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JURNAL BUDAYA ISLAM

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TRENDS IN THE YOUNG GENERATION OF MUSLIM WOMEN**

Mulyana Abdullah

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UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF ZUHUD IN FASHION TRENDS IN THE YOUNG GENERATION OF MUSLIM WOMEN

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Abstract

For women, the beauty of their attire, including the hijab, holds significant meaning for their appearance and honor. Over time, social dynamics seem to "encourage" them to appear attractive, but many neglect sharia values in the process. This is closely tied to their understanding of the function, purpose, and meaning behind their clothing choices. It is in this context that the life conduct of Muslims, particularly Muslim women, must be grounded in the principles of zuhud (asceticism as devotion to God) and a deep understanding of its concept. To explore the knowledge of the concept of zuhud and its influence on dressing behavior, this study was conducted as a quantitative research project using a survey approach. The target respondents are young Muslim women identified de facto. Meanwhile, the data analysis was carried out through regression analysis. The results of the study show that Muslim teenagers are aware of the concept of zuhud, but many lack a clear understanding of its meaning and application. Therefore, efforts to introduce and instill the significance of zuhud in every Muslim woman must be intensified to help build their character and

encourage them to practice Islamic law, particularly in choosing and wearing clothing. This effort is crucial, given that many Muslim women tend to select Muslim attire to express their identity as Muslims while still striving to appear modern and fashionable.

Bagi wanita, keindahan pakaian, termasuk hijab, memiliki makna penting untuk penampilan dan kehormatan mereka. Seiring waktu, dinamika sosial tampaknya "mendorong" mereka untuk tampil menarik, tetapi banyak yang mengabaikan nilai-nilai syariah dalam prosesnya. Hal ini berkaitan erat dengan pemahaman mereka tentang fungsi, tujuan, dan makna di balik pilihan pakaian mereka. Dalam konteks ini, perilaku hidup umat Islam, khususnya wanita Muslim, harus didasarkan pada prinsip zuhud (asketisme sebagai bentuk pengabdian kepada Tuhan) dan pemahaman yang mendalam tentang konsep tersebut. Untuk mengeksplorasi pengetahuan tentang konsep zuhud dan pengaruhnya terhadap perilaku berpakaian, penelitian ini dilakukan sebagai studi penelitian kuantitatif dengan pendekatan survei. Responden yang menjadi target adalah wanita Muslim muda yang diidentifikasi secara *de facto*. Sementara itu, proses analisis data dilakukan menggunakan analisis regresi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa remaja Muslim telah mengetahui konsep zuhud, tetapi banyak yang belum memahami arti dan penerapannya dengan jelas. Oleh karena itu, upaya untuk memperkenalkan dan menanamkan makna zuhud pada setiap wanita Muslim perlu lebih diintensifkan untuk membantu membangun karakter mereka dan mendorong mereka mempraktikkan hukum Islam, terutama dalam memilih dan mengenakan pakaian. Upaya ini penting, mengingat masih banyak wanita Muslim yang cenderung memilih pakaian Muslimah untuk menunjukkan identitas mereka sebagai Muslim, namun tetap berusaha tampil modern dan modis.

Keywords: *fashion trend, Islamic values, Muslim teenage girls, zuhud*

Introduction

Discussing fashion is closely tied to women's lifestyles around the world. Fashion trends particularly capture the interest of young women, who often seek to look attractive with various accessories and eagerly embrace new styles that align with current trends, including among Muslim women.

In 2021, Forbes magazine projected that Muslim fashion spending would increase by 51% compared to the previous year, reaching \$268 billion. This statistic highlights the significant potential of Muslims in the global fashion market (Syahridawati, 2020). With its majority Muslim population, Indonesia is well-positioned to become a dominant player in the global fashion industry. Sheena Krisnawati, the founder of Indonesia Hijabfest, believes that Indonesia has the potential to become a leading guide for Muslim clothing worldwide (Ramadhani & Christiyaningsih, 2023).

The growing popularity of hijab fashion, particularly in Indonesia, has transformed the hijab from merely an Islamic obligation into a lifestyle statement. It is not uncommon for women who may not fully understand the true significance of the hijab to wear it as a fashion trend. However, this does not apply to all; it is essential to recognize that some hijab styles may not comply with the requirements of Islamic law (Sa'adatunnisa, 2016).

Clothing serves as a body protector and a cover for the *awrah* in Islamic sharia. Any model or style of clothing can be worn as long as it aligns with Sharia principles. However, Muslims should choose attire that is commonly accepted in their community, avoiding clothing that contrasts sharply with local customs, as this could draw unwanted attention. According to Bahammam (2013), the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) indicated that individuals blend in when they wear clothes typically worn by those around them. All clothing styles are *halal*, provided they do not resemble the official attire of other religions. Thus, Muslims are discouraged from wearing clothing that appears exclusive or sets them apart from the community. It is essential for every Muslim to correctly understand the teachings of Islam, including the dual role of clothing as both protection and a cover for the *awrah*.

In modern society, it is undeniable that individuals often seek worldly comfort, pleasure, and happiness through various means, regardless of whether these methods align with prevailing values or religious teachings. Wahid (2016) suggests that this inclination reveals a decline in faith and moral standards. In essence, the erosion of socio-religious values has fostered an individualistic and self-centered lifestyle that neglects social and religious norms. Society needs effective solutions and remedies to restore a life rooted in these values.

This trend can also be observed in fashion, where clothing and accessories serve as protection and a means of self-expression. The desire for

style and glamour can create a sense of confidence and appreciation from others. While seeking an attractive appearance is not inherently wrong, there is a tendency for people to prioritize style over essential values and norms, both religious and social (Zainudin et al., 2020). Syukur (in Muqit, 2020) argues that contemporary society frequently exhibits less-than-ideal traits, particularly in the face of material allure. This culture of competition for an "attractive" appearance often influences how individuals dress. Nonetheless, it is crucial to recognize that striving for an appealing look does not necessarily conflict with religious values and norms, especially in Islam. However, the emphasis on attractiveness in clothing has shifted from its original purpose as outlined in Sharia.

For women, especially young women, fashion is an integral part of their lives. The beauty of dressing carries significant meaning for their appearance, prestige, and honor. In the modern era, particularly in Indonesia, social life seems to "lead" Muslim women to focus on looking attractive in their dress, often neglecting Sharia values.

If you look at the words of Allah SWT in Q.S. [7]: 26 which affirms: "Indeed, We have sent down to you a garment which covers your shame and provides protection and adornment. But the finest of all is the garment of piety. That is one of the signs of Allah so that they may take heed." It is clear that clothing, from an Islamic perspective, is intended to cover the *awrah* in addition to serving as "jewelry" (adornment). However, the prevailing tendency today is to prioritize its role as jewelry rather than as a covering for the *awrah*. This is evident in the phenomenon of hijab usage among women, where various shapes, models, colors, patterns, and styles are combined or modified, creating a competitive environment where Muslim women strive to beautify themselves to look fashionable, elegant, and feminine in their Muslim attire.

According to Metia's view (Millah, 2021), women wearing hijab are a symbol of Muslim women's faith, but in its development, the hijab has become a trend in this modern era. Beyond being a fashion trend, the use of the hijab has also given rise to wasteful practices and a culture of hedonism. The availability of various hijab models has made the hijab a means of reflecting a person's lifestyle or social class.

The shift in the value of hijab usage among women is closely related to their understanding of its function, purpose, and meaning. If you look closely at the words of Allah SWT in Q.S. Al-An'am [7]: 32, which affirms:

“This worldly life is no more than play and amusement, but far better is the eternal Home of the Hereafter for those mindful of Allah. Will you not then understand?”

It appears that the use of Muslim women's clothing, including the hijab, often prioritizes worldly appearances, where the fashion style reflects Muslim fashion trends but still "highlights" the luxury of the fashion itself and, at times, even the beauty of the wearer's body shape. This deviates from the principles of Islamic law and indicates that the wearer may not fully understand, or may even misunderstand, the true purpose of Muslim women's clothing as an expression of obedience to the commands of Allah SWT. The luxury and beauty of worldly appearance are not eternal compared to the everlasting luxury and beauty of the hereafter. This is why the behavior of Muslims, especially Muslim women, must be grounded in the principles of *zuhud* and a profound understanding of its concept.

Zuhud is understood as abandoning the heart's attachment to material possessions (worldly goods). However, it does not imply disdain for or avoidance of worldly life, as this worldly existence is a means to draw closer to Allah SWT and attain eternal happiness in the hereafter (Hamali, 2015). This concept needs to be deeply understood by Muslims. It should serve as a constant reminder that everything experienced in this world is solely for the purpose of worshiping Allah and seeking eternal happiness in the hereafter, as life is temporary and will eventually be left behind. 'Alī bin al-Husayn (Mahmoudi & Cheragi, 2022) reminds us: “The world will migrate and go, and the Hereafter will come in the form of migration, with each of them having children. So be the children of the Hereafter, not the children of this world. Behold! Flee from this world and seek the Hereafter.”

This statement reminds Muslims to ensure that every step taken in this world is aimed at worshiping Allah and achieving happiness in the hereafter. The appreciation of beauty in appearance and clothing should not be solely for showcasing luxury or elegance. The most important aspect is devotion to Allah SWT and obedience to His commands, particularly the obligation to cover the *awrah*.

Several studies show that Muslim women often choose clothing that reflects their commitment to modesty and religious values, which can be seen as an expression of *zuhud* (Poulis et al., 2024; Shaheen & Hwang, 2019). In addition, the concept of *zuhud* can influence the economic behaviors of Muslim women in the fashion industry (Amalanathan & Reddy-Best, 2024).

Studies have also argued that the integration of *zuhud* into fashion can reinforce a sense of spirituality (Hass, 2020; Rumaney & Sriram, 2023). However, current findings also reveal that the commercialization of modest fashion can sometimes conflict with the principles of *zuhud* (Islam, 2023; Karakavak & Özbölük, 2023). In this case, these studies still highlight a gap in understanding how the concept of *zuhud* is perceived by Muslim teenage girls.

Understanding the concept of *zuhud* is fundamental for Muslims in all aspects of life, as it helps maintain a clear purpose in their actions, including how they dress, especially for Muslim women. Therefore, it is essential to study the concept of *zuhud* and its impact on the dressing style of Muslim women in depth. This understanding ensures that the trend of wearing the hijab as part of Muslim women's attire remains aligned with the values of Islamic law.

Method

This study employs a quantitative research design with a survey approach. The respondents consist of Muslim women, specifically those in the adolescent and young adult age group (15–24 years old), including students from the Indonesia University of Education and Labschool UPI High School. Primary data were collected through online questionnaires distributed via social media platforms such as WhatsApp and Google Forms. In addition, secondary data were gathered from relevant research studies to provide supporting insights.

A total of 60 valid responses were obtained for analysis. While a larger sample size would offer a more comprehensive perspective, the chosen sample size was determined based on time and resource constraints. The collected data were analyzed using regression analysis techniques to investigate the influence of understanding the concept of *zuhud* on the tendency of young Muslim women to adopt specific hijab fashion trends.

Result

Overview of knowledge about *zuhud*

The overview of the high and low knowledge of *zuhud* is seen from five aspects: prioritizing spirituality over materialism, controlling worldly desires, practicing *zuhud* in daily life, avoiding luxury, and simplicity in lifestyle and appearance.

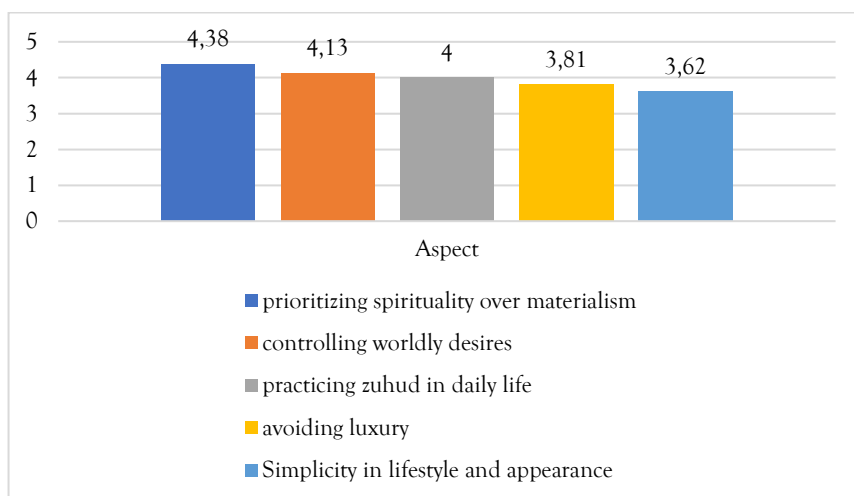


Figure 1. Knowledge about zuhud

The overall knowledge of *zuhud* among the young generation is relatively high, as indicated by an average *zuhud* score that falls within the "relatively high" category, specifically above 3. This suggests that their understanding of *zuhud* is well-developed across several key aspects: prioritizing spirituality over materialism, controlling worldly desires, practicing *zuhud* in daily life, avoiding luxury, and embracing simplicity in lifestyle and appearance. This reflects a solid level of awareness and adherence to the principles of *zuhud* within this demographic.

This crucial understanding demonstrates a positive inclination among the younger generation to integrate *zuhud* values into their daily lives (Hidayati, 2016). It highlights their willingness to prioritize inner fulfillment over material gains, maintain self-discipline in the face of worldly temptations, and adopt a modest and humble lifestyle (Muqit, 2020). Such a mindset not only aligns with spiritual principles but also fosters a balanced approach to modern life, emphasizing meaningful and purposeful living over excessive consumerism (Farhan, 2023).

Overview of Muslim Fashion Trend

The overview of the high and low Muslim fashion trend is seen from 6 aspects: Consistently covering the body (*aurah*) in daily life, clothing aligned with Islamic modesty, choosing attire that is modest and Islamic in style, the influence of social circles on consistent Muslim fashion, Flexible

style within Islamic guidelines, and occasional use of specific Islamic accessories.

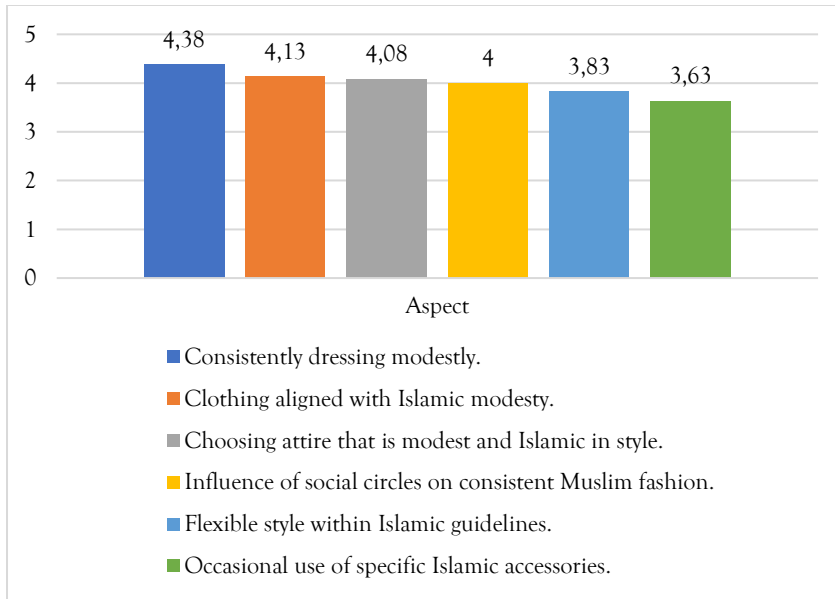


Figure 2. Muslim fashion trend

The overview of knowledge about Muslim fashion trends is dominated by a relatively high level. This is evident from the overall average score of Muslim fashion trends, which falls within the "relatively high" category, specifically above 3. Therefore, the adoption of Muslim fashion trends among the younger generation is already relatively high across several key aspects: consistently dressing modestly, choosing clothing aligned with Islamic modesty, selecting attire that is both modest and Islamic in style, the influence of social circles on consistent Muslim fashion, maintaining flexibility in style within Islamic guidelines, and the occasional use of specific Islamic accessories.

This suggests that young individuals are increasingly aware of and committed to integrating their faith with contemporary fashion choices (Kartajaya et al., 2019). Furthermore, the strong influence of social media and peer groups plays a significant role in shaping their understanding of what constitutes appropriate Muslim fashion (Rosmayani & Mardhatillah, 2020). Young Muslims are not only adopting styles that reflect their religious

values but are also seeking ways to express their individuality and creativity within these guidelines (Sharia) (Aruan & Wirdania, 2020).

This trend highlights a dynamic intersection of faith and fashion, where the younger generation embraces a diverse range of styles while remaining rooted in the principles of modesty (Thimm, 2021). As a result, the evolution of Muslim fashion continues to gain momentum, promoting a more inclusive and varied representation of Islamic attire that resonates with the aspirations and identities of young Muslims today (Hakim et al., 2023).

The Effect of Knowledge of *Zuhud* to Women Muslim Fashion Trend

Partially reviewed, the contribution of the knowledge of the *zuhud* variable to the Muslim fashion trend variable shows an influence.

Table 1. The regression analysis on the knowledge of *zuhud*

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean squared	F	P
H	Regression	155.060	1	155.060	322.076	0,00
	Residual	27.923	58	.481		
	Total	182.983	59			

Based on table 1, the regression analysis results show that the p-value obtained is less than the error level of 5% ($p < 0.05$). Thus, it can be concluded that the knowledge of the *zuhud* variable significantly influences Muslim fashion trends.

Table 2. The linear regression test on the knowledge of *zuhud*

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.921	.847	.845	.694

The results of the linear regression test applied showed that the R Square value: 0.847, which means that the knowledge of the *zuhud* variable had a significant influence of 84.7% ($p < .05$) on Muslim women's fashion trends. The influence of knowledge of *zuhud* on women's Muslim fashion trends is strong, with an R-value of .921.

Table 3. The regression equation on the knowledge of *zuhud* and Muslim fashion trends

Model	Unstandardized Coefficient		Standardized Coefficient	t	Sig
	B	Std. Error	Beta		

1	(Constant)	6.066	1.004		6.041	.000
	ZHD	.906	.050	.921	17.946	.000

As for the regression equation between the influence of knowledge of zuhud on Muslim fashion trends, it is obtained as follows:

$$Y=6.066+ 0.906X$$

The equation's intercept value (constant) of 6.066 shows that if the knowledge of zuhud variable has a value of 0, then the Muslim women fashion trend variable has a value of 6.066. In addition, it can also be interpreted that if there is no change in the knowledge of the zuhud variable (constant), the average value of the Muslim women's fashion trend variable is 6,066. Meanwhile, the regression coefficient value of 0.906 means that every increase in the knowledge of the zuhud variable by one unit will cause an increase in the Muslim women fashion trend variable by 0.906 units.

Discussion

Overview of Knowledge of Zuhud

The aspect of *zuhud* with the highest average score and the most significant contribution to influencing Muslim women's fashion trends is prioritizing spirituality over materialism (Hidayati, 2016). This principle reflects a conscious choice to value inner fulfillment and closeness to Allah over worldly possessions and appearances (Muqit, 2020; Arrizqi, 2022). It encourages Muslim women to adopt a fashion style that aligns with modesty, humility, and purpose, rather than seeking validation through luxurious or excessively trendy attire.

By focusing on spirituality, women are guided to select clothing that reflects respect for religious values while staying mindful of simplicity (Aruan & Wirdania, 2020). This does not mean disregarding personal style but embracing one that is clean, modest, and considerate of Islamic principles (Pradana et al., 2023). In practical terms, prioritizing spirituality over materialism might involve choosing garments made from durable, sustainable materials, favoring timeless styles over fleeting trends, and being selective about fashion choices that align with moral values rather than social pressures (Rosmayani & Mardhatillah, 2020).

Such an approach to fashion acknowledges that true value is found in character and devotion, not in outward display. For Muslim women, this can mean a subtle yet powerful expression of faith, where attire becomes a medium to demonstrate inner spirituality rather than a pursuit of material

recognition. Prioritizing spirituality over materialism, therefore, not only influences personal wardrobe decisions but also has the potential to inspire others to view fashion through a lens of faith and purpose (Bin Yahya et al., 2022).

Overview of Women Muslim Fashion Trend

Most women's Muslim fashion trend conditions are quite high. Of the six women, the Muslim fashion trends aspect is in the high category. The highest aspect is Consistently dressing modestly. The highest aspect, Consistently dressing modestly, highlights the strong commitment among Muslim women to attire that reflects modesty in alignment with Islamic values (Park & Park, 2021). This commitment not only influences their clothing choices but also reinforces a broader cultural trend toward modest fashion that prioritizes both dignity and elegance (Mulyana et al., 2020).

This trend underscores a collective awareness and respect for religious teachings on attire, indicating that dressing modestly is not simply a personal preference but part of a shared identity (Kusumawati et al., 2020). The high categorization across all six aspects of Muslim women's fashion trends reflects a balanced approach where style and spirituality coexist, fostering a distinct, confident, and purpose-driven fashion identity within the community.

The Effect of Knowledge of Zuhud to Women Muslim Fashion Trend

The contribution of *zuhud* knowledge to Muslim women's fashion trends is 92.1%. This data indicates that the influence of the *zuhud* variable is substantial, and the two variables are significantly related. This means that when Muslim women prioritize spirituality over materialism, control worldly desires, practice *zuhud* in daily life, avoid luxury, and embrace simplicity in lifestyle and appearance, it leads them to consistently cover their bodies (*aurah*) in daily life, choose clothing aligned with Islamic modesty, select attire that is both modest and Islamic in style, be influenced positively by social circles, adopt flexible styles within Islamic guidelines, and occasionally use specific Islamic accessories.

This strong relationship suggests that a deep understanding and practice of *zuhud* positively shape Muslim women's approach to fashion, enabling them to embody modesty in both intention and appearance (Muqit, 2020; Hidayati, 2016). When Muslim women internalize the

principles of *zuhud*—such as prioritizing spirituality, controlling worldly desires, embracing simplicity, and avoiding extravagance—this naturally manifests in their fashion choices.

By dressing in ways that cover the body (*awrah*) and reflect Islamic modesty, they not only adhere to religious guidelines but also cultivate a distinctive identity that resonates with Islamic values (Pradana et al., 2023). This lifestyle influences various aspects of their fashion, from selecting elegant yet modest attire to being mindful of social influences while staying true to personal convictions. Furthermore, the adoption of simple, Islamic-inspired accessories and the flexibility to adapt styles within Islamic boundaries reflect a balanced approach to fashion—one that harmonizes faith and personal expression, setting a meaningful standard for Muslim fashion trends (Yang, 2023).

This phenomenon, where the knowledge of *zuhud* significantly shapes Muslim women's fashion trends, underscores a cultural movement that merges spiritual values with personal identity in a visible and impactful way (Arrizqi, 2022). The high contribution of *zuhud* principles—such as prioritizing spirituality, simplicity, and modesty—indicates that these women are not merely following fashion but embodying a lifestyle deeply rooted in Islamic teachings. As a result, their clothing choices reflect a conscious commitment to modesty, creating a distinct fashion culture that goes beyond appearance to convey inner devotion (Park & Lin, 2020).

This trend has inspired a ripple effect within the broader Muslim community and beyond, as the integration of *zuhud* values into fashion resonates with those seeking authenticity and purpose. Through social media platforms, modest fashion influencers have further amplified this phenomenon, sharing styles that balance contemporary trends with the principles of *zuhud* (Syah & Olivia, 2022). This visibility fosters a sense of pride and solidarity among Muslim women who wish to express their faith through attire, challenging mainstream fashion by offering an alternative that values restraint and humility.

The impact of this phenomenon is not limited to individual style; it is reshaping the fashion industry itself. Designers, brands, and retailers are beginning to cater to this demand for modest, faith-aligned clothing, creating collections that accommodate diverse interpretations of Islamic modesty (Sutarto & Izzah, 2022). In this way, the knowledge and practice of *zuhud* are not only transforming personal fashion choices but also encouraging the

industry to embrace more inclusive and value-driven perspectives. Ultimately, this integration of *zuhud* into fashion exemplifies how spiritual principles can influence and elevate cultural expressions, setting a powerful example for faith-based fashion worldwide.

While the findings of this study highlight a significant positive relationship between *zuhud* knowledge and Muslim women's fashion trends, there are notable limitations. Firstly, the study does not delve into the varying levels of *zuhud*, as described by scholars like Imam Al-Ghazali, which could offer a more nuanced understanding of how *zuhud* principles are interpreted and applied to fashion choices. Secondly, the study assumes a uniform understanding of *zuhud* among respondents without addressing potential variations in interpretation or familiarity with the concept. Some participants may embody *zuhud* values in their daily lives without explicitly identifying them as such, potentially leading to incomplete data representation. Additionally, the sample size and demographic focus may limit the generalizability of the findings, as the study primarily targeted young Muslim women within specific educational institutions. Future research should aim to include a more diverse participant pool and incorporate qualitative methods to explore personal and cultural interpretations of *zuhud* in greater depth.

