajar Anak Ditengah Pandemi Covid 19," *Jurnal Konseling Pendidikan Islam* 1, no. 2 (2020): 75-83.

<sup>20</sup> Zainuddin Abdullah, "Peran Perempuan Dalam Dunia Pendidikan Perspektif Hamka," *Al Amin: Jurnal Kajian Ilmu dan Budaya Islam* 4, no. 01 (2021): 115-135, <http://stitalamin.ac.id/jurnal/index.php/alamin/article/view/87>.

<sup>21</sup> Moh Rosyid, "Resolusi Konflik Umat Baha'I Dengan Muslim: Studi Kasus Di Pati,

study recorded that the Baha'i adherents in socializing with Muslims; a) the Baha'is distribute books on the Baha'i; b) they administer education regardless of religious background and gender; c) self-introduction or self-existence.

This work employs the theories of Nature (biological) and Nurture (cultural society). The theory of Nature was first brought up by Carol Gilligan<sup>22</sup> and Alice Rossi who was the first to put it forward in the field of gender.<sup>23</sup> This theory has experienced a very significant growth because it develops not directly discussing gender, but discussing religiosity. However, after undergoing more complex changes, at first this theory was associated with classical scientists. Sometimes this theory is also associated with Rousseau, Kant, and Hegel, but Charles Darwin<sup>24</sup> is considered to be the founder of this theory scientifically and it is supported by Gregor Mendel's Theory of Heredity.<sup>25</sup> In the end, this theory was diverted by feminism discourse towards biological essentialism after the 1980s which was marked by the re-acceptance of the concept of differences in gender roles. Coupled with the concept of ecofeminism,<sup>26</sup> this argument is able to bring the concept of nature to become more dominant. The initiators of this theory aimed to create social harmony, fair equality in diversity.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, the nurture theory views women from social relations, both in the local community and in the wider community. Nurture theory was developed by several figures, such as Margaret Mead, Virginia Woolf, Simone de Beauvoir,<sup>28</sup> Sigmund Freud,<sup>29</sup> Hilary M. Lips, Ann Oakley,<sup>30</sup> Nancy Chodorow, Judith Butler.<sup>31</sup> In this concept, scientists disagree by looking at differences male and female from a biological perspective or in terms of gender, when

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Jawa Tengah," *Jurnal Multi Kultural dan Multireligius* 17, no. 02 (2018).

<sup>22</sup> Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, & London: Harvard University Press, Cet. 38), 2003.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 98

<sup>24</sup> Gregory A. Kimble, "Evolution of the Nature-Nurture Issue in the History of Psychology" Dalam Robert Plomin and Gerald E. McClearn (Ed.), *Nature, Nurture, & Psychology* (Washington DC: American Psychological Association), 1993. p. 5

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid* pp. 181-183

<sup>27</sup> *ibid* p. 225

<sup>28</sup> "Beauvoir, Simone De Dalam Catherine Villanueva Gardner, *Historical Dictionary of Feminist Philosophy*, (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 28-31." (n.d.).

<sup>29</sup> Worell, Judith, *Encyclopedia of Women and Gender: Sex Similarities and Differences and the Impact of Society on Gender*. California: Academic Press., 2002.

<sup>30</sup> Ann Oakley Dan Bukunya *Sex, Gender and Society* (1972) Dianggap Sebagai Peletak Konsep Nurture Dalam *Diskursus Gender*. Lihat "Gender" Dalam Jane Pilcher and Imelda Whelehan, *Fifty Key Concepts in Gender Studies*, (London, California, & New Delhi: SAGE Publi, 2004.

<sup>31</sup> Moh Khusa'i, "Problem Denifisi Gender: Kajian Atas Konsep Nature Dan Nurture," *Kalimah: jurnal studi agama dan pemikiran islam*. vol 11, no. 1 (2013).

looking at the perspective of gender it will lead to sex, and this is what makes these scientists disagree as they tend to look at it from the social perspective (community culture). These two things will be the analytical tools in writing this article in the context of Indonesia, so that this research will look at it from a biological point of view or from a cultural or social side which becomes the society's concept on women as being secondary from the perspective of the Baha'i faith.

This study falls under the descriptive qualitative research cluster.<sup>32</sup> Qualitative research means there is an effort to transfer and understand the meaning of what is happening in various individuals or groups. The research process involves questions and procedures that must be carried out by presenting field data directly obtained from the followers of the Baha'i faith regarding their perspective on gender in Indonesia, as well as data obtained from their teachings or from their holy books. This study used a gender approach.<sup>33</sup> The data were collected using interviews with the followers of the Baha'i faith, an assessment of Baha'i teachings in the context of gender. In addition, the data were analyzed using data condensation,<sup>34</sup> that is, all documents obtained in accordance with the theme of the discussion, and in the process were written into a form of work, then simplified by description and abstraction. Data display,<sup>35</sup> which is display of data that have been formatted in a written form and then processed into a systematic narrative according to the themes that have been grouped. Then, temporary conclusions<sup>36</sup> were drawn.

## GENDER CONCEPT IN INDONESIAN BAHAI

Gender is a point of view towards men and women, be it from a biological point of view (sex) or from the role of women between the two, as well as from their innate characteristics (masculinity and feminism) that exist in men and women.<sup>37</sup> that exist in society. However, this does not rule out the possibility

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<sup>32</sup> A Muri Yusuf, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif, Kuantitatif Dan Penelitian Gabungan*, Edisi Pertama, Jakarta, (Jakarta: kencana., 2019). p. 328

<sup>33</sup> Asriana Harahap dan Hilda Wahyuni, "Studi Islam Dalam Pendekatan Gender," *Jurnal Gender dan kajian anak*. vol 5, no. 1 (2021): p. 45. In research

This gender approach is a research analysis that discusses women either from their discrimination or from their high regard.

<sup>34</sup> Miles. M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldana, *Qualitatif Data Analysis; Methods Sourcebook* (Third Edit). (SAGE Publications, Ins., 2014). p. 8

<sup>35</sup> *ibid* p. 8

<sup>36</sup> *ibid* p. 9

<sup>37</sup> Gusri Wandu, "REKONSTRUKSI MASKULINITAS: MENGUAK PERAN LAKI-LAKI DALAM PERJUANGAN KESETARAAN GENDER," *Kafa'ah : Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Gender* vol V, no. 2 (2015).

that these differences lead to discrimination against women.<sup>38</sup> There are many forms of discrimination against women that cause them to fight back (emancipation of women) for their rights and roles in society.<sup>39</sup> In addition, religion also plays a role in solving problems of gender but religious people seem to be silent about matters regulated in religion. In fact, religion is at the forefront of discriminating against the role of women. However, this is different from the view of the Baha'i teachings. The Baha'i faith originated in Persia in the 19th century which was founded by Mirza Husayn Ali Nuri who held the title of *Baha'ullah* (glory of God), the Baha'i faith adheres to a monotheistic style which emphasizes the unity of mankind. This religion stands alone and is not affiliated to any other religion. The purpose of this religion is to unite all religions and people in the principle of the oneness of God and a form of spiritual transformation in human life, and Baha'i adherents believe in the truth of religions that have come down before, such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam. So that spiritual life must always be improved including economic and social life in a balanced way.<sup>40</sup> The principles of Baha'i include believing in the existence of God, and the same God who sent down all religions, proof that God has messengers who sent prophets, and humans themselves.<sup>41</sup>

Several literature sources explain that the historical traces of the birth of the Baha'i faith began with the Bab movement during the Shiite dynasty. The pioneer of the Bab movement was the Ithna 'Asharia group, which is one of the Shiite sects. Ithna 'Asharia believes in the twelfth Imam after Hadrat Ali who is expected to be the figure of Imam Mahdi. Meanwhile, the Ithna 'Asharia sub-sect itself, known as Shaikhiyyah and led by Ahmad Al Ahsa -i (1751-1826) was the pioneer of the Bab movement itself. Before Ahmad Al Ahsa -i died he had appointed Kazim Rasyti (1789 - 1843) as his successor. After Kazim Rasyti died, Ali Muhammad, who was his main follower, declared himself the Bab-savior who was then regarded by his followers as the figure of Imam Mahdi.<sup>42</sup> On the course of its journey, the Baha'i faith entered Indonesia and now it has followers. In the context of Indonesia, the Baha'i religion has views on the

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<sup>38</sup> SUWARNO, "Diskriminasi Gender dalam Kebijakan Pesantren (Study di Pesantren Al-Muhamad Cepu)," *Dar El-Ilmi: Jurnal Studi Keagamaan, Pendidikan Dan Humaniora*, vol 5, no. 2 (2018).

<sup>39</sup> Olivia Roselina Sihotang, "Bentuk-Bentuk Kekerasan Verbal terhadap Perempuan Nelayan di Selambai Kelurahan Loktuan Kecamatan Bontang Utara Kota Bontang.," *eJournal Sosiatri-Sosiologi*, vol 7, no. 2 (2019).

<sup>40</sup> Samsul Hidayat, "Stereotif Mahasiswa IAIN Pontianak Terhadap Agama Baha'i," *jurnal studi agama-agama*, 7, no. 1 (2017). p. 59

<sup>41</sup> "Majelis Rohani Nasional Baha'i Indonesia, *Agama Baha'i* (Jakarta: Majelis Rohani Nasional Baha'i Indonesia)" (2013): 5.

<sup>42</sup> Niyaz, Sufi A.Q, "The Babi and Baha'i faith, *Islam International Publication: United Kingdom*." (1960).

local community and even Indonesia itself, one of which is a view on gender. The Baha'i adherents see Indonesia as experiencing a setback, because of rules that are detrimental to the position of women's roles, which is most visible in the costumes (clothing) that govern Indonesian women and differentiate between women and men, because the two are not different. Things that men can do; women can also do it. There is no need to discriminate in roles and functions as they are Indonesian people and God's creations.

Baha'i adherents view differences only in biological (sexual) context other than that there are no more differences. Existing rules actually harm women and cause setbacks for the country. The Baha'i view is that a country will progress if it upholds the dignity of women and ensure women play their role in society and the state.<sup>43</sup> Should this be fulfilled, the discrimination against them will no longer exist. At present the role of women is not only to function at home and to take care of the house but must move further forward as part of the society in general. There is no denying that there are things that women can do where men cannot do, so in life they complement each other in their roles.<sup>44</sup> The needs of the roles of men and women to get things done are crucial in various perspectives, giving rise to better perspectives as well. In this case, changes are needed. The Baha'i adherents view that men and women are like the wings of a bird where the bird cannot fly with only one wing, so it is necessary to complement each other. When the two do not meet at one point then the bird will fall. So are humans. If women are marginalized, the country will be difficult to develop and progress, and it will even experience a setback in civilization.

The decline in the role of women in Indonesia which is visible in the fields of economics, law, politics and education, even the society sees women as secondary to men. Indonesian women have been struggled for their dignity since the colonial times which was pioneered by Kartini, especially in the field of education.<sup>45</sup> However, the concept and culture that have been practiced for so long are difficult to break. People who discriminate against women in religious communities who practice teachings in their religion, in fact do not always do things in accordance with what is in their religious teachings, and even religion is at the forefront of discriminating against women, for example those who wear clothing that is not in accordance with the religious teachings

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<sup>43</sup> "Interview with adherents of the Baha'i faith in View of Gender Equality in Indonesia." (n.d.).

<sup>44</sup> Rina, "Interview with the Views of Baha'i faith in Indonesia on Gender Equality," (n.d.)

<sup>45</sup> Ulmi Marsya, dan Johan Faladhin, "Belenggu Patriarki Pada Peran Laki-Laki Bangsawan Jawa Dalam Film Kartini Karya Hanung Bramantyo," jurnal populika. vol 7, no. 1 (2019): p. 80.

are immediately discriminated. This creates other issues in which as people are demanded to comply with the dress code of a certain religion. They forget about the role of women who are equal to men, and again women have become victims of people with a shallow mindset.

Women are often disadvantaged in many sectors in society. First, in the economy. In this case, Women are favored when applying for jobs as they are considered weak, unproductive and unequal to men.<sup>46</sup> Women who are discriminated at work become marginalized. Second, in politics; very few women are active in politics because of the restrictions imposed on them. Women only have been under-represented in politics with only 30%, despite the amendment of Law No. 12 of 2003 Article 65 Paragraph 1 that stipulates to provide space for women in political parties.<sup>47</sup> Women are still in a disadvantaged position because despite the number of men and women is almost the same, women have fewer opportunities in politics. However, there are still many roles for women that have not been fulfilled and unfortunately they also do not make the most of these opportunities either. Third, the laws concerning women also do not favor them. Fourth, education that puts males first. Although currently there are many women who enjoy education, it is difficult for the community's mindset to change to move forward and accept the role of women in society. The existing curriculum only answers the needs of the market, not the needs of society, so women are again marginalized.<sup>48</sup> The patriarchal concept has placed women's role as being secondary because the needs of the market puts men first, so that women have little space to move in making changes.

### **BAHA'I COMMUNITY'S POINTS OF VIEW ON GENDER EQUALITY**

Gender transformation from time to time is the responsibility of all human beings, not just a handful of humans. Followers of the Baha'i faith of the opinion that gender equality in Indonesia must be addressed, many things are gender biased, as it is always women who get discriminated. Violence that occurs against women and the perpetrators are men. For example, violence against women and children is becoming a serious issue at this time, because of the government's low attention to discrimination against women and it also exacerbated by the attitude of society which gives a negative stigma to women because of the concept held fast by Indonesian people.<sup>49</sup> In addition, the lack of institutions that deal with the problem shows unawareness of the importance

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<sup>46</sup> Farida Hanum, *Kajian Dan Dinamika Gender*. p. 219

<sup>47</sup> *ibid* p. 212

<sup>48</sup> *ibid* p. 199

<sup>49</sup> *ibid* p. 205

of protecting women. Marginalization of women has always haunted the direction of women's movements. Indonesian women must awaken to fight for a better treatment of them and discrimination against them should be stopped. Women should have significant roles to play and they should even become pioneers of change. Marginalization of women must come to an end.

The teachings of the Baha'i faith on gender equality have been widely discussed, one of which is in the words of Baha'ullah, «Don't you know why we have made you all from the same dust? So that one does not elevate himself above the other»<sup>50</sup> It indicates that we should never discriminate against one another, men or women, nor should we marginalize people based on gender. Followers of the Baha'i faith believe that the differences are merely biological. It is clear that humans are created from the same dust, with the same degree. The visible equality makes the Baha'i adherents think about change regarding world peace. Baha'ullah denounces matters related to race or differences, and promotes respect of each other.<sup>51</sup> These differences will only cause divisions between humans, both men and women.

## TRANSFORMATION OF CHANGES

The Baha'is assume that equality of men and women is an aspect of human reality and not a condition to be achieved for the common good. What makes humans human, the dignity and glory attached to them, is no different between men and women. The search for meaning, purpose, community, capacity to love, to be created, to endure knows no gender.<sup>52</sup> The differences are only human assumptions, basically all human beings are the same. Because of the complexity of civilization and development, people feel different and the ability to explore and apply civilization causes this to happen. The Baha'is provide the assumption that today's world must change from childhood to maturity which will unite humans in the framework of peace. The assumptions in society result in a cultural and social norm, so that it is embedded in the mindset of a patriarchal society about women that they are below men. The obvious pattern of gender equality in the Baha'i faith that, especially social relations, is education. The Baha'i religious view of education is that it is a sector that must be promoted and equality must be obtained in it. People must invest in educational processes that foster the development of human intellectual and spiritual powers, and this model must promote the unity of humanity and

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<sup>50</sup> "The Hidden Sentence, Delivered By Baha'ullah." (n.d.)