Conclusion

The results of this study conclude that knowledge of *zuhud* has a positive and significant effect on Muslim women's fashion trends. Specifically, when Muslim women prioritize spirituality over materialism, control worldly desires, practice *zuhud* in daily life, avoid luxury, and embrace simplicity in lifestyle and appearance, it leads to consistent adherence to Islamic modesty in fashion. This includes consistently covering the body (*aurah*), choosing clothing aligned with Islamic modesty, selecting attire that is both modest and Islamic in style, being influenced by social circles to maintain consistent Muslim fashion, adopting flexible styles within Islamic guidelines, and occasionally incorporating specific Islamic accessories.

The theoretical implication of this research is that the findings support previous theories and studies, demonstrating that understanding the concept of *zuhud* can enhance Muslim women's fashion trends. This understanding can also be applied to the younger generation to promote values of modesty and spirituality in fashion. Future research should further

explore the varying levels of *zuhud*, such as those outlined by Imam Al-Ghazali, who describes *zuhud* in degrees of practice and understanding. Examining these levels could provide deeper insight into how Muslim women interpret and integrate *zuhud* into their fashion choices. Additionally, it is crucial for future studies to clearly define *zuhud* for respondents, as some individuals may practice its principles in daily life without explicitly recognizing or labeling them as such.

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HARMONIZATION OF ISLAMIC VALUES AND LOCAL WISDOM IN THE MACCERA MANURUNG RITUAL

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Abstract

The Maccera Manurung ritual is a vital part of life for the Labuku community, fostering harmony among humans, nature, and spiritual beliefs. A key challenge lies in preserving this tradition while adhering to religious principles and bridging the gap between deeply rooted local customs and Islamic values that guide contemporary society. This study adopts a qualitative descriptive approach, incorporating normative sharia, historical, phenomenological, and sociological perspectives. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation. The findings indicate that the Maccera Manurung ritual reflects values that harmonize Islam and local wisdom, including: (1) spiritual and religious values that frame the ritual as an act of worship, (2) solidarity and mutual cooperation values that strengthen social cohesion, (3) respect for ancestors as recognition of spiritual heritage, (4) simplicity values that counter materialism, and (5) social responsibility values aligned with Sharia principles. Future research should expand its focus to

explore other local traditions that integrate religious and cultural values, further enriching understanding in this field.

Ritual Maccera Manurung menjadi aspek integral dalam kehidupan masyarakat Labuku yang berfungsi untuk menjaga keseimbangan antara manusia, alam, dan kepercayaan spiritual lokal. Masalah utama yang muncul adalah bagaimana ritual ini dapat dipertahankan tanpa melanggar aturan-aturan agama, serta bagaimana menemukan titik temu antara tradisi lokal yang berakar kuat dengan nilai-nilai Islam yang menjadi pedoman hidup masyarakat modern. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian lapangan dengan pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif melalui pendekatan Normatif Syariah, Historis, Fenomenologis, dan Sosiologis, serta mengumpulkan data melalui observasi, wawancara dan dokumentasi. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ritual Maccera Manurung memuat nilai-nilai yang mengharmoniskan Islam dan kearifan local yaitu: (1) nilai spiritual dan keagamaan yang menjadikan ritual ini sebagai ibadah, (2) nilai solidaritas dan gotong royong yang memperkuat ikatan sosial, (3) nilai penghormatan terhadap leluhur sebagai pengakuan terhadap warisan spiritual, (4) nilai kesederhanaan yang menentang materialisme, dan (5) nilai tanggung jawab sosial yang sejalan dengan prinsip-prinsip syariah. Penelitian selanjutnya diharapkan dapat memperluas kajian dengan mengeksplorasi tradisi lokal lain yang mengintegrasikan nilai-nilai agama dan budaya setempat.

Keywords: *cultural preservation, Islamic values, local wisdom values, Maccera Manurung ritual*

Introduction

Religion plays an important role in building a harmonious society (Bauto, 2016). Islamic values, comprising *aqidah* (creed), *ibadah* (worship), and *akhlak* (morals), form the primary foundation of human life. The value of *aqidah* teaches belief in Allah as the Creator, who oversees human actions and encourages them to follow His commands and avoid harm on earth. The value of *ibadah* emphasizes sincerity in every action to attain Allah's approval, fostering individuals who are just, honest, and caring. Meanwhile, the value of *akhlak* guides people to behave well according to correct norms,

creating a peaceful and balanced life. By applying these values, Islamic teachings are able to lead people toward happiness, prosperity, and safety in this world and the hereafter (Hakim, 2012).

The dialectic between Islam and culture reflects the close interaction between Islamic teachings and local culture (Muqoyyidin, 2012), including in Enrekang. Islam adds value to local cultures by introducing laws that align with the beliefs of Muslims, while culture facilitates the acceptance of Islam in societies with strong ties to ancestral traditions (Nasrullah, 2019). Local wisdom encompasses various forms of knowledge, skills, ethics, and customs (Yusuf et al., 2022). Expressions of local wisdom can include tangible aspects, such as value systems and regulations, as well as abstract ones (Plirdpring & Rungrajitpakorn, 2022). Traditions are closely woven into community life and are regarded as intrinsic cultural identities (Cassirer, 2023). The *Maccera Manurung* ritual in Labuku Village, Enrekang Regency, symbolizes the community's spiritual and social life, representing values of local wisdom. The main issue that arises is how this ritual can be preserved without violating religious rules and how to find common ground between deeply rooted local traditions and Islamic values, which serve as a guiding principle for modern society.

Several previous studies have highlighted how local culture and Islamic teachings influence each other and coexist within various traditions in Indonesia. For example, Baharuddin and Firman (2022) focused on the acculturation between the *Maccera Manurung* culture in *Saoraja Sidenreng Rappang* and Islamic teachings, as well as changes in the implementation of traditional festivals. Putri (2019) emphasized the ritual of washing sacred objects as an expression of gratitude in the Matakali community. Suherman and Mulyadi (2020) discussed the role of *Tau-Tau* art in the *Maccera Manurung* tradition in Pasang Village, while Trisandi et al. (2021) evaluated the government's role in preserving traditional customs, and Mustafa (2021) focused on the conformity of the *Mocera Tasi* ritual with Islamic law.

This study differs from previous research because it specifically examines the *Maccera Manurung* ritual within the Labuku village community

in Enrekang Regency, which has not been studied before, particularly in the context of the relationship between Islam and local traditions in Labuku. This research aims to fill the gap by uncovering the role of the *Maccera Manurung* ritual in shaping identity and strengthening local community bonds while also maintaining harmony between customs and Islamic principles. It seeks to understand the interaction, adaptation, and integration between Islamic values and local wisdom, which can enrich the discourse on harmonizing Islam and local traditions in South Sulawesi. The findings are expected to provide insights into the benefits of this value integration in preserving the cultural identity and spiritual values of the local community.

Method

The research design used in this study is field research, employing a descriptive qualitative model. Qualitative methodology involves the researcher immersing themselves in the culture by observing and interacting with people, participating in activities, interviewing key individuals related to the subject being studied, and analyzing existing documents (Negou et al., 2023).

The research approaches utilized include (a) the normative Sharia approach, which is based on Islamic Sharia teachings and involves an in-depth study of specific themes within Sharia, such as the views of Islamic jurists, interpretive methods, and primary sources like the Qur'an and Hadith; (b) the historical approach, which enables researchers to engage with real-life situations by directly observing events; (c) the phenomenological approach, which allows the researcher to study how individuals interact and live together by focusing on their experiences from the perspective of those directly involved; and (d) the sociological approach, which is essential for understanding religion, as it often intersects with various social issues. Religious awareness of these social issues motivates adherents to study the social sciences as a tool for understanding their faith.

The primary data for this study were collected through interviews with informants. Purposive sampling was employed to identify key informants, including local traditional figures, religious leaders, local government officials, and community members. Supporting informants included local youth and scholars from UIN Alauddin Makassar. Supplementary data were obtained from various references, such as journals, books, and relevant research findings. Data collection methods included (a) observation, using a participatory observation method where the researcher observed and directly participated in the lives of the subjects being studied; (b) interviews, which involved semi-structured and unstructured interviews conducted with individuals identified as research respondents; and (c) documentation, used to collect primary data relevant to the research process.

Finding and Discussion

Role of the *Maccera Manurung* Ritual in Community Identity

The *Maccera Manurung* ritual in Labuku Village involves a celebration that combines elements of tradition, Islamic law, livelihood, and protection, represented by four main figures: *Tomatoa*, *Imang*, *Dulung*, and *Sanro* (Bahri et al., 2014). “*Maccera*” means “dripping blood,” while “*To Manurung*” refers to a figure who brings benevolent teachings (Rahma et al., 2014). In carrying out the ritual, all processes and stages are led by *Appa Alliri* as the traditional leader, who connects the human realm with the spiritual realm through communication. Each leader’s role in society reflects their role in the ritual stages. There are four traditional leaders, namely *Tomatoa*, *Imang*, *Dulung*, and *Sanro*. This ritual attracts people from across Indonesia and abroad who believe that blessings are bestowed through *Appa Alliri* as the highest traditional leader in the village. The celebration is held festively in the *Andulang* traditional area and is attended by government officials, with the sacrifice of dozens of animals, such as cows, chickens, and goats, contributed by local residents.

The articulation of local wisdom in traditional life, which is passed down through cultural symbols, is a dominant and even synonymous

characteristic (Sulaiman et al., 2024). The local government also supports this tradition to ensure its continued development and preservation. The village head, as a representative of the village government authority, is involved in maintaining local wisdom and traditional culture, along with the presence of the village *imam*, who serves as the spiritual leader of the community. This was conveyed by W:

“I feel responsible for preserving the local wisdom and traditional culture in this village. The presence of the village *imam* is also very important because he serves as a respected spiritual leader in the community. This event is even more special because the participation of the community comes not only from the surrounding villages but also from several original residents of Labuku Village who have long lived outside the region or even abroad. They return to take part in the celebration of this tradition” (W, personal communication December 12, 2023)

The statement by W indicates that *Maccera Manurung* is not merely a local ritual, but also serves as a symbol of togetherness, identity, and pride for the community that celebrates it. Moreover, Y, who is a resident of the neighboring village of Labuku, also participates in the *Maccera Manurung* ritual celebration as a means to strengthen ties, given that Y is also a descendant of Labuku.

“The tradition of *Maccera Manurung* is an important moment for us because the community gathers amidst their busy lives today. Through the implementation of this tradition, we can also share stories, experiences, or happiness with one another.” (Y, personal communication December 12, 2023)

Silaturahmi (the practice of maintaining relationships) is an important factor in fostering unity among the community and worship that can harmonize societal life. In addition to maintaining human relationships, *silaturahmi* also brings rewards from Allah swt. Allah swt promises to grant blessings to His servants who uphold *silaturahmi*, which includes bringing blessings and opening doors of sustenance (Marwiyanti, 2023). The

recommendation of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) in the hadith *Ṣaḥīḥ*-Muslim states that *silaturahmi* can expand one's sustenance and prolong life. Ibn Hajar al-Asqalanī explains that the extension of sustenance means ease in obtaining sustenance for those who maintain kinship, while the prolongation of life is related to receiving guidance from Allah swt, so that their activities are oriented towards obedience and abandoning futile habits. Thus, even if a person's lifespan does not reach old age, they can be remembered for their noble character (Al-'Asqalānī, n.d., p. 114)

The strengthening of this unity also involves resistance against ideologies that seek to separate local wisdom from Islam, which ultimately disrupts the social order. This includes transnational ideologies that often do not support the continuity of local Islamic traditions (Zulkifli, 2024). The purpose of Islamic preaching is to realize a noble life for its followers. One way to achieve this goal is to establish and maintain brotherhood bonds among community members (Umran, 1997). One reason many migrants of Labuku descent return to their hometown to attend the *Maccera Manurung* event in person is that they have made a vow to bring animals, such as chickens, goats, or cows, if they succeed in their work. This is explained by I:

“This vow is a testament to our commitment and also a manifestation of our gratitude to Allah swt for the blessings He has bestowed upon us. That is why the animal we bring for sacrifice must be flawless, as it symbolizes our expression of gratitude.” (I, personal communication December 12, 2023)

Maccera Manurung also serves as a means for the community to deepen their faith, enhance their sense of gratitude, and express their hopes to Allah swt for the blessings that have been granted, especially in the form of sustenance from the natural wealth that is one of the main sources of livelihood for the community. Every step in *Maccera Manurung* is filled with profound meaning, strengthening the spiritual bond between individuals, the community, and God. B expressed that:

“The *Maccera Manurung* has a religious meaning for us because through this event, it becomes one of our ways to strengthen our spiritual bond with Allah swt, as well as our sense of solidarity and togetherness as the Labuku community.” (B, personal communication December 12, 2023)

Religion and culture are important elements in society that interact with each other, each having its own fundamental values. Both can directly and harmoniously acculturate (Saefudin et al., 2020). Religion is closely related to moral actions (Kirchmaier et al., 2018). For the people of Labuku village, *Maccera Manurung* is also an expression of obedience, compliance, and deep appreciation for Allah swt and their ancestors

“This tradition serves as a reminder for us that we depend on nature and must take care of it, as well as being grateful for the blessings granted by Allah swt. This tradition also fosters togetherness, respects our ancestors, and acknowledges the greatness of Allah swt, making it important and beneficial for us.” (Z, personal communication December 12, 2023)

Life is intertwined with the continuity of nature, which includes entities, time, and their connections (Waddington, 2017). For a Muslim, *muamalah* is an important issue that is bound by religious law, particularly in the field of *fiqh* (Aryanti, 2017). *Muamalah* (i.e., social relations among humans) is not just a daily activity for a Muslim that is unrelated to the beliefs and teachings of Islam (Mustofa et al., 2023). Noble values have been embedded in various layers of society over an extended period and through various social dynamics of the local community. The perfection of these values encompasses positive aspects that should be absorbed by future generations as a foundation for the development of character and personality. The essence of these noble values includes religious or spiritual dimensions as well as moral dimensions rich in local and universal wisdom (Rahmaniar et al., 2020). These noble values not only serve as guides in daily life but also provide a strong foundation to reinforce national identity and social integrity. One community provides its perspective regarding the tradition of *Maccera Manurung*:

“*Maccera mannuring* is a tradition held annually with the purpose of expressing gratitude for an achievement. It is said that one has made a promise and must fulfill it by bringing some of the contents of that promise.” (U, personal communication December 11, 2023)

One of the fundamental reasons the *Maccera Manurung* tradition continues to be practiced to this day is that, during its implementation, there are no elements that contradict Islamic law; rather, the tradition serves as a method or means of expressing the community's gratitude to Allah *swt* for the blessings they have received. This is based on the explanation provided by one of the religious leaders and the head of the hamlet in Labuku village:

“There is nothing contradictory; this is a matter of method or the way to express gratitude. The goal we aim for is the same, only the approaches are different. On the other hand, several religious leaders are also present, and so far, no one has raised any issues about it.” (B, personal communication December 12, 2023)

The implementation of the *Maccera Manurung* tradition is understood by the local community as a form of expressing gratitude to Allah *swt*. This is reflected in the presence of several religious figures, and there is no opposition to the practice of the *Maccera Manurung* tradition. This statement implies that, although there are differences in methods or ways to express gratitude for the goals to be achieved, the ultimate goal remains the same: to express gratitude to Allah *swt*. The differences in methods or ways of expressing gratitude should not be regarded as issues or conflicts.

A person who is capable of gratitude will realize that God has bestowed many blessings upon them and that everyone is given various blessings that are different (Rochmawati, 2021). When a person has a high level of spirituality, they will also possess a high level of gratitude. Spirituality and religiosity influence how well a person can be grateful. The level of religiosity can be a strong indicator of how grateful a person is (Pearce et al., 2016). A person's level of gratitude can be a significant determinant of their overall quality of life, leading to greater inner peace and well-being.

Interaction of Islamic Values and Local Wisdom in the *Maccera Manurung* Ritual

The *Maccera Manurung* ritual is an integral aspect of the Labuku community's life, serving to maintain the balance between humans, nature, and local spiritual beliefs. This ritual is meticulously prepared well in advance of the main event, starting with a pilgrimage to the ancestors' graves three days before the peak celebration, known as *mappalaena ota*. Two days before the celebration, the community, along with the organizing committee, cleans the event location through a *gotong royong* (communal labor) effort, followed by the preparation of supplies the day before the ritual. The committee members involved are volunteers who participate without expecting material rewards but rather to seek blessings and spiritual merit. The timing of the tradition is adjusted according to the availability of participants from outside the city or island (B, personal communication December 12, 2023).

The community gathers on the day of the *Maccera Manurung* ritual, bringing animals such as chickens or goats. The chickens brought must be red with yellow feet and presented in pairs. In contrast, the offering of goats is more flexible, with no requirement for them to be in pairs, adapting to the intentions and capabilities of the individual (B, personal communication December 12, 2023). Several symbolic preparations involve various ritual materials before being placed in the first location (*Puata Andulang*). These materials include white cloth, betel leaves, lime, and areca nut, collectively referred to as *ota'* or offerings, each carrying its own significance. The white cloth used as a wrapper symbolizes purity and honor of the customary leader performing the ritual. Betel leaves serve as a symbol of speech or evidence of statements, depicting honesty and sincerity in every declaration made during the ceremony. Lime represents a pure heart, reflecting the genuine and sincere intentions of the parties involved. The areca nut symbolizes the intentions held in a person's heart, emphasizing the determination and purpose behind the actions to be taken (Z, personal communication December 12, 2023).

The first sequence of the event is the registration of participants with the committee, marking the beginning of a series of ceremonies. After registration, participants wait for their names to be called based on customary social strata: first, the customary leaders and their families; second, village officials; and finally, the general public. When their names are called, participants bring a chicken and *ota'* to the *sandro* at the small house containing the grave of *Puata Andulang* (B, personal communication December 12, 2023). The *sandro*, who acts as the customary spokesperson, communicates to Allah *swt* that the vow has been fulfilled. The next process is *je'ne'* (purification) of the chicken before it is slaughtered, ensuring its purity according to Islamic law. After that, participants must exit the area by walking backward as a sign of respect for *Puata Andulang*. The chicken and *ota'* are then taken to *Sara'* for cleaning before the slaughtering process by *Imang* (Z, personal communication December 12, 2023).

Before being slaughtered, the chicken and goat are sprinkled with rice and oil, symbolizing sustenance and the smooth flow of blessings. The slaughtering is performed according to Islamic law, with an additional ritual for the goat, which involves sprinkling rice on its body and cutting the chicken on top of it. The chicken's blood that touches the goat before the goat is slaughtered symbolizes surrender to Allah *swt* (B, personal communication December 12, 2023)



Figure 1. Slaughtering process in Maccera Manurung tradition

The next process involves the separation of the chicken or goat into two parts, namely the right and left. The right side is cooked with bamboo without the addition of salt as a form of simplicity and self-control, while the left side is cooked in a pot and seasoned with salt to taste, reflecting an adjustment to the times while still adhering to certain limits. This difference in methods not only reflects different cooking styles but also symbolizes the division of treatment in accordance with cultural norms. After being cooked, the chicken is moved to a collection area before being served (B, personal communication December 12, 2023). The next series of events is the *Massambo* ceremony. The *Massambo* ceremony is led by the *Tamatoa*, which involves prayers and guidance for the participants as a tribute to the ancestors and spiritual powers. *Massambo* marks the peak of the tradition, where the community gathers to continue the celebration and perform *tinja'* or make promises about future hopes (Z, personal communication December 12, 2023). This ritual symbolizes the bond between culture, spirituality, and community identity, with each step carrying profound meaning that emphasizes the importance of tradition and belief in the lives of the people.



Figure 2. The *Massambo* ceremony

Islam and culture hold an equal position when adaptive and creative dialectics occur, so that neither is in a subordinate position that ultimately weakens the other (Marhamah et al., 2024). A creative dialogue between

Islam and local culture does not mean sacrificing Islam or positioning cultural Islam as a result of that dialogue, as a lower form of Islam that is inconsistent with pure Islam, which exists and develops in the Arabian Peninsula. Instead, cultural Islam should be seen as a variant of Islam that has undergone dialectics with the realities in which Islam exists and develops (Wahid, 2009). The presence of Islam continuously communicates with the social conditions of society, carefully refining the values contained within the local culture of Muslim communities along with their characteristics (Susanto, 2016). Values are usually regarded as measures or standards for social interaction among humans (Riduan et al., 2024). Religious values expressed in practices, belief systems, and social relationships form an intrinsic philosophy of life within the social dynamics of society (Takdir et al., 2024). Furthermore, according to the Supreme Court, religious values can be expressed through local wisdom:

“Religious values can be expressed through local wisdom. The habits or customs among the community should be revealed and explored regarding their philosophy so that those who are unfamiliar and tend to judge them as something idolatrous based on their physical aspects will understand the reality if the philosophy is explained, and it is this philosophy that determines whether it is idolatrous or not.” (MA, personal communication December 12, 2024)

The dialectic between Islam and culture positions local religion and rituals as a contested arena, such as the *Maccera Manurung* ritual. In the *Maccera Manurung* ritual, there are several values contained within it that showcase the interaction between Islamic values and local wisdom.

1. Spiritual Values

Spiritual and religious values in the *Maccera Manurung* tradition are the most fundamental elements that guide the entire ritual process. This tradition is not merely a cultural practice, but also a form of worship that connects the people of Labuku Village with the divine dimension. Z expresses that the *Maccera Manurung* tradition serves as one means for the community to deepen their faith.

“This tradition serves as a means to deepen faith, enhance gratitude, and express hope for blessings from the wealth of nature. *Maccera Manurung* reminds us of our dependence on Allah *swt.*” (Z, personal communication December 12, 2023)

Faith in Allah *swt* is the core of the Islamic creed, manifested in monotheism as well as belief in angels, the scriptures, the messengers, the Day of Judgment, and divine decree, both good and bad (Rahmayani & Rohani, 2024). In the *Maccera Manurung* ritual, the slaughter of animals is carried out in accordance with Islamic law, with intentions and prayers recited before the slaughter as a form of obedience to Allah *swt.* This signifies that the ritual is not merely a tradition but an act of worship to gain His pleasure and blessings. Slaughtering in accordance with the law reflects the importance of living life according to religious teachings, which serve as the moral and ethical foundation for individuals and communities. In this context, religion and culture are not separate but must contribute to social good. The acceptance of society toward Islam is also evident through local cultural practices that are used to gradually introduce Islamic principles. This demonstrates that Islamic values can coexist and be preserved alongside local culture without diminishing their universal nature (Yunus, 2020; Haq, 2021).

William James views religion as an institution divided into two forms: formal religion as habit and faith-based religion with conscious involvement. These two forms share the same practices but produce different impacts on human life (Setiyani, 2018). Each element of the *Maccera Manurung* ritual has a symbolic meaning related to the concepts of purity and good intentions in Islam. This emphasizes that the performance of the ritual is not only a social obligation but also a spiritual path demanding honesty, sincerity, and selflessness. Success, fertility, and safety are seen by the community of Labuku Village as the results of human efforts assisted by divine intervention. The sacrifices made in the ritual remind one of humility before God and nature, as well as the importance of maintaining harmony between humanity and God.

The sacrifice in the *Maccera Manurung* ritual can be understood through the concepts of intention, purity, and devotion to Allah. Islam emphasizes the importance of sincere intention in every act of worship, including offerings, as stated in the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), which states that every action depends on its intention. The sacrifices made in this tradition reflect the willingness of the community to divert part of their wealth to gain Allah's pleasure, a test affirming love for Him over material wealth. A pure intention is the main foundation of the ritual of sacrifice, where the animal offered symbolizes obedience and respect to Allah. Additionally, the Islamic social values of sharing sustenance and solidarity are evident in this tradition, in line with the principles of *zakat* and charity, which encourage the distribution of wealth to those in need as a form of social justice. Although rooted in local customs and beliefs, the values in *Maccera Manurung* align with Islamic teachings, making it not only a manifestation of culture but also a form of worship that brings one closer to Allah.

2. Values of Solidarity and Mutual Assistance

The nature of humans as social beings requires individuals to live in interaction with others, which encourages the necessity of mutual cooperation in resolving various community affairs (Amalia et al., 2021). Mutual cooperation not only functions as a means of sharing the workload but also strengthens social bonds and a sense of solidarity among community members. In the context of the *Maccera Manurung* tradition in Labuku Village, this togetherness reflects the importance of cooperation and mutual support in community life, where the success of the ritual is seen as the result of collective efforts that embody values of kinship and unity. The people of Labuku Village demonstrate that active participation from all strata is essential in preparing and carrying out the ritual, which begins with gathering materials and supplies long before the day of the event. All these activities are carried out with a spirit of togetherness and a sense of

responsibility to preserve ancestral traditions, without expecting material rewards.