<sup>51</sup> Umi Rojati, "Manajemen Komunikasi Sosial Penganut Agama Baha'i," *Communicatus: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi*, vol 3, no. 1 (2019). pp. 10-11

<sup>52</sup> "Baha'i Internasional Community, 1 March 2015." (n.d.).

the equality of men and women.”<sup>53</sup> From Education Humanity can learn what is needed in society, be it change or hope. Men and women must get equal education, even women must be prioritized in education, because women will guide their children as agents of change for future changes.

The Baha’i faith not only promotes social education but also religious education as the foundation of life both in the world and the hereafter. The teachings about religious education must be instilled from an early age, so religious education is as important. “Religion offers an understanding of human existence and development that opens up one’s eye from rocky paths to distant horizons, and if true to the transcendent spirit of its founders, religion will serve as one of the more powerful forces for creating new and beneficial patterns for individual and collective life.”<sup>54</sup> It is from Education that humanity gets knowledge. Education is a necessity for society to achieve equality between men and women because there is no difference between the two, and the rights and obligations are equal. The striking difference between men and women in Indonesian society is due to the wrong mindset, because basically all humans come from the same source, namely Prophet Adam.

The concept of Baha’i religious teachings regarding gender equality is a significant discussion in a society that adheres to patriarchal views because it is contrary to the concept that has existed since long ago, and that it is contrary to customs that have been in practice for quite a long time in society. Violence against women makes the Baha’is realize that they should do something across all lines and sectors. This is a challenge in itself and must be fair to the rights and obligations of men and women since the tendency to be fair or unfair, to act with violence or with kindness, to be dishonest or trustworthy, is usually shaped at home. This habit is then carried over into every social interaction. If male siblings are allowed to have control over female siblings,<sup>55</sup> it will become a mindset and will be practiced throughout their life as they have learned the concept of patriarchy from an early age and view women as weak, and must be subordinate to men. Such mindset should be abolished in social and religious life.

In exploring the issue of gender equality and the role of women from a Baha’i perspective in Indonesia, several standpoints can be explained. First, fundamental equality. Men and women have fundamental rights, abilities, and potential equality. This means that women have the same rights to get an education, engage in social and political activities, and participate in community development as men. This point emphasizes the need to address

<sup>53</sup> “Baha’i Internasional Community, 21 February 2020” (n.d.).

<sup>54</sup> “Baha’i Internasional Community, 24 November 2015” (n.d.).

<sup>55</sup> “Baha’i Internasional Community, 3 March 2017” (n.d.).

gender inequality and provide space for women to contribute to society fully. Second, elimination of discrimination. The need to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women. This includes overcoming social and cultural norms that limit women in carrying out their roles and potential. In the Indonesian context, this may mean addressing barriers such as child marriage, gender-based violence, limited access to equal education and employment opportunities, and raising awareness of women's rights. Third, empowerment of women. Baha'is emphasize empowering women as the key to achieving societal progress and prosperity. Empowering women through inclusive education, skills training, access to resources, and social support can help women reach their full potential. The Baha'i perspective also encourages changes in women's perceptions and roles in the family and community, recognizing the importance of women's active involvement in decision-making and leadership. Thus, in exploring the issue of gender equality and the role of women in Indonesia, Baha'i puts forward fundamental equality, elimination of discrimination, and women's empowerment as important principles that can promote social and spiritual progress in society.

## CONCLUSION

The Baha'i faith views the difference between men and women merely in human biology. What makes humans different is merely their gender and the characteristics that are attached to both. However, that is not a reason to marginalize women as being weak and secondary to men. Both men and women are equal in terms of the rights as human beings or obligations to themselves or to society in general. Indonesia is still facing gender bias in responding to the differences between men and women because the country adheres to a patriarchal ideology and must change as they develop from childhood to maturity, so that the existing marginalization of women must come to an end. Limited space makes it difficult for women to work in the fields of politics, education, economy and culture. The teachings of the Baha'i faith regarding gender equality have become teachings that must be upheld in fighting for gender equality rights and giving women freedom to express themselves in life.

This article recommends that the Baha'i perspective emphasizes that men and women have essential equality in their rights, abilities, and potential. The implication is that women's empowerment is considered important to ensure that their basic rights are recognized and met fairly, and that they have equal opportunities to develop themselves and contribute to society. Empowering women does not only mean providing equal opportunities, but also changing

people's views on the role of women in the family, community and society at large. In the Baha'i perspective, women are considered to have the same ability to become leaders, decision makers, and active contributors in all areas of life.

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## RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN INDONESIAN CONTEXT

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper aims to explore the concept of religious moderation across Islamic history within Indonesian context. The method used is qualitative with a historical approach. The historical approach is used to reformulate the concept of religious moderation in modern times and classical times. The results showed that religious moderation in modern times correlates with religious moderation in classical times. Although the term religious moderation was only promoted by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia in 2019, in terms of practice it has been carried out by the Prophet who was then continued by the companions and the people after him. Classical and modern religious moderation both focus on establishing harmonious and peaceful social relations with people of different religions. However, there are some differences between modern and classical moderation, namely: First, in modern times religious moderation is focused on improving and maintaining relations between Muslims and people of other religions by providing several indicators related to this. Whereas in the classical period, this religious moderation focused on their freedom to embrace their religion without any coercion to convert to Islam. Second, in modern times the term moderation is used in the hope of being an antidote to the many conflicts, while in classical times religious moderation was practiced by the Prophet to serve as an example for the companions and subsequent people. Third, the practice of religious moderation in terms of tolerance towards people of other religions in modern times looks very tolerant by congratulating each other on the holidays of other religions, while in classical times religious moderation only centred on giving them the freedom to choose their religion and carry out their religious worship.*

**Keywords:** Religious Moderation; Islamic History; Indonesian Context

## INTRODUCTION

The government of Indonesia is aggressively echoing the term religious moderation. As stated by the former Minister of Religion Lukman Hakim Saifuddin who made 2019 the year of religious moderation for the Ministry of Religion (Qolbi, 2019). The concept of moderation has been socialized in various efforts, one of which is that religious moderation is included in the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) prepared by the Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS) with the hope of becoming an integral part of the cultural strategy in advancing Indonesia's human resources (Agama RI, 2019b). The spread of the spirit of moderation is not without reason, Indonesian society consisting of various ethnic groups and religions still cannot live in harmony. There are still many riots between religious communities.

One of them is the case of church burning in Aceh Singkil in 2015 (Chandra, 2015). A similar case occurred in Tolikara Papua in the same year, where Christians damaged the mosque used for Eid prayers at that time (Ilham, 2015). Not only actions carried out directly, controversial events related to religion have also touched social media as a space to spread hate speech against a religion. In October 2020, Gus Nur was reported to the police for defaming NU for likening NU to a bus filled with liberals, drunken people and people who like to dance. This was conveyed by Gus Nur when interviewed by Refly Harun on his YouTube Channel (Saifuddin, 2022). And there are many other cases caused by this religious diversity and diversity.

Religious moderation is expected to be an antidote to conflicts between adherents of religions and beliefs. The expected result of the embodiment of religious moderation is a peaceful and harmonious religious community life. That is why religious moderation never uses the terms 'enemy', 'opponent', 'fight', or 'get rid of' against those who are considered excessive and beyond the limits of religion (Saifuddin, 2022). One of the indicators of religious moderation offered by the Ministry of Religious Affairs is having an attitude of tolerance between religious communities. This attitude of religious tolerance in terms of moderation is exemplified by giving Christmas greetings to Christians or helping to prepare for the celebration of other religious holidays (Arib, 2016).

Historically, religious diversity in one country has existed since the time of the Prophet Muhammad. When the Prophet Muhammad migrated from Mecca to Medina, the population consisted of Jews, Christians, and other religions. To regulate the peace and harmony of neighborly life, the Prophet Muhammad also created the Medina Charter as an official rule governing relations between the Muslim community as immigrants and the Ansar consisting of Jews

and Christians. The Prophet Muhammad also made an agreement with the Christians of Najran that guaranteed protection and security to them, similar agreements were also made by the Prophet Muhammad with the Jewish community in the Arabian peninsula after the war of Khaybar in 7H and the years after that with Bani Junbah at Muqna near Ilah in the Gulf of Aqabah (Muhammad, 2011).

At the time of the Prophet, he gave freedom to people of other religions to embrace the religion they believed in. Despite direct contact with non-Muslims, the relationship built by the Prophet was very peaceful, there was no reluctance or preference in associating. Religious differences do not make them as enemies, or directly fight them. Even the Prophet Muhammad was good friends with the Christian King Negus, a ruler of Ethiopia, even though they were of different religions, the Prophet did not hesitate to ask for political protection for some of the Prophet's companions from King Negus (Wibowo, 2021).

Based on the background of the concept of religious moderation, the following sections will discuss the concept of religious moderation from two sides, in modern times and in classical times. With consideration, moderation echoed in modern times has existed since the time of the Prophet but, with different practices and terms. Related to theoretical studies on religious moderation, several studies have been conducted including Edi Junaedi on religious moderation in the perspective of the Ministry of Religion (Junaedi, 2019). The next mapping of the principles of religious moderation in the life of the nation by Mustaqim Hasan (Hasan, 2021). As for those who discuss religious moderation in terms of its history, there has previously been research conducted by Bagus Novianto. In contrast to Bagus who focused his research on exploring religious moderation in the Islamic Education civilization, this study focuses on the journey of religious moderation from time to time of Islamic civilization.

## **THE CONCEPT OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN MODERN TIMES**

Religious Moderation is formed from the word moderation which is adopted from English moderation which means balanced attitude, not excessive, moderate and impartial. In the Big Indonesian Dictionary (Budaya, 1989) the word "moderation" comes from the word moderate which means leading to the meaning of attitudes or behaviors and actions that are reasonable and not deviant, tend towards dimensions or middle ground, sufficient views, and willing to consider the views of other parties. In Arabic, religious moderation is known as wasathiyah, which means close, fair, and in the middle as Ibn

Faris said (Ash-Shallabi, 2020). The word *wusuth* means *al-mutawassith* and *al-mu'tadil*. The word *al-wasath* also has the meaning of *al-mutawassith baina al-mutakhashimain* which means the mediator between two people who are at odds (Agama RI, 2019a).

Quraish Shihab interprets moderation (*wasathiyah*) with an attitude of diversity that positions itself in the middle and does not take sides to the left or right. This impartial attitude will later shape humans into someone fair so that they can be role models for all groups (Shihab, 2002a, p. 415). Agreeing with Quraish Shihab, Hamka also interpreted religious moderation as a middle that is not centered on the world alone and also not only concerned with the spiritual, because religious moderation is a balanced position between the two (Ulinnuha & Nafisah, 2020). The Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs (hereinafter Kemenag RI) explains that moderation means not excessive or moderate. Furthermore, Kemenag RI provides an analysis when the word moderation is juxtaposed with the word religion, so that it becomes 'religious moderation', then the term refers to an attitude of reducing violence or avoiding extremism in religious practice (Agama RI, 2019a). From the above definition, it can be concluded that religious moderation acts as a balance between two points. This balance is not only centered on worldly aspects but also on spiritual balance.

Yusuf Al-Qardhawi explained that the attitude of *wasathiyah* is the same as *al-tawazun*, which is an effort to maintain a balance between two sides, opposite or contradictory ends, and edges so that one of them does not dominate and negate the other (Qardhawi, 1983a). As explained in the Qur'an *al-Baqarah* verse 143. In the interpretation of the Ministry of Religion, it is stated that what is meant by the middle people is the chosen people, the best, fair, and balanced, both in beliefs, thoughts, attitudes, and behaviour. The verse explains that what is meant as a moderate *ummah* is the size of the relationship between people, Muslims can be called a moderate *ummah* only if they are able to socialize with other people. So, when the word *wasathan* is understood in a religious context, the consequence is a demand for Muslims to be witnesses and at the same time objects that are witnessed, in order to become role models for other people. It can be said that the extent of commitment to the values of justice can be seen from the high level of one's commitment to moderation. A person who becomes more just can also be characterized by being able to be moderate and balanced in all matters. Conversely, if he is not able to be moderate and balanced in his life, then it is likely that he will find it difficult to be fair (Agama RI, 2010).

Religious moderation based on the definition given by Lukman Hakim from the

Ministry of Religion through a book he compiled entitled Religious Moderation, means confidence in the substance (essence) of the religious teachings he adheres to, while still sharing the truth as far as religious interpretation is concerned. In this sense, religious moderation shows acceptance, openness, and synergy from different religious groups. The word moderation, whose Latin form *moderatio* means sadness, also means self-control. In English, moderation is often used in the sense of average, core, standard, or non-aligned. In general, moderate means prioritizing balance regarding beliefs, morals, and behaviour (character) (Saifuddin, 2022). Therefore, religious moderation means the way of religion through the middle way. With religious moderation, a person is not extreme and does not exaggerate when living the teachings of his religion. The key to moderation is not to go overboard, especially in religious matters. This key is important to understand so that everyone can practice it in their daily lives. The most obvious example is when a religious believer paganizes his or her fellow believers of the same religion just because they differ in religious understanding, even though only God knows whether someone has fallen into the category of kafir or not (Agama RI, 2019b).

A person who prays continuously from morning till night without caring about the social problems around him can be called over-religious. A person can also be called excessive in religion when he deliberately denigrates other people's religions, or likes to insult the holy figures or symbols of certain religions. In such cases, he is already trapped in extremes that are not in accordance with the principles of religious moderation. A moderate person must be in the middle, standing between the two extremes. He is not excessive in religion, but also not excessive in trivializing religion. He does not go to the extreme of glorifying religious texts to the neglect of reason, nor does he go to the extreme of deifying reason to the neglect of texts. In short, religious moderation aims to mediate and invite both extreme poles in religion to move to the middle, back to the essence of religious teachings, namely humanizing humans (Agama RI, 2019c).

In its conceptual study, the Ministry of Religious Affairs formulated the importance of religious moderation, where in general, the basic idea of moderation is to find similarities and not sharpen differences. While in Zaki Mubarak's perspective, moderation attached to Islam is an attempt to see a moderate concept of Islam. The goal is to find an Islamic concept that can solve complex problems, especially in the current era of disruption. Furthermore, Zaki explained that Islamic moderation with its other terms refers to and is intertwined with various terms such as *wasathiyah* Islam, Islam *rahmatan lil*

*‘alamin*, Islam Nusantara, Islam *Berkemajuan*, Moderate Islam, or *ummatan ausatuha*. Although these terms, if studied one by one, are not compatible with each other, substantively the concept of Islamic moderation has more similarities with these concepts than differences. As a new discourse or paradigm, the presence of Islamic moderation also aims to uphold the values of *tasamuh*, pluralism, and Islamic *ukhuwah* that prioritize the unity and integrity of the *ummah* (Miftahuddin et al., 2020).

In its further elaboration, the Ministry of Religious Affairs suggests at least three main reasons for the need for religious moderation. First, one of the presences of religion is to maintain human dignity as a noble creature of God's creation, including guarding against taking his life. This essence marks that every religion always carries a mission of peace and salvation. To achieve this goal, religion always presents teachings about balance in various aspects of life (Agama RI, 2019c). Secondly, for the Ministry of Religious Affairs, historically, humans are increasing and diversifying as well as religions that continue to develop. Therefore, religious texts also experience multiple interpretations. From here, complex conflicts arise in human life and religion. This context causes the importance of religious moderation so that human civilization does not become extinct due to conflicts with religious backgrounds. Third, the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs explained that in the Indonesian context, religious moderation is needed as a cultural strategy for maintaining Indonesianness, where in the process of its establishment, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia has succeeded in uniting all religious, ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups. This is the identity of Indonesia, which is characterized by being polite, tolerant, and able to dialogue with diversity (Agama RI, 2019c).

Religious moderation is part of the nation's strategy in maintaining Indonesia. As a very diverse nation, from the beginning the founding fathers have succeeded in bequeathing a form of agreement in the nation and state, namely the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which has clearly succeeded in uniting all religious, ethnic, linguistic and cultural groups. Indonesia is agreed not to be a religious state, but it also does not separate religion from the daily lives of its citizens. Religious values are preserved, combined with local wisdom and customs. Some religious laws are also institutionalized by the state, religious and cultural rituals intertwine in harmony and peace. That is the true identity of Indonesia, a very religious country, with a character that is polite, tolerant, and able to dialogue with diversity. Religious moderation must be part of the cultural strategy to maintain our identity (Agama RI, 2019c). Religious moderation is an endless process, because the possibility

of extreme religion will continue to exist. It will continue to be dynamic in the midst of religious citizens. Therefore, religious moderation must be lived and implemented as a joint movement, not only perceived and meant as a program, or project. Religious moderation is a cultural strategy for a needy country whose masculinity is very religious like Indonesia, just as right as maintaining the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Saifuddin, 2022).

In the Indonesian context, the values of Islamic moderation are implemented in the form of *ummatan wasathan*. The characteristics are as stated by Afrizal Nur include 1. *Tawasuth*, taking the middle way, 2. *Tawazun*, balance, 3. *I'tidal*, straight and firm, 4. *Tasamuh*, tolerance, 5. *Musawah*, egalitarian means not discriminating against others because of differences in beliefs, traditions and origins, 6. *Shura*, which is to deliberate on every issue to reach consensus with the principle of benefit above all, 7. *Ishlah*, which prioritizes the reformative principle to achieve a better situation that accommodates change and progress, 8. *Aulawiyah*, prioritizing priorities, 9. *Tathawwur wa ibtikar*, dynamic and innovative (Nur, 2016). The mentioned characteristics are certainly not just a concept. Religious moderation needs to be presented in the mind so as to give birth to self-awareness in responding to the times. In this case, Nirwani Jumala emphasized that the concept of religious moderation must become a personality that includes all attitudes, feelings, expressions and of course the reasoning that each individual will construct. Therefore, moderation in thinking can influence moderation in religion. In addition, moderation in thinking also creates self-awareness that leads to dedication to self-development, personality development or scientific upgrading (Jumala, 2019).

The Ministry of Religious Affairs explained that the principles of religious moderation consist of two, namely: fairness and balance. Being fair means putting everything in its place while carrying it out as well and as quickly as possible. While being balanced means always being in the middle between two poles. In terms of worship, for example, a moderate believes that religion is to perform devotion to God in the form of carrying out His teachings that are oriented towards efforts to glorify humans. Extreme people are often trapped in practicing religion in the name of God only to defend His majesty while ignoring the human aspect. Religious people in this way are willing to kill fellow humans “in the name of God” even though preserving humanity itself is part of the core teachings of religion. Religious understanding and practice can be considered excessive if it violates three things; humanitarian values, mutual agreement, and public order. This principle is also to emphasize that

religious moderation means balancing the good that relates to God with the benefits that are social in nature (Agama RI, 2019b).

Religious moderation, which is understood as a perspective, attitude, and behaviour that always takes a position in the middle, always acts fairly, and is not extreme in religion, certainly has measures, limits, and indicators to determine whether a certain religious perspective, attitude, and behaviour is classified as moderate or extreme. Some indicators of religious moderation are always taking a position in the middle, always acting fairly, and not being extreme in religion. Some indicators of religious moderation contained in the Ministry of Religion's book are four important points, including national commitment, tolerance, anti-violence and radicalism and the acceptance of local culture (Agama RI, 2019b).

### **THE CONCEPT OF RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN CLASSICAL TIMES**

The Prophet Muhammad SAW spread Islam in a way of peace without coercion and did not rely on violence. He invited humanity with gentle language and wise arguments and did not corner one party. During his 13 years of preaching in Mecca and 10 years in Medina, he went through a very tolerant path. The beginning of the Prophet Muhammad's da'wah began against his family and close relatives which were carried out secretly for 3 years (al-Buthy, 2008). Afterward, God's revelation came down which ordered the Prophet Muhammad SAW to invite mankind to Islam openly, this is stated in Qur'an verse 94. Allah also emphasized that the Prophet Muhammad SAW had no right to force someone to follow the teachings of Islam, Allah's command was only limited to conveying the teachings of Islam. While giving guidance to a servant is the absolute power of Allah SWT. As stated in the Qur'an verses 21-22. Therefore, it is not appropriate for someone to impose their opinions or ideas on someone. Even though that person is a family or close friend. This is also seen from Abu Talib who is the biological uncle of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, he is a person who is very meritorious in helping the struggle of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. However, until the end of his life he was not a Muslim. Rasulullah as a nephew did not impose his will on his uncle (Malik & Parianam, 1997).

When viewed from the cause of the revelation of this verse is when the city of Medina is often visited by groups of traders from the Levant who are Christians. In addition to supplying merchandise, they also carried out missionary missions in the Arab Region. Abu al-Husein, a devout Muslim, had two children who often bought oil and other necessities from these traders.

Worried about not getting any more merchandise from the merchants, both of them decided to convert to Christianity. Abu al-Husein was so sad and devastated that he complained to the Prophet, then Qur'an Surah al-Baqarah verse 256 was revealed (al-Jawi, 1976). Muhammad Rashid Ridha said that this verse is general in nature which is not only addressed to one people. The meaning of this verse is that the choice of religion is not something that is imposed from Allah, but it is a choice that is decided by humans themselves, because the issue of religion is a matter of belief for each person (Ridha, 1973). al-Zamaskhsy also emphasized that the issue of faith is a personal choice of humans, and cannot be imposed by someone. Coercive efforts to choose or religion are contrary to what has been conveyed by Allah (Misrah, 2010).

After emigrating to Medina, the Prophet was welcomed by the people there and lived in harmony with the Jews who had lived in Medina. Before the Prophet Muhammad SAW arrived in the city of Medina, the people of Medina had heard about the honesty, and the kindness and noble character possessed by the Prophet Muhammad. So that the Prophet Muhammad was made the head of the executive and judiciary in Medina (Hasyim, 1991). The Prophet then made official rules to regulate the people of Medina which consisted of various tribes and religions, both Muslims, Jews and other communities of different religions. This agreement is called the Medina Charter which is the constitution or written legislation of the City of Medina. It is called a charter because its contents recognize all rights to freedom of belief and religion. Not only that, this charter also explains the freedom of speech and the desire of the citizens of Medina to create justice in their lives. It contains all the rules and obligations of society for all groups, and abolishes old tribal traditions and regulations that have a negative impact. In addition, it is called a constitution because it contains principles that regulate leadership and socio-political basics that aim to form society and government as the centre of the unity of the people of Medina (Adriansyah, 2014).

Umar Hasyim said that the contents of the Medina Charter initiated by the Prophet had two characteristics, namely: First, peaceful coexistence with all groups, both the Jews and other Arabs who settled in Medina. Second, explaining the realization of religious freedom which is not only recognized and permitted by Islam but also must be maintained and guaranteed by it (Hasyim, 1991). The Prophet Muhammad had interacted deeply with all religious communities such as Jews, Christians, pagans, major political powers such as the Romans and Persians, as well as the culture that dominated Arab society at that time. This is also illustrated in many verses of the Qur'an that have provided guidance to Muslims in dealing with cultures and religions

other than Islam that have been practiced by the Prophet (Handrianto, 2022). The Qur'an does not prohibit Muslims from doing good to people of other religions, as long as they are not hostile to religion and Muslims.

Quraish Shihab also said something similar in his interpretation, according to him, the previous verse was an order to antagonize the disbelievers who fought Islam, then Allah revealed this verse to emphasize the basic principles of interaction relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, and emphasized that not all adherents of other religions should be antagonized. If in a social relationship, non-Muslims do the right thing and Muslims are on the wrong side, then according to him Muslims must support non-Muslims as a form of upholding justice as ordered by Allah SWT (Shihab, 2002b). As the reason for the revelation of this verse is because Asma' bint Abu Bakr as-Siddiq said that her mother who was still a polytheist visited her, then Asma' asked the Prophet through her sister Aisyah about the permissibility of her establishing a relationship with her mother, then this verse was revealed which explains the social relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Prophet also told Asma' to accept her mother's visit and accept any gifts brought by her mother (Shihab, 2002b).

Prophet Muhammad was very wise in giving freedom to someone, to make his own choices. As happened to Raihana bint Zaid bin 'Amr bin Khanafah who was the wife of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. She was a Jewish woman from the Bani Nadhir clan who became a prisoner and was married by the Prophet with a *milkul yamin* contract, because initially she refused to convert to Islam and chose to remain a Jew. The Messenger of Allah respected Raihana's decision and allowed her to remain Jewish, although there was anxiety in the Prophet's heart about this. However, he did not want to force Raihana and gave her freedom until her own heart chose to convert to Islam. Not long after, Raihana embraced Islam by the will of her own heart (AM, 2020). How great is religious moderation in Islam, the Prophet did not in the least take away someone's religious freedom even though it was his own wife.

The Prophet Muhammad SAW also established good social relations with non-Muslims, even the Prophet often stayed in touch with his non-Muslim neighbours and did not hesitate to come to visit when they were sick (Qardhawi, 1985). Ibn Ishaq explains that when the Najran Christians came to Medina when the Prophet Muhammad was performing the Asr prayer at the Prophet's Mosque. Then the fourteen Najran Christians performed their worship in the Prophet's mosque facing east. The Prophet allowed this and continued to treat them well, even after the Prophet Muhammad made a peace treaty with them which guaranteed the safety of the Banu Najran, the prohibition of harming

children and women, and the leaders of the Banu Najran. The Prophet in the agreement also prohibited destroying their churches (Muchlison, 2019). The Prophet Muhammad also established a very close relationship with the Jews of Medina, he had a close friend a Jewish priest named Mukhairiq who was wealthy and pious. Mukhairiq participated in helping Muslims in the battle of Uhud, before starting the war he testified that if he died he would donate all his property to the Prophet to be used by the Muslims of Medina (Wibowo, 2021).

The Prophet's tolerant attitude towards non-Muslims was continued by his companions after his death. Abu Bakar as the first caliph who was entrusted with replacing the leadership of the Prophet also did the same thing. The biggest religious problem faced by Abu Bakar during his tenure was the problem of apostates, the emergence of false prophets, and people who refused to pay zakat. During his short reign Abu Bakr was mostly preoccupied with disciplining them and bringing them back to Islam. Before disciplining the zakat payers, Abu Bakr discussed with the great companions. Some of the Companions including Umar bin Khatab did not agree to fight the zakat dissenters who still believed in Allah and His Messenger. The majority of the Companions did not want war. However, Abu Bakr was determined to fight them, because according to him the truth is only faith, there is no truth that is covered by falsehood behind it. If there are people who oppose the truth of Allah, the only way is to fight them until they return to the path of Allah's truth (Tumangger, 2021).

Before fighting them, Abu Bakr first chose the peaceful way by sending a letter to the dissident and apostate groups. The letter explained that there was a misunderstanding in their minds, and Abu Bakr invited them to return to Islam. The letter also included the consequences that would be obtained if they still chose to disobey. Abu Bakr in his letter also explained that they would not be disturbed by their rights, obligations, and freedoms if they returned to the teachings of Islam (Haikal, 2003). In addition, Abu Bakr once advised the commander Usamah Ibn Zaid that he should not commit treason, commit oppression, destroy corpses, kill children, the elderly, and women, and prohibit destroying trees that have fruit the prohibition not torture and destroy livestock such as sheep, cows, and camels (al-Umairi, 2013). During the battle of Ubna, Abu Bakr as-Siddiq sent troops led by Khalid bin Walid to help Usamah's troops. They also managed to knock down the Eastern door of the city of Damascus, the Archbishop of the city surrendered and asked for peace and asked for protection from the Islamic army.

Later, a peace treaty was concluded between the Islamic army and the

Archbishop of Damascus which guaranteed their safety, security for themselves, their property and their places of worship. The inhabitants of this city would not be harassed or threatened in any way as long as they paid the *jizyah* (al-Mudhar, 1994). For the elderly and poor Christians were not obliged to pay the *jizyah*, they were given assistance from the Baitul mal. Even when Islam could not protect them from attacks by other nations, Abu Bakr would return their *jizyah* (Muchlison, 2019). This agreement proves that Islam is a religion that gives freedom to people of other religions to continue practicing their religion without any interference or threats that force them to convert to Islam. Abu Bakr as-Siddiq once ordered not to disturb people who were worshiping, whether it was worshiping in churches, monasteries or those who were worshiping in their other holy houses (Hasyim, 1991).

After Abu Bakr as-Siddiq died, he had previously appointed Umar bin Khattab as his successor. In running his government, Umar realized the values in Islamic teachings. He also guaranteed a person's freedom to choose and practice his religion, without any threats from any party. When conquering a region, Umar did not force them to embrace Islam and leave the religion they believed in. This is illustrated in Umar's attitude during the siege of Sham that led to peace. Amr bin al-'Ash refused to return a female captive to her family. Umar acted by gathering all the female captives and asking them to choose, enter Islam or return to their religion on condition that they pay *jizyah* (Nasution, 2018). On another occasion, Umar bin Khattab's tolerance was also evident when he had a beggar woman come to his house, after giving a little of his wealth Umar invited the woman to enter Islam, but the woman refused. Because of Umar's anxiety the woman misunderstood and thought he was forcing her to convert to Islam, Umar immediately prayed to Allah: "O my Lord I did not mean to force her, for I know that there is no compulsion in religion, and the difference between the right path and the wrong path is clear (Kamali, 1996)."

In addition, Umar Ibn Khattab once helped and cared for a Christian to the extent that he fed, clothed, and housed him and his other needs. However, he never forced the Christians to convert to Islam. Once he asked the Christian about her desire to convert to Islam and she said no, adding that she wanted to die a Christian. Hearing this remark Umar Ibn Khattab was silent and allowed the woman to embrace the Christian religion she believed in (Shalaby, 1984). After gaining victory when conquering Jerusalem, Umar made a peace treaty with the local people. Umar bin Khattab guaranteed their security, along with their property, their churches, crosses, and places considered sacred by them. Their places of worship would not be taken over, torn down, or reduced in size.