Figure 3. The people of Labuku village participate altogether in the tradition

Islam places great emphasis on the importance of *ummah* (community) as a unified entity that supports and collaborates with one another. This concept is reflected in the principle of *ta'āwun* (mutual assistance) taught in the Qur'an, as in Qs. Al-Ma'idah/5:2: "And cooperate in righteousness and piety, but do not cooperate in sin and aggression." *Ta'āwun*, or mutual assistance, is a manifestation of kindness, purity of soul, and high morals, fostering solidarity and strengthening friendship (Qomaro & Oktasar, 2018). An important point in *ta'āwun* is the necessity of cooperating in doing good and right things (Rahman et al., 2023). The spirit of mutual cooperation in the *Maccera Manurung* ritual aligns with these values as it involves all members of the community in the preparation and implementation of the ritual, with a shared goal of preserving and sustaining tradition. This collective activity not only strengthens social bonds but also serves as a manifestation of Islamic teachings on helping one another and sharing burdens. In Islam, voluntary and sincere contributions to social activities demonstrate obedience to Allah and fulfill responsibilities as part of the community.

3. Value of Respect for Ancestors

Local wisdom is substantially the embodiment of values that are prevalent in a society and are believed to be true, serving as a reference for the daily behavior of the local community (Nashuddin, 2020). Respect for ancestors in the *Maccera Manurung* ritual in Labuku Village reflects an integral cosmological concept in the life of the local community. Ancestors are viewed as spiritual entities that actively contribute to the welfare of the community, influencing both individuals and the collective. The ritual of visiting graves is not merely a form of respect but also represents a spiritual dialogue, reflecting a belief in sacredness. In this context, religion is seen as a human effort to create a sacred cosmos (Toha, 2016). The community emphasizes the practice of traditions passed down through generations rather than seeking the underlying arguments, yet they are able to interpret the noble values contained within them (Amin, 2017). Additionally, respect for ancestors functions as a social mechanism to strengthen community identity and solidarity, where each individual contributes to preserving shared history and heritage.

The tradition has been constructed in such a way that it aims to obtain blessings from Him in Islam. Many Muslims still practice various rituals, customs, and traditions related to honoring ancestors (Tine, 2018). Islam teaches the importance of respecting parents and ancestors as a form of appreciation for those who have contributed to the lives of the community. Visiting graves in the *Maccera Manurung* ritual, which includes visiting the graves of ancestors, aligns with Islamic teachings about praying for the deceased and asking for forgiveness and mercy for them. Acknowledgment and respect for ancestors in Islam reflect good manners and ethics. Through this practice, the community of Labuku shows recognition of the role of ancestors in passing down the values that underpin their lives, which is also part of Islamic teachings about maintaining relationships with those who have passed away and appreciating history and spiritual heritage. This respect not only supports cultural continuity but also aligns with Islamic principles of honoring and praying for the well-being of the deceased.

4. Value of Simplicity

The value of simplicity in the *Maccera Manurung* ritual serves as a resistance against materialism and hedonism, which can threaten the cultural and spiritual integrity of the community. In an increasingly connected world influenced by external values, this tradition acts as a stronghold for preserving the identity and morality of society, emphasizing that the sustainability of culture lies in the ability to remain simple and to exercise self-control in the face of worldly temptations. This concept teaches that the balance between material and spiritual needs is key to achieving well-being and happiness (Gimri et al., 2023). Simplicity in Islam is reflected in the teachings to live without excess, as demonstrated in the *Maccera Manurung* practice, where the distribution of chicken is divided into two parts: the right side is cooked without salt, while the left side may have salt added. According to the community's understanding, this represents a form of self-control and simplicity.

The Prophet Muhammad emphasized the importance of living simply and avoiding extravagance, as he said, "Indeed, Allah loves to see His servant living simply and not being excessive in all things" (HR. Bukhari). Self-control, or what can also be referred to as a form of piety, is a central value in Islam that involves controlling desires and material urges to maintain the purity of the soul and actions. This kind of awareness will at least guide a Muslim toward closeness to Allah in every circumstance. By consistently bringing such awareness into daily life, it is not impossible that this will influence the formation of a *Rabbānī* (God-centered) personality in the Muslim community (Muhyiddin & Wijayanti, 2022). The avoidance of salt on the cooked chicken symbolizes self-control over worldly pleasures and emphasizes the spiritual aspect aligned with Islamic teachings, which encourage followers to avoid excessive behavior and focus on a higher ultimate goal: drawing closer to Allah and living according to His guidelines.

5. Value of Social Responsibility

Culture plays a crucial role in translating religious principles, where both function as two sides of the same coin, shaping individual attitudes within society (Kobylarek, 2014). In the context of a community that values tradition, actions deviating from customs are regarded as a betrayal of ancestors, potentially leading to spiritual imbalance. Adherence to customs becomes a social contract that binds individuals to maintain harmony within the community, serving as a mechanism for social control. In Labuku Village, customary norms regulate behavior and create a sense of collective responsibility, where every individual is obligated to uphold traditions for social stability. The *Maccera Manurung* tradition is not merely a ritual but also a symbol of identity and a connection to the past, preserving cultural continuity and strengthening solidarity. The inherited tradition encompasses education and new knowledge, teaching the younger generation about diversity, respect, and intercultural dialogue (Hajri, 2023). The values of responsibility and obedience in *Maccera Manurung* touch on deep spiritual, social, and identity aspects, ensuring the continuity of tradition and community harmony, while linking the past, present, and future of the people of Labuku Village.

The values of responsibility and obedience in the *Maccera Manurung* ritual, from an Islamic perspective, can be seen as a manifestation of the principles of *sharia* that emphasize adherence to the laws of Allah and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad. Islam teaches that every Muslim is obligated to wholeheartedly follow the commands of religion, including in traditional practices. This is because tradition, as the breath of life of a society or tribe, will always color the hustle and bustle of religion and everything associated with it (Setiyani, 2021). Religion is an entity that can serve as a context for reflection, involving acceptance, understanding, experiencing, formulating, and embodying it within humanity. The initial goals and aspirations one wished to realize are conveyed, thus serving as a foundation for belief in the truth of God (Saragih, 2018). The implementation of the *Maccera Manurung* ritual, such as the slaughter of

animals in accordance with halal provisions, demonstrates that the *Maccera Manurung* tradition can align with Islamic values that promote social responsibility and positive contributions to the community.

Conclusion

The *Maccera Manurung* ritual in Labuku Village serves as a tangible example of the dialectic between Islamic values and local wisdom, which interact and harmonize with one another. This ritual functions not only as a cultural practice but also as a form of worship that strengthens the faith and spirituality of the community. The values embedded in this tradition, such as spirituality, solidarity, respect for ancestors, simplicity, and social responsibility, demonstrate that local wisdom can serve as a means to deepen the understanding and practice of Islamic teachings. Although rooted in customs, the execution of the *Maccera Manurung* ritual, which includes the slaughtering of animals according to Islamic law, reflects adherence to religious law and can be seen as a positive contribution to the community. Thus, this ritual can be maintained without violating religious rules and provides a pathway for the community to find common ground between established local traditions and Islamic values that serve as guiding principles in the context of modern society. This underscores the importance of preserving cultural identity while also fulfilling the spiritual demands mandated by religion.

The findings from the study of the *Maccera Manurung* ritual in Labuku Village highlight significant implications for the integration of cultural heritage and religious principles in contemporary society. They underscore the potential for local traditions to serve as platforms for fostering spiritual growth and societal cohesion while adhering to religious mandates. This demonstrates that cultural practices do not have to conflict with religious values but can instead complement and enrich them, providing a framework for mutual reinforcement. Such integration can strengthen community identity, ensure the sustainability of cultural wisdom, and offer practical applications for intergenerational education. Furthermore, the alignment of

these traditions with Islamic values showcases a model for preserving cultural integrity in a rapidly modernizing world, emphasizing that local wisdom can play a pivotal role in promoting moral and ethical development alongside social responsibility. This has broader implications for how communities worldwide can navigate the challenges of globalization while maintaining their cultural and religious distinctiveness.

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NYADRAN AND PAGUYUBAN BUDILUHUR IN CARING FOR INTER-RELIGIOUS HARMONY

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Abstract

This research aims to explore how Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur serve as mediums for maintaining inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village, using Max Weber's social action theory. This qualitative study employs descriptive methods, including observation, semi-structured interviews, and field documentation of the Nyadran tradition and the activities of Paguyuban Budiluhur. The findings indicate that social actions lean towards instrumental rationality, as the Nyadran tradition has been institutionalized in the village's annual agenda, and Paguyuban Budiluhur has become an established foundation. Phenomenological analysis reveals that hybrid social spaces, social interaction, nationalism (driven by motive), and the protection of human rights (in order to motive) are key factors supporting inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village. These factors align with the religious moderation vision of the

Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs. This paper proposes a recommendation that efforts to maintain religious harmony can be strengthened by creating and institutionalizing social spaces, such as annual traditions or inter-religious organizations. This institutionalization is important, as modern society tends to approach all actions, including social actions, in a rational manner. Rationality can also encourage broader segments of society to participate in efforts to sustain religious harmony and peace.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memahami latar belakang yang menjadikan Nyadran dan paguyuban Budiluhur, menjadi media merawat kerukunan antar umat beragama di Desa Kapas melalui perspektif teori tindakan sosial Max Weber. Penelitian kualitatif ini dijalankan dengan mengaplikasikan metode deskriptif untuk mengungkapkan peristiwa melalui observasi berkala, wawancara bebas terpimpin, serta dokumentasi penelitian lapangan pada pelaksanaan tradisi Nyadran dan kegiatan Paguyuban Budiluhur di Desa Kapas. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa tindakan sosial di Desa Kapas lebih cenderung kepada tindakan rasional instrumental sebab pelembagaan tradisi Nyadran ke dalam agenda tahunan desa dan Paguyuban Budiluhur dalam sebuah yayasan sebagai instrumen sosial yang mengurus perawatan jenazah warga non-muslim. Kemudian, dalam analisis fenomenologi, ditemukan bahwa ruang sosial hybrid, interaksi sosial dan sikap nasionalisme serta penjaminan hak asasi manusia menjadi faktor-faktor yang mendorong keberhasilan upaya merawat kerukunan antar umat beragama di Desa Kapas. Lebih lanjut, faktor-faktor tersebut sejalan dengan visi sikap moderasi beragama yang dirumuskan oleh Kementerian Agama RI. Makalah ini mengusulkan rekomendasi bahwa upaya menjaga keharmonisan antaragama dapat diperkuat dengan menciptakan dan melembagakan ruang sosial, seperti tradisi tahunan atau organisasi lintas agama. Pelembagaan ini penting, karena masyarakat modern cenderung mendekati semua tindakan, termasuk tindakan sosial, secara rasional. Pendekatan rasional juga dapat mendorong lebih banyak elemen masyarakat untuk berpartisipasi dalam upaya menjaga keharmonisan dan perdamaian antaragama.

Keywords: *Inter-religious harmony, rational action, religious moderation*

Introduction

This article examines the Nyadran tradition and the Budiluhur Paguyuban, focusing on how they create shared spaces for religious communities in Kapas Village, Bojonegoro District, Indonesia. These two social spaces are notable for bringing together individuals from different religious backgrounds to participate in joint activities. Even non-Muslims take part in *Tahlilan*, a ritual traditionally associated with Islam, during the Nyadran tradition. Kapas Village, located in Bojonegoro District, has a highly diverse religious population. While Islam is the majority religion, accounting for 95% of the population, there are also Christians (3.7%), Catholics (0.7%), Buddhists (0.4%), Confucians (0.16%), and Hindus (0.02%). Despite their differing beliefs, the people of Kapas Village have coexisted peacefully for many years, without disputes or conflicts regarding their religious understandings (Velthuis et al., 2021).

Inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village is evident through the Nyadran tradition and the Paguyuban Budiluhur. Nyadran is a tradition practiced by the people of Kapas Village as an expression of gratitude for God's blessings, similar to the Javanese tradition of "Sedekah Bumi." This tradition serves as a unifying event for all religious communities in Kapas Village, involving people from all groups. A unique aspect of this tradition is that all residents, both Muslims and non-Muslims, give alms to one another. They participate in every activity, from the early morning *tahlil* recitation to other rituals, without any conflicts (Yuliningsih et al., 2018).

Additionally, when a resident experiences misfortune, such as illness or death, neighbors visit and support one another regardless of religious differences. Kapas Village has an association called Budiluhur, one of whose programs is to assist in arranging the funerals of non-Muslims. This is done by collecting donations from Kapas residents and helping with funeral arrangements in accordance with the religious customs of the deceased. This practice reflects the strong sense of kinship that has become a defining characteristic of the Kapas Village community. It demonstrates the

community's effort to strengthen collective responsibility and solidarity (Sugianto et al., 2024).

Many traditions in the community showcase values of harmony and tolerance in Indonesia. Several studies highlight how these values are expressed through various forms of local wisdom (Pajarianto et al., 2022) and traditions such as *Perang Centong* (Haryanto, 2022), *Genduren* (Wahyudi, 2019), *Apitan* (Nikmah, 2020), and *Nyadran* (Bagio & Priyadarshana, 2023; Hasan et al., 2023), among others. Furthermore, the values of religious moderation are maintained by communities or organizations. This is evident from studies on community organizations like the Forum Komunikasi Antar Umat Beragama (FKUB) (Idrus & Sonhaji, 2021), Paguyuban (Sulthon et al., 2021), youth organizations (Christover, 2019), and pesantren (Pribadi, 2018). Previous research has found that local traditions can foster religious harmony by embracing differences and promoting coexistence. People respect, appreciate, and care for others of different faiths while maintaining strong adherence to their own religions (Dhani, 2023; Suryana, 2011).

However, in the *Nyadran* tradition and *Paguyuban Budiluhur*, residents of different religions participate in activities that resemble religious rituals and social events together. While in Indonesia, socio-cultural events such as *tahlil* typically involve Muslim communities (Warisno & Tabrani, 2018), in Kapas Village, non-Muslims also follow and recite *tahlil* during the *Nyadran* tradition. They attend, participate, and recite *tahlil* when a resident passes away to show solidarity as members of *Paguyuban Budiluhur*. These activities demonstrate that the *Nyadran* tradition and *Paguyuban Budiluhur* provide opportunities for Kapas residents to foster religious harmony.

The practice of *tahlil* in the *Nyadran* tradition and *Paguyuban Budiluhur* suggests that pluralism in Kapas Village not only promotes coexistence and respect for "the other" (*liyan*), but also unites the community. Furthermore, *Paguyuban Budiluhur*'s initiative to organize crowdfunding to support families in hosting *tahlil* events highlights that the practice of pluralism is managed rationally and with full awareness.

This article focuses on the factors that led to the emergence of tolerance in the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur in Kapas Village. Additionally, it examines the rationality behind sharing within these two social entities using Weber's theory of social action (Weber, 1978). This rationality is important for organizing communities in the modern era. For example, Weber proposed the "rational bureaucratic" model as an ideal form of organization (Udy, 1959). Thus, it is expected that the rational approach to tolerance in Kapas Village can serve as a blueprint for fostering religious harmony more broadly in the future.

Method

The type of research used in this study is descriptive qualitative. The researchers made observations and analyzed the results obtained from the field directly, systematically, and validly (Dawson, 2002). The study was conducted through participatory observation at the research location, particularly during the Nyadran tradition and the activities organized by the Paguyuban Budiluhur. To explore the data, researchers conducted interviews through verbal communication, either in conversation or with a question-and-answer format, with 19 key figures, including residents, community leaders, and religious figures in Kapas Village (Arikunto, 1996). The interviews were conducted openly and semi-guided, but an interview guide was still used to facilitate data collection. This guide could be adjusted according to the informant's responses to better understand the natural setting of the phenomenon being studied, as is typical in qualitative research (Moleong, 2007).

This research uses phenomenology as its approach. Phenomenology aims to approach the truth of a research object by capturing the phenomena or experiences as they are understood by individuals (Cresswell, 2015). Therefore, the researchers avoided directing questions or imposing answers on the informants, allowing the experiences of the individuals to emerge based on subjective awareness and reflection (Smith et al., 2009).

The next stage involves data analysis and processing, where the data were comprehensively analyzed based on the research topic. The analysis was carried out through an in-depth discussion of primary data sources, which were tested for validity using the triangulation method (Moleong, 2007). Furthermore, the researchers analyzed the data using Max Weber's social action theory, as Weber is also considered an early-generation phenomenologist. With this perspective, the researchers aim to understand the background that makes Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur a medium for maintaining inter-religious harmony in Bojonegoro.

This article employed Weber's social action theory. Social action can be defined as an actual event where actors play a role, making positive choices and considering their circumstances before taking action to achieve their goals. Weber's approach seeks to explore the values, goals, beliefs, habits, and attitudes that shape human behavior (Ritzer, 2004). Weber emphasizes the importance of "understanding" as a guide for observation and as a theoretical response to the subjective human psyche. In sociological research, understanding psychological conditions is useful for exploring the relationship between reality and the behavior exhibited by individuals (Weber, 1978).

Rationality is Weber's primary foundation in determining social action. Each individual must rationalize their actions toward others. However, some actions can be easily understood intellectually or, in other words, rationally. In certain situations, however, individuals' actions toward others may not be easily understood, as they may project their own understanding of particular circumstances (Soekanto, 2010). Therefore, in examining social action, Weber also developed a theory regarding the direction of action in situations as understood by individuals within social contexts (Schweikard & Schmid, 2013; Scheff, 2023).

Weber's theorization of this concept is encapsulated in his typology of social action, based on rationality. He classifies social action into four categories: instrumental rationality, value rationality, affective rationality, and traditional rationality (Weber, 1978). In sum, instrumental rationality

involves an individual's intellectual consideration of tools, abilities, goals, and the responses to their actions. Value rationality is derived from an individual's intellectual judgment, where the goals stem from external values such as ethics, aesthetics, or religion. Affective rationality is driven more by emotional responses than by intellectual consideration. Finally, traditional rationality involves actions that are rooted in long-established customs, passed down from ancestors, and, like affective actions, do not involve much intellectual reflection from the individual (Maliki, 2018)

Findings and Discussion

This section discusses rational actions and factors that foster tolerance and pluralism in Kapas Village through the Nyadran tradition and the Budiluhur association. First, it explores Kapas Village as a social space, providing the context and background for this study. The next section examines social actions, particularly those demonstrating tolerance and pluralism, emerging from the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur, using Weber's theory of rational action and Alfred Schutz's phenomenological theory.

Kapas Village: The Hybridity of Rural and Urban Society

Kapas Village is located in Kapas Sub-district, Bojonegoro Regency, at the eastern boundary of the sub-district, approximately 6 km or a 10-minute drive from the urban center of Bojonegoro. The village consists of two hamlets: Sambungrejo (RW 1), which includes eight RTs, and Guyangan (RW 2), which oversees eleven RTs. The village covers an area of 1.11 km², with a population density of 3,163 people/km² (source: <https://kapas-bjn.desa.id/profil-desa/>).

Kapas Village is economically independent, with well-developed micro, small, and medium enterprises (UMKM). Its strategic location places it at the center of commerce and community activities, with various institutions supporting social welfare, education, and economic needs. The village has two large markets, traditional stalls (mrancang), modern shops,

eateries, water wells, terminals, latrines, water reservoirs, and twelve bridges linking it to surrounding areas. Additionally, it is supported by banks, village-owned businesses (Bumdes), cooperatives, farmer groups (Poktan), and farmer group associations (Gapoktan).

Kapas Village also offers good educational facilities. It includes four Early Childhood Education (PAUD) centers, five Kindergartens (TK), two Elementary Schools (SD), one Raudhatul Athfal (RA), and one Madrasah Ibtidaiyyah (MI). In addition, it also has one Junior High School or Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) (source: Kapas Village Monograph).

The strategic location of Kapas Village highlights its development. Situated near the center of Bojonegoro city, the hub of the local economy and government, the village benefits from easy access to resources. It is also located along a highway that connects Bojonegoro to Lamongan, facilitating economic growth. These favorable conditions have allowed Kapas Village to evolve into an independent community with various economic and educational facilities. However, locals attribute much of the village's progress to the legacy of its elders: Simbah Buyut Kaki Kuru, Simbah Umpil, Simbah Palon Singojoyo, and Simbah Rono Joyo Jangrong.

According to local oral history, Kapas Village was founded by Simbah Buyut Kaki Kuru, who is credited with the village's prosperity. Mbah Buyut was an Islamic preacher who settled in what is now Kapas Village. Later, he was joined by Simbah Umpil, who assisted him in spreading Islamic teachings. The site where they resided has since become a sacred place, or *punden*, where the local community holds the Nyadran tradition (Interview with MK, 11 March 2022).

The two pioneers of Kapas Village received substantial support from Mbah Palon Singojoyo, a local resident who granted them land. Another key figure was Mbah Rono Joyo Jangrong, who donated land to build a mosque for religious activities and a market for economic development. As the village grew with the arrival of new settlers, Mbah Palon Singojoyo was appointed the first village leader. The contributions of these four founding figures are

honored by residents through the Nyadran tradition (Interview with MK, 11 March 2022).

Despite Kapas Village's modern development, various traditional practices remain central to the Nyadran tradition. One such practice is "jimpitan," a voluntary donation system where residents contribute small amounts. The term "jimpitan" comes from the Javanese word *jimpit*, meaning "to take with the tips of the fingers." Donations, often placed in small cans originally used as cigarette holders, are collected at the gates or fences of residents' homes. Jimpitan is coordinated at the RT (neighborhood association) level throughout the village. Kapas Village has 20 RTs, each holding monthly meetings to decide how to allocate the jimpitan funds. The village government also facilitates meetings between RTs on the 25th of every month to optimize the use of these donations for the benefit of the community.

The collection of *jimpitan* has become a nightly routine for the villagers of Kapas, who are on watch during the *ronda* or night patrol. The next day, the *jimpitan* container is filled with coins or banknotes by the homeowners, so that at night, the residents on guard at the *ronda* post go around from house to house collecting the *jimpitan*. The proceeds are used according to the community's needs and mutual agreement, either for public construction, recreation, entertainment, or other social needs. Although this tradition involves only a small amount of money, it plays a significant role in fostering and maintaining strong social interactions and harmony within the community. As is well-known, the people of Kapas belong to different religions. Implementing and utilizing *jimpitan* serves as a bridge between these differences (Interview with AARL, 31 January 2022).

Another tradition that serves as a gathering space for Kapas villagers is the *Grebeg Berkah*. This event, held once a year in September, is a celebration of gratitude for the villagers' incomes. It differs from the *Sedekah Bumi* tradition because *Grebeg Berkah* expresses gratitude not only for crops but also for other sources of income, such as business and trade. The highlight of the event is the carrying of *tumpang*—cones of rice or snacks made by the

villagers. The event is also enlivened with folk entertainment, musical performances, and a bazaar (Interview with ASA, 31 January 2022).

In Kapas Village, there are also various traditional Islamic religious activities, such as the recitation of the *Kitab Kuning*, lessons on reading and writing the Qur'an, and the recitation of the Prophet's *shalawat*, which take place in every *musala* throughout the village (Interview with AAA, 11 November 2021).

Nyadran Tradition in Kapas Village: A Multicultural Meeting Space

The Nyadran tradition has existed since the Hindu-Buddhist era. The word "nyadran" originates from "Shraddha," which means a form of respect for spirits considered sacred. In ancient times, Nyadran was a ritual aimed at praying for and connecting with ancestors (Purwaningsih et al., 2016). With the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, this tradition evolved to incorporate more Islamic rituals, but its core purpose—respect for ancestors—remained the same (Brakel, 2004).

In Kapas Village, the Nyadran tradition consists of a series of events held annually on a specific Wednesday, or Rebo Pon. During this event, Kapas residents visit sacred sites, known as "punden," to offer prayers and honor their ancestors, expressing gratitude to God for the blessings received throughout the year. Kapas Village has two main punden for Nyadran: Punden Guyangan and Punden Mbah Umpil. This tradition involves the entire village, including both Muslim and non-Muslim residents. Despite differences in religion, race, and culture, the people of Kapas Village remain united. The community enthusiastically participates in the Nyadran tradition, which fosters harmony between Muslims, Catholics, Protestants, Confucians, Hindus, and Buddhists.

The Nyadran at Punden Guyangan starts at 7:00 AM and continues until the tumpeng ritual is completed, around 5:00 PM. The day's events begin with cleaning the Guyangan punden, believed to be the resting place of the village ancestor, Mbah Buyut Kaki Kuru. The community gathers to

clean the tomb in preparation for Nyadran, with all residents—Muslim and non-Muslim—working together, reinforcing the spirit of cooperation.

Next, *tahlil* (Islamic prayer) is recited collectively at the village hall, led by Mr. Yasin or Mr. Husaini, local Islamic leaders. Interestingly, non-Muslim residents also participate in the *tahlil* recitation. Before the *tahlil*, the leader invites everyone to pray according to their own religion or belief (Interview with MH, 11 November 2022).

In the afternoon, residents bring *tumpeng* (ceremonial rice cones) to the *punden*. This Nyadran tradition is followed by both Muslims and non-Muslims, especially those who have vows or personal prayers. Even Mr. Sadar Yusak, the Catholic priest, often participates. The village head also contributes by bringing *tumpeng* with "ingkung" (whole chicken), which is then shared with the villagers (Interview with AARL, 31 January 2022).