Nor would the local people be forced to embrace Islam (Qardhawi, 1983b). In addition, Umar bin Khattab also made a treaty with the Muslims in Baitul Maqdis, the contents of which were similar to the agreement he made with the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Patmawati, 2016).

Ali bin Abi Talib who was given the mandate to replace Usman bin Affan as caliph after he died. In one of his remarks Ali bin Abi Talib once advised not to be a slave to others, because Allah has made humans free (Qardhawi, n.d.). If we look deeper, Ali bin Abi Talib's message implies religious moderation. Humans are creatures of God who have been free and have the freedom to choose, including in terms of the beliefs they will embrace. In his message, Ali wants humanity to fight for the rights of freedom and the value of independence it has. Nevertheless, this message can also be interpreted that Ali bin Abi Talib will also not deprive someone's right to freedom, including in terms of religion.

Caliph Muawiyah in his reign not only tolerated by giving religious freedom to his population, he also allowed those who were not Muslim to enter the government. Such as the appointment of a Christian Sarjun to be the Minister of Finance of the Umayyad Dynasty. orientalist K. Houar also stated that Muawiyah gained tremendous sympathy from Syriac Christians because of his high tolerance (Hasyim, 1991). Muawiyah also repaired churches in Iraq that were damaged by the earthquake. Not only Muawiyah, his commander also had extraordinary tolerance for non-Muslims. Uqbah bin Nafi' spread Islam in Tunisia, many of the local people were interested and decided to convert to Islam because they saw Uqbah's tolerance. He never used violence and forced people to embrace Islam (Latif, 2016,). This tolerance descended on other Umayyad caliphs, during the time of Caliph Abdurrakhman II, he and his ministers gave freedom to the people of Andalusia, so that Muslims and Christians could work together peacefully in defending the kingdom from enemy attacks (Hasyim, 1991).

At the time of the conquest of West Asia, there began to be contact between the Islamic government of this dynasty and the Greeks. It can be seen from the allowance of a Christian court doctor who came from Yunan. Tayazhuq, the doctor of the Umayyad Dynasty who was entrusted with treating al Hajjaj bin Yusuf al-Tsaqafi (Hitti, 2005). Tayazhuq took care of al Hajjat until he died, he was known for his extraordinary medical advice. Not only in the medical field, the Greeks were also seen in the Umayyad Dynasty government in the field of art. When al-Walid acquired the Roman church area in Damascus in 705M, he converted it into an Umayyad mosque, Greek artists were hired to make carvings on the wings and dome supports of the mosque (Hitti, 2005).

The attitude of moderation was also seen during the reign of Marwan bin Abdul Malik, he still respected the rights of non-Muslims by keeping the Church of John which neighbors the Jami' Damascus Mosque. At first the church was going to be demolished for the expansion of the mosque, but this was opposed by the Syrian Muslim community. The church was left and maintained, but was demolished during the time of Caliph Walid bin Marwan. During the caliphate of Umar bin Abdul Aziz, this church was rebuilt due to pressure from non-Muslims to restore their place of worship (Wibowo, 2021). The Bani Abbas caliphs often organized meetings to exchange ideas on religious matters, which were attended by scholars from various religious traditions. They exchanged ideas on matters of creed and comparative religion. Each of them could present their arguments and explain their opinions freely (Hasanah & Verawati, 2022). The role of the caliph was not limited to legalizing the exchange of opinions, but encouraged and facilitated it, and participated in the exchange of opinions. Max I. Dimont, a leading scholar in Jewish historical studies, says that it would not be wrong to say that Islam has shown such a possibility in the case of Islamic Spain (Andalus). Spain at that time had succeeded with a form of "marvelous alliance" which Dimont called the Spain of three religions and "one Bedroom" (al-Khudari, 2016). At that time, Muslims, Christians and Jews together provided a glorious civilization despite being inspired by different religious forms.

## CONCLUSION

The religious moderation promoted by the Ministry of Religion in 2019 is not new, the practice has been carried out by the Prophet and his companions. like the shura system that was practiced by Abu Bakar Ash-Shiddiq when running his government. Giving freedom to people of different religions to choose the religion they want to believe in, and allowing them to worship without interference and threats was one of the practices of religious moderation at the early time within the history of Islam and Muslims. Religious moderation in Indonesian context today, therefore, is very modern practice of religious moderation that deeply relates to the teaching of Islam since it's the era of the Prophet Muhammad.

From the data and discussion provided in this work, it is clear that there are some differences between religious moderation in modern times and classical times. Firstly, in modern times religious moderation is focused on improving and maintaining relations between Muslims and people of other religions by providing several indicators related to this. Whereas in the classical period, this religious moderation focused on their freedom to embrace their

religion without any coercion to convert to Islam. Secondly, in modern times the term moderation is used in the hope of being an antidote to the many conflicts that occur between religious communities, while in classical times religious moderation was practiced by the Prophet to serve as an example for the companions and subsequent people. Thirdly, the practice of religious moderation in terms of tolerance towards people of other religions in modern times looks very tolerant by congratulating each other on the holidays of other religions, even government officials attend celebrations of other religions in the name of moderation, while in classical times religious moderation only centred on giving them the freedom to choose their religion and carry out their religious worship. Although there are some differences between religious moderation in modern times and classical times, but in general the meaning of moderation in classical and modern times is the same, providing freedom rights for them to carry out their religious worship and rituals and not discriminating against those of different religions.

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## THE EXISTENCE OF KAHARINGAN WITHIN DAYAK IDENTITY IN WEST KALIMANTAN

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### ABSTRACT

*Identity is a fluid and adaptive phenomenon that suits the needs of its users. Identity is often used as a tool by certain groups for certain purposes, for example as a form of resistance or as a means to show the existence of a group. In West Kalimantan, the Kaharingan religion reveals its existence in the Dayak identity. This paper aims to explore the existence of the Kaharingan religion in the Dayak community in West Kalimantan, especially when there is a rift between ethnic groups. The rifts between ethnic groups in West Kalimantan are commonly referred to as social conflicts that occurred around the 1990s. This paper was based on literature research data using historical and phenomenological approaches. The historical approach was used to describe the history of the Dayak ethnicity, the Kaharingan religion and the history of social conflicts between 1997 and 1999 in West Kalimantan, while the phenomenological approach is used to analyze the phenomenon of the existence of the Kaharingan religion when social conflicts occurred. The results showed that the existence of the Kaharingan religion was on the rise during the 1997-1999 social conflicts among the Dayaks. The emergence of the Kaharingan religion could be seen in the rituals, such as the Nyaru Tariu, Mangkok Merah, and Tiwah ceremonies. Despite the fact that some of the Dayaks at that time were already Catholics and Protestants, they performed the rituals of the Kaharingan religion. After the 1997-1999 social conflicts, the Kaharingan Religion was institutionally declared on May 16, 2019 in Bengkayang Regency under the name of the Indonesian Kaharingan Religious Council (MAKI) West Kalimantan.*

**Keywords:** Existence; Kaharingan; Dayak Identity, West Kalimantan

### INTRODUCTION

Social conflict that occurs between groups (inter-group social conflict) in civil society involves a crisis of socio-cultural pluralism and has nuances of social identity. Such conflicts frequent occurred in Indonesia following the economic

crisis and the fall of the New Order regime in 1997. In ethno-communal nuanced conflicts, it is very clear that there are parties who carry political attributes of ideological identity, inter-religious identity, group identity or also differences in sects within the same religion (sectarian conflict), as well as differences in origin or descent as the main differentiators of groups prosecuting each other, making claims on disputed issues, as well as the radicalization of identity differences, the radicalization of communalism and the adherence to bounded rationality which triggers “class consciousness” (class consciousness proposed by Marx) in conflicting groups. It is inevitable that these things are responsible and reinforce incentives for each member of the community to have dispute with members of other groups and if possible, they will make efforts to eliminate each other (eliminating strategy). This notion of social conflict is adopted by sociologists who base their analysis on differences in the socio-cultural basis (in the perspective of culturalism) adopted by society.

The social conflicts that occurred between 1997 and 1999 between ethnic groups in West Kalimantan were dark events for the community which resulted in the deaths of 1004 people (1997) and 481 people (1999). Since the 1960s, there have been nine major conflicts in West Kalimantan, eight of which were conflicts between the Madurese migrants and the Dayaks, and only one with Sambas Malays. Based on a study by Elsam (Institute for Community Studies and Advocacy) that almost all Dayak traditional community leaders along with Dayak academics share similar analyses and arguments about the root causes of ethnic conflict, namely injustice in almost all social, economic, political, cultural, and legal aspects experienced by the indigenous Dayaks, making them marginalized in such a way. Apart from the root of the problem, it is evident that the series of conflicts have brought suffering to the victims. Whereas the neglect of the rights of indigenous people, making violence a manifestation to restore those rights, actually results in the same serious consequences, human rights violations against immigrant communities.

In Lewis A. Coser’s analysis (Coser, 1956; Doyle Paul Johnson, 1986), conflict and society have separate functions which do not have to be detrimental or dysfunctional for the system in which the conflict occurs, but that conflict can have positive or beneficial consequences for the system. In other words, conflict serves as a stimulus for integration between groups. Normatively it means that social conflict is a necessity in society which is motivated by fights or differences in interests between super-ordinates (rulers) who always try to maintain power (status quo) and even increase power. While the subordinate party (which is controlled) wants to gain power (equal distribution of power and power retribution).

As the Sampit riot indirectly boosted the morale of the Dayak ethnic community and also the Kaharingan religion, the Dayaks who have converted to major religions, saw how Kaharingan could help them in fighting the Madurese. The Kaharingan religious ceremonies which they had abandoned before, once again came into practice. Seeing this fact, some members of the community from the Dayak ethnic group who have embraced major religions have return to their faith in Kaharingan. According to our informants, there were several households that returned to the Kaharingan belief. In the Tanah Putih area, for example, in the wake of the riots, there were three households that return to the Kaharingan faith. In other cases, many families who had never prayed at the Basarah Hall before returned there to pray (Marjanto, 2011).

Similar saces also occurred in West Kalimantan where the social conflict has resurrected the existence of the Kaharingan religion as the original religion of the Dayaks which has a history of Dayak culture, so we were interested in researching the extent of the existence of the Kaharingan religion when the social conflict occurred between 1997 and 1999. This paper was based on a study using the library research method and documentation in journals that discuss social conflict in West Kalimantan, as well as documentation available on the Internet, such as on YouTube, etc., with a historical and phenomenological approaches. The historical approach was used to explain the history of the Kaharingan religion and the history of social conflict in between 1997 and 1999 in West Kalimantan, while the phenomenological approach was used to analyze the phenomenon of the existence of the Kaharingan religion during and after the social conflicts.

#### **ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN WEST KALIMANTAN**

Historically, Indonesia is in fact not a social-conflict free nation. The rise and fall, and expansion of government power of the Hindu (such as Majapahit) and Islamic (Mataram) kingdoms in the Indonesian Archipelago involved strategies of social conflict which even became their mode of struggle. The history of the modern national movement initiated by Budi Utomo was also filled with conflicts and struggle, and class-consciousness between the colonized and the colonist (the Netherlands). The year 1945 was the highest point of conflict process which was marked by the birth of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia through a struggle and conflict journey which was exhausting and claimed many lives. Even today, social conflict continues to occur repeatedly and continuously replicates itself from one place to another in various forms throughout Indonesia.

It appears that social conflict has now has become part of the “routine and

daily life” of Indonesian society. The intensity and spread of social conflicts are on the rise in line with the many incidents reported in the news of the mass media. The appearance of news about social conflict in newspapers and television has created a “socialization process” which has unknowingly formed opinions about differences for members of society in other places to imitate the process of “solving problem through violence” for similar problems found in their area. (Dharmawan, 2007).

In general, there are two approaches to explaining the factors that lead to conflict in Kalimantan, namely: cultural and structural (Cahyono, 2008; Banawiratma and Muller, 1995). The culturalist view says that West Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan have almost equal levels of religious and ethnic populations, making these regions “vulnerable” to conflict due to the absence of a dominant culture. The assumption is that areas with high heterogeneity have a greater potential for conflict. In this view, inter-religious and ethnic relations are manifested in conflict rather than assimilation.

In assimilation each diversity creates religious, social, and cultural symbiosis through models of conformity, melting pot, and cultural pluralism, but conflicts occur in the form of population transfer, subjugation, and genocide. It should also be noted that culturally, as a legacy since the Dutch colonial period, ethnic Dayaks have always been people of the interior with various stigmas—savages, bloodthirsty, *pengayau* (head hunters), uncivilized—so that they experience and inherit a kind of “cultural and religious wounds”. As a result, they have become a sensitive, emotional, and easily reactive community.

Meanwhile, the structuralist view believes that communal conflict is never purely ethnic in nature. The conflict is related to structural factors in the form of unequal power relations, in which marginalized people tend to strengthen communal bonds and become more militant. Still according to the structuralist view, Ignas Kleden said “inter-ethnic relations only lead to hostility and violence if the differences between one ethnic group and another are accompanied by religious, political or economic domination by one ethnic group over another” (Kleden in Sa’dun, 1999: 152-153).

It all begins with the uneven development felt among the people, to the massive deforestation and deagrarianization that has occurred in West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, and the whole Kalimantan regions in general. Apart from the two analyzes above, the spread of conflict is often caused—perhaps even made worse—by failed efforts to localize it to stop violence, or in some cases there are indications of “connivance” and the absence of the state as the party that should practice democracy and uphold human dignity. This assumption is of course inseparable from the pattern of conflict resolution which so far has

been top down and limited to ceremonial formalities.

Inter-religious relations in West Kalimantan are also reflected in inter-ethnic relations. In the ethnic conflict in Sambas Regency, West Kalimantan, the Malays had a direct clash with the Madurese. Later, the Dayaks—which had been in conflict with the Madurese—joined the Malays to fight the Madurese. Why was the Dayak involvement possible in the ethnic conflict in West Kalimantan in 1999? It has a long history.

According to Tjilik Riwut's notes, there has been interaction between the Dayaks and the Malays for a long time. The relationship between the Dayaks and the Malays has been built naturally through marriage. This marriage is a natural-starting mechanism that enables the process of inter-ethnic adaptation form a very effective social cohesion. This genealogical unity factor then becomes an explanation for the Malay conflict as well as the Dayak conflict with the same enemy: the Madurese. In reverse logic, Aritonang said that the Dayaks who converted to Islam (Malays) in the conflict with the Madurese generally sided with the Christian and Kaharingan Dayaks. Interestingly, in the ethnic conflict in Sambas, both the Dayaks and the Malays identified themselves as a cultural unit because of a common ancestor. This ancestral unity is actually not difficult to trace to the mythology of Adam as the ancestor of the Dayak people. The Dayaks, despite being Christians or practicing the Kaharingan religion, or having converted to Islam (becoming Malays) due to marriage, they bind themselves in primordial belief in Adam as a common ancestor. (Steenbrink, 1998; Riwut, 2003)

In general, the tendency for social conflicts to occur in West Kalimantan follows the trend in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the patterns of social conflict (form, background or root causes of the conflict, depth and scale of the conflict) are not much different.

Table 1. Events of Social Conflicts in West Kalimantan 1991-2003

Year of Occurrence	Frequency of Occurrence	Number of Deaths	Number of people injured	Number of buildings destroyed	Number of public buildings destroyed
1991	1	1	0	0	3
1993	2	1	1	0	0
1994	1	0	0	0	1
1995	3	0	4	0	0
1996	5	3	17	268	4
1997	17	1004	356	2406	6

1998	2	4	12	0	0
1999	28	481	180	942	7
2000	10	8	46	9	5
2001	3	6	12	25	1
2002	3	6	8	40	0
2003	3	1	5	3	2

Source: UNSFIR 2004

Events of social conflict in West Kalimantan Province took place the greatest and highest in intensity in 1997 and in 1999 (see Table 1.). Socio-culturally, differences in racial identity, ethnicity, religions and socio-cultural characteristics between social groups living in this area explain why social conflicts took place.

On the other hand, the results of Al-Qadri's research (1999) found that Malays were around 47% including the Dayaks who converted to Islam and declared themselves Malays, Dayak 37%, Chinese 12%, Javanese 3%, Madurese 3%, Bugis 2 %, Sundanese 1% and the remaining 2% other ethnic groups. Meanwhile, the percentage of Sambas population based on ethnicity is Malay 47%, Dayak 28%, Chinese 11%, Madurese 9.4% and the remaining 4.6% of the total number of approximately 791,937 people in 1996 and nearly 900,000 people in 1999. Based on Population Data for the Province of West Kalimantan based on Religion in semester 2 of 2019.

Religion	Male	Female	Total
Islam	1.669.219	1.594.439	3.263.658
Christianity	325.510	301.553	627.063
Catholicism	626.607	579.978	1.206.585
Hinduism	1.574	1.359	2.933
Buddhism	169.424	155.651	325.075
Confucianism	6.952	6.088	13.040
Traditional Beliefs	903	773	1.676

Regarding the data above, the possibility of a "cultural clash" and competition to "dominate" is so high that the 'seeds' of ethnic conflict are prone to emerge, because the majority group will certainly be tempted to control and maintain the power of strategic institutions. From the point of view of ethnic diversity, it will somehow affect communication, thus causing disharmony between ethnic groups. As usual, each ethnic group will always maintain its culture and norms. (Humaydi, 2007)

## THE HISTORY AND DIVERSITY OF THE DAYAKS

The term “Dayak” is a designation for the natives of the island of Kalimantan (Borneo). The island of Kalimantan is divided based on the administrative area which governs its respective territory consisting of: East Kalimantan with the capital of Samarinda, South Kalimantan with the capital of Banjarmasin, Central Kalimantan with the capital of Palangka Raya, West Kalimantan with the capital of Pontianak, and North Kalimantan with the capital of Tanjung Selor. The Dayaks are divided into 405 sub-tribes (J.U.Lontaan, 1974). Each Dayak sub-tribe has similar customs and culture, according to their society, customs, culture, and language that are unique to each of these sub-tribes of both the Dayaks in Indonesia and those in Sabah and Sarawak Malaysia.

Ethnic Dayak in Kalimantan, according to J.U. Lontaan (1974), consists of 6 major tribes and 405 small sub-tribes spread throughout the interior of Kalimantan (Borneo). They call themselves a group that comes from an area based on the name of the river, the name of the hero, the name of nature, etc. For example, the Iban tribe originates from *ivan* (in the Kayan language, *ivan* means *wanderer*). According to other sources, they call themselves the Batang Lupar tribe, because they come from the Batang Lupar river, the border area between West Kalimantan and Sarawak, Malaysia. Mualang, was taken from the name of a respected figure (Manok Sabung/executioner) in Tampun Juah and this name was immortalized as the name of a tributary of the Ketungau river in the Sintang Regency area and then made into the name of the Dayak Mualang tribe. Dayak Bukit (Kanyatn/Ahe) comes from Bukit/ Gunung Bawang, as well as the origin of the Dayak Kayan, Kantuk, Tamambaloh, Kenyah, Benuag, Ngaju, Desa and others, who have their own historical backgrounds. (J.U Lontaan, 1975).

They live scattered throughout the interior of Kalimantan, both those living in Indonesia and those domiciled in Sabah and Sarawak, Malaysia. The Dayak tribes spread along the rivers downstream and then inhabited the coast of the island of Borneo. Historically, they once established a kingdom. In the Dayak oral tradition, it is often called “Nansarunai Usak Jawa”, namely a Nansarunai Dayak kingdom which was destroyed by Majapahit, which is estimated to have occurred between 1309-1389. This incident resulted in the Dayak tribe being pushed and scattered, some of them entered the hinterlands.

Most of the Dayaks who embrace Islam no longer recognize themselves as Dayaks, but instead refer to themselves as “Malay” or “Banjar”. Meanwhile, the Dayaks who do not embrace Islam settle along the river, entering the interior

of Kalimantan. In South Kalimantan, for example, they live around the areas of Kayu Tangi, Amuntai, Margasari, Watang Amandit, Labuan Lawas and Watang Balangan. Others continue to build settlements the jungle. The Dayaks who embraced Islam were mostly in South Kalimantan and parts of Kotawaringin. One of the famous Sultans of the Banjar Sultanate was Lambung Mangkurat who was a Dayak Maanyan or Ot Danum whose name was immortalized as the name of Lambung Mangkurat University in Banjarmasin (Fridolin, 2000).

On the other hand, the Dayaks have a tradition of shifting cultivation, from year to year they look for forests that are considered fertile for farming as a livelihood. In the end, after years, tens of years, hundreds of years and even tens of thousands of years, in the end, almost all remote areas of the interior of Kalimantan have been settled by the Dayaks. Each Dayak tribe develops its own culture. In other words, the culture developed by the Dayak-Iban is not exactly the same as the culture developed by the Dayak-Punan, etc. However, all the Dayak sub-tribes have a unique weapon called *Mandau*. In everyday life this weapon is inseparable from its owner. Wherever they go, they always carry the *mandau* because it also serves as a symbol of honor for them.

For the Dayaks, becoming Malay due to religious (Islamic) factor can have two meanings: on the one hand, they deny their ancestral power, but on the other hand, there is a feeling of increasing their social status compared to their previous lives. Riwut even argues that the Dayaks who have converted to Islam and thus officially become Malays, have been actually inseparable from the pattern of community development since the colonial period. The Dutch colonial government gave privileges to the Malays to develop themselves in the fields of trade and politics, while the Dayaks tended to be isolated and far from access to power, politics and the economy. (Riwut, 2003). Even the colonial education policies implemented by the feudal powers during the Pontianak sultanate were closed to the Dayaks. If a an ethnic Dayak wanted to go to high school and enter into the civil service, they had to to give up their power and embrace Islam. (Salim, 1996). On the other hand, this colonial policy can also be seen in the cultural politics of “old yeast” which places Dayak culture in trouble and must be replaced with a new culture, namely Western (Christian). (Adyanta, 2011). The appearance of local Christians (Dayaks) with the outer form or “clothing” in the Western style is one of the difficult points for Christianity to take root, including in Dayak lands.

West Kalimantan Province has its own uniqueness in the process of acculturation or the transfer of a religious culture to the local community. In this case the process is closely related to the three largest ethnic groups in West Kalimantan, namely Chinese, Dayak, Malay (known locally as *TIDAYU*). At

first, the Dayaks inhabited the coastal areas of West Kalimantan, living with their own traditions and culture, then traders came from Gujarat who were Muslims (Malay Arabs) with the aim of buying and selling goods from and to the Dayaks. Then because they often interacted, back and forth taking and delivering merchandise to and from the Malacca Straits (a trade center in the past), they wanted to settle in new areas that have great trade potential for profits. The frequent process of buying and selling goods, and cultural interactions, caused the coast of West Kalimantan to become crowded, visited by local people (Dayaks) and Arab-Malay traders from the Malacca Strait.

During this time, the religious system of the Dayaks began to be influenced by the Malay traders who had already learned Islamic knowledge, education and religion from outside Kalimantan. Because harmonious relations were well established, the local community, some had sympathy for the Gujarat traders, Islam was accepted and widely known in 1550 AD in the Tanjung Pura Kingdom during the reign of Giri Kusuma which was a Malay kingdom that later began spreading throughout the area of West Kalimantan. The Dayaks who converted to Islam and married Malay migrants are called “Senganan”, or know to have entered the Senganan (entered the Sea), and now they claim to be Malays. They appointed a figure they respected, either from their ethnic group or migrant with the same religion and had charisma in their circle, as the leader of their village or the leader of a region they respected. Along with the social development of society and the advancement of knowledge, the Dayaks who are Muslim call themselves “Dayak Muslim”.

The strengthening of Muslim Dayak identity is driven by social change which includes aspects of politics, economy, education and local culture as happened in Melawi Regency to the Katab Kebahan Dayaks who believe that their Dayak identity must be preserved because it is a legacy from their ancestors who have a long history and rooted in the Kebahan Dayak culture for a long time which must be preserved as local wealth (Prasojo, 2012). There are Muslim Dayak organizations that have been established such as the West Kalimantan Islamic Dayak Family Association (IKDI) as a form of strengthening ethnic identity and reaffirming their ethnicity so that they do not disappear due to embracing religions recognized by the Government.

In addition to embracing Islam, some of the Dayaks of West Kalimantan also embrace Catholicism/Christianity as a result of the impact of Catholicization after the operation to crush the Sarawak People’s Guerrilla Forces (PGRS) in 1966-1974. Catholicization with the arrival of 3,000 civil servant teachers from East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) who were Catholics in the period of 1978-1982. The arrival of these Catholic teachers was facilitated by the provincial government

of West Kalimantan and the Tanjungpura Regional Military Command XII at that time in order to ensure that they would not be exposed to communism. The Dayaks were required to embrace one of the major religions recognized by the government, during which the religious program (Islamization) did not work as expected, especially propagation by Islamic religious leaders who were members of the MUI. Seeing this reality, an internal meeting was held within the West Kalimantan provincial government on September 17, 1976 in Pontianak, the Governor of West Kalimantan, Brigadier General Kadarusno, decided to bring in three thousand (3000) civil servant Catholic teachers from NTT. This consideration was based on the fact that Catholicism would be accepted by the Dayaks while the Muslim teachers who had been sent were considered unable to integrate with the Dayaks at that time because they could only stay there for a few months (Kristanus, 2020).

This collaboration was welcomed by the Governor of NTT Eltalli and was implemented from 1978 to 1982. These Catholic teachers were placed in several inland areas of the Dayaks who had not embraced a religion recognized by the government in several sub-districts of Sintang and Melawi. These Catholic teachers were given the additional task of teaching Catholicism to the Dayaks. The religious program (Catholicization) had to some extent contributed the fading community beliefs based on local culture, and the Kaharingan religion began to be abandoned by the Dayaks of West Kalimantan. In addition, the Dayaks also converted to a state-recognized religion due to security reason so that the government and the military would not regard them as followers of rebel movements such as the PGRS [Sarawak People's Guerrilla Forces] and the PKI [Indonesian Communist Party].

### **KAHARINGAN RELIGIOUS RITUALS IN TIMES OF SOCIAL CONFLICT**

According to many observers (a cultural approach), ethnic conflict between the Malays --assisted by the Dayaks-- and the Madurese in Sambas Regency occurred due to a "clash of values" which for a long time had existed in the process of inter-ethnic assimilation and cultural assimilation which did not occur). As a migrant community, the Madurese lived in an exclusive environment even though they were already a generation born in Sambas. Conformity, which implies that newcomers adjust to general social values in a new place, is not natural. This can be marked in several explanations below. The notion of land as hinterland, or what the Madurese call "belonging to God", is often seen in stories of abrupt looting of agricultural produce ready for harvest and the takeover of lands that belong to the Malays or the Dayaks.

In addition, the tendency to spread terror can also be seen in the Madurese people's habit of carrying sickles wherever they go. The use of one's own language, in this case the Madurese language, in every social relationship is also part of the difficulty of assimilation that can be imagined by the Madurese (Cahyono, 2008).

In the Dayak tradition, war is not something to be desired and many factors must be considered before going to war. War will only occur when they feel that their tradition or their pride is being insulted. The declaration of war will be made by the war commander, this title of commander in the Dayak community is given by the Dayak traditional leaders or elders.

In Jan Aritonang's article it is explained that when the conflict broke out, the Dayak and the Madurese generally re-practiced the custom of "tribal religion" (read; Kaharingan) as a form of identity against those considered enemies. (Aritonang, 2006; Farsijana, 2005;) This view is sharply reinforced by Martin Sinaga that communal disputes involving the church are a reflection of the powerlessness of the church socially, irrelevant and losing the social gospel, phobia of monitoring Islam so that it fortifies itself in a spiritually parliamentary way, when there is a conflict what they have and come from the Kaharingan religion appears so that they summon the power of their ancestors for the sake of survival (Sinaga, 2004).

There were several Kaharingan religious rituals performed by the Dayak tribe in the 1997-1999 social conflicts in West Kalimantan, namely in the pre-conflict period, during conflict and in the post-conflict period. Pre-conflict rituals are commonly referred to as *Mangkok Merah* and *Nyaru Tariu* or *Kamang Tariu*; Conflict-time rituals are *Ngayau* (head hunting) and *Manajah Antang*; while Post-conflict rituals are *Tiwah* or *Ijambe* ceremonies.

#### 1. Pre-conflict Rituals (*Mangkok Merah* and *Nyaru Tariu*)

*Mangkok Merah* [literally meaning "red bowl"] is a code system for the Dayaks which is circulated from village to village. *Mangkok Merah* is circulated to convey danger or threats that can have an impact on the Dayak social order. *Mangkok Merah* itself consists of several objects, namely a bowl, chicken blood, ash, *kajang* leaves, matchsticks, and chicken feathers. Distribution of red bowls should be done carefully. The "Red Bowl" cannot stay overnight in a village and the carrier of the bowl must explain the meaning of the *Red Bowl* as clearly as possible. In addition to being a code to indicate danger or threat, the *Red Bowl* is also a symbol of unity and an invitation to war.

Putra also explained that there are at least three conditions in spreading the Red

Bowl. First, the distribution of *Mangkok Merah* must be carefully considered by traditional leaders or elders. Second, the circulation of the *Mangkok Merah* must have strong reasons that concern public interest and have an impact on social order. Third, distribution that is unreasonable will be subject to the blood the *pomomar* rule for lying to the public. After the *Mangkok Merah* has been distributed, the Dayak tribal commander will perform a traditional ceremony known as *nyaru* dance or *kamang* dance (Putra, 2012).