The Nyadran at Punden Mbah Umpil is similar to that at Punden Guyangan, differing only in location and time, as it is held during the day. Some locals believe that Mbah Umpil's resting place is not here but only his "petilasan" (sacred site). The caretaker, Mbah Suprianto, oversees the ceremonies at Mbah Umpil Punden. Though the *punden* was once covered with old roof tiles, it has been gradually renovated in honor of the elders. Pilgrims frequently visit, though Mbah Suprianto reminds them not to ask for material blessings, as Mbah Umpil is just an intermediary, with all prayers ultimately directed to God. It is also forbidden for menstruating women to enter the *punden*'s grave area.

Some residents come to fulfill vows at the *punden*. Before hosting events like Nyadran, village officials visit Punden Mbah Umpil first, as it is considered the oldest *punden* in Kapas Village. Traditionally, the Nyadran here did not include Islamic rituals like *tahlil* or Yasin. People would simply come and eat at the *punden*. However, since Mbah Suprianto became the caretaker, *tahlil* and Yasin prayers have been incorporated into the ceremony.

To enhance the Nyadran event in Kapas Village, villagers usually organize a performance of "Sindiran," a type of Tayub, in the village hall at

night after the Nyadran ceremony. Sindiran is considered an essential part of the Nyadran tradition in Kapas Village, as it must be included according to the village elders. Even during the COVID-19 outbreak, this performance continued, albeit with restrictions on the number of attendees. Under normal circumstances, the performance is attended by village officials, religious leaders, community leaders, Kapas residents—both Muslim and non-Muslim—and even people from neighboring villages. The performers are typically Tayub artists brought in from Bojonegoro or Jatirogo, Tuban (Interview with ASA, 31 January 2022).

Paguyuban Budiluhur in Kapas Village: A Space for Minority Accommodation

Kapas Village is known for its religious tolerance. Within the social structure and community order of the village, there are no inter-religious disputes. Instead, the village demonstrates a harmonious and prosperous way of life (Interview with AAA, 11 November 2021). Kapas, which is home to a diverse religious community, even has a non-Muslim organization called Paguyuban Budiluhur. This foundation, established in 2015 by Pak Totok Sudiyono, a Catholic who was then the Head of Kapas Village, was created in response to concerns raised by non-Muslim residents about cemetery issues and unused land owned by a Chinese foundation that was not being maintained. The land was acquired by the Paguyuban Budiluhur Foundation and turned into a non-Muslim cemetery adjacent to the Islamic cemetery. The foundation's original purpose was to assist with funeral arrangements for non-Muslim residents, a necessary service in a predominantly Muslim area unfamiliar with non-Muslim burial customs.

Mr. Totok initially led the foundation, but its leadership is now held by Pastor Sadar Yusak. Mr. Totok remains as the foundation's advisor. Pastor Yusak, who has been assigned to Kapas Village since 1983, has integrated well into the community and actively participates in village traditions such as the Nyadran tradition. He is also involved in Graikamtikmas, organized by the Kapas police, and Pendetakamtikmas, which holds meetings every few

months attended by Kapas residents (Interview with SY, 13 March 2022). Although Paguyuban Budiluhur was founded and is led by Catholics, its members include Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and Confucians. They meet twice a year among the board members and once every two years with all members to discuss the foundation's needs. Additional meetings are held when a member passes away.

The main activity of Paguyuban Budiluhur is raising funds to cover the funeral expenses for non-Muslim residents. Every member is required to contribute a minimum of Rp. 2,000 to the association's treasury. These funds, along with contributions from the general Kapas community, are used to manage funeral arrangements for members, regardless of whether they are Catholic, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, or Confucian. Members' bodies are buried on land allocated by the foundation. Non-Muslim Kapas residents who are not members of Budiluhur may also be buried on the land, but they do not receive financial assistance for funeral arrangements (Interview with TS, 11 November 2021).

During non-Muslim religious holidays, Paguyuban Budiluhur members typically organize celebrations and invite both non-Muslim members and Muslim residents from the village. They also distribute gifts to those living near the foundation's office and around their homes (Interview with EWS, 1 February 2022). This charitable activity increased significantly during the COVID-19 pandemic. Paguyuban Budiluhur members, who are generally from upper-middle-class backgrounds, raised significant funds to support Kapas residents affected by COVID-19, providing assistance for those in self-isolation, hospitalized, or bereaved. This aid was distributed equally among all affected residents, regardless of their religion (Interview with AAA, 11 November 2021).

Rationality of Efforts to Maintain Religious Harmony in Nyadran Tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur

The description of the Nyadran tradition and the Paguyuban Budiluhur activities above illustrates how these two elements serve as mediums for maintaining religious harmony in Kapas Village. The traditions and activities of these institutions demonstrate deliberate efforts to strengthen and uphold social cohesion in the multicultural community of Kapas Village. This is evident in the institutionalization of the Nyadran tradition as an annual event in the village (Yusuf et al., 2023), as well as the formalization of Paguyuban Budiluhur. These institutionalizations are concrete efforts by Kapas Village policymakers. By institutionalizing these traditions, village policymakers ensure that material support is provided to sustain the Nyadran tradition and run the Paguyuban Budiluhur's programs. Additionally, support comes from Kapas residents through the practice of *jimpitan* (a small community-based donation). In other words, in addition to institutionalization, the effort to maintain inter-religious harmony is reinforced by financial support through village programs and the *jimpitan* practice.

Efforts to preserve religious harmony in Kapas Village through the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur are also passed down to the younger generation. In the Nyadran tradition, community and religious leaders involve youth in activities like cleaning the *punden*, participating in *tahlilan*, and performing *sindiran*. These activities are enthusiastically carried out by adults, youth, and children alike. Additionally, the youth are entrusted with managing *jimpitan* as part of the Paguyuban Budiluhur program. The youth members of the foundation are tasked with collecting money from the *jimpitan* cans in front of residents' houses, which is then counted and managed by the treasurer. Passing down this tradition and involving the younger generation is crucial (Chalim et al., 2023), especially in the face of globalization, which allows the unrestricted spread of various cultures into different regions.

The various efforts made by the Kapas community have proven successful in fostering a social order that sustains and preserves inter-religious harmony in the village. This success is closely tied to the factors and considerations behind these efforts. From a phenomenological perspective, actions are shaped by collective understanding within society. These actions can be identified through an analysis of motives, as formulated by Max Weber. Motives refer to the reasons behind actions, rooted in specific rationalities. Weber argues that social actions are often seen as objective facts, without deeper inquiry into the causal relationships that drive them (Weber, 1978). Moreover, as a key figure in interpretive sociology, Weber defined sociology as a science aimed at interpreting and understanding social actions and relationships to uncover causal explanations (Reed, 2023).

Max Weber's theory of social action defines an individual's action as long as it carries subjective meaning for the individual and is directed at the actions of others, making it "meaningful action." Weber distinguishes action from mere behavior by asserting that a movement is not considered an action unless it has subjective meaning for the person involved (Weber, 1978). This indicates that an actor is aware of their actions, which can be analyzed through their understanding, motives, and feelings. According to Weber, rationality is classified into four types of social action (Ritzer, 2004), which can be observed in the traditional activities of Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur in Kapas Village.

First, *instrumentally rational action* refers to actions where individuals consider the relationship between the means used and the goals they wish to achieve. In this case, the Kapas community has carefully planned almost all activities within the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur, considering the objectives and the methods of achieving them. The institutionalization of the Nyadran tradition as an annual village event demonstrates the rationality of this action. Each activity, procedure, and funding involved in Nyadran is calculated and planned. This rationality is also present in Paguyuban Budiluhur, which brings together members of

various religions and has been institutionalized and legalized as a foundation.

Second, *value-oriented rational action* involves actions that are rational based on their perceived benefits, even if the specific goals are not clearly defined. In this case, the person engaging in the action believes that it aligns with the values of what is good and right according to the community's standards. In the context of the Nyadran tradition, non-Muslim members of Kapas participate in *tahlilan* as part of the Nyadran events. While their participation in *tahlilan* may not be rational from a strictly religious standpoint, for the participants, it is a form of social participation required of all Kapas residents. The fact that Kapas residents, including non-Muslims, know the *tahlil* text by heart indicates that *tahlilan*, in this context, has transcended religious expression and has become a form of social action. Kapas Village, with its multicultural society, has brought the Nyadran tradition, including *tahlilan*, beyond theological boundaries and into the public sphere, allowing it to permeate individual understanding and guide their actions (Soekanto, 2010). Similarly, the philanthropic activities led by Paguyuban Budiluhur demonstrate that acts of kindness transcend the divisive boundaries of religion (Adam, 2017).

Third, *traditional action* refers to actions performed simply because they are customary, without consideration of the reasons or planning for the goals and methods. In such actions, the individual merely adheres to a long-standing tradition, viewing its continuation as essential. These actions are driven by habit and the desire to preserve tradition. While this type of action is not found in Paguyuban Budiluhur, which was established recently, it can be observed in the Nyadran tradition, particularly in events like *sindiran* performances and *tumpeng ingkung*. Although the original reasons for these Nyadran activities may no longer be known, Kapas residents continue to organize them simply because they are tradition. In fact, Kapas residents invest significant effort and resources into maintaining *sindiran*, even as *sindiran* artists become increasingly rare (Interview with ASA, 31 January 2022).

Fourth, *affective action* is characterized by spontaneous reactions to events, performed without planning or full awareness. This type of action is absent from the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur, as both are carefully planned and institutionalized efforts that mediate inter-religious social relations in Kapas. However, during the peak of the Nyadran tradition, when the *sindirani* performance is followed by music and a bazaar, the joyful expressions of attendees are evident. This annual event not only fosters inter-religious harmony but also brings happiness to the people of Kapas Village. Moreover, visitors to the event come not only from Kapas but also from surrounding areas.

The various identifications above reinforce Weber's assertion that social action must contain subjective meaning. Weber argues that individuals in society act based on subjective considerations, even when their actions align with societal norms. The Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur represent collective actions performed by Kapas residents, but each individual has their own rationality for participating, as illustrated by the analysis of the four types of social action.

Overall, the most prominent type of action in both the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur is *instrumentally rational action*. This type of action is evident in the institutionalization of these traditions, which have been carefully planned and organized. The activities carried out in these two events shape social relationships and the community's social structure. The institutionalization of both Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur plays a crucial role in maintaining harmony in Kapas Village. Previous studies have found that inter-religious dialogue and communication are key to fostering tolerance (Fuadi, 2021; Indainanto et al., 2023; Suparto et al., 2023). Furthermore, the community must create social spaces where people of different religious backgrounds can come together and engage in joint activities (Ismail, 2010; Yuliningsih et al., 2018). Thus, the institutionalization of Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur represents a valuable effort by Kapas Village to strengthen community solidarity.

The overall actions in the Nyadran and Paguyuban Budiluhur traditions reflect efforts to maintain inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village. It is evident that every event held in Kapas Village demonstrates a high level of solidarity, which serves as a rational guide for the community. At the same time, residents also show respect for each other, even when it may seem irrational. For instance, they follow the rule that prohibits certain spices in the *tumpang* offerings. Although the original reason for this prohibition may be unclear, they respect it because it has been passed down through generations, and they dare not violate the customs of Kapas Village. Therefore, the village's efforts to preserve local traditions and wisdom amidst modernization also contribute to maintaining harmony (Brakel, 2004; Dhani, 2023; Pajarianto et al., 2022; Riyadi, 2017).

In this context, it is crucial to delve deeper into the motives behind individual actions within the community that have successfully created a harmonious environment. This research will employ a phenomenological analysis to explore the underlying consciousness behind the harmonious attitudes of Kapas residents. The phenomenological theory used in this analysis is Alfred Schutz's, which is considered more practical and operational than the earlier, more philosophical phenomenological approaches (Ahimsa-Putra, 2012). Schutz divides the motive of action into two categories: the "because motive" and the "in order to motive."

The "because motive" refers to the reasons behind a person's actions, shaped by the community's background (Schutz, 1964). The "because motive" for fostering inter-religious harmony in Kapas is at least partly motivated by the preservation of tradition, the creation of hybrid social spaces, social interaction, and a sense of nationalism. As mentioned earlier, Kapas Village is a boundary area between urban Bojonegoro and rural areas. This demographic condition makes Kapas an ideal space for the intersection of modernity and tradition. The hybrid social space in modern Kapas allows for unique social interactions. On one hand, modernity in Kapas has made the population highly heterogeneous. On the other hand, the long-held traditions of the residents foster a friendly and open attitude, known in

Javanese as *tepo seliro*, despite religious differences (Interview with SY, 13 March 2022). Such social interactions eventually promote a sense of nationalism (Tim Penyusun Kementerian Agama RI, 2019), a nationalism that transcends religious differences, fostering a shared identity as Indonesian citizens (Interview with TS, 11 November 2021).

The "in order to motive" refers to the future goal or result that an individual aims to achieve through their actions (Schutz, 1964). Various social activities in Kapas Village, such as Nyadran, Paguyuban Budiluhur, Grebeg Berkah, *jimpitan*, and other initiatives focused on religious harmony, are all aimed at ensuring the fulfillment of individual rights and freedoms in Kapas Village. This goal fosters interactions among Kapas residents and upholds the essence and dignity of humanity. The unity and cohesion achieved are not based on religious uniformity but rather on a shared commitment to mutual tolerance and respect among individuals of different faiths. The various motives and goals behind the social actions of Kapas residents in maintaining religious harmony align with the concept of religious moderation as defined by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia (Tim Penyusun Kementerian Agama RI, 2019).

Overall, the findings of this study also have several limitations. Firstly, while the research identifies instrumental rationality and institutionalization as key factors in maintaining inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village, it may not fully capture the complexity of informal, everyday interactions that contribute to social cohesion. These unobserved interactions could play a significant role but remain underexplored due to the study's focus on formalized traditions like Nyadran and the activities of Paguyuban Budiluhur. Additionally, the findings are context-specific and may not be easily transferable to other villages or regions with different social dynamics, religious compositions, or historical contexts. The study also primarily draws from the perspectives of leaders and active participants, potentially overlooking the views of marginalized or less vocal community members, whose experiences and perceptions of religious harmony may differ. Finally, the emphasis on rationality might downplay the emotional or

affective dimensions of social actions, which could be significant in understanding how religious harmony is experienced and sustained in a community.

Conclusion

The Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur serve as unifying platforms for the local community to foster inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village. Using Weber's rationality analysis, it was found that social action in Kapas Village is predominantly inclined towards instrumentally rational action due to the institutionalization of the Nyadran tradition as part of the village's annual agenda and the formalization of Paguyuban Budiluhur as a foundation. However, the other three types of action were also observed as part of the activities associated with both the Nyadran tradition and Paguyuban Budiluhur programs. These findings reinforce Weber's theory that social action is defined by the meaning individuals ascribe to their actions, even when they follow similar patterns of behavior.

In the phenomenological analysis, it was found that maintaining tradition, hybrid social spaces, social interaction, and nationalism (because motive), along with the guarantee of human rights (in order to motive), are key factors that contribute to the success of efforts to sustain inter-religious harmony in Kapas Village. Furthermore, these factors align with the vision of religious moderation promoted by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs.

This paper concludes with a recommendation that efforts to maintain religious harmony can be strengthened by creating and institutionalizing social spaces, such as annual traditions or inter-religious organizations. This institutionalization is important, as modern society tends to approach social actions in a rational way. Rationality can also encourage broader participation in efforts to sustain religious harmony and peace.

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HARMONY WITH NATURE: A LITERATURE REVIEW OF ISLAMIC AND PERENNIAL VALUES IN CIKONDANG INDIGENOUS TRADITIONS

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Abstract

The Cikondang indigenous community, one of the indigenous communities in Bandung Regency, holds a wealth of rich and diverse cultural values, including Islamic and timeless values that serve as guidelines for life. However, in an era of modernization and rapid environmental change, challenges to the preservation of such traditions and values are increasing. A lack of understanding and documentation regarding the relationship between these values and harmony with nature can result in the loss of cultural identity and damage the balance of local ecosystems. Therefore, this research aims to explore and analyze existing literature to understand how Islamic and perennial values are reflected in the traditions of the Cikondang community and how these values can contribute to efforts to maintain harmony between humans and nature. The research method used is a literature review. The selected literature includes journal articles, books, and academic sources relevant to the themes of local wisdom, religious values, and community relations with the environment,

with a focus on publications from the last two decades. The results demonstrate that there is an integration of Islamic and perennial values in the Cikondang indigenous community. These values create a social system that encourages collaboration between humans and nature, where the Cikondang people see themselves as part of the ecosystem, not its master. Islamic values address environmental management, such as the concept of khalifah (stewardship), encouraging people to preserve natural resources. Similarly, perennial values promote respect for nature and encourage strengthening the relationship between humans and nature.

Masyarakat adat Cikondang, salah satu komunitas adat di Kabupaten Bandung, memiliki kekayaan nilai budaya yang kaya dan beragam, termasuk nilai-nilai Islam dan nilai-nilai abadi yang menjadi pedoman hidup. Namun, di era modernisasi dan perubahan lingkungan yang cepat, tantangan terhadap pelestarian tradisi dan nilai-nilai tersebut semakin meningkat. Kurangnya pemahaman dan dokumentasi mengenai hubungan antara nilai-nilai ini dengan keharmonisan alam dapat menyebabkan hilangnya identitas budaya serta merusak keseimbangan ekosistem lokal. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi dan menganalisis literatur yang ada guna memahami bagaimana nilai-nilai Islam dan abadi tercermin dalam tradisi komunitas Cikondang dan bagaimana nilai-nilai ini dapat berkontribusi pada upaya menjaga keharmonisan antara manusia dan alam. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah tinjauan literatur. Literatur yang dipilih mencakup artikel jurnal, buku, dan sumber akademis yang relevan dengan tema kearifan lokal, nilai-nilai keagamaan, dan hubungan masyarakat dengan lingkungan, dengan fokus pada publikasi dua dekade terakhir. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya integrasi nilai-nilai Islam dan abadi dalam komunitas adat Cikondang. Nilai-nilai ini menciptakan sistem sosial yang mendorong kolaborasi antara manusia dan alam, di mana masyarakat Cikondang melihat diri mereka sebagai bagian dari ekosistem, bukan penguasanya. Nilai-nilai Islam berbicara tentang pengelolaan lingkungan, seperti konsep khalifah (pemimpin) di bumi, yang mendorong orang untuk melestarikan sumber daya alam. Demikian pula, nilai-nilai abadi menghormati alam dan mendorong pemeliharaan serta penguatan hubungan antara manusia dan alam.

Keywords: *Cikondang indigenous community, local wisdom, Islamic values, perennial philosophy*

Introduction

Modernization has gradually brought changes to human life, leading to life crises (Wora, 2006). Human culture and knowledge systems have shifted, particularly in how people view nature. Modern humans see nature as an object to be enjoyed. Modern rationalism has displaced the position of God in human life. According to Emanuel, in the modern world, rationality no longer belongs to God but to man (Wora, 2006).

The development of science and technology has further encouraged the free exploitation of nature. This is unsurprising, as Western science has become increasingly secular. Secularism, in this context, refers to the exclusion of divine elements from the objects of science, which were once integral to the scientific worldview (Kartanegara, 2003). The consequence of this shift is the loss of the sacred aspects of nature. For modern humans, nature is merely an object, detached from human life, and therefore something to be used and enjoyed without limits. In Nasr's words, modern man has turned nature into a form of "prostitution," to be consumed without any sense of responsibility (Nasr, 1988). This perspective stands in stark contrast to pre-modern views, which held that nature possessed a sacred quality. It was believed that nature communicated with humanity, and all natural phenomena had meaning. Nature was also seen as a source of spirituality, as the structure of the cosmos conveyed a spiritual message to humans (Nasr, 1988).

Modern humans have excessively exploited nature, causing damage to habitats for both humans and other creatures. The consequences of these actions include a loss of balance and an environmental crisis. This environmental crisis negatively impacts human life, resulting in disasters such as floods and landslides. According to Nasr, the domination of nature has led to issues such as overpopulation, the lack of breathing space, urban congestion, depletion of natural resources, and the destruction of natural beauty (Nasr, 1988).

Environmental degradation can be caused by excessive mining, mass exploitation, forest burning, and dumping waste into rivers. These actions

trigger major disasters like landslides, floods, and droughts. Many human activities toward nature are carried out without responsibility, leaving people unaware that they are, indirectly, destroying their own habitat (Ramdhan et al., 2015; Mulyadi et al., 2022).

The ongoing destruction of nature must be stopped, or at least humans need to be made aware of their role within nature. Modern society can learn from indigenous peoples who diligently protect their environment. In fact, many humanitarian disasters are a result of human behavior itself (Abdillah, 2021; Suyatman, 2018).

Addressing environmental problems requires more than just technology and scientific methods; it also calls for forces such as religion, beliefs, and ethics that shape human attitudes toward nature. Moral and religious values often offer valuable guidance for environmental protection and preservation (Suyatman, 2018; Maridi, 2015).

These values are closely tied to local wisdom as principles and practices embraced by local communities in interacting with their environment, forming value systems and customary norms. Local wisdom, rooted in indigenous traditions, guides behavior passed down through generations (Salim, 2016; Chairul, 2019). Thus, the sustainability of local wisdom is reflected in the practices that contain values guiding the behavior of certain communities.

Communities with local wisdom are often tied to indigenous peoples. The term "indigenous peoples" refers to various groups worldwide, each distinct in history, traditions, culture, and lifestyle. Despite these differences, they share a deep, often spiritual, connection to their traditional lands, which shapes their identity (Henningfeld, 2009).

Indigenous peoples often express their culture through systems of rituals, activities, and artifacts, which carry values vital to their survival. This cultural richness is evident in the Cikondang indigenous community, a Sundanese ethnic group known for preserving ancestral teachings. All members of the Cikondang community practice Islam, reflecting a blend of Islamic and Sundanese cultural traditions in daily life. A key aspect of the

Cikondang community is their dedication to preserving and utilizing their natural environment (Miharja, 2016). In the context of climate change and environmental degradation, the practices of the Cikondang people offer valuable insights into sustainable solutions. Traditional practices often hold important lessons in environmental management. By understanding these adaptive practices, challenges, and the role of religious values, we can develop more effective strategies to preserve both cultural and ecological heritage.

Research on the Cikondang indigenous community, focusing on their culture, local wisdom, and environmental practices, has been extensive. Miharja (2015a) studied their cultural approach to environmental preservation and found that many traditions reflect a deep concern for the environment. For instance, the Cikondang area remains unaffected by landslides during the rainy season, and water sources are effectively utilized for agriculture, leading to abundant crops. Even during extended dry seasons, the Cikondang community does not face water shortages, despite being located in mountainous terrain.

Darmawan et al. (2023) focuses on the ecological local wisdom of the Cikondang traditional village through the concept of an eco-museum. The results highlighted how the values of the Cikondang indigenous people can be applied to environmental conservation efforts. This cultural inheritance can be preserved and passed on to younger generations through an eco-museum, which serves as a platform for appreciation and education. Similarly, Widiанти & Santosa (2021) examined the territoriality of space within the Cikondang traditional house during the Wuku Taun tradition. Their research found that territoriality is maintained through spatial arrangements, where space users adhere to customary restrictions as a defensive mechanism. These rules, grounded in cultural and ritual practices, foster an orderly territorial structure, demonstrating how indigenous customs continue to shape territorial behavior.

Much of the existing research centers on the culture, local wisdom, and traditions passed down through generations in the Cikondang traditional village. However, further exploration is needed to examine the

enduring values of local wisdom through the lens of perennial philosophy. Perennial philosophy, also known as traditional philosophy, addresses the existence of “The Sacred” or “The One,” in contrast to modern philosophy, which often seeks to exclude the sacred from intellectual discourse (Wora, 2006; Amalia, 2019).

Perennial philosophy, or *Philosophia perennis*, literally means "everlasting philosophy." The term 'perennial' can be understood in two ways: as a specific philosophical tradition or as a philosophy with timeless teachings, irrespective of its name (Amalia, 2019). The concept of wisdom, particularly local wisdom, encompasses the following meanings: First, it refers to the wise and virtuous views of local leaders or ancestors, which serve as guiding principles for the community. Second, local wisdom represents ancestral values integrated into religion, culture, and customs. Third, it reflects a body of knowledge developed by local communities through generations of experience in cultivating nature, fostering a mutually beneficial and sustainable relationship between humans and the environment. In this sense, local wisdom is synonymous with ecological wisdom (Miharja, 2015b).

This research focuses on the local practices and values upheld by the Cikondang indigenous community in Bandung Regency, particularly in their interactions with the natural environment. It also explores how Islamic values and perennial philosophy are integrated into Cikondang customary practices, shaping the community's attitudes and behaviors towards environmental stewardship.