*Nyaru Tariu* is a ceremony performed by the Dayak commander to summon *Kamang* or ancestral spirits to ask for help in declaring war. In addition, this ceremony is also performed to gain strength from the ancestral spirits so that those who go to war will be invulnerable, powerful, and brave in battle. This ritual cannot be defined because only the commander knows its procession. The *tariu* screams can also have a psychological effect on lowering enemy morale. This ceremony in the Kanayatn Dayak tribe is performed in Panyugu or Pandagi which is a sacred place for the Dayak tribe. With the completion of the *Nyaru Tariu* or *Kamang Tariu* procession, the Dayaks will be ready to go to war (Hanifi, 2016)

## 2. Rituals during Conflict (*Ngayau* dan *Manajah Antang*)

*Ngayau* itself is interpreted as head hunting. In the Dayak tradition, beheading the enemy is a symbol of victory and strength. Similar to the *red bowl* and *nyaru* dance, headhunting is carried out carefully. In practice *ngayau* is more complicated than it looks to the naked eye. For the Dayaks, *ngayau* is an agreement and joint action, so it is called a tradition. That is why *Mangkok Merah* and *Nyaru Tariu* are performed before *ngayau*. *Ngayau* itself has certain rules and taboos that the Dayaks must comply with, and therefore *ngayau* is more inclined to rituals in the Dayak culture.

Thus, headhunting must be done in certain ways and manners. There are four reasons that serve as the motive for performing *ngayau*. First, to defend or protect agricultural land. Second, to get magical power as spiritual power. Third, to revenge. Fourth, to increase the durability of buildings (the Dayak believe that human head sacrifices can make buildings stronger). In fact, there is another motive behind *ngayau* which is the most important, namely the effort or mechanism of self-defense, for example in an open war someone will be killed if they do not kill first in a situation where people have to kill each other. Although *ngayau* is performed with several motives as mentioned above, most Dayaks have abandoned the motives other than self-defense or war. This is based on the *Tumbang Anoi* agreement in 1894 which was made by the Dayak tribes in Borneo to stop the practice of *Ngayau*. This agreement

was made because at that time the Dayak tribes practiced *ngayau* even among fellow Dayak tribes.

The Dayaks also have a belief in the supernatural world. This is because most of the Dayaks adhere to animistic beliefs and ancestral spirits. One of the rituals they perform in war is *manajah antang*. This ritual is a ceremony performed to find the enemy's location. This ritual is performed by calling an *antang* bird (similar to an eagle) by asking for the help of ancestral spirits to give directions.

### 3. Post-Conflict Rituals (*Tiwah* or *Ijambe* ceremonies)

The *tiwah* ritual, which is a ritual performed in a funeral for a dead member of the Dayaks. This ritual has a different designation in several Dayak tribes. *Tiwah* is the name for the funeral ceremony of the Ngaju Dayak tribe. Meanwhile, the Ma'anyan tribe Dayak it is known as *ijambe*. In the Ot Danum Dayak tribe, it is known as *nyorat*, the Taboyan Dayak call it *wara*, and the Siang tribe call it *totoh*. The ritual is performed to deliver the spirits (*liaw*) of the deceased to heaven (*lewu tataw*) or the land of spirits (*lewu liaw*) by moving the bones of the deceased into a *sandung*, a beautifully carved building. Meanwhile, the Ma'anyan Dayak tribe burn the bones and then put the ashes in a building called *tambak*.

The phenomenon of Kaharingan religious rituals that emerged during social conflicts in West Kalimantan explains that both the Dayak tribes who have embraced established religions such as Islam, Protestantism / Christianity and Catholicism have returned to their original Kaharingan (out of place) religious beliefs. The existence of the Kaharingan religion in these social conflicts emerged because of their strong belief in the indigenous religion) so that a process of shifting of religion and culture (*self religionation*) occurred. However, does the Kaharingan religion only exist when conflicts or wars occur? Some assume that the Kaharingan religion will disappear and the adherents among the Dayaks will be left behind, and some even think negatively that Kaharingan is the religion of the *pengayau* (head hunters). In fact, we should think humanly and scientifically in observing the religious behavior of the Dayaks in the wake of the social conflicts in West Kalimantan.

## THE RETURN OF KAHARINGAN IN POST-CONFLICT ERA

Kaharingan is the traditional belief of the Kalimantan Dayaks before outside religions entered Kalimantan (Borneo). The term *Kaharingan* means to grow or to live as in *danum kaharingan* (water of life), meaning tribal religion that

believes in God Almighty (*Ranyiang Hatalla Langit*) who lives and grows for generations in the Dayak community of Kalimantan. Kaharingan was first introduced by Tjilik Riwut in 1944 when he was a Sampit resident based in Banjarmasin. In 1945 he proposed Kaharingan as the designation of the Dayak religion and had a place of worship called the *Balai Basarah*, while the holy book of the Kaharingan religion is *Panaturan* and the prayer book is referred to as *Talatah Basarah*.

In the colonial era under the Dutch and the Japanese, the treatment of the Kaharingan religion was not very encouraging and even tended to be painful. The Dutch cololists referred to the Kaharingan religion as infidel, *Heiden*, *Freedenker*, etc., all of which offended the followers of the Kaharingan. A better view came from western orientalist who admitted that the Kaharingan religion worships God (Ranying Hatalla), so the word God is translated as *Hatalla*, meaning God in their holy book which is the same as *Hatalla* in the Kaharingan belief. During the colonial era, there was no guidance from the colonial government towards the Kaharingan religion, and Kaharingan leaders also did not intend to include their religion in the colonial administration. In practice, the Kaharingan religion existed in society, as evidenced by the fact that there were a llot of ceremonies performed by its adherents during the colonial era.

Harun Hadiwijono explained that all aspects of the Dayak religion must be seen from its ideas about the Gods and creation. *Mahatala* who appears in the form of a hornbill and *Jata* who appears in the form of a dragon are described as two opposing forces. However, this conflict is eliminated in the sense of they are seen as a unity. Therefore, the religious motive of the Dayaks is the mutual influence of the conflict between *Mahatala* and *Jata* which makes the two Gods unite. (Hadiwijono, 2003). Marko Mahin in his research also explained that the Dayaks avoided symbolic violence from the ruling structure at that time until they converted to a religion that was recognized by the government (external conversion). But at present they prefer to return to the 'internal conversion', namely returning to the Kaharingan religion. It comes with consequences and requires the right strategy so that we can call it the Politics of Religion (Marko Mahin, 2000).

Since Indonesia's independence, the fate of the Kaharingan followers has not been so fortunate. In the early days of independence, there was optimism among the Kaharingan religious leaders for the government to foster the Kaharingan religion. Even though it has not been recognized as an official religion by the central government, the enthusiasm among the Kaharingan religious leaders to start the institutional process in a forum for

the recognition of the Kaharingan religion was high. In 1950, initiated by Kaharingan religious figures such as Sekari Andung, Demang, Sikur Petus, the First Congress was held in Tangkehan which brought together all Kaharingan leaders of Kalimantan because at that time Kalimantan was one province. The results of the congress gave birth to the Indonesian Dayak Kaharingan Union Organization (SKDI). One of the aims of establishing this organization was to further the struggle of the Kaharingan adherents so that they would be recognized and included in government administration. The struggle at that time did not yield any results, but the activities of the Kaharingan followers continued, especially their religious ceremonies.

There have been several organizations founded by some Kaharingan followers who wanted to leave the Parisada Hindu Dharma organization: MAKIP (Central Indonesian Kaharingan Religious Council), BAKDP (Kaharingan Dayak Indonesian Religious Organization), MAKRI (Kaharingan Religious Council of the Republic of Indonesia), and DBDKI (Indonesian Dayak Kaharingan Grand Council). Although within the elements of Kaharingan figures, there were pros and cons of merging into Hinduism, for the administrators of the Kaharingan Hindu Religious Council, this merger was considered the best option. They chose the issue of underdeveloped human resources of the Kaharingan followers as a priority that must be addressed immediately.

The Indonesian Kaharingan Religious Council (MAKI) was declared in West Kalimantan on May 16, 2019 in Bengkayang Regency led by Fabianus Oel to preserve the ancestral religion of the Dayaks in West Kalimantan. The Kaharingan religion as an organization (MAKI) is based in Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan. The declaration of the Kaharingan religious organization (MAKI) in West Kalimantan was held with the traditional ritual of *narang* in Panyugu, a place that is believed to have been blessed since the time of their ancestors. The ritual was a way of praying to their God *Jubata* for guidance so that the Kaharingan religion in West Kalimantan could be revived amidst the major religions today. Kaharingan is one of the beliefs that is quite large in terms of its adherents. Therefore, according to its adherents, Kaharingan did not start from a certain era, but it has existed since the beginning of creation, i.e. since *Ranying Hatalla Langit* created the universe. This means that its adherents believe that Kaharingan had existed for thousands of years before Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. In the course of history, it seems that the arrival of these religions caused Kaharingan to be seen as the *Helo* (old religion), the *Huram* (ancient religion), or the *Tato-hiang* (the religion of the ancestors).

The awakening of the Dayaks started in the 1980s. One of the institutions that has contributed greatly to this awakening in West Kalimantan is the Institute of Dayakology Research and Development (IDRD). According to Nitiprawiro, one of the people who contributed greatly to the development of IDRD in Pontianak is a UGM Professor, Prof. Masri Singarimbun (Nitiprawiro, 2008). The establishment of the Indonesian Kaharingan Religious Council in West Kalimantan and the Institute of Dayakology Research and Development (IDRD) in the post-social conflict era shows the existence of the Kaharingan religion amidst the official religions in West Kalimantan. The Kaharingan religion reveals itself with the concept of state culture or the objective structures around it. Its followers carry out practices and rituals for their own positive benefit for self-existence.

## CONCLUSION

In general, there are two approaches to explaining the factors that led to social conflicts in Kalimantan, namely: cultural and structural. The culturalist view says that West Kalimantan has almost equal levels of religious and ethnic populations, making this region “vulnerable” to conflict due to the absence of a dominant culture. It is assumed that areas with high heterogeneity have a greater potential for conflict. In this view, inter-religious and ethnic relations are transformed into conflicts rather than assimilation, and thus inter-ethnic conflicts often occur in West Kalimantan. Based on literature research and through a phenomenological approach, the existence of the Kaharingan religion during the 1997-1999 social conflicts that occurred between the Dayak and the Madurese ethnic groups at that time could be seen in the rituals before the conflict, such as *Nyaru Tariu* and *Mangkok Merah*; during the conflict, such as *Ngayau* and *Manajah Antang*; and after the conflict, such as *Tiwah*. In the wake of the social conflicts in 1979-1999, the Institute of Dayakology (IDRD) in Pontianak in the 1980s and the Kaharingan religion was institutionally declared on May 16, 2019 in Bengkayang Regency under the name of the Indonesian Kaharingan Religious Council (MAKI) of West Kalimantan

Interestingly, in these social conflicts, the Dayaks, who already had embraced Catholicism and Protestantism, let go of their official religious’ attire’ and returned to the previous religious rituals of Kaharingan by uniting with their fellow Dayak tribes in West Kalimantan as identity politics against economic and political domination. As for the conflict in Sambas, both the Dayaks and the Malays, the latter are Muslim, identified themselves as a cultural unit because of a common ancestor in the fight against the Madurese, who are

predominantly Muslim. This ancestral unity is actually not difficult to trace to the mythology of Adam as the ancestor of the Dayaks. The Dayaks, despite being Christian or Kaharingan, or having converted to Islam (Malay) due to marriage, bind themselves in primordial belief in Adam as their common ancestor. In this way, the Dayaks actually stick to their ancestral religious belief (Kaharingan) even though they have become adherents of the government-recognized religions. Embracing a new religion that came from outside for them is viewed as a way to seek administrative legitimacy as Indonesian citizens and for individual security so that they are not seen as sympathizers of the state rebels (PKI and PGRS) in the period of 1966-1978.

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## **CAKALELE DANCE: RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL ETHICS IN ISLAMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION**

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### **ABSTRACT**

*The Cakalele dance is widely recognized as a “war dance” deeply rooted in Maluku culture. It involves dynamic movements such as jumping, turning, stomping, and sword-slashing, reflecting its historical significance in war strategies. However, Cakalele in Banda showcases its distinctiveness. From the elaborate costumes to the formation of the dancers, and the specific dance movements, it conveys a profound connection to Islamic religiosity and ethical values prevalent within the Banda coastal community. This study used a qualitative analysis approach with a phenomenological perspective, focusing on the Cakalele dancers and their characteristics, movements, and performances in the traditional village of Namasawar, Banda Naira Sub-District. The research reveals that the traditional Cakalele dance incorporates essential Islamic educational values, including aspects of Sharia and ritual worship. In addition, it also emphasizes environmental ethics, promoting harmony between humans and the coastal and sea environment. Through this research, it becomes evident that the Cakalele dance carries a strong message regarding Islamic education, social ethics, and the preservation of the environment.*

**Keywords:** Cakalele, Religious and Social Ethics, Islamic Education, Environment

### **INTRODUCTION**

Historically, *Cakalele* has been a significant tradition of warfare between villages and islands in Maluku. According to Aveling (1967), this tradition was practiced across various islands in Maluku and involved symbolic “head-cutting” rituals between rival clans (Aveling, 1967:356). The primary purpose was to demonstrate the authority and power of different ethnic groups within the region. Consequently, possessing a *cakalele* troop became a symbol of greatness in warfare for a village or tribe. Due to its focus on aggressive and defensive movements, *Cakalele* earned its reputation as a “war dance” or “war training” that exemplified the skills needed for combat. Phillip Winn (2003), traced the origin of *Cakalele* to a story from 1865 involving an American shellfish collector who witnessed a captivating performance in a bay near

Saparua on the island of Nusalaut. The tale goes as follows:

“... there are a dozen natives, wearing the war costumes of their ancestors. [They are carrying a machete or large sword in the right hand, a narrow shield about four feet long in the left. On their heads were large crowns with feathers, on their shoulders and elbows hung bright red calico. Their war dance involves jumping forward and backward, and spinning rapidly” (Winn, 2003:53).

The story continues with the portrayal of the customary movements intrinsic to the *Cakalele* dance: jumping, advancing, retreating, turning, and stomping their feet. These dynamic movements correspond to the quick beats of a *tifa* or drum, accentuating the rhythm. The dancers wield their shields and swords aggressively, at times adopting a defensive stance, epitomizing the dance as a symbol of violence and power. These bare-chested troops further embellish their appearance with red headbands, signifying their anger and courage. In Banda Naira, however, the *Cakalele* dance takes on a distinctive character, varying from the formation of troops (dancers) and their attire to the specific status and roles of each participant, each having unique meanings. In these small islands there are two formations of *Cakalele* dancers: a five-person formation and a nine-person formation, originating from the *patalima* (or *ulilima*) *adat* [customary] group, as noted by Des Alwi (2007) in his book “*History of Banda Naira*.”

Typically performed in traditional houses, also known as “*rumah kampong*” [village house] *Cakalele* stands as a significant traditional ritual. This ceremony holds a sacred status, bestowing customs with a profound sense of sanctity. Rituals, in essence, construct and uphold myths, religious practices, and social customs, representing religion in action. These rituals may be conducted privately or within a group setting, shaping the participants’ individual positions according to their respective customs and cultural norms. Embracing the encompassing nature of rituals, they span various religious ceremonies, including those commemorating birth, death, marriage, and daily routines, signifying an individual’s reverence for the sacred aspects of life, thus necessitating special attention and observance. Customary ritual holds symbolic significance in both religion and human culture. Symbolic actions during religious ceremonies play a vital role and are indispensable. They represent a means of communication with the divine, allowing individuals to express their devotion and connect with a higher power. Moreover, customs also carry prominent symbolism, with traditional ceremonies being passed down from older to younger generations (Budiyono 2016).

Regarding cultural artifacts such as the *cakalele* dancer's attire, it reflects the assimilation of diverse social and cultural influences from both within the archipelago and across the globe. The vibrant display serves as evidence of the island's historical status as a hub for international trade, attracting visits from various nations in the past. However, the significance of the dance movements extends beyond depicting mere war maneuvers; it also imparts essential teachings on Islamic law, social ethics, and the preservation of the coastal environment. Employing a phenomenological approach, this paper endeavors to describe the traditions of Banda Island's inhabitants while highlighting their close connection to Islamic education and their commitment to safeguarding the natural marine ecosystem, inherent to the region's topography. Through an examination of symbols and meanings, the author aims to unveil the profound essence behind the *Cakalele* dance, a cherished tradition of the Bandanese.

### **CAKALELE AND THE HISTORY OF BANDA**

Banda Island, situated in the Banda Sea, is a cluster of small islands in Maluku known for its deep-sea trough. This island group boasts a rich and extensive history, once serving as the focal point of the spice trade during the colonial era. Its past is marked by contentious encounters involving Spain, England, and the Netherlands, leaving a lasting impact on the collective memory of the local inhabitants. These memories persist through generations, preserved and commemorated in numerous folk traditions, including the *Cakalele* Dance (Amsi and Muhammad, 2021).

In Banda Naira, two models of the *Cakalele* group exist, historically known as the five and nine alliance groups, which were commonly adhered to by the people of Maluku and Seram. Frank L. Cooley identified these major groups with different names: *Ulisiwa* and *Ulilima* in North Maluku, *Patasiwa* and *Patalima* in Central Maluku, and *Ursiuw* and *Urlim* in Southeast Maluku (Cooley, 1987). According to Francois Valentijn, this grouping originated from the division of territories by the two major kingdoms in North Maluku, namely Ternate and Tidore (Valentijn, 1721).

However, an oral tradition presents a different narrative, attributing the separation to three brothers residing on Mount Nunusaku (Seram) who became divided after a significant flood. These brothers settled in three distinct regions: the eldest ventured to West Seram, giving rise to the group of Nine; the second brother settled in East Seram, forming the group of five, while the youngest brother inhabited the small islands of southern Seram, forming the *uliate* or *uliasa* group (Alwi, 2005: 7).

In Banda Naira, traditional villages are categorized into two major groups known as *Orlima* (group of five) and *Orsia* (group of nine). Among the seven customary villages in Banda, six villages belong to *Orlima*, namely Namasawar, Ratou, Fiat, Selamon, Waer, and Sairun, while only one village belongs to *Orsiwa*, namely Lonthoir. Des Alwi (2005) explains that the separation of these clan groups was prompted by political competition between the King of Ternate and the King of Sahulau. In the pursuit of power, the *Orlima* group came under the control of Ternate's influence, whereas *Orsiwa* fell under the rule of Sahulau (Alwi, 2005).

According to the oral history of the Bandanese traditional elders, each traditional village maintains kinship ties. For instance, Ratou Village shares brotherly connections with three other siblings: Namasawar, Sairun, and Selamon. On the other hand, Fiat village holds brotherly ties with Lonthoir. Nevertheless, other oral records mention the brotherhoods of these villages under different names, such as Maulana Kun Fayakun (King Lewetaka/Namasawar), Maulana Rasudin (King Waer), Maulana Safiuddin (King Selamon), Maulana Sahiudin (King Rosengging), and Nerr Boi Rattan (Princess/Queen of Ratou village).

In each of these traditional villages, the kings had a set of bodyguards who eventually came to be known as *cakalele* troops. Among the villages following a five-group system, the *cakalele* troop comprises five individuals. However, the Lonthoir traditional village stands out with nine *cakalele* troops. For the purpose of this paper, the author will focus on reviewing *cakalele* orlima from the Namasawar traditional village in Banda Naira Sub-District.

### **THE CAKALELE RITUAL IN THE NAMASAWAR CUSTOM**

The Namasawar Customary Village is situated within the Nusantara Administrative Village area in Banda Sub-District, Central Maluku Regency, Maluku Province. The Namasawar Customary Petuanan comprises three administrative villages on the island of Neira: Nusantara village, Merdeka village, and Rajawali village. Namasawar's customary house, commonly referred to as "*rumah kampong*," resides in an archipelago village that follows the group of five (*Ulilima* or *Patalima*). This traditional house serves as the venue for the customary *buka kampong* procession and *cakalele* dance, celebrated every few years. The ritual procession preceding the *buka kampong* usually takes place a week before the event, though sometimes it occurs over a shorter duration, ranging from 2 to 4 days. The following is the explanation of *buka kampong* procession.

### **1. Namasawar Customary Meeting**

In the initial stage, the Namasawar customary village community invited guests from the three administrative villages that belong to the petuanan, namely Nusantara village, Merdeka village, and Rajawali village. They also invited traditional leaders to convene for a meeting to determine the *buka kampung* ceremony, marking the start of all customary activities. The meeting was scheduled one week ahead. The process of *buka kampung* entails extensive preparations, including the creation of *tempat sirih* [betel leaf baskets], crafting gates, and various other tasks. The purpose behind these invitations is to foster collaborative efforts among the customary workers and ensure the success of the event through collective work.

### **2. Task Division in the Buka Kampung Process**

The division of tasks, pre-arranged by the five traditional elders, known as *Orlima Dalam*, allocates Orlima 1 and 2 with the responsibility of preparing all aspects concerning the *cakalele* for *kamar puang*. Meanwhile, Orlima 3, 4, and 5 handle the equipment and consumption department, yet all members continue to support each other throughout the process. The *Orlima Luar* also plays a role in assisting this stage, typically managing equipment and consumption preparations and contributing to the revival of *rumah kampung* affairs.

### **3. Buka Kampung Preparation**

The customary meeting begins at 4:30 (afternoon), signaled by the obligatory sounding of lot-lots (beating the *Tifa*) at the Namasawar village house. This marks the time for everyone to gather and initiate all forms of preparation. Activities include training and preparing for the *cakalele* dance, cutting bamboo for gate construction, maruka dance practice for women, and arranging coconut leaves (*janur*) for the ritual of *putar tampa sirih*. *Tampa sirih*, a basket-like structure made from woven young coconut leaves (*janur*), is used to hold flowers, lime, gambier, tobacco, and betel nut during the pilgrimage to the graves of the ancestors of the Banda community before the *buka puang* procession. The materials and tools prepared for the process of preparing the *buka kampung* event include: (1) Young Coconut Leaves for making *tempat sirih* [betel leaf basket] and *tempat sirih anak*, (2) Contents of *tempat sirih* for Betel Nuts, Gambier, Tobacco, Frankincense, and *Kapur* [slaked lime], (3) Bamboo tree trunks and coconut leaves for building gates, (4) Tiwal and Gong Sembilan to invite people to come and chanting the *kabata* on the night of *buka puang*, and (5) Machete, spears, and *salawaku* used during the *cakalele*.

#### **4. *Putar Tampa Sirih (making the betel leaf basket)***

After all forms of preparation have been completed, it proceeds with beating “lot-lot” to call on the community for the *Putar Tampa Sirih* activity. The *negri* elders as the leaders of the *namasawar* custom lead the “*Putar Tampa Siri*” activity at 07.30-08.00 in the *kamar puang* [*puang* room] of the *namasawar* traditional house. The *puang* room is a room where various kinds of equipment and traditional objects of the *Namasawar* village are kept. Due to its relatively small size, the *puang* room is only allowed to be entered by less than ten men consisting of “*Orlima*” and people who are considered to have the ability to assist in the process of the *putar tampa sirih* activity. *Putar tampa sirih* is performed in front of the *rumah kampong* [village house]. The *Putar tampa sirih* activity begins with making 17 pieces of *tampa sirih* from coconut leaves, which are similar to “baskets” and *tampa sirih anak* [smaller betel leaf basket] as many as required for the activity. While the male elders are making the betel leaf baskets, in a different room, the women are busy preparing the contents of the betel leaf baskets. Among them, flowers, betel, lime, tobacco, incense and gambier. After the 17 betel leaf baskets have been made, the women are also welcome to enter the *puang* room to fill the baskets that will be used for pilgrimage the next day.

#### **5. *Contents of Tempat Sirih***

There are two types of *tempat sirih* [betel leaf basket], namely *tampa sirih anak* [smaller betel leaf basket] and *tampa sirih besar* [bigger betel leaf basket] which contains 5 ingredients, namely; gambier, tobacco, incense, lime and betel. Meanwhile, the contents of the larger betel leaf basket are: 25 pieces of betel leaves, banana leaves, cigarettes or tobacco rolls, all tied with banana leaves and betel leaves called *sirih lele* 5 pieces in total, then put back betel leaves called *sirih amba* 6 pieces in total, then cover them with banana leaves decorated with flowers edit the betel nut which is 11 in number, then close it and put in the cotton, wax and the 5 ingredients that are in the *tampa sirih anak*. Finally, flowers are sprinkled on top of the *tampa sirih*.

#### **6. *Taking the Betel Leaf Baskets to the Tomb (ziarah)***

One day after the *putar tampa sirih* is carried out, people gather at 06.00-07.30 or no later than 08.00 to take the *tampa sirih* to the tomb (sacred). The number of betel leaves that have been prepared is seventeen. As many as sixteen betel leaves are taken to the tomb (sacred), while there is one betel leaf basket left in the village for the *Buka Puang* night event. Before leaving, a prayer or *tahlil* is recited according to Islamic teachings. Prayers are intended to ask for safety on

the way and returning from pilgrimage and there is no shortage of anything. The men, both young and old from the three administrative counties that were included in the *namasawar* ritual, numbering approximately 30 people, are ready to take part in the pilgrimage.

The group of pilgrims is divided into three groups, namely groups 1 and 2 for the land route, group 3 for the sea route. The first group is led by an Orlima whose job is to visit graves in the following places: *Rumah Adat, Mesang Jadi, Gunung Manangis, Gunung Tujuh, Batu Lanang, Parigi Laci*; this group is called the “mountain of seven”. The second group was led by Orlima Head and an Imam to make pilgrimages to five tombs namely; *Rumah Adat, Kebun Kelapa, Papan berek, Boy Kerang, Kubor Gila, Kota Banda, Batu Masjid, and Parigi Laci*. The third group is a group led by an Orlima using the sea route, namely; *Rumah Adat, Gunung Api, and Parigi Laci*.

After dividing into groups, they converge at a place known as Parigi Laci, an ancient well situated along the coast at Malole beach. They open the lid of the well and collect water while also gathering white sand for the traditional house's necessities. Once all the containers are filled with water and sand, the pilgrimage group proceeds to the *dapur pala lautaka* for their pilgrimage. Subsequently, the entire group boards a pre-arranged boat provided by the sea route team. On the return journey before reaching the traditional house, the boat takes the entourage to their final pilgrimage site, the Batur Basar Pante Kasteng. Upon arrival at Kasteng Pante, the sound of “lot-lot” resonates, warmly welcoming the group of pilgrims who have successfully completed their pilgrimage.

## **7. *Buka Puang***

The *Buka Puang* stage is usually carried out at 12 at night, it cannot be done later or before that hour. In the seconds approaching the *Buka Puang* event, the Orlima will turn off the lights around the traditional village and sound the Lot-Lot to signal that the bamboo carriers will come down and enter the village house. The bamboo is cut into 5 pieces, which are used for flagpoles. Each bamboo has 13 to 17 segments. The *cakalele* dancers will hold the bamboos. The bamboo with 17 segments is held by Hulubalang, the bamboo with 15 segments is held by Kapitan 1 and Kapitan 2, while bamboo with 13 segments is owned by “Malese”. Meanwhile, the bamboo is cleaned or bathed and each tied using a “traditional cloth” at both ends.

After all the preparations have been made, at 10 pm the “*Buka Puang*” procession begins where the Orlima who are on duty in the *cakalele puang*

room prepare the cutting of coconut in half for the “Buka Puang” event. The sign that the *buka puang* has started is when the coconut is cut in half. Then from the *cakalele puang* room, the bell rang 3 times indicating that the preparations in the *puang* room has been completed. Next, the sound of Lot-Lot from outside will be heard and the process of installing bamboo (flag poles), erecting gates, installing the Naga Namasawar symbol, flag cloth, coconut leaves on each house pole, tiwal and gong will begin, accompanied by scattering sand on the ground in front of the village house must be completed quickly. Then, *cakalele* dance performances and maruka dances are staged.

### **8. *Cakalele Namasawar Dance***

The *Cakalele* dance of the Namasawar Customary Village consists of five dancers, namely: 2 Kapitan, 1 Hulubalang, and 2 Malesi. The *Cakalele* dancers usually wear make-up like a woman, namely face powder and lip coloring; the red color on the lips is not from lipstick, but from the *sirih lele* which consists of betel leaves, areca nut, and lime rolled in betel leaves and eaten or chewed for lip coloring. In the *Cakalele* dance, different outfits are worn to distinguish between the *kapitan*, *malesi*, and *hulubalang*, whose differences can be seen from the color of the clothes and accessories used in war.

Captain's outfit is for the commander who wears a green shirt, yellow pants, red sash, red belt, holds two white handkerchiefs in both hands, and as a decoration the captain uses a capsete decorated with a bird of paradise on top. one fruit edit, one fruit machete and salawaku (shield). Hulubalang outfit is for the commander's bodyguard, wearing red clothes, yellow pants, orange sash, and orange belt, holding two white handkerchiefs in his hand, decorated with a jester or crown on the left side of which there is a Lusi bird, one my salawaku and one machete. Malesi outfit is for the adjutant of the commander, wearing yellow clothes, red calana, yellow sash, and green belt, in his hands he wears two white handkerchiefs, the head is decorated with a jester or crown and on the left is decorated with a bird of paradise, a spear, and one machete. The musical instruments used for the *Cakalele* dance are *tiwal*, *gander* and nine *gongs*, but during rehearsal the musical instruments used are *tiwal*, and *gander*.

In the *Cakalele* Kampung Ratu dance, the types of movements that are often performed are only five types of movements. According to the parents, there used to be many movements in the *Cakalele* dance, but what was only taught were five movements: flying movements, carrying movements, *jumpot* movements, ordinary carrying movements. There are also two movements that are prohibited in the *Cakalele* dance if the movement being performed

at that time coincides with a relative who is also performing *buka kampung*, namely the *slep tumbak* movement, the jumping movement similar to that of a bird. The attribute on the *Cakalele* bamboo pole is called “Patola cloth”, which is tied in five folds. The distance between the *Cakalele* pole and the other pole is 3 adult steps.