Method

This research is qualitative in nature, utilizing a literature-based approach (Darmalaksana, 2020). Literature was selected from various sources such as journal articles, books, and other academic materials relevant to the themes of local wisdom, religious values, perennial philosophy, and the relationship between communities and the environment, with a focus on publications from the last two decades related to local wisdom, Islamic

values, and perennial philosophy within the traditions of the Cikondang indigenous community. Once gathered, the literature sources were categorized according to the research questions. After categorization, the researcher extracted data from the library sources. The next step involved exploring and analyzing the existing literature to understand how Islamic and perennial values are reflected in the traditions of the Cikondang community, and how these values can contribute to efforts to maintain harmony between humans and nature.

Findings and Discussion

Cultural and Environmental Context of the Cikondang Indigenous Community

Administratively, the Cikondang Traditional Village is located in Lamajang Village, Pangalengan District, Bandung Regency. It is bordered to the north by Sukamaju Village in Cimaung Subdistrict, to the south by the Gunung Tilu Protection Forest and Pulosari Village in Pangalengan Subdistrict, to the east by the Cisangkuy River, Cikalong Village, and Tribhakti Village, and to the west by Sukamaju Village and Mekarsari Village in Pangalengan Subdistrict. To the northwest, it is bordered by the Gunung Tilu Forest and the Pasir Jambu Gambung Tea Plantation.

Cikondang is a peaceful village located on the slopes of Mount Tilu. For generations, the people of Cikondang have preserved their ancestral customs. As such, the Cikondang Village community is a closely-knit group that continues to uphold these traditions. The village has a leader, known as the *Juru Kunci* (or *Kuncen*), who is considered to possess deep knowledge of the village's customs. Cikondang Village is rich in both tangible and intangible heritage, including its customs and traditions (Miharja, 2016). For them, earning more about their local culture which helps preserving and perpetuating their cultural authenticity and indigenous heritage (Gunara et al., 2022).

The Wise Attitude of the Cikondang Indigenous People towards Nature

For generations, the people of Cikondang Village still adhere to ancestral customs. Therefore, wisdom inherited from generation to generation, makes the local area capable of making its natural environment sustainable. Cikondang has changed shape since the great fire of 1942 that hit this village, but the traditional values were still maintained. Some traditional buildings in the form of houses with the concept of a Sundanese house appear to still stand firm and well-maintained. It is what makes indigenous identity carried by the Cikondang village (Miharja, 2016).

In addition to the form of buildings that are still maintained, there are also traditions that to this day continue to be carried out for generations. This behavior illustrates the attention of Cikondang indigenous people to the surrounding nature and at the same time affirms the sacredness of nature. This can be seen from the way they treat nature. For them, nature is not an object that can be exploited excessively. Nature and humans have a relationship that must be maintained. Therefore, a number of traditions illustrate human respect for nature and servitude to the transcendent. This growing local wisdom is also a bulwark against modern paradigms and beliefs that have made nature an object to be controlled and as an entity separate from humans. Modernity has made humans arrogant about their abilities, emphasizing absolute individuality. In the era of modernity, the position of divine reality or universal reality has been eliminated, they focus more on particularity. In the end, God is no longer needed to answer questions about the meaning of the world (Abdillah, 2021; Wora, 2006).

The following are some traditions that have survived and continue to be practiced by the Cikondang indigenous people for generations (Miharja, 2016; Hasanah et al., 2021): First, the tradition of *Ngaruat Lembur* (Hajat Lembur). This is commonly practiced as a celebration held by the local community to ensure the safety of their hometown. *Ngaruat Lembur* is performed to ask God for blessings and protection over the environment they live in.

Second, the *Ngaruat Bumi* tradition, or "purification of the land." It is a ritual where the community seeks to cleanse or purify the land, offering respect to nature and seeking blessings for prosperity and harmony. The ceremony typically includes offerings and prayers to maintain the balance between humans and the natural world. Additionally, there is the *Ngaruat Kandang Ayam*, which involves cleansing the chicken coop (Miharja, 2016) to ensure that the chickens and their environment remain healthy and prosperous. This ritual symbolizes respect for animals and acknowledges their importance in the community's livelihood.

Third, the *Ruat Solokan* tradition, which focuses on preserving water channels that irrigate rice fields, ponds, and other areas. By maintaining these water flows, the community ensures they continue to benefit from them (Hasanah et al., 2021). In the *Ruat Solokan* tradition, the values of Islamic teachings are evident, with the recitation of *tawasul* and prayers seeking closeness to Allah. This tradition is an expression of gratitude to Allah.

Fourth, the *Ruat Hajat* tradition. This tradition can be understood as a cleansing ceremony to fulfill a significant desire or purpose (Miharja, 2016). It is typically performed during important moments in a person's life, such as before a wedding, embarking on a significant journey, or at the beginning of an agricultural season. It can also be conducted on a community level, particularly during harvest times or to commemorate special village events.

Fifth, the tradition of agricultural ceremonies. During farming activities, the farmers prepare a simple set of materials for the ceremony, including *hanjuang*, *jawer kotok*, temiang leaves, and *peuteuy selong* leaves. They then make a seven-ingredient salad, consisting of tamarind, coconut, sugar, *tiwu*, *surawung*, golden bananas, and *ambon* bananas. This salad is wrapped in banana leaves. Additionally, they prepare a set of betel materials with incense and frankincense.

Sixth, the tradition of the Hajat Paralon ceremony. *Hajat* or *Selamatan* is a tradition practiced in rural areas, including Cikondang Village in

Lamajang Village, which is passed down to the next generation. It serves as an expression of gratitude for blessings and protection from natural or human dangers. The term *hajat* comes from the word *hayat*, meaning life, which is reflected in the phrase *hajat solokan hirupna solokan ayana cai dengdeng langgeng henteu kakurangan cai* [The purpose of the canal is for life, with a constant flow of water, ensuring there is never a shortage of water]. This tradition highlights the Cikondang indigenous people's responsibility in managing and utilizing water (Hasanah et al., 2021). It also demonstrates their approach to village spatial planning, the establishment of protected forests, and the enforcement of various prohibitions and guidelines. The enduring legacy of water conservation wisdom in the Cikondang community is evident in the community's active involvement in ceremonial activities and the consistent integration of this wisdom into daily routines.

In addition to water conservation, the Cikondang indigenous people's farming knowledge system is also based on local wisdom. They have developed the ability to predict when to start planting and when to allow the land to rest. Their expertise in irrigation and fertilization methods leads to abundant harvests (Hasanah et al., 2021)

The belief in the protective power of ancestral spirits is thought to shield the Cikondang community from various problems and dangers. This trust and the enduring relationship the Cikondang people maintain with the transcendent have created a harmonious bond with nature. They recognize that when the harmony between humans and nature is disrupted, it is often a result of a broken relationship between humans and God (Nasr, 1990).

The main ancestors worshiped in Cikondang are *Eyang Pameugeut* and *Eyang Istri*, an ancestral couple who are significant elders in the Cikondang indigenous tradition. The local community regards these two Eyangs as guardians responsible for spreading Islam in the South Bandung region, particularly in Cikondang Village. They are believed to have "tilem," meaning they disappeared without a trace, as if swallowed by the earth or the jungle (Miharja, 2016; Istianti et al., 2022).

Customs related to the ancestors, such as adhering to taboos and conducting traditional ceremonies, are preserved to protect natural resources. These customs are observed by all 200 households in the Cikondang traditional village. Despite living in a modern era, the community has successfully preserved the environment and its living creatures for over 300 years. One example is the sacred or prohibited forests, which the local people continue to maintain. Miharja (2016) noted that the prohibited or sacred forest in the traditional village covers approximately three hectares and is part of the Gunung Tilu area. The Cikondang community firmly believes that the forest is a source of life that must not be disturbed. As a result, it is forbidden to cut down trees for firewood; only fallen branches or trees are permitted to be collected.

The knowledge and interaction between the Cikondang people and their natural surroundings, particularly the Mount Tilu forest, are evident in their multilayered ecosystem management, reflecting environmental wisdom. Their land management practices are based on historical experiences. According to this indigenous understanding, the landscape is defined as an open space that serves specific functions for daily life and is deeply connected to the community's history. The community names landscapes based on their purpose, attributes, or ownership. For instance, the *Parabon* landscape derives its name from the phrase "*paranti ngebon*," meaning gardening, and refers to land used primarily for gardening. The *Lamping* landscape, on the other hand, refers to steep land with a slope of over 45 degrees, making it unsuitable for conventional farming practices. In accordance with ancestral customs, certain rice field areas are designated as *Sawah Adat* based on their ownership (Ramadhan et al., 2015; Miharja, 2015a).

The knowledge and interaction of the Sundanese community in the Cikondang traditional village with the surrounding nature, particularly the Gunung Tilu forest, is demonstrated by a stratified ecosystem landscape that reflects environmental wisdom. This is reinforced by binding rules for the community based on "Pamali" (a law of taboo or sin). With such an

arrangement, the community refrains from exploiting the forest excessively and is encouraged to cultivate their own surroundings. They are also required to maintain the preservation of their forests, as it is considered part of their ancestral duties (Miharja, 2016).

In relation to "pamali," the term has an influence not only on the Cikondang residents but also on those in the surrounding areas. People are deterred from engaging in actions deemed taboo. Often, the specific meaning and intent behind a prohibition are not explained, with only the consequences mentioned. One example of environmental prohibitions in Cikondang custom is as follows: (a) *Teu meunang ka leuweung (karamat) dina poe Rebo, Juma'ah jeung sabtu* (Entering the sacred forest is forbidden on Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays). The intent behind this is to give the forest a rest, allowing plants to grow undisturbed and animals the chance to breed. (b) *Teu meunang subat-sabet lamun lain sabeuteunnana* (Careless cutting of plants is forbidden). This suggests that certain plants, beneficial to humans, should not be unnecessarily destroyed. (c) *Teu meunang ngadeugkeun imah jeung teu meunang peupeulakan dina bulan Muharram, Safar, jeung Mulud, oge dina bulan Rajab, Reuwah jeung Puasa* (Building houses or starting planting activities during the months of Muharram, Safar, Mulud, Rajab, Reuwah, and Ramadan is prohibited). These months are filled with religious and traditional rituals, which often involve large gatherings. During this time, there is a balance between human activities related to worship and rituals, while the environment is given a period of recovery, as human interference is reduced (Darmawan et al., 2023, pp. 83-84).

Uniquely, people from outside the Cikondang indigenous community do not dare to enter the forest. They believe that if they recklessly do so, they will get lost. The trees in the forest are dense, with many having diameters of up to two meters. Every five years, to replace fallen trees, the community plants new trees, such as eucalyptus and pine. The forest is home to various animals, including monkeys, deer, tigers, wild pigs, and large snakes. Preserving the forest to maintain the natural balance is emphasized by Abah Ilin, one of the informants and a third-generation descendant of the founder

of Kampung Cikondang. He is highly active in preserving ancestral traditions for the sake of environmental balance, a practice followed by many other residents. As a result, during natural disasters such as landslides and floods that affect other areas in West Java, including Bandung District, the residents of Kampung Cikondang remain safe (Fatimah & Wazni, 2020).

The cultural system that develops in the Cikondang community certainly contains values that are useful for life. Although in some cases there is a mystical factors, but if studied logically and critically, it contains important meanings and values in building harmonious relationships between fellow humans and between humans and nature (Ramdhan et al., 2015). This cultural system carries profound values that provide practical guidance for sustainable living and environmental stewardship.

Another unique features of Cikondang village that reflects a modest lifestyle is the complex of traditional houses, also known as sacred houses. Surrounding these houses are rice barns, called "leuit." Nearby, there are also "lisung" and rice pounders. These traditional houses are part of the ancestral heritage that must be carefully preserved, including the various customs and rules associated with them. In a traditional house, guests or visitors can only drink or partake in food in a manner that aligns with the environmental messages passed down from the ancestors. The types of plants and animals around the traditional house are also well documented (Miharja, 2016) and even used for medicine (Mulyani et al., 2018).

The system ingrained in the Cikondang indigenous community is a universal one, reflecting values that apply across cultures and represent the highest ideals of human life. This aligns with the views of Kluckhohn (1954), as cited by Syarifuddin (2021), regarding how humans relate to nature: (a) life must submit to nature, meaning accepting natural occurrences as they happen; (b) life must be in harmony with nature, meaning that people should choose the right times for their activities; (c) humans must live in control of nature, meaning that they must acquire the knowledge to anticipate natural events and learn how to develop and manage them.

Overall, for the Cikondang indigenous people, forests play a crucial role. The forest is a sacred place that must be preserved, serving as the foundation for their philosophy on utilizing natural resources and maintaining environmental balance. Communities that uphold traditional values and rely on the forest have developed various methods of forest management, particularly through the preservation of sacred forests.

Integration of Local Wisdom, Islamic and Perennial Values in Cikondang Community

The Cikondang community is part of the Sundanese ethnic group and is categorized as an indigenous community because they continue to adhere to the teachings of their ancestors. Furthermore, according to the data obtained, the Cikondang community is entirely Muslim, indicating an integration of Islam with Sundanese culture in all aspects of life. One of the prominent characteristics of the Cikondang indigenous community is their persistence in preserving and utilizing the surrounding environment for their livelihood. This is evident during the rainy season, when the Cikondang area is unaffected by landslides, and water sources are optimally utilized for agriculture, despite the village being located in the hills of Gunung Tilu. Similarly, during the third dry season, the Cikondang indigenous community does not face water shortages, despite its position in the mountains (Darmawan et al., 2023).

As a result, the local wisdom that has developed within the Cikondang indigenous community represents an integration of religious and perennial values. These values, which remain strong within the community, can serve as an alternative solution to the ecological crises faced by modern society. They also form the foundation of an identity that maintains a balanced relationship with nature. The Islamic and perennial values within the Cikondang culture help preserve local wisdom, which has often been overlooked in addressing environmental issues (Ramdhan et al., 2015). Despite this, there is sometimes a perceived tension between religious and cultural values.

However, the facts show that religion and culture share a strong bond, as religion arises within the context of human life, which includes culture, and it naturally mingles with social life. Islam, for example, has been closely intertwined with Arab culture since its inception. As a universal religion, Islam is seen as a blessing for the universe, and as it spread, it mingled with the local cultures of various societies. Therefore, Islam and local culture cannot be separated; rather, they complement and support one another. In Indonesia, the relationship between religion and culture has historically been harmonious. For instance, the relationship between Islam and Sundanese culture is so close that it is often expressed through phrases like "*Islam teh Sunda, Sunda teh Islam*" (Islam is Sundanese, and Sundanese is Islam) or "*Urang Sunda mah geus Islam samemeh Islam*" (The Sundanese have been Islamic before Islam entered the Sundanese region) (Miharja, 2015b, p. 76).

Islam is a religion whose source of truth and law comes from Allah, but it does not dismiss laws or rules that arise within society. Islam respects cultural norms as long as they do not conflict with its fundamental teachings. Thus, Islam in Indonesia, including among the Sundanese, has a unique character that distinguishes it from Islam in the Middle East. This is because the expression of Islam in the archipelago has developed specific intellectual, cultural, social, and political patterns (Syihab, 1996). The presence of Islam in a society with its own pre-existing culture has led to a dialectical process, resulting in various patterns of interrelation and the manifestation of diverse ritual traditions and religious ceremonies.

The relationship between religion and culture in any society will have different patterns, depending on the community's conditions. When religion interacts with the culture of rural communities, its relationship will differ from that in urban settings. Additionally, ethnic factors can significantly influence these dynamics. For instance, the relationship between religion and culture in Javanese communities differs from that in Sundanese communities (Miharja, 2015b).

Nevertheless, Islam, as a monotheistic religion, views nature as sacred. Everything in the universe originates from Divine Reality and reflects that Reality. The entire cosmos, visible and invisible, is a manifestation of the Divine Names and Attributes and emanates from the "treasury" of God. Therefore, God's wisdom permeates the universe, and Muslims view the cosmos as God's primordial revelation. The Quran emphasizes this idea: "There is nothing that does not glorify Him" (17:44) (Nasr, 1988).

The views and attitudes of the Cikondang indigenous people align with the perennial philosophical paradigm, which considers nature an inseparable part of humanity. This traditional philosophy, known as perennial philosophy, always speaks of "The Sacred" or "The One" in all manifestations, such as religion, philosophy, science, and art (Nasr, 1988, p. 18). For religious individuals, space is not homogeneous; it contains breaks and interruptions where the sacred manifests. This manifestation of the sacred reveals absolute reality, contrasting with the non-reality of the surrounding space. The sacred, in this way, ontologically constitutes the world (Eliade, 1959).

Meanwhile, modern philosophy tends to remove the sacred from natural objects, separating spirituality from the worldly and even attempting to eliminate it altogether (Hidayat & Nafis, 1995). In perennial philosophy, nature is considered sacred and must not be exploited recklessly. Humans and nature share a close relationship, and maintaining balance with nature ensures harmony. The attitude of the Cikondang indigenous people toward nature contrasts sharply with modern thought. For them, nature is sacred, believed to communicate with humans, and all natural phenomena are seen as meaningful. Nature is also viewed as the source of religion, as the structure of the cosmos carries spiritual messages for humanity (Nasr, 1988).

Perennial philosophy, as articulated by Griffiths, has influenced contemporary human life in several ways. These include: (a) fostering a new relationship with nature based on an organic worldview, replacing the mechanistic view. Humans must cultivate a sense of cosmic interconnectedness and responsibility toward the world as a living entity. (b)

Encouraging a sense of oneness with the universe, shifting away from domination to a deeper ecological understanding. (c) The rise of a new human community shaped by these values, which Griffiths calls the "neolithic model of community," where health, wholeness, and holiness are interconnected (Wora, 2006, pp. 62-65).

The findings of this research, while valuable, face several limitations. The literature review lacks direct engagement with the Cikondang community, potentially missing real-time changes in cultural practices. Additionally, focusing on publications from the last two decades may exclude newer insights. The broad categorization of Islamic and perennial values could also overlook nuanced applications within subgroups. Therefore, follow-up studies are needed to conduct field research, include up-to-date sources, and explore the practical application of these values within different contexts in the community.

Conclusion

The problems in nature, such as environmental damage, disasters, landslides, and water shortages, are caused by excessive human domination over nature. This issue is exacerbated by the development of secular science and technology, which has led people to neglect their humanity. While the destruction of nature is recognized by all, few realize that disharmony among humans stems from their broken relationship with God. Modern humans no longer view nature as sacred, treating it merely as an object.

To prevent further destruction, it is crucial to study local cultures and reconnect with the transcendent. Researchers have found that indigenous peoples, such as the Cikondang, still preserve nature because they maintain strong relationships with both nature and the divine. The Cikondang community continues to uphold ancestral teachings, particularly in managing nature, following the philosophy "mipit kudu amit, ngala kudu bebeja" (picking must be done with permission, and taking must be announced).

The research also highlights how Islamic and perennial values are integrated into Cikondang traditions, offering insight into how local customs serve as a bridge between spiritual practices and environmental preservation. These findings can serve as a foundation for further, more in-depth research on spiritual and cultural values, as well as open the door to comparative studies with other traditions in different regions.

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ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVES ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION VALUES IN THE CLEAN VILLAGE TRADITION OF SUMBERDEM VILLAGE

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Abstract

*Multiculturalism emerges as a force promoting diversity within the global system, driving the creation of true social justice. However, this concept is not universally accepted; some people reject it, viewing it as obscuring the essence of religion. This research aims to describe the values of multicultural education embedded in the Clean Village tradition in Sumberdem Village, examining them from the perspective of Islamic teachings. The research employs a qualitative method with a phenomenological approach. Data collection involved in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation, followed by interpretive phenomenological analysis. The findings reveal that the multicultural values expressed in the Clean Village tradition include social care, consensus, mutual cooperation, respect for diversity, and fairness. These values align harmoniously with Islamic teachings, offering solutions to humanitarian challenges by weaving diversity into a cohesive social fabric. This process shapes a well-rounded individual who balances their roles as *abdullah* (God's servant)*

and khalifatullah (God's steward). This tradition can serve as a model for integrating multicultural values into community practices, especially in diverse cultural and religious settings, fostering inclusive environments that promote mutual respect and collective well-being, in alignment with both secular and religious frameworks for social harmony.

Multikulturalisme muncul sebagai kekuatan yang mendorong keragaman dalam sistem global, yang menggerakkan terciptanya keadilan sosial sejati. Namun, konsep ini tidak sepenuhnya diterima secara universal; beberapa orang menolaknya karena dianggap mengaburkan esensi agama. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggambarkan nilai-nilai pendidikan multikultural yang terkandung dalam tradisi Bersih Desa di desa Sumberdem, kemudian mengkajinya dari perspektif ajaran Islam. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologis. Pengumpulan data melibatkan wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan teknik dokumentasi, yang diikuti dengan analisis fenomenologis interpretatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa nilai-nilai multikultural dalam tradisi Bersih Desa meliputi kepedulian sosial, musyawarah, gotong royong, penghormatan terhadap keragaman, dan keadilan. Nilai-nilai ini selaras dan harmonis dengan ajaran Islam, yang menawarkan solusi atas tantangan kemanusiaan dengan merajut keragaman menjadi ikatan sosial yang utuh. Proses ini membentuk manusia yang seimbang dalam peran sebagai abdullah (hamba Allah) dan khalifatullah (wakil Allah). Tradisi ini dapat menjadi model untuk mengintegrasikan nilai-nilai multikultural dalam praktik komunitas, terutama di lingkungan dengan latar belakang budaya dan agama yang beragam, serta memupuk lingkungan inklusif yang mendukung saling menghormati dan kesejahteraan bersama, selaras dengan kerangka sekuler dan religius untuk harmoni sosial.

Keywords: *Clean village tradition, Islamic teachings, multicultural education.*

Introduction

Multiculturalism has emerged as a force for promoting diversity within the global system. It plays a crucial role in embracing the rights of minorities, thereby challenging systems of racialization. However, this influence remains limited and is even rumored to be diminishing in parts of the European Union. The failure of public policy to effectively support multiculturalism

has contributed to the perceived decline of this ideology as a driver for social justice (Torres & Tarozzi, 2020). In essence, multiculturalism is an idea that acknowledges the presence of minorities and should foster awareness of the importance of protecting these groups (Misrawi, 2010). It advocates for policies that support minorities and promotes recognition and respect for religious, cultural, and ethnic diversity.

Many countries worldwide are adopting multiculturalism as a strategy to address issues of discrimination and racism. Some countries have applied it within their educational systems due to its significant role in international education, including Australia (Abacioglu et al., 2022), the United States (Torres & Tarozzi, 2020), Belgium (D'hondt et al., 2021), Russia (Voevoda, 2020), Finland, and China (Liu, 2022). These are nations with substantial immigrant populations, making multicultural approaches essential for managing diversity. In Indonesia, the concept of multiculturalism began to gain attention after the fall of the New Order regime (Suri & Chandra, 2021, p. 271); thus, its implementation has not progressed as successfully as in the U.S., where it began in the late 1970s (Torres & Tarozzi, 2020). Multiculturalism in Indonesia developed after the concept of pluralism. The foundation and essence of multiculturalism align with pluralism in valuing diversity within a shared space. This respect for diversity is embedded with universal values in society (Burhani et al., 2020). Although multiculturalism seeks to promote universal values, it also upholds respect for differing values, beliefs, and practices within society (Barella et al., 2023).

Why does the idea of multiculturalism need to be nurtured and promoted by the global community? Multicultural societies are highly vulnerable to conflict if not managed properly, potentially leading to widespread violence, as seen in Indonesia. Indonesia, rich in diversity, has experienced numerous ethnic and religious conflicts, with issues related to these conflicts claiming thousands of lives. These tensions often arise from racial sentiments and feelings of offense. Conflicts disrupt social relations, hinder progress, foster hatred, diminish trust, and provoke prolonged emotional responses (Harahap, 2018). This represents a significant challenge

To address these issues, human awareness must be cultivated towards an inclusive mindset—an understanding that is open and receptive to others. Education is one of the primary tools for fostering this awareness (Yakin, 2017), as it plays a crucial role in promoting an appreciation of diversity. Indonesia's education system mandates that national education must be organized democratically, equitably, and without discrimination, upholding human rights, religious values, cultural values, and national diversity (Ghany, 2018). This legal mandate aligns with Indonesia's multicultural reality, directing the education system towards multicultural education. Multicultural education is an approach that develops students' democratic, humanist, and pluralistic character, fostering harmonious coexistence. It emphasizes not only intellectual development but also moral growth to build positive relationships and prepare students as active participants in democracy. For effective multicultural education, educational institutions must also be responsive to students' cultural backgrounds (Pourdavood & Yan, 2020, pp. 113–117).

As a concept, multicultural education faces resistance and rejection from certain groups. The challenges in implementing multicultural education often stem from misunderstandings of its purpose. In the United States, for instance, multicultural education is sometimes misinterpreted as being exclusively for minority groups and viewed as competing with the Western education model, raising fears that it may divide national unity (Pourdavood & Yan, 2020, p. 116).