### **9. Maruka Dance**

The Maruka dance is one of the stages in the traditional *buka kampung* ritual. Maruka is the personification of the Queen Lewetaka from the “Kingdom of Namasawar”. Maruka is surrounded by 5 “*Cakalele* Commanders” who dance together the night after *buka puang*. The maruka dance is performed during “Natu” (people who sing *kabata*/traditional songs). When Natu chants the *kabata* accompanied by the sound of *tiwal* and the Nine gongs with *kabata*, the queen will come out of the *rumah kampung* followed by 5 *cakalele* dancers that perform in front of the *rumah kampung*, then Kapitan 1 enters to call 5 “Mai-mai” (ladies-in-waiting) to come out and dance with Queen Maruka along with 5 *cakalele* dancers.

## **RELIGIOUS ETHIC AND ISLAMIC EDUCATION**

The *Cakalele* Banda dance and its attributes embody profound Islamic teachings and educational values. This phenomenon illustrates the characteristics of Indonesian Islamic traditions, formed by the acculturation of Islamic values with people’s customs and the surrounding natural environment (Rizal, 2012). According to Azyumardi Azra (2000), Islamic education values conveyed through tradition emphasize three vital aspects. Firstly, it highlights the pursuit of knowledge, mastery, and growth grounded in worship to God. Secondly, it recognizes and nurtures human potential and abilities, fostering personal development. Lastly, it underscores the practice of knowledge with a sense of responsibility towards God Almighty and humanity. This phenomenon demonstrates that Islam in Indonesia, particularly in the Maluku Islands, holds not only artistic appeal but also practical ease, as it seamlessly integrates with the beliefs and lifestyle of the island’s inhabitants. This creates a cultural model that, as Anakota and Andries (2021) note, flourishes and evolves among the Maluku people, reflecting their unique values and diverse characteristics. These aspects are evident in the traditions and symbols of the people of Banda Island.

The Patola cloth tied to the *Cakalele* pole symbolizes the five daily prayers and the victory of religion and custom over the invaders (infidels). That is why the

bamboo pole must be held in high esteem, which symbolizes the upholding of religious principles. The *Cakalele* bamboo poles consist of 17 segments. According to community leaders in Banda, these 17 segments represent the number of cycles in the five daily prayers, while the 5 segments signify the five daily prayers themselves. This serves as a reminder for the people of Banda to consistently engage in prayer as a source of inner strength. Meanwhile, the 5 segments of bamboo without leaves symbolize the importance of maintaining the practice of five daily prayers throughout one's life. In the Ratu Traditional Village's *Cakalele* Dance, there are 3 types of *Cakalele*: ordinary *Cakalele*, *Cakalele* flag poles, and *Cakalele* Cabu flag poles. The first *Cakalele* denotes the war dance, the second is called *salwir*, and the last signifies closure or victory.

The dance and attributes of the *Cakalele* Banda dancers hold a profound significance in Islamic religious education. The cloth tied fivefold to the *Cakalele* bamboo, known as "Patola cloth," symbolizes the five daily prayers. Additionally, this cloth represents the triumph of religion and custom over invaders (infidels). This underscores the importance of upholding the bamboo poles, as it signifies the preservation and strengthening of religious principles. The distance between *Cakalele* poles from one pole to another is three steps for an adult size. The white sand placed on the *Cakalele* pole and the traditional house signifies the red carpet symbolically. The bird used on the head of the *Cakalele* personnel represents the glory or rank of a victorious or affluent person. The *Cakalele* personnel jester also has five folds, representing the five daily prayers, akin to the patola cloth. The belts of the *Cakalele* personnel are also counted with five folds. Before performing the *Cakalele* dance, a discussion is held by the traditional elders to choose an auspicious day, as the *Cakalele* dance is a war dance that carries significant importance.

Because this dance is full of religious values, it is understandable that this dance is sacred and magical. Some historians call *Cakalele* a "spirit possessed" attraction. *Caka* means ghosts, spirits, and *suanggi* (similar to a witch's spirit). *Lele* means angry. *Cakalele* seems to involve a spirit to possess the human soul so that it dares to fight the enemy. However, the spiritual meaning in the *Cakalele* Banda dance is not singular; it is subject to various interpretations. According to Farid (2020) in his book titled "Tana Banda," several Banda figures perceive the "spirits" in *Cakalele* Banda not as ghost spirits (*suanggi*) but as the spirits of datuk or individuals who were killed during the colonial period. Prior to the performance, the dancers are required to visit specific graves considered sacred, making the *Cakalele* dance an endeavor to "seek" missing bodies or commemorate those killed without a trace. The upright

bamboo poles feature a bunch of red cloth symbolizing wounds from severed body parts, adding to the dance's significance. Consequently, the dancers are forbidden from uttering any words during the performance.

Therefore, it can be stated that the *Cakalele* Banda traditional dance fulfills the values of Islamic religiosity including; physical importance values (*'ahdâf al-jismiyyah*), spiritual values (*'ahdâf al-rûhiyyah*), intellectual importance values (*'ahdâf al-'aqliyyah*) and social values (*'ahdâf al-ijtimâ'iyyah*) (Latuapo, 2020). The significance of the body is evident in the dancing procession, which heavily relies on physical strength, aligning with the essence of Islamic teachings that prioritize physical health. The traditional elders diligently oversee the health rules of the *cakalele* dancers, including checking their physical well-being, ensuring they wear clean clothes, and strictly prohibiting drinking before and after the *cakalele* dance. The spiritual values are intimately connected to Islam, serving as the core teachings of faith and obedience to Allah and His messenger. The intention (*nawaitu*, motivation) plays a central role in the *Cakalele* dance procession, with each dancer intending solely for the sake of Allah SWT while avoiding arrogance and pride. The narrative in the *Cakalele* dance imparts spiritual education, encompassing teachings about the pillars of Islam and faith. The ultimate goal of this dance is to foster good character (*al-'akhlâq al-karîmah*), shaping individuals who believe and embody the teachings of the Quran and the moral guidance of Prophet Muhammad.

Intellectual importance involves reasoning to discern God's signs of power and extract the messages from His verses, instilling faith in God. The wealth of historical content preserved in the *cakalele* dance and kabata strings (poems, traditional songs) resembles a grand book created by God, encouraging contemplation of the human mind to gain knowledge beneficial to humanity, moving away from the destructive and usurping nature practiced by colonialism in the past. Social values manifest in the formation of a well-rounded personality, encompassing spirit, body, and mind. Individual identity in *Cakalele* Banda reflects a human being living in a diverse, pluralistic society. The formation of a "human Banda" encompasses mental exercise (faith), physical exercise (physicality), and intellectual development (intelligence) amid coexisting with a diverse mix of ethnicities, religions, and races in Banda Naira until the present day.

The *cakalele* dance seems to serve as a platform where religious teachings transform into a series of metaphors and symbols. As defined by Turner (1967), "A symbol is anything that is regarded by popular convention as naturally symbolizing or representing or remembering something by having an analogous quality or by association in fact or thought." In studying the

ritual symbols depicted in the *Cakalele* Dance, it becomes essential to explore the reciprocal relationship between these symbols and their meanings for the Bandanese, as described by Eriksen (2009). From the perspective of Islamic education, four vital values emerge, especially spiritual values.

## **SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS**

In addition to the educational values inherent in *Cakalele*, their profound love for the marine environment and natural coasts holds equal significance. Fishing not only serves as a primary source of income for many Bandanese but also represents an essential part of their cultural identity, entailing boat building and traditional songs that bind their community, environment, and history together. One such traditional song called Kabata recounts the ancestral history of Banda. Furthermore, visiting sacred sites, utilizing bamboo poles, birds, and Banda fauna symbols all play a pivotal role in conveying the intrinsic message of adat. These elements collectively encompass the social and environmental ethical values present in the Namasawar Kabata.

### **1. *Respect for the Ancestors***

It seems clear that the Bandanese really respect their ancestors which are enshrined in traditional rituals in the form of poetry and songs which they call kabata. Some kabata verses read as follows:

***“Gong seng Gong seng Namasawar Gong seng. Namasawar sawar liling sawar liling ee”***

*Meaning: (Greetings and respect for the ancestors of the namasawar customary village.*

This sentence marks the start of the traditional *buka kampung* ritual, which is followed by the *cakalele* traditional dance. This act of reverence is deeply rooted in the respect for the Namasawar King's ancestors who have passed down their traditions and customs to this day.

### **2. *Respect for Women***

In addition to the king, the Banda poem also shows respect for Queen Naira, known as Queen Maruka, which is enshrined in the couplet as follows:

***“Boy e, Boy e, aku somba Boy e. Maruka namasawar aku somba Boy e”***

*Meaning: We pay our respects. To the reigning queen of Namasawar, we pay our respects.*

The term “somba” literally means “to worship,” but its significance lies in paying respects not to a deity, but to the queen of Namasawar, from whom the lineage of Banda’s children and grandchildren originates. An intriguing aspect is that the word “somba” is directed towards the Banda woman (mother) and not the King, highlighting the crucial role of women as the sole successors to the Banda generation following the VOC genocide against Banda in 1621. Historically, the Banda war, which spanned from 1609 to 1621, resulted in the tragic massacre of 14,000 Banda inhabitants out of the original 15,000. The aftermath of the genocide left only 1,000 Banda residents, all of whom were women, including mothers and daughters (Joella & Farid, 2020; Farid, 2018).

Women as symbols of honor, dignity and self-esteem of the Bandanese are also shown in the following *kabata* couplet:

**“Rete rete, rete ratu nairan. Nairan sunting bunga kambang campaka e”**

*Meaning: ... that saved queen naira’s honor.*

There is also an epic about a woman who was expelled from her homeland, but because of her glory, later on she was highly respected and became a Queen, as in the story of the following *kabat* poem:

**“Boi rattan timbang tana timbang apa lelekala. Tarusauh kelemuri angka raja ole”**

*Meaning: exiled because of honor and dignity. Until she arrived in the land of exile, and henceforth a just ruler she became there.*

The tale of Boi Ratan in the Banda oral tradition recounts the story of a revered woman from Banda who faced unjust accusations and was subsequently banished from her homeland. She found herself on a distant and mysterious island (referred to as Ambon by some) already ruled by a King. Captivated by her beauty and nobility, the King chose to marry her, and together, they became the ancestors of the Moluccan people, whose legacy endures to this day. Over time, the woman assumed the role of the King’s successor and skillfully governed the islands of Maluku with fairness and dignity.

### **3. *Respect for the inhabitants of nature***

In the Banda *Kabata*, there are poems that also highly praise a number of animals such as the mention of doves, and local birds that are unique (endemic) to Banda. Some *kabata* verses read:

***“Walange walange marapati walange. Marapati lewetaka, lewetaka ee”***  
*Meaning: Lewetaka Kingdom, home and gathering place for the doves.*

These verses show the area of the Lewetaka Kingdom as the place or home for all doves to gather. Images of doves can be found in a number of traditional attributes, such as traditional boats and *cakalele* dancers. It shows how close and harmonious the customs and fauna are. In addition, there is also mention of the names of local birds, namely the Baikole bird, as in the following stanza:

***“Ole-ole burung baikole, tarabang sini sana burung baikole”***  
*Meaning: being courageous in battle, jumps at the enemy like the Baikole bird dancing on the ground.*

The Baikole bird, also known locally as “*kipasan kebun*” [garden fan] or scientifically *Willie Wagtail*, is commonly found in coastal areas, river banks, and lowland regions. The name “Baikole” derives from “ass wiggle,” highlighting its distinctive habit of wagging its tail while singing melodiously, especially during sunny mornings or just after rainfall. This bird’s cheerful singing continues throughout the day. Its plumage is predominantly black from head to tail, with a white underside, chest, and tail, complemented by a long white stripe above its eyebrows. The Baikole bird constructs its nest in the shape of a bowl, measuring 8-10 centimeters in diameter, meticulously woven from grass to provide a secure and sturdy abode. Bold and daring, the Baikole bird fearlessly hunts for prey and frequently perches on branches and other precarious locations. In the kabata Banda, the philosophy of “Baikole” signifies beauty intertwined with strength, courage, and solidarity. There is also a type of dragon mentioned in the *kabata* poem, as shown in the following verse:

***“Nairanbese besetiris tirise. Tiriso yo malela ular naga nairan”***  
*Meaning: Respect for the dragon boat, symbol of the ruler of the Naira sea.*

The dragon snake is a symbol of glory and the ruler of the sea. In the Namasawar custom, the dragon becomes the main emblem enshrined in the dragon boat (*kora-kora*) which denotes the ruler of the Banda Naira sea.

#### **4. *Respect for the inhabitants of the Sea***

Kabata Banda also treated the sea area as a territory of power that must be guarded. A number of poems even mention that the rulers of the sea were actually “headquartered” in Banda waters, as indicated in the following verse:

**“Lusi ooo Ronda laut yo tantara nairaaan”**

*Meaning: The army of the rulers of the sea that surrounds the entire waters of the Naira island.*

This includes marine biota such as sharks which are the life relations of the Bandanese. Sharks are referred to by the locals as “Yo” or “Eyo”, as in the following verse:

**“Dua yo kapitang kora-kora lewetaka. Siku-sikuruma ke belang urulima e**

*Meaning: Two yos (warlords) who lead the troops on the battleship of the lewetaka kingdom.*

Perhaps, the use of the name shark as “commander” is to show the greatness of the two commanders (illustrated in the *cakalele* and striped/dragon boat personnel) who led the battle troops on the battleship of the lewetaka kingdom. Even the rocks on the coast are also mentioned in the kabata stanza as follows:

**“Batu kapasete batu gong gai e”**

*Meaning: These are the kapala rocks of the people who witnessed the might of the Namasawar commanders*

The rocks on the coast are an attempt to show how important the relationship between humans, coastal nature including rock, sand (in the *cakalele* ritual one has to sprinkle sand on the ground where they dance), fish and the sea have become one in the harmony of the life of the Bandanese.

**CONCLUSION**

The *Cakalele* dance, initially a war dance, holds profound significance for the Bandanese, encompassing crucial values. Although it no longer serves as a war dance, the *Cakalele* has evolved into a welcoming dance that embodies strong Islamic educational values. This captivating dance is frequently performed at various cultural events, where the Queen’s signature attire symbolizes a woman adorned in bright clothes, lipstick, eye shadow makeup, and an umbrella to shield herself from the sun.

In the context of Islamic education, the *Cakalele* dance imparts essential values that are highly relevant for the present Bandanese generation. It serves as a physical, spiritual, and mental training, promoting harmonious coexistence among diverse ethnicities and religions. This alignment with the main objectives of Islamic religious education is very importance. Furthermore, the

*Cakalele* dance offers a beautiful expression of the Bandanese people's love for the marine environment and its natural coast. Engaging in cultural practices such as constructing traditional houses, arranging flowers, and visiting sacred sites accompanied by traditional songs, the Bandanese demonstrate their deep connection with the marine, forest, and coastal environments. The traditional song "Kabata" not only narrates the ancestral history of Banda but also conveys a significant message on the preservation of forests, endemic animals, oceans, fish, as well as sand and rocks along the coast.

This study highlights the interplay between Islam and community traditions, leading to cultural symbols rich in religious values and reverence for the environment, which forms the natural cosmology of society. However, it is essential to acknowledge that this study does not dive further into the practical implementation of Islamic values or the manifestation of love for the marine environment in daily life. Further research is needed to unveil these aspects in a more comprehensive and profound manner.

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