In Indonesia, multicultural education has been widely studied and implemented in several schools. However, some groups oppose the concept of multicultural education, particularly when it is juxtaposed with Islamic education. The prevailing ideology of diversity demands that Islam set clear boundaries on tolerance. Such boundaries are deemed necessary to maintain consistency in religious practice. Additionally, multiculturalism's perspective on truth and the equality of all beliefs is not universally accepted among religious adherents, as it is perceived to diminish the sanctity of religious rituals (Ali & Noor, 2019). Furthermore, some argue that multiculturalism

can compromise Islamic beliefs (Umar, 2012). More broadly, Indonesia's significant challenges in implementing multicultural education include regional, ethnic, and traditional differences, as well as issues of faith and tolerance (Hidayat, 2022).

While tradition poses challenges to the implementation of multicultural education, it can also serve as an indicator of harmonious living. Sumberdem Village, for instance, exemplifies harmony amidst diverse religions and cultures, with Muslim, Christian, and PDKK (*Purwaning Dumadi Kautaman Kasampurnan*) communities coexisting peacefully. The village has no history of conflict; instead, it exemplifies tolerance and mutual respect. Inter-religious life in Sumberdem Village is marked by mutual appreciation and respect, with cultural practices reinforcing unity within a multicultural framework.

The 19th-century sociologist E.B. Taylor formulated a complex definition of culture, encompassing knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and habits that humans acquire as members of society. Culture acts as a boundary marker, distinguishing one society from others and contributing to its uniqueness (Arif & Darwati, 2018). Typically, culture is passed down through generations, with each succeeding generation agreeing to preserve the habits of their predecessors (Pratiwi, 2018). However, culture can evolve, shift, or even disappear due to various factors, particularly when existing practices are no longer deemed satisfactory or face resistance (Samiyono, 2013).

Rural and urban communities hold differing views on culture, leading to variations in their connection to cultural practices. Rural communities tend to have strong cultural bonds, embedding meaning into each action. In contrast, urban communities often lean towards individualism and logical thinking (Sudrajat, 2020). Furthermore, rural communities frequently retain beliefs in mystical elements embedded within traditions and culture, rooted in the perception of supernatural forces surrounding human life (Pratiwi, 2018).

In addition to being a cultural asset, tradition serves as a means to strengthen bonds of brotherhood among community members (Pratiwi, 2018). The practice of traditions by diverse communities with various religious beliefs can unite people with different perspectives. Religion, in essence, not only governs the relationship between humans and God but also manages relationships among individuals (Solihah, 2019), making it a guide for behavior and social patterns. Additionally, religion acts as a unifying element within the pluralistic reality of society (Adiansyah, 2017). It is essential for all religious communities to understand that religion functions as both a regulator and a means of civilization, expressing beliefs through culture, architecture, social structures, and customs (Arif & Darwati, 2018). Sociologically, there is a positive correlation between religion and community integration, which is fostered when religion upholds principles that honor cooperation and coexistence. This synergy between religion and society is often visible in the acculturation between longstanding traditions and the religious practices embraced by the community.

The community of Sumberdem Village is multi-religious, comprising Muslims, Christians, and followers of PDKK (Purwaning Dumadi Kautaman Kasampurnan). Despite their differences, the villagers continue to live in harmony and peace. This harmony is exemplified in the Clean Village tradition, a ritual that seeks to purify the village from negativity, misfortune, and impurities. This tradition includes events such as earth offerings, joint prayers, and performances like *tayub* and puppet shows. The significance of analyzing the multicultural educational values within this tradition stems from the fact that Sumberdem Village is a multi-religious and multi-cultural community. Additionally, Sumberdem Village recently won the Paralegal Justice Award, acknowledging the PDKK group's commitment to legal awareness.

Numerous studies on multicultural education have been conducted, spanning educational institutions and community traditions. These studies can be grouped into three categories: (a) research on the multicultural values inherent in societal structures, traditions, local wisdom, and educational

institutions; (b) studies comparing and examining multicultural education alongside Islamic educational concepts; and (c) critical analyses and advancements in the field of multicultural education.

Regarding multicultural values across various dimensions, scholars have explored multicultural education within the culture of the Muna people (Basri et al., 2017) and the multicultural educational values in the local wisdom of the Maluku people (Wakano, 2019). In Batam, multicultural education is constructed through interactions between religion and culture (Hafid, 2020), and it is also implemented in secondary schools in Pangkalpinang (Adib, 2020). A model of multicultural education exists in Bali, expressed through local culture (Saihu et al., 2021). Multicultural values are preserved through social tolerance practices in the diverse Gunung Kawi community (Setiawan et al., 2022) and are also internalized to promote tolerance in the Trowulan Mojokerto community (Maidah et al., 2023).

Research further addresses the integration of Islamic and multicultural education in Indonesia (Rosyad, 2020), proposing that multicultural education should underpin Islamic education (Umar, 2012). This integration highlights the importance of introducing multicultural education in early childhood, as it aligns with Islamic values (Maftuhah & Raswan, 2024). Consequently, it is suggested that multiculturalism be incorporated into the Islamic religious education curriculum (Aulia et al., 2024) to facilitate a reconstruction of multicultural education based on Islamic educational philosophy (Ismunadi & Khusni, 2021). Additionally, discussions cover the challenges and solutions for multicultural education in the modern era (Hidayat et al., 2023).

The third area of study focuses on advancements in multicultural education. This includes examining the crisis of multiculturalism in America and the European Union (Torres & Tarozzi, 2020) and the critical role of teachers' attitudes in fostering multicultural education (Pourdavood & Yan, 2020). Policies and practices of multicultural education exhibit specific patterns in countries like China and Finland (Liu, 2022). This area also underscores the importance of intercultural communication within

multicultural education (Voevoda, 2020) and explores the relationship between multicultural education and perceptions of ethnic discrimination (D'hondt et al., 2021).

The distinction of this research from previous studies lies in its use of a phenomenological approach to analyze the values of multicultural education within the *Bersih Desa* or Clean Village tradition. These values are then examined through the perspective of Islamic teachings, utilizing various *tafsir* literature. This research aims to answer how multicultural educational values are embodied in the *Bersih Desa* tradition of Sumberdem Village and how Islamic teachings relate to these values within the tradition.

Method

This research employed a qualitative design using a phenomenological approach, focusing on describing the meaning of individual life experiences related to a specific phenomenon. The phenomenological research method used here differs from the approaches of previous studies on multicultural education, most of which utilized document analysis and case study methods. Two important principles guide this research: first, every human experience is an expression of consciousness, with individuals aware that their experiences are subjective. Second, consciousness is a form of awareness in which self-reflection encompasses everything seen, experienced, and anticipated. Key characteristics of this phenomenological approach include: (1) descriptive—describing phenomena; (2) reductive—suspending assumptions and biases; (3) essence—focusing on the core of actual individual experiences; and (4) intentionality—the correlation between experience and reflective consciousness (Rofiah, 2023).

The phenomenon studied is the Clean Village tradition held in Sumberdem Village, Wonosari subdistrict. The research subjects include the Head of Sumberdem Village, religious leaders, and community leaders, selected through purposive sampling. Primary data sources consist of interviews and observations of the research subjects, namely informants (village head, village secretary, hamlet head, village advisory board, and community members). Observations in Sumberdem Village also provided primary data, particularly focused on community perceptions of diversity as

manifested in the Clean Village tradition. Additional primary data was gathered from village documents, including the village profile, population data, and interview transcripts. Secondary data was collected through relevant literature, including books, articles, theses, dissertations, online journals, and e-books.

In line with the phenomenological approach, in-depth interviews served as the main data collection method (Rofiah, 2023), supported by observation and documentation. Interview questions were unstructured, encouraging a natural, fluid conversation. The data collected from individuals with similar experiences was then developed into an essential description. Data collection occurred from December 2023 to May 2024.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used for data analysis. After collecting all data, the next step was transcribing interviews, converting audio recordings into written form. The transcripts were then coded, and the data was interpreted to identify multicultural education values within the *Bersih Desa* tradition. Following this, relationships between themes were identified, and irrelevant data was reduced before final mapping.

After completing data analysis and writing the research findings comprehensively, the next stage involved checking data validity by comparing the findings with previous studies (triangulation). The researchers compared the study results with those from prior research. Member checking was conducted by presenting organized transcript data to each informant to verify its accuracy. Further, the data was refined by addressing biases, analyzing negative cases, extending the research, and engaging in discussions with colleagues at BRIN (National Research and Innovation Agency) who serve as Associate Expert Researchers at the BRIN Center for Research on Literary Manuscripts and Oral Traditions. Additionally, an external audit was conducted by a professor from Sayyid Ali Rahmatullah Tulungagung State Islamic University.

Findings and Discussion

Correlation between Religion and Culture in the Clean Village tradition

Geographically, Sumberdem village is bordered by Wonosari village to the north, Jambuwer village to the south, Sumbertempur village to the east, and Ampelgading Village to the west. Sumberdem village consists of four hamlets: Sumberingin, Sumbergelang, Durengede, and Rekesan. The village has a total population of 4,533 people, including 2,249 men and 2,284 women. The religions practiced by the Sumberdem community include Islam, Christianity, and Catholicism; however, based on interview findings, several residents still adhere to the Kejawen faith.

In terms of beliefs, the people of Sumberdem village are diverse, yet ethnically homogeneous, with all residents identifying as "Javanese." Despite this, Sumberdem village is culturally rich, with a variety of traditions, including Clean Village, Bari'an (offerings and prayers held in the month of Safar), earth alms (a thanksgiving tradition for harvesting coffee and rice, or "metik kopi" and "metik pari"), the tradition of reading Layang Yusuf (performed at the birth of a child), *kenduri* or communal feasts, *nyadran* (a prayer and procession near water sources to honor Bagindo Kilir), *terbang jidor salawat* (an Islamic musical performance featuring traditional drums), *karawitan* or gamelan music, *kuda lumping senterewe* (a Javanese dance with wooden horse figures), *reog* (a traditional performance dance), *wayang wong* (Javanese theater with live actors), and *ketoprak* (Javanese theater combining drama, music, and comedy).

This research delves into the Clean Village tradition in Sumberdem village, a practice performed to express gratitude and honor ancestral heritage. One essential part of the Clean Village tradition is *tayub*, a dance art still popular in Java. *Tayub* features a *ledhek* (dancer) accompanied by gamelan music.

In addition to expressing gratitude and respect for ancestors, the *Bersih Desa* tradition illustrates community harmony. In every aspect of the event, all community members participate—from discussions to reach consensus to

the event's implementation. Communal efforts include setting up the *terop* (tent), arranging the venue, and organizing the event's proceedings.

Rural communities tend to have very strong bonds, as they base each action on shared meaning, unlike urban communities, which often lean toward individualistic and logical approaches (Sudrajat, 2020). In Sumberdem village, for example, people still believe in mystical and supernatural powers. This perspective is rooted in the belief that humans are surrounded by supernatural forces (Pratiwi, 2018). Evidence of this can be seen in the villagers' reliance on elders to choose auspicious days for the Clean Village tradition. Additionally, community members believe that abandoning a tradition may lead to negative consequences.

However, when religious values are integrated into these traditions, they are viewed from both a rational and spiritual perspective, rather than solely as mystical legacies. Traditions thus become a way to pray for the safety and well-being of the village. In Sumberdem, villagers gather to pray together according to their individual beliefs, using tradition as a way to strengthen bonds within the community (Pratiwi, 2018). Although the community is diverse in terms of religion and personal character, its members interact harmoniously and supportively. A positive relationship between religion and society can thrive when religious principles promote mutual respect and cooperative engagement.

The Clean Village tradition, for instance, includes a communal prayer procession by community members. Prayer not only reinforces religious identity but is also a vital element of the tradition (Solihah, 2019). Through prayer, villagers ask God to fulfill their desires and provide blessings. Prayer processions vary according to individual beliefs, reflecting the community's religious diversity. For example, villagers who perform *tahlil* and *khataman* are generally identified as Muslims, while those who hold services are likely Christians. The recitation of *macapat*—though cultural and participated in by people of various faiths—may also include individuals from both Islamic and Christian backgrounds.

In conclusion, the people of Sumberdem village have a positive outlook on diversity, encompassing both religious differences and social status. This demonstrates that core values of multicultural education are embedded in the community's psyche. It involves respecting plural realities, recognizing human dignity, and fostering a sense of shared responsibility (Carlan et al., 2021, p. 169).

Values of Multicultural Education in the Clean Village Tradition

The Clean Village tradition is carried out as an expression of gratitude and respect for ancestral heritage and for the safety of the entire village. In Sumberdem Village, this tradition takes place each year in the month of Dzulqa'dah/Selo. Before the event, village officials and community leaders hold a series of deliberations to organize the activities. These discussions cover the event date, funding, schedule, and selection of performers.

The series of Clean Village activities includes *nyadran*, *khotmul Qur'an*, worship services, communal *tahlil*, *macapat*, *tayub*, and *wayangan*. Throughout these activities, the community demonstrates values of multicultural education, such as social care, consensus-building, mutual cooperation, harmony, respect for diversity, and fairness. Each of these values is further detailed below.

1. Attitude of social care

This caring attitude essentially defines our humanity, signifying that a true human being demonstrates compassion toward others. This form of care need not be material; it can manifest as attention, acceptance, or the giving of time, thoughts, and emotions. The people of Sumberdem village exemplify such social care in their Clean Village tradition through contributions of labor, time, and financial support. Their concern for labor is shown in collective efforts, such as the “*mbiodo*” event, while respect for time is observed by setting limits for the “*Macapat*” procession to avoid disturbing residents' rest.

“The Mocopat Ngudi Rahayu Sumberdem Association reads [the verses]. Sixteen people read, each at least three songs. The reading takes place at night after the tahlil at 9 o'clock, ending by midnight to avoid disturbing others' sleep.” (MS, Sumberdem Village resident)

Financial responsibility is shown through a fair approach to fees, with contributions scaled to each resident's economic capacity.

“During the meeting, we establish a budget, as it cannot be covered by the village or the headwoman alone. The budget is divided by RW (neighborhood unit). For example, in RW 6, each household typically contributes 60,000–100,000 IDR. Contributions range from 150,000 IDR at level one to no fee for those unable to pay.” (RU, Ambyaan Hamlet resident and village council member)

Sometimes, the spirit of care is challenged by selfish and materialistic attitudes, leading to divisions along lines of ethnicity, religion, or social status, which threaten social harmony. Through social compassion, however, a peaceful community is fostered. This peace thrives in Sumberdem village's Clean Village tradition, where mutual care transcends social status.

2. Consensus deliberation

In Sumberdem Clean Village tradition, consensus-building is central to decision-making before the event is held. These deliberations involve all community elements, including community leaders, RT (neighborhood associations), RW (neighborhood units), Kasun (hamlet leaders), and religious figures. The discussions cover setting the event date, budget allocations, and event execution.

“The decision on the event day still follows the elders' guidance, as a way of respecting and preserving Javanese customs. The deliberations are conducted peacefully, without conflict or division. When differences arise, participants seek a middle ground to resolve them collectively. Leaders do not hold a higher rank; everyone is treated equally.” (RU, Ambyaan Hamlet resident and village council member)

Making decisions through deliberation and consensus reflects a democratic spirit. Democracy is seen as a way of life that values egalitarianism

and promotes individual freedom (Pusposari, 2017). In deliberations, diverse ideas come together, embodying equality, freedom of expression, and mutual respect, which can unite people even amid challenges (Hanafi, 2013). The Sumberdem community's deliberations follow principles of fairness and wise leadership, without authoritarian imposition.

“Before we hold a village celebration, we first deliberate. We organize two activities: village and hamlet cleanups in areas like Sumberingin and Sumbergelang. Community leaders, RT, RW, Kasun, and religious figures gather to discuss and plan together.” (PUR, Chief of Sumberdem Village)

“As a BPD community leader, I've participated in these discussions, and there has never been conflict. We take suggestions openly and share them with others, always finding a middle ground. Leaders like the village or sub-district heads don't impose their views; instead, they encourage input. If there's a proposal, it's accommodated—whether about event planning or budgeting.” (RU, Ambyaan Hamlet resident and village council member).

3. Mutual cooperation and harmony

This value unites and harmonizes the community, fostering cooperation and mutual understanding to achieve common goals (Lestari & Esy, 2021). In Clean Village activities, all residents participate in both preparation and execution. Alongside labor, togetherness is expressed through contributions to the event, with costs shared between the village government and community members. A sense of unity is further demonstrated by holding simultaneous kenduri gatherings, even in separate locations.

“For instance, during *mbiodo*, we don't distinguish between Islam, Christianity, or *kejawan*. Muslims, Christians, and others come together to prepare for the village celebrations.” (PUR, Chief of Sumberdem Village)

Beyond practical activities, the value of *guyub rukun*—or communal harmony—is also celebrated in the Macapat procession. The lyrics of the Giriso macapat song urge the community to live in harmony and to avoid divisive behaviors.

“Creating an atmosphere of unity. To always foster harmony. Only by observing. Strive for self-awareness. Keeping away from turbulent emotions.

To become one. Together, moving toward the desired goal, which is harmony.” (Giriso macapat lyric)

4. Respecting differences

In Sumberdem Clean Village tradition, tolerance is demonstrated by providing fair and equal opportunities for each religion to pray according to its beliefs (Interview with US, Sumberdem village resident). Although each religious group prays in its own way, the prayers are offered on behalf of the entire village, without discrimination. The purpose is to ensure the safety and well-being of the village and its residents (Interview with HD, Secretary of Sumberdem village).

“Yes, it is positive; we respect each other, and all activities involve every religious community. For instance, during fellowship, Muslims welcome guests, and Christians participate. We respect each other—there’s no difference. Your belief is your belief; what we believe is best is ours. But we still respect all.” (PUR, Chief of Sumberdem Village)

Furthermore, the Macapat recitations offer guidance to the younger generation to behave honorably, avoid harming others, and always seek to be helpful. This reinforces the importance of tolerance, especially through respect for differences, as reflected in the following Tembang Sinom lyrics:

“The young generation should have good behavior, Never harm others, Be useful to others. Every action should be noble, Stay humble and modest, Accept insults with grace, Treat others kindly. Even if insulted, remain joyful.”

The villagers’ approach to tolerance respects established boundaries, focusing on mutual respect rather than influencing faith or worship. While they uphold an attitude of tolerance and respect for other beliefs, they still hold their own religion as the best for themselves.

5. Fairness

Justice arises from the belief that human dignity is achievable through societal balance, which is maintained by a non-discriminatory attitude (Ridwan, 2019). In this sense, justice opposes injustice. A fair approach involves treating individuals according to their abilities, placing them in

appropriate roles, and granting rights to those entitled to them (Muhammad, 2020).

In Sumberdem Village's Clean Village tradition, fairness is reflected through equal rights and obligations for all residents. Everyone is free to participate in activities, irrespective of age, religion, social status, or position. During the kenduri procession, fairness is also shown by allowing each religious group to pray according to their traditions, including Javanese *ujub* prayers, and separate prayers for Muslims and Christians.

“The Clean Village tradition here demonstrates that there is no division based on religious differences in our village—we are all the same. Our customs help unite these differences. For instance, during village celebrations, we have three prayer methods: the Javanese custom of *ujub-ujub*, Muslim prayers, and Christian prayers. The goal is the same; only the language and approach differ.” (YUW, Head of Sumberingin Hamlet).

Islamic Perspectives of Multicultural Education Values in the Clean Village Tradition

From an Islamic perspective, multicultural education must encompass three key elements: the principles of justice, humanity and unity, and respect for cultural diversity, as rooted in the Qur'an and Hadith (Madakir et al., 2022, p. 195). The concept of multiculturalism has been intrinsic to Islam since its inception, with significant discussions on the topic emerging in recent times. This is evident in the elimination of the social class system during the time of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), which marked the beginning of religious tolerance in a manner previously unseen (Khateeb, 2014, pp. 55–56). Nurcholis Madjid also supports this view, affirming that the principle of multiculturalism aligns with Islamic teachings and Muslim history, as well as the democratic and just principles outlined in Surah Ash-Shu'ara, verse 38 of the Qur'an (Madakir et al., 2022, p. 196). According to scholars, this democratic and just principle advocates for mutual agreements before any undertaking, which can be achieved through consensus and deliberation. Deliberation not only seeks a common goal but also serves as a conflict-resolution tool (Mubarok, 2019). Following this, the people of

Sumberdem village uphold the Clean Village tradition through deliberative practices that emphasize justice and democratic principles.

Islam is fundamentally a religion of peace. Azra notes that Islam teaches unity and integrity in both social and religious life (Islamy, 2022). Religion plays two crucial roles: guiding the practice of religious rituals and promoting tolerance and peace, fostering individuals who are devout in both religious and social dimensions (Mas'ud, 2020). A sense of peace arises from an awareness of pluralism and a recognition of human dignity, as highlighted in Surah Al-Hujurat, verse 13 of the Qur'an, which emphasizes the equality of all humanity (Khoir, 2017).

Surah Al-Kafirun, verse 6 of the Qur'an, states that everyone has the right to practice their own beliefs without coercion. The absence of compulsion in religion aims to foster peace. This principle is further supported by human history, which shows that humans, by nature, possess diverse inclinations and awareness (Khoir, 2017). The community of Sumberdem village upholds religious tolerance in the Clean Village tradition, where all religious groups participate equally. This provides a portrait of peace founded on tolerance, with the community not prioritizing a single truth in social life.

The Clean Village tradition fosters harmony among all religious communities in Sumberdem village, including Islam, Christianity, and local beliefs. Islam in Indonesia has historically coexisted harmoniously with local traditions, creating a unique dynamic that should be well-maintained. This reflects a reconstruction of classical Islamic theology, moving from an ethnocentric-normative orientation to a social-anthropocentric perspective (Madakir et al., 2022).

The above discussion supports the conclusion that the multicultural values observed in the Clean Village Tradition align with the harmonization ideals of Islamic teachings. These values indirectly fulfill the objectives of Islamic teachings by providing solutions to humanitarian issues and weaving diversity into harmony (Mustari & Umiarso, 2020). Through caring for

human—*insan kamil*—emerges. Such a person is devoted to God as *abdullah* (servant of God) and contributes to the social world as *khalifatullah* (God's steward) (Roqib, 2009).

Conclusion

The values of multicultural education embedded in the Clean Village tradition in Sumberdem village include social care, mutual cooperation, harmony in respecting diversity, deliberation, and fairness. These values indirectly fulfill the objectives of Islamic teachings by addressing humanitarian issues and weaving together a harmonious diversity. These principles contribute to the goal of cultivating the "perfect human being"—an individual who serves both God as *abdullah* and contributes to society as *khalifatullah*, balancing devotion with social responsibility.

The findings suggest that the Clean Village tradition can serve as a model for integrating multicultural values in community practices, especially in settings with diverse cultural and religious backgrounds. By promoting social care, cooperation, and fairness, communities can strengthen social bonds and reduce conflicts rooted in misunderstandings of cultural or religious differences. This approach could be applied in educational and community programs to foster inclusive environments that support mutual respect and collective well-being, aligning with both secular and religious frameworks for social harmony.

The findings of this study has limitations, therefore it is expected that future studies concern following areas: (1) Exploring the relationship between religion and culture in building social solidarity, with implications for Islamic religious education, (2) Examining the practice of multicultural education in community traditions in other regions, particularly in multiethnic areas, through the lens of Islamic religious education, and (3) Investigating the opportunities and challenges of multicultural-based Islamic education.

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HARMONY IN DIVERSITY IN BORDER AREAS: DAYAK IBAN TRIBE AND MIGRANTS IN BADAU

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Abstract

This study aimed to highlight the harmonious coexistence among different ethnic and religious groups. The study was conducted in Badau, a sub-district in West Kalimantan, inhabited by the indigenous Dayak Iban ethnic group and migrants from various ethnic and religious backgrounds. The primary motivation for examining the socio-cultural and religious life in Badau stems from the region's challenges, including limited religious guidance and services, the establishment of places of worship, the roles of traditional and religious leaders, and interfaith relationships. Using a qualitative approach with observation, interviews, and document analysis, the research revealed several key findings. Firstly, customary rules play a significant role in the lives of the Dayak Iban, serving as a guiding principle. They adhere to these rules strictly but with flexibility. Secondly, community leaders and social institutions are

instrumental in resolving social issues. The *rumah panjang* and *balai adat* are two key mechanisms for conflict resolution. The study recommends conducting anthropological and historical research to trace the origins of the Dayak Iban tribe and explore religious encounters in the region. It also suggests that local governments in border areas emulate Badau's community resilience, where the Cross-Border Post (PLBN) serves as a living symbol of unity, promoting nationalism and harmony among diverse ethnic, cultural, and religious groups.

Studi ini bertujuan untuk menyoroti kehidupan harmonis di antara kelompok etnis dan agama yang berbeda. Penelitian ini dilakukan di Badau, sebuah kecamatan di Kalimantan Barat, yang dihuni oleh suku Dayak Iban sebagai kelompok etnis asli dan para migran dari berbagai latar belakang etnis dan agama. Motivasi utama untuk meneliti kehidupan sosial budaya dan agama di Badau berasal dari tantangan yang dihadapi wilayah ini, seperti keterbatasan bimbingan dan layanan keagamaan, pendirian tempat ibadah, peran pemimpin adat dan agama, serta hubungan antar umat beragama. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif melalui observasi, wawancara, dan studi dokumen, penelitian ini mengungkapkan beberapa temuan penting. Pertama, aturan adat memainkan peran penting dalam kehidupan suku Dayak Iban, menjadi pedoman utama mereka. Mereka mematuhi aturan tersebut dengan tegas namun fleksibel. Kedua, para pemimpin komunitas dan lembaga sosial berperan penting dalam menyelesaikan masalah sosial. Rumah panjang dan balai adat merupakan dua mekanisme penyelesaian konflik di antara masyarakat. Studi ini merekomendasikan dilakukannya penelitian antropologi dan sejarah untuk menelusuri asal-usul suku Dayak Iban serta mengeksplorasi pertemuan agama di wilayah tersebut. Studi ini juga menyarankan agar pemerintah daerah di wilayah perbatasan meniru ketahanan komunitas di Badau, di mana Pos Lintas Batas Negara (PLBN) berfungsi sebagai simbol hidup persatuan, mempromosikan nasionalisme dan kerukunan di antara kelompok etnis, budaya, dan agama yang beragam.

Keywords: Cross-border Post; customary rules; Dayak Iban tribe; religious diversity

Introduction

Badau is one of the sub-districts in Kapuas Hulu Regency, West Kalimantan, which directly borders Malaysia. Citing the official website of the National Border Management Agency (BNPP) of the Ministry of Home Affairs, Badau and 187 other sub-districts in the country's border areas are priority locations for development (Budianta, 2010). Meanwhile, Maisondra (2023) noted that Indonesia now has 18 Cross-Border Posts (PLBN) in its border regions. Indonesia shares borders with three countries: Malaysia, the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste (RDTL), and Papua New Guinea (PNG).

The presence of the Cross-Border Post (PLBN) in Badau has significantly increased the number of immigrants, drawn not only by the monument but also by the economic opportunities at nearby shopping centers. However, this influx of people has introduced complexities, as border regions often experience heightened interactions between diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural groups, which can lead to social tension and friction. Badau, now home to Dayak Iban, Malay, and Javanese communities, exemplifies how migration can foster both positive exchanges and potential conflict among these groups, especially in areas where socio-cultural and political dynamics are intertwined with cross-border interactions (Kutor et al., 2021).

Border areas, especially in Indonesia, are not only strategic from an economic and political standpoint but also hold significant socio-religious complexities that warrant deeper examination. Sabara (2020) revealed a similar conjecture in his research on other border areas. Borders are particularly vulnerable to the infiltration of foreign ideologies or religious beliefs with transnational patterns, which may be incompatible with Indonesia's national ideologies. Thus, border areas should not be analyzed solely in terms of economy, politics, resilience, and state security but also in terms of socio-religious dynamics. The complexity of border areas invites further study on issues related to migration, demographics, politics, economy, and national defense (Tim Peneliti, 2017).

Based on these assumptions, border areas generally contain three important aspects worth studying: defense-security, economy-trade, and socio-culture. This research focuses on the socio-cultural perspective, enriched with the study of religious life. The main reason for examining the socio-cultural and religious life in the Badau community is the region's limitations, such as religious guidance and services, the establishment of places of worship, the role of traditional and religious leaders, and interfaith relations. Rosyidah & Kustini (2022) found that marriage services, especially for Muslims, were inadequate, with the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) in Badau having only one employee, who also serves as the head of the office. Gumelar (2018) noted that similar limitations are prevalent in almost all of Indonesia's border areas.

Despite the high cross-cultural diversity in Badau, primarily due to the interaction between the local community and those from Sarawak, and encounters with new ethnic, religious, and cultural groups, the outcomes of this study are not as dramatic as those found in other researches. Adeney-Risakotta (2018) emphasized that cultural encounters and mutual influences between societies in different countries allow the flow of globalization into the religious sphere. As cosmopolitan elements from globalization enter various religious traditions, there is hope for these encounters to challenge parochialism and religious violence.

The study on border communities also did not reveal the symptoms described by Appleby and Abdullah (Tim Peneliti, 2017), who argued that forms of religiosity in border communities can give rise to ethno-nationalist religious extremism. Rusmiyati (2022) highlighted the strategic importance of border areas for such developments, where mutual influence in religious understanding crosses state administrative boundaries in a "borderless" fashion (Azra, 2013, 2014, 2015). Nevertheless, this study still draws from previous research on similar socio-cultural dynamics in other border regions (Motomitsu, 2020; Nathan, 2020).

The Dayak Iban tribe, historically predominantly Catholic, directly faced a high volume of ethnic, cultural, and religious interactions at the

Badau border. This raises the primary issue of how the Dayak Iban have managed to maintain religious and cultural diversity, especially between Catholics, Christians, and Muslims, as well as between the Dayak Iban and Malay ethnic groups. The history of the region's formation and the dynamics between ethnic, tribal, and religious groups is intriguing, as Pamungkas (2018) discovered in Bengkayang. The focus of this research on the religious dynamics and diversity management by the Dayak Iban in Badau is a novel aspect that differentiates it from previous studies (Cahya, 2012; Septarina, 2014; Dedees, 2016; Christyanto & Mayulu, 2021).

This research utilized several frameworks for analysis. Even though the Dayak Iban tribe is the majority, it does not exempt them from conflict, often expressed through subtle or hidden actions. In Scott's (1990) terms, this is referred to as a 'hidden transcript,' where groups unable to voice their opinions publicly resort to concealed forms of resistance. Bourdieu (2006) added that 'social taste' is often dictated by the majority, leaving minorities to conform to common standards. Apart from this silent stage of conflict, the Badau community has unique problem-solving mechanisms, where traditional structures like the *balai adat* (traditional hall) and the *rumah panjang* (longhouse) are used to resolve various issues.

The existence of culture is important to recognize because a place often carries multiple interpretations, leading to struggles over access and resources, as well as claims and contestations over 'space.' However, it also serves as a space for dialogue, intimate cultural exchanges, and solutions to various life challenges. The atmosphere of mutual trust and interdependence among people aligns with Putnam's view that the stronger the civic network within a society, the less likely it is for violence or communal conflict to occur (Putnam, 2021). These civic engagement networks, which foster trust between residents, serve as the foundation of social capital. Through this social capital, people can extend mutual trust and adhere to shared norms.

Adaptation is the key to uniting differences. Dayak community adapt to their environment through the use of their natural resources for survival, which resonates with the concept of Haviland's adaptation that is essential

for all life forms (in Luardini & Garner, 2019). In specific areas, people living in the same environment tend to adopt each other's positive habits. Keesing (2014) supports this view, stating that one of the oldest forms of human adaptation to new environments involves hunting, gathering, and farming. The Dayak Iban tribe's adaptive encounter with migrants—largely through agriculture and plantations—serves as a foundation for social harmonization. The ability of the Dayak Iban tribe (comprising primarily the Dayak and Malay peoples) to maintain religious diversity (among Catholics, Christians, and Muslims) is noteworthy. As Pamungkas (2018) demonstrated in Bengkayang, the history of territorial creation, management, and the dynamics among tribes and religions are fascinating to explore. This study's focus on religious life dynamics and how the Dayak Iban manage diversity in Badau sets it apart from previous studies, especially those conducted in Kalimantan and other border areas (Cahya, 2012; Christyanto & Mayulu, 2021; Dedeas, 2015; Septarina, 2014; Zainuri, 2018).

The current research is to explore the complex socio-religious dynamics between the Dayak Iban tribe, Malays, and other migrants in the Badau region. The research focuses on key aspects such as the existence of the Dayak Iban tribe and their grounded Catholicism, examining how they navigate religious identity while maintaining cultural traditions. It also investigates the role of Christianity in balancing theological beliefs with Dayak customs and the rapid development of Islam, leading to the emergence of a "mixed generation" that embodies multiple ethnic and religious influences. Additionally, the study delves into the unique problem-solving mechanisms within the community, such as the use of traditional structures like the *balai adat* and *rumah panjang* for conflict resolution. By analyzing these facets, the research highlights how the Dayak Iban tribe fosters harmonious relations and diversity management in a culturally rich and religiously pluralistic border area, contributing to the broader understanding of social harmony in Indonesia's border regions.

Method

This research employed a qualitative method, utilizing observation, in-depth interviews with key informants in Badau District, and documentation. Observations were made by examining social phenomena in Badau, such as traditional markets, the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), sub-district offices, *rumah panjang* (long houses), traditional halls, places of worship, and particularly around the cross-border area. In-depth interviews were conducted with informants, as shown in Table 1, including traditional stakeholders (*tumenggung*, *punggawa*), community leaders, and government officials from both Badau and Putussibau Districts. These individuals were selected because their extensive experience in dealing with various people gave them deeper knowledge than the general population. The use of this technique is supported by the nature of qualitative research, which is not intended for generalization (Lune, Howard & Berg, 2017; Silverman & Patterson, 2022).

Table 1. The list of selected interviewed informants

Name	Status
YU	A tumenggung from Dayak Iban tribe
AS	A punggawa from Malay tribe
AS	A priest of a Catholic Church in Badau
IBRR	A priest of a Catholic Church in Badau
LB	A Christian priest
BM	Local person
Bl	Local person
AL1	Local person
WS	The head of BPD
PUT	A resident coming from Palembang
AL2	A resident coming from Banyuwangi
AU	A local person

The third data collection technique used in this study is document analysis. While observation and in-depth interviews are considered the primary techniques, document analysis serves as a secondary method. Secondary data in this study was sourced from the Central Statistics Agency

(BPS) and other documents, both from the Badau District office and Kapuas Hulu Regency. Unfortunately, locating documents that specifically discussed Badau was challenging, although some valuable information on the Dayak Iban Tribe was available. This lack of specific information was supplemented by literature reviews, incorporating both primary and secondary data.

The research findings and analysis were based on primary data (interviews and observations) and secondary data from relevant prior studies, helping to address this informational gap. This approach aligns with the goals of qualitative research, which seeks to understand phenomena within their natural social context, prioritizing deep communication and interaction between researchers and the studied phenomenon (Lune, Howard & Berg, 2017). To analyze the data, the researchers followed five key steps: bracketing, data reduction and elimination, data clustering, data validation, and Individual Textural Description (ITD) (Moustakas, 1994). In the first step, the researchers made notes of informants' expressions and relevant field notes. Next, they selected and sorted the data, retaining only what was relevant to the research themes. The selected data were then categorized according to these themes. To ensure validity, the data were triangulated using multiple sources, including other informants and written documents. Finally, the researchers produced ITD to provide a clear interpretation of the findings.

Finding and Discussion

The Existence of the Dayak Iban Tribe in Badau

Tracing the history and existence of the Dayak Iban tribe in Badau is quite difficult due to limited information, both written and oral, as noted by the informants. Even *Tumenggung* YU and *Punggawa* AS, two of the oldest people in Badau, could not provide clear details about the origins of the Dayak Iban and the Malay in Badau. Similarly, the introduction of Islam, regarded as the most recent religion, is not widely documented. This contrasts with the extensive studies on Islam and Malay culture in Sumatra, particularly in Riau (Haba, 2012).

The Dayak Iban tribe is one of the 186 Dayak sub-tribes in West Kalimantan. Known as "Iban people" or "Neban people," "Hivan," or "Dayak Laut," they are the most populous Dayak group in Borneo, residing across

Kalimantan, Malaysia, and Brunei Darussalam. In Kapuas Hulu Regency, the Iban people predominantly inhabit Embaloh Hilir, Embaloh Hulu, Batang Lupar, Badau, Empanang, Nanga Kantuk, Lanjak, and Putussibau. The Iban are divided into several sub-ethnic groups, such as Balau, Skrang, Saribas, Undup, Kumpang, Sebuyau, Seru, Empran, Katibas, and Gaat, with most residing in Sarawak, Malaysia. Their primary settlements are located around the Batang Lupar River in Sarawak and the northern upper reaches of the Kapuas River.

The Dayak Iban primarily earn their livelihood through farming and gardening (Leli et al., 2023). It is not surprising that the areas along the roads from Putussibau to the PLBN are lined with plantations, particularly of pepper, palm oil, and rubber. Palm oil is the most widely cultivated crop in the region. In addition to farming and working as oil palm laborers, the Iban also gather forest products, such as rattan and resin.

The Iban people have developed various art forms, particularly in the oral tradition. One notable form is satirical rhyming, often performed during courtship events. Besides rhyming, they have hymns to the gods for blessings (*ensemak*) and mantras sung by shamans to heal the sick (*balian mantra*). Rhymes are also used for entertainment (*didi*) among young people, while they pass down oral traditions through folklore, often recited at ceremonies like births, marriages, or funerals.

The Dayak Iban, especially in West Kalimantan, do not have fixed residential areas (Keai, 2021; Tugang & Keai, 2022). Historically, they originated from the Batang Lupar River, geographically located in the Sarawak region of Malaysia. Known for their exceptional courage, the Dayak Iban succeeded in crossing the border and defeating other Dayak tribes through a wandering war (*mengayau*), eventually pushing the Dayak Kantuk tribe out of the area.

According to oral history, the Dayak Iban control the area up to the Badau border, though the majority of their population is in Sarawak. When the Dayak Kantuk tribe attempted to settle there, the Iban people successfully repelled them. In addition to *mengayau*, the Iban have many

ancient ceremonies still practiced today, which honor and glorify the universe. Along with these ceremonies, they have maintained customs such as brewing their own drink from glutinous rice (*bram*) and preparing sap water, sometimes mixed with bark to alter its flavor (interview with AS, 14/7/2017).

Relations between the Dayak Iban Tribe, Malays, and Other Migrants in Badau

The approximately 175 km long road from Putussibau, the capital of Kapuas Hulu Regency, is one of the main routes to Badau, and perhaps the smoothest. The Putussibau-Badau road has been open since 1992 and has been comfortably passable since 2011. This road project is one of the 10 National Strategic Activities in Kalimantan, with Badau District being the top priority location for the Management of State Boundaries and Border Areas (Badau District Profile, 2013).

After 2012, the road conditions improved significantly. The construction of the Cross-Border Post (PLBN) in Badau had a major impact, attracting many migrants from outside the region. Most of these newcomers are traders and garden farmers, with some even purchasing land to build rental properties. Many traders in the traditional markets come from Sumatra and Java, while Chinese traders have opened electronic stores, grocery stores, and workshops.

A married couple, PUT from Palembang and AL1 from Banyuwangi, noted that since the construction of the PLBN, the number of immigrants has increased over the last three years. They believe there is now an exchange between the Dayak Iban, who farm, and the immigrants, who engage in trade. BM, an honorary teacher, confirmed this, adding that after receiving their salaries, the oil palm farm workers, most of whom are Dayak Iban, flock to the markets and shops owned by the immigrants.

The presence of immigrants, particularly the Malay community, has been growing since the 1960s. According to YU, a *tumenggung* (tribal leader) of the Dayak people, Malays initially arrived as garden cultivators. Over time, as the gardens expanded, more workers were needed, especially after PT.

Sinar Mas took control. Jobs that the Dayak Iban could not manage, such as teaching and government positions, were taken by Malays and other immigrants. YU also noted that the Malay population has grown, not only due to job opportunities in the public sector but also because of intermarriage with the Dayak Iban. His view was supported by AS, a Malay *punggawa* (community leader), who stated that intermarriages between the two tribes are becoming more common. Additionally, the number of *muallaf* (converts to Islam) from the Dayak Tribe is also increasing (interview with YU, 14/7/2017).

Other informants, such as AS and AU, mentioned that as immigrants, they had to adhere to the customary laws of Badau. Only by doing so could they integrate and participate in customary and religious activities. This is evidenced by the inclusion of Malay representatives in the village administration, a decision ratified by the sub-district government. This democratic approach demonstrates that Badau has successfully integrated its two largest tribes, the Dayak and Malay (interview with AS, 14/7/2017; interview with AU, 15/7/2017).

In terms of religious life in Badau, YU and AS noted that the Dayak Iban tribe predominantly practices Catholicism and Christianity, while the Malay tribe represents Islam. People can easily identify a person's religion based on their tribal origin, although intermarriage has blurred these lines, with many Dayak Iban individuals converting to Islam and vice versa. Generally, women tend to change their religion to follow their husband's faith, though some convert of their own accord.

Based on our observations, document studies, and the testimonies of informants, Islam has grown rapidly since the Malays first settled in Badau, as many of the newcomers were Muslims. Statistical data from Badau District shows that the population is dominated by the three major religions: Catholicism, Christianity, and Islam. There is only one Buddhist family in Badau (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Kapuas Hulu, 2017, p. 36). However, there are relatively few places of worship for these three major religions (Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Kapuas Hulu, 2017, p. 35). This

scarcity is not due to the population ratio of each religion, as specified by regulations on the establishment of worship places, but rather due to the strong influence of customs. The construction of worship houses is strictly regulated and must be based on customary agreements.

Dayak Iban and Grounded Catholicism

YU and AS stated that the history and development of religion in Badau has never been documented. This lack of written history makes it difficult for society to embrace diversity, as promoting openness can begin with cultural literacy, including religious matters (Kutor, 2021). The researchers struggled to obtain documents on the religious history of the Badau community, making it challenging to describe this history. Furthermore, no prior research specifically examines the religious history and development in Badau.

The only reliable perspective on the Ibans' adoption of religion seems to stem from the colonial period. As in many colonized areas, particularly by Dutch missionaries, Badau likely followed this pattern. YU explained:

"According to the stories I've heard, in the early 1890s, the Dayak Iban people in Badau officially embraced Catholicism brought by the Dutch. Before then, we only believed in the forces of nature. Although we have adopted a religion, our original beliefs remain and are still practiced today. At that time, all of us in Badau were Catholic because the Dutch controlled the area and employed many Iban people as farmers" (interview, July 15, 2017).

YU further noted that until the 1960s, before the arrival of more people to Badau, Malays and Catholics were the majority. However, today, many have embraced Christianity and Islam. Some Catholics, particularly married women, follow their husbands' religion due to intermarriage with the Dayak Iban tribe. This view is supported by AS, the Punggawa of the Malay tribe, who mentioned that intermarriages between the two tribes have become increasingly common. It is also noted that more members of the Dayak tribe have converted to Islam.

This brings its own blessing, as the bond of brotherhood in Badau grows stronger, although it remains rooted in the values and customary norms of the Dayak Iban Tribe. Based on YU's experience as a traditional administrator before becoming Tumenggung, religious life and its relationship with other faiths have remained harmonious. This is partly due to several traditional events throughout the year that succeed in uniting the people of Badau.

In terms of places of worship, Catholics in Badau have only one church, St. Montfort of the Sintang Diocese. This church is unique, adorned with Dayak Iban carvings. Father AS, who previously served in Jakarta, has been leading the church for six months.

"Even though I've only been here for six months, I can feel the peaceful atmosphere. The community is very close-knit, with strong cooperation. Almost all tasks in Badau are accomplished. Additionally, the traditional leaders are integrated into the sub-district structure, which helps keep things organized. Given this peaceful atmosphere, my goal is to reinforce the bonds of life with sermons that encourage brotherhood..." (interview, July 16, 2017).

The teachings of brotherhood and love, central to Catholicism, are practiced in Badau with a degree of detachment from issues outside the community, as if mocking external conflicts. For example, in cases like the rejection of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) in Pontianak or the controversy surrounding the Governor of Jakarta during the 2017 Regional Head Election (Pilkada), the people of Badau remain unconcerned. They often say, "Why get involved in other people's problems? What matters is that Badau is safe. Let them deal with their own issues—so long as they don't disturb us, we have no reason to interfere," as one resident expressed during the abstinence ceremony.

Christianity: Balancing Theology and Tradition

Over time, the Iban people did not solely embrace Catholicism. Although Christians make up only about 10% of the population, Christianity continues to grow and develop, with various distinctions emerging among Christian denominations. This growth is partly due to the

presence of different Christian synods. Christianity is now increasingly embraced by the Dayak Iban Tribe. According to IBRR, a pastor interviewed after a service at the Evangelical Sentence Church, the spread of Christianity began with Limbertus Aki Apu, a pastor from Landak Regency, in the 1960s. IBRR shared that the pastor took a sabbatical, entered the world of politics, and during his journey, arrived in Badau. After a few months, he began offering religious services. Initially, only one family converted to Christianity. It was difficult to spread Christianity in Badau at first, as Catholicism was seen as more aligned with the customs of the Dayak Iban Tribe. However, over time, the number of Christians grew, and a church was eventually established.

To support the Christian community, IBRR stated that he encourages his congregation to follow the customs of the Iban people. He also maintains regular communication with other religious leaders and actively participates in meetings. This is particularly important during times of concern, such as when there were fears about the potential arrival of Gafatar, which was considered a deviant organization.

The challenges posed by the spread of Christianity were also acknowledged by Pastor LB. According to him, the Iban people feel comfortable with Catholicism because several customs and traditions have been incorporated into Catholic teachings. This has made the spread of Christianity a particularly tough challenge. He even had to conduct special research and spend extended time with his congregation in the *rumah panjang*.

“Christians in Badau must be encouraged not to rely too heavily on customs, as the role of government and religion must also be emphasized. This is a difficult task because Christians are still struggling to distinguish between custom and theology. Gradually, however, customs and religion have begun to be practiced in a more balanced way. For example, before participating in traditional ceremonies, they first pray according to Christian practices, then proceed with activities dictated by custom. We also emphasize resolving every problem through family and deliberation methods” (interview, July 17, 2017).

Pastor LB's remarks suggest that the increasing traffic in Badau, resulting from the construction of the PLBN (Indonesian Border Post), must be taken into account. He believes that if the people of Badau continue to prioritize only one institution—customs—without adapting, they risk being left behind by newcomers. He also stressed that customs must be flexible in response to the challenges of changing times.

Pastor LB further noted that the relationships between people of different religions in Badau have been very positive. This social capital should serve as a foundation for helping Badau navigate change. If Badau remains too traditional, its people risk falling behind, similar to other regions where populations that were once the majority have been pushed to the periphery. He used the Betawi and Lampung people as examples of such communities that now largely live on the outskirts.

It seems Pastor LB is reflecting on his inner journey, suggesting that cultural change will occur when people manage their energy effectively. Progress in culture will naturally bring change. While maintaining a strong sense of identity, the people of Badau must also be open to expanding social networks as a consequence of the ongoing changes. In a broader context, Kutor et al. (2021) noted that 21st-century global society will face a dualistic division: touching on themes of identity, networks, and change in the context of globalization.

The Rapid Development of Islam and the Presence of the "Mixed Generation"

The arrival of Islam in Badau is relatively recent compared to its introduction and development in Java or Sumatra. One reason for this is that Badau was difficult to access in the past, with improved access only beginning in the 1990s. However, the rapid development of Islam in Badau is a fascinating subject. According to Ibrahim's (2015) report, seven kingdoms in Kapuas Hulu introduced external influences, including Islam. Based on this history, it is clear that almost all of West Kalimantan has been influenced by Islam.

According to AS, a Malay Punggawa, Islam was introduced and developed in Badau through peaceful means.

"Long before the Malay tribe arrived in Badau, the Iban people controlled the entire border area. They came from the state of Sarawak, Malaysia, which is why the Dayak Iban in Badau and in Malaysia share a strong bond, both in language and religion. Meanwhile, the Malay group originates from the Peninsula (Kuala Lumpur) and nearby areas, including Sumatra. The Malays arrived in Badau around the 1960s. They were accepted, particularly because they participated in farming and trading and respected the customs of the Iban people" (interview, July 15, 2017).

AS believes that since the arrival of the Malay tribe, life in Badau has become more diverse. The Malays introduced activities that the Iban people did not engage in, such as opening shops and dominating traditional markets. This dynamic created a mutually beneficial "job distribution" between the Iban and Malays. Some local residents mentioned that during busy times, like August 1st, both Iban and Malays mingle, buying and selling from each other, which illustrates the mutual trust between the two groups.

Trust between the Iban and Malays has been established for a long time, facilitating communication in social, economic, religious, and political matters (Hasbullah, 2006). The Malay tribe, although considered "immigrants," has adapted well to life in Badau. For instance, the village of Majang Island is 100% Muslim, yet this majority does not diminish their respect for Dayak Iban customs.

WS, the head of BPD from Majang Island, ensures peaceful coexistence by reminding residents not to mock each other, as it could be seen as a challenge. He mentioned that Muslims in Majang have never been affected by external issues. To maintain harmony, religious leaders often organize lighthearted gatherings at guard posts and mosques to prevent the community, especially the youth, from being swayed by unverified issues.

Majang Island, with its entirely Muslim population, reflects the harmonious inter-religious relations in Badau (Hasbullah, 2006). This shows how well Muslims have adapted to their environment. Shared needs and the role of traditional leaders have helped Muslims and the Iban go hand in

hand. For example, during Iban traditional ceremonies, Muslims also participate without feeling that it contradicts their faith. Interestingly, Muslims in Badau have adapted some Iban traditions, like the *ngampu tolak bala* ceremony, which is similar to the Muslim *pedarak tepung tawar* ceremony. Both are expressions of gratitude to God for protection from disasters (Supriyanto, 2020). This demonstrates the unique adaptation of Iban customs, as Yusriadi et al. (2012) noted, where religion and customs provide social cohesion.

The stable situation in Badau aligns with Putnam's (2021) analysis, which suggests that the presence of many networks within a community can serve as social capital, helping to create and maintain peace. Similarly, inter-community networks, particularly citizen participation in joint activities, can prevent potential conflicts. While informal, everyday communication between citizens may be sufficient to maintain social cohesion in rural areas, it may not be enough in larger cities. In urban settings, formal associational ties are essential to promote inter-ethnic peace (Panggabean, 2018).

In line with these expert opinions, the rapid development of Islam in Badau can be attributed not only to its ability to adapt to Dayak Iban customs but also to the presence of a "mixed generation." These descendants, born from marriages between Dayak Iban and Malay tribes, including converts to Islam (muallafs), play a crucial role in fostering mutual respect and care. They view themselves as part of a larger family, which has strengthened communal bonds. One of the reasons Badau remains unaffected by external influences is the presence of this "mixed generation," which further solidifies shared values. The muallafs have infused Iban culture with an Islamic touch, a transformation they see as a new cultural wealth that the people of Badau now take pride in (interview with AS, June 14, 2017).

Problem-solving Mechanisms

Earlier, it was mentioned that Badau is inhabited by various ethnic groups, making it vulnerable to social disharmony and even ethnic conflict (Haba, 2012). Several studies have reported conflicts between indigenous people and migrants. Notable examples include conflicts between the Dayak

and Madurese (Hamdani, 2022), Dayak and Chinese (Maulana, 2015), Dayak and Malay (Hamdani, 2022), among others. Among these, the conflict between the Dayak and Madurese was the most severe and traumatic, causing significant destruction and loss of life (Arkanudin, 2006). On the other hand, the conflict between the Dayak and Malay was less intense, though this does not mean there were no tensions between these two ethnic groups in Badau, where the Dayak are the dominant ethnicity.

According to an analysis of interview and observation results, most issues in Badau can be resolved easily due to the people's natural inclination toward peaceful living. Additionally, the presence of strong, hierarchical traditional institutions, from the RT to sub-district levels, plays a crucial role. AN and other informants explained that each social structure in Badau has clearly defined responsibilities, preventing overlap. Their tasks involve categorizing and addressing problems, whether they are customary, criminal, or religious. For instance, a seemingly minor issue like hitting a pet dog or pig can be a serious matter in Badau.

Most problems (except for criminal cases such as drug-related issues or murder) are resolved through customary law. Even cases of infidelity or rape, which fall under criminal law, can sometimes be settled within families. The resolution process is also hierarchical. If a problem is solved at the level of the *patih* or customary head, there is no need to escalate it to the Customary Council. Each customary stakeholder must first attempt to resolve the issue. If a problem affects both tribes (Dayak Iban and Malay), it is addressed jointly by the *Tumenggung* and *Punggawa*, highlighting the important role leaders play in maintaining harmony (Samuel & Tumonglo, 2023; Zuhairi & Muzakki, 2023). These leaders not only promote peaceful coexistence (Zuhairi & Muzakki, 2023) but also mediate conflicts. If the *Tumenggung* and *Punggawa* cannot resolve an issue, it can be brought to the Customary Council with the involvement of the sub-district as a facilitator.

The problem-solving mechanisms mentioned above are highly feasible for the Badau people, as they are accustomed to engaging in dialogue within the *rumah panjang*. This traditional house is built along large rivers and is both spacious and long. The house is very sturdy, supported by large trees that are resistant to all weather conditions, and is often constructed as a stilt house to avoid flooding, tides, or wild animals. Nowadays, many *rumah panjang* have been built with permanent walls, resembling residential complexes. One thing that remains unchanged is the elongated roof, which

can accommodate an average of 15 to 50 families, making the house as long as 200 meters. At first glance, it resembles a mini village under one roof. Along the main roads of Badau, traditional stilt *rumah panjang* are still standing.

Through the *rumah panjang*, the Badau people form a unique community based on an ambilineal kinship system, though the husband traditionally lives with his wife's family. Ambilineal kinship means that some people trace their lineage through their father's side, while others do so through their mother's side. The post-marriage custom is *utrolocal*, where some couples choose to live in the husband's *bilek* (room), and others in the wife's *bilek*. This choice also determines membership in the *bilek*, along with its associated rights and obligations. A person can never be a member of two *bilek*. Children belong to the *bilek* they are born into.

Historically, *rumah panjang* were inhabited by families related by blood. However, due to practical needs, they are now also used as rented housing. Different families from various ethnicities and religions can live together. In the mornings and evenings, they gather, joke, and play in the outdoor and inner courtyards. Through the *rumah panjang*, children from an early age are exposed to diverse personalities, values, and cultural, ethnic, and religious diversity. Despite their varying economic circumstances and social statuses, they learn to maintain togetherness. They are also taught tolerance, respect for others, self-control, and the importance of maintaining shared values (Segara, 2020).

Deliberation based on ethical behavior has become a tradition passed down through generations. This practice is essential to instill continuously, creating a *habitus* that extends beyond the *rumah panjang* and into broader life contexts. In line with Bourdieu's (2006) concept of *habitus*, the *rumah panjang* serves as an arena for producing and reproducing values that will be passed on to future generations. It is a place where people express their experiences and identities as members of the same community.

The practice of deliberating and solving problems is not only carried out in the *rumah panjang* but also in the *balai adat* (traditional halls). In Badau District, there are two large traditional halls for each tribe. When a problem involves two tribes, deliberation is first held to decide which tribal hall will be used for mediation. Additionally, most villages have their own separate

traditional halls. Generally, these halls are used for a variety of meetings, including customary gatherings and other formal activities.

The problem-solving process also benefits from the close kinship and brotherhood that exists between different religions and tribes in Badau. This relationship is reflected in many community activities, most of which are deeply rooted in Iban customs, and are followed by all residents, regardless of their ethnicity or religion. The people of Badau continue to regard customs and culture as sources of values. Religion, practiced through customs and culture, serves as a tool for self-reflection and finding common ground with others. This aligns with Geertz's (2014) assertion that religion is not only part of culture but its core. As the 'core culture,' religion serves as a guide for life, determining what is seen as good and bad. Without realizing it, the Badau people incorporate various rites as a medium for practicing their religion.

Throughout the year, several traditional activities are conducted collectively. Interestingly, some traditional Dayak Iban ceremonies have been adapted to accommodate the needs of the Malay community. For instance, every new year, usually between December and January, a ceremony is held to ask for safety and well-being for all Badau residents. This lively ceremony, since 2017, has been conducted in a neutral area between the Indonesian and Malaysian PLBN. Besides its significance in ensuring safety and prosperity, the ceremony also serves as an expression of gratitude for the establishment of the impressive PLBN in Badau.

In the *ngampu tolak bala* ceremony (a traditional ritual to ward off misfortune, negative energy, or disasters), all residents actively participate. In addition to contributions and voluntary donations, some provide ceremonial materials and food. Uniquely, no pork is served during this ceremony out of respect for Muslim residents, demonstrating a blending of Dayak Iban customs with Islamic teachings.

Another traditional ceremony is the *padarak*, an Iban ritual performed to inaugurate a new building or house. All residents are invited to attend and offer prayers. Over time, as this ceremony became more frequent and attended mainly by close relatives, the Malay community began to refer to it as *teprung tawar* (Luardini et al., 2019; Masrur, 2022). These two ceremonies, which share similar meanings and purposes, have become opportunities for the two tribes to mingle and celebrate together more often.

There is also *gawae*, a festival held at the end of May, although some areas in Badau celebrate it in June or July. This annual event is a sign of gratitude for the harvest and the bounty from the land. During *gawae*, all residents visit each other and host guests in their homes. Additionally, there is *ngabang*, an event where cakes, dishes, and other sweets are exchanged among relatives, friends, neighbors, and family. This event takes place during religious celebrations, with the Dayak Iban practicing *ngabang* during Easter, Christmas, and New Year, while the Malay community observes it during Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha.

In addition to the various traditional rites and activities mentioned above, the Badau people also take part in national ceremonies to strengthen fraternal relations between tribes and religions. One significant event is the celebration of Independence Day on August 17, where they mingle and participate in various activities such as parties, exhibitions, sports, and art performances. Although this celebration is common across Indonesia, what makes it unique in Badau is that border residents from Malaysia are allowed to join without needing passports. Recently, in an expression of pride and unity, a grand night festival has been held in the PLBN area, further enhancing the festive spirit. They have even successfully invited artists from Jakarta and Pontianak several times to enliven the event. Pamungkas (2018), in a different study, also observed a similar pattern in the Malay-Karimun community.

The sense of togetherness and unity among the tribes and religions in Badau may seem superficial at first glance. However, when you delve into how they engage their thoughts and actions in these activities, it becomes clear that they share a common 'space' called Badau. Theoretically, Herzog (2018) states that organic solidarity in a society can be formed and maintained through a system of community values that has been historically built through tradition. Unconsciously, the value system embedded in these various socio-cultural activities, including the traditional ceremonies of the Badau people, has guided their behavior and fostered unity in their diversity. Herzog refers to these unifying forces as collective representations. Therefore, these rituals and cultural traditions play a crucial role in maintaining social cohesion and national resilience for the people of Badau.

Overall, one limitation of this study is that it focuses solely on the socio-cultural and religious life in Badau, which may limit the generalizability of its findings to other regions with different ethnic and religious dynamics.

The study's qualitative approach, while valuable for in-depth insights, relies on a limited sample size of interviews and observations, which may not fully capture the diversity of experiences and perspectives within the community. Additionally, the study does not extensively explore the potential challenges or conflicts that might arise from the integration of different ethnic and religious groups in Badau, which could provide a more balanced view of the region's social harmony. Lastly, the study recommends further research on the anthropological and historical aspects of the Dayak Iban tribe, suggesting that there are still significant gaps in understanding the deeper roots of interethnic and interfaith relations in the area.

Conclusion

This research provides significant theoretical findings, showing that migration and the revitalization of the PLBN have enabled the Dayak Iban tribe to interact with people of different ethnicities and religions. These inter-tribal relationships have also influenced the religious identity of the Dayak Iban tribe, which was originally predominantly Catholic. Over time, some members have embraced Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. This demonstrates the Dayak Iban tribe's capacity to accept the arrival of migrants from outside. Despite Badau Sub-district now being home to a variety of ethnicities and religions, its religious life has remained harmonious and stable.

Although this research offers a portrait of the current religious landscape of the Dayak Iban tribe amidst other ethnic groups and faiths, it has limitations due to the lack of data or references on the early history of the tribe and the religions now practiced by the Badau community. Therefore, future research should focus on anthropological and historical studies to trace when and how the Dayak Iban tribe existed before the migration of other ethnic groups. Such research could also map the evolution of religious encounters, highlighting how Catholicism, once dominant, has given way to a more diverse religious landscape.

The recommendations from this study are specifically directed toward local governments in border areas, encouraging them to adopt the positive examples from Badau. The self-resilience of the Badau community is a model worth replicating, as they have successfully utilized the PLBN as a space to express love, pride, and nationalism. The PLBN is not just a static

cultures, and religions. Other border communities in Indonesia could similarly leverage the PLBN as both a monument and a unifying symbol to promote harmonious living in diversity.

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DECONSTRUCTING THE KIAI AND SANTRI RELATIONSHIP: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF POWER AND CULTURAL DYNAMICS

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Abstract

This study aims to reveal the dynamics of the relationship between Kiai and santri in traditional pesantren. This research deconstructs the relationship between Kiai and Santri in the Indonesian socio-cultural context. Through a critical approach, this study examines the dynamics of power and cultural influences that color the relationship. By analyzing various sources, this study reveals the complexity of the Kiai and Santri relationship that goes beyond the traditional teacher-student relationship. The results show that the relationship between Kiai and santri in traditional pesantren is built on the basis of strong religious and cultural values. Kiai holds a central role as a spiritual leader and teacher, while santri place themselves as obedient and respectful students. This

relationship is characterized by a clear hierarchy, where Kiai has great authority and influence over santri. However, the dynamics of this relationship do not always run smoothly. There are potential conflicts that arise due to differences in interpretation of religious values, differences in socio-economic backgrounds, and the influence of changing times. Kiai are required to be able to maintain a balance between maintaining traditional values and adjusting to the demands of the times and their relevance to social and political changes affecting the relationship between Kiai and Santri

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap dinamika hubungan antara Kiai dan santri di pesantren tradisional. Penelitian ini mendekonstruksi hubungan Kiai dan Santri dalam konteks sosial-kultural Indonesia. Melalui pendekatan kritis, penelitian ini mengkaji dinamika kekuasaan dan pengaruh budaya yang mewarnai hubungan tersebut. Dengan menganalisis berbagai sumber, penelitian ini mengungkap kompleksitas hubungan Kiai dan Santri yang melampaui relasi guru-murid tradisional. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa hubungan Kiai dan santri di pesantren tradisional dibangun atas dasar nilai-nilai religius dan kultural yang kuat. Kiai memegang peran sentral sebagai pemimpin spiritual dan guru, sementara santri menempatkan diri sebagai murid yang patuh dan hormat. Hubungan ini ditandai dengan hierarki yang jelas, di mana Kiai memiliki otoritas dan pengaruh yang besar terhadap santri. Namun, dinamika hubungan ini tidak selalu berjalan mulus. Terdapat potensi konflik yang muncul akibat perbedaan interpretasi nilai-nilai agama, perbedaan latar belakang sosial-ekonomi, dan pengaruh perubahan zaman. Kiai dituntut untuk mampu menjaga keseimbangan antara mempertahankan nilai-nilai tradisional dan menyesuaikan diri dengan tuntutan zaman serta relevansinya dengan perubahan sosial dan politik memengaruhi hubungan Kiai dan Santri

Keywords: *Kiai, pesantren, relationship dynamics, santri, socio-cultural context*

Introduction

Pesantren, as traditional Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia, have played a significant role in shaping the nation's character and producing influential figures across various fields. For centuries, pesantren have been centers of religious learning, moral development, and knowledge dissemination. Within this context, a unique relationship exists between the Kiai, as a spiritual leader and teacher, and the santri, as students seeking knowledge and guidance (Majid, 1997). This relationship is often described as a sacred teacher-student bond, marked by profound respect and obedience. The Kiai is regarded as a figure of great authority and influence, while the santri adhere to the rules and guidance provided. Rooted in traditional values and local culture, this relationship model has sustained pesantren for generations.

Over time, socio-cultural changes have added complexity to the dynamics of the *Kiai-santri* relationship. Factors such as globalization, technological advancements, and changing mindsets among the younger generation have challenged the traditional model of this relationship. These shifts raise important questions about the relevance and sustainability of the *Kiai-santri* relationship in a modern context (Dhofier, 2011).

The rapid flow of information and culture due to globalization has significantly impacted various aspects of life, including pesantren. With easier access to technology and information, the younger generation, including santri, now obtain knowledge not only from Kiai but also from diverse sources available through the internet and social media. This shift in mindset poses challenges for Kiai in maintaining their authority and influence. Santri exposed to global information and culture may develop alternative views and interpretations of the religious values and traditions taught in pesantren, potentially leading to conflicts and differing perspectives (Hamdi, 2015).

The dynamics of *Kiai-santri* relationships in traditional *pesantren* are shaped by intricate power and cultural dynamics. As spiritual leaders and teachers, *Kiai* wield significant authority, including control over the rules,

curriculum, and activities within the *pesantren* (Dhofier, 2011). *Santri* are expected to follow these guidelines and demonstrate respect and obedience. This hierarchical relationship is deeply rooted in local traditions and cultural values that emphasize the sanctity of teacher-student bonds (*sami'na wa atho'na*, or "listening and obeying") (Dhofier, 1990). *Kiai* are regarded as highly knowledgeable and wise, with their words and actions serving as guidance for the *santri* (Irawan, 2022). Additionally, their influence often extends beyond the *pesantren*, impacting the surrounding community and reinforcing their role as respected leaders (Abubakar, 2020).

However, the dynamics of power and culture in these relationships do not always align smoothly. Diverging views between *Kiai* and *santri* on religious values and traditions can lead to conflicts and disagreements. While *Kiai* emphasizes preserving *pesantren* traditions, *santri* may desire more freedom to explore and develop their own interpretations and viewpoints (Dhofier, 1990)

Conflict and differences in views between *Kiai* and *santri* can occur due to several factors, including: (a) Differences in Interpretation of Religious Values: Differences in interpretation of religious values can arise due to the influence of globalization, technological advances, and changes in the mindset of the younger generation. *Santris* who are exposed to global information and culture may have different views and interpretations of religious values taught in *pesantren*. (b) Differences in Socio-Economic Background: Differences in socio-economic background can lead to differences in views on the way of life, moral values, and the role of *pesantren* in society. *Santris* who come from different socio-economic backgrounds may have different expectations of *pesantren*. (c) Influence of Changing Times: The changing times pose new challenges for *pesantren* in adjusting to the needs of the times. *Kiai* are faced with the challenge of maintaining traditional values and adjusting to the demands of an increasingly modern era (Mas'ud, 2004).

Historically, the charisma of *Kiai* has positioned them as pivotal leaders within their communities. Beyond their roles as religious leaders,

Kiai serve as heads of the *pesantren*, where they are not only recognized as teachers of religious knowledge but also regarded by *santri* as parental figures. This paternal role extends their influence, earning them deep respect and obedience while establishing them as vital sources of knowledge and guidance for their students (Irawan, 2022).

Such a position of *kiai* is essentially that of a patron, a figure on whom *santri* depend. The relationship between *santri* and *kiai* is primarily based on the justification of religious teachings, such as the student-teacher relationship in the *tarekat* environment. Due to the authority of the *kiai*, the position of the *santri* is as a client to the *kiai*. As a patron, the *kiai*'s influence extends beyond the lives of the *santri* to include the surrounding community and even the parents of the *santri* (Yasin & Khasbulloh, 2022).

In addition to religious knowledge, *kiai* are often proficient in medicine, possess *ilmu ghaib* (mystical knowledge), or have other extraordinary abilities, which further solidify their position as patrons within their community. This leader-led relationship within such a cultural orientation, at the very least, fosters a patron-client relationship model of leadership. Definitively, James C. Scott describes the patron-client relationship pattern as follows:

“A reciprocal relationship between two people can be defined as a special case of extended friendship, in which one individual of higher socio-economic status (patron), uses his influence and resources to provide protection or benefits to another individual of lower status (client), in which case the client has an obligation to reciprocate by providing general support and assistance, including personal services to the patron.”

Referring to Scott's explanation above, the role of patrons in the leadership of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) is carried out by the *kiai* or the *kiai* family. As Dhofier states, *kiai* are patrons because they hold absolute authority and power in shaping the *pesantren* institution. No one challenges the authority of the *kiai*—least of all the *santri* in the *pesantren* environment—except other *kiai* who possess even greater power and authority (Dhofier, 2011). With these sources of authority and power, *kiai* are normatively

placed at the highest status among all other elements in the *pesantren* environment.

Previous studies have extensively explored the dynamics of the *Kiai-santri* relationship within traditional *pesantren*, focusing on its historical, cultural, and religious significance. Dhofier (2011) emphasizes the central role of *Kiai* as authoritative spiritual leaders who uphold the values of *sami'na wa atho'na* (listening and obeying), shaping a deeply hierarchical and culturally rooted relationship. Similarly, Abubakar (2020) highlights the *Kiai's* influence in fostering resilience against radicalism, further showcasing their pivotal role not only within the *pesantren* but also in the broader community. Irawan (2022) investigates the integration of Sufism and environmental practices, demonstrating the broader social and ecological impact of *pesantren* leadership. Additionally, Faisal et al. (2022) discuss the role of *Kiai* in strengthening religious moderation through their traditional authority. However, while these studies provide valuable insights into the cultural and religious foundations of the *Kiai-santri* relationship, they often focus on its normative and historical aspects, with limited critical examination of how socio-cultural changes, globalization, and shifts in generational mindsets influence these dynamics.

The existing research gap lies in the need for a critical review of the *Kiai-santri* relationship, specifically addressing how power structures and cultural dynamics are being renegotiated in response to modern challenges. This includes exploring the impact of globalization, technological advancements, and the evolving expectations of *santri* in a rapidly changing socio-cultural context. As noted by Achmadin et al. (2024), the relevance of traditional *pesantren* education models is increasingly being questioned, calling for a deconstruction of the traditional teacher-student relationship to adapt to contemporary realities. This study aims to fill this gap by critically analyzing the shifting dynamics of power and culture in the *Kiai-santri* relationship, providing a nuanced understanding of its transformation in the modern era.

Method

This research employs an ethnographic qualitative approach to analyze the relationship between kiai and santri within the context of pesantren. Conducted in various pesantren across East Java, which represent diverse cultural and social backgrounds, the study aims to capture differing perspectives on existing power dynamics (Trinlae, 2021). Data collection involved in-depth interviews with kiai, santri, and pesantren alumni, focusing on personal experiences, perceptions of authority, expectations, and challenges in daily interactions. Participatory observations were also conducted, enabling researchers to engage directly in pesantren activities such as recitations and social events to better understand social interactions. Additionally, documents like educational curricula and religious texts were analyzed to uncover the values that underpin this relationship.

The research delves into the nuanced interactions between kiai and santri, exploring the influence of broader social, cultural, and economic factors. Through in-depth interviews, the researchers gained not only quantitative data but also qualitative insights into individual experiences and perspectives, offering a holistic understanding of these interactions. Participatory observation provided firsthand insights into everyday practices that support or hinder constructive relationships. Document analysis revealed the normative frameworks shaping kiai and santri behavior, highlighting the values emphasized in pesantren education and their impact on these relationships.

Data triangulation was employed to enhance validity, comparing narratives from various sources and gaining feedback from participants to ensure accurate interpretations. The process of data triangulation not only increases the validity of the findings, but also provides an opportunity to compare different narratives, so that researchers can understand the various viewpoints that exist within the pesantren community (Mavlyutova, 2023). Data analysis in this study are grounded in deconstruction theory, a critical approach pioneered by French philosopher Jacques Derrida. A key concept in deconstruction is *différance*, which denotes the delay and suspension of

meaning. According to Derrida, meaning is never fully achieved because it is perpetually deferred and defined through its differences from other elements (Derrida, 1994).

This study employs *différance* in three significant ways. First, it examines the process of differentiation (*to differ*), highlighting how orientalist interpretations of *pesantren* traditions have created epistemic distinctions, framing these traditions in specific ways. Second, it explores the dissemination of meaning (*to spread*), as orientalist depictions of *pesantren* as conservative and outdated are accepted or contested by different audiences. Third, it addresses the deferral of meaning (*to defer*), revealing how orientalist views delay and reshape the understanding of *pesantren* traditions, leading to their reinterpretation as syncretic, conservative, or out of touch with modernity. This process challenges the core values and beliefs traditionally associated with *pesantren* by local communities (Naas, 2003).

This research aims to contribute meaningfully to understanding the kiai-santri relationship, providing insights into the power and cultural dynamics within *pesantren*. It also aspires to inform inclusive and responsive policy recommendations for the development of *pesantren* education, fostering harmonious and constructive relationships between kiai and santri.

Findings and Discussion

Deconstruction of Kiai and Santri Relationships in the Pesantren Scope

Referring to the phenomenon of deconstruction of *kiai* and *santri*, it is closely tied to the scope of *pesantren* education, where the values embedded in Islamic boarding schools contain three elements that contribute to the formation of a patron-client relationship between *kiai* and *santri*, as described by Scott. First, patron-client relationships are based on unequal exchanges, reflecting differences in status. A client, in this case, the *santri*, receives many services from the patron, the *kiai*, creating a sense of obligation and dependence on the patron. Second, the patron-client relationship is personal. The personalized pattern of reciprocity between *kiai* and *santri*

fosters trust and dependence in the relationship mechanism. This is evident in the culture of *santri* respect for *kiai*, which often resembles individual cult worship. Third, patron relationships are widespread, flexible, and not bound by time (Yani et al., 2022). This flexibility stems from the prolonged socialization of values during the years spent as a *santri*. For instance, a commonly held value among *santri* is the avoidance of arguing with or opposing the *kiai*, as it is believed to bring *kuwalat* (a curse) and render their knowledge ineffective. A curse from the *kiai* is considered severe and deeply feared.

Experts define the patron-client relationship pattern as a connection between individuals or groups in which one party is positioned as the patron or superior, while the other is positioned as the client or subordinate (James, n.d.). From this perspective, *santri* recognize and accept the resources and influence of their *kiai*. The resources in question include value systems, organizational structures, and the *kiai's* authority. The *kiai's* ability to occupy a patron position is rooted in their possession of unique resources that are not available to those they influence or control (*clients*) (Nilan, 2009). These three foundational factors of the patron-client relationship in *pesantren* are evident in the type of leadership employed to manage these institutions. With a strong emphasis on the dominance of *kiai* (and *kiai* families) and adherence to tradition, the resulting leadership style is inherently paternalistic. In this model, the *kiai* assumes the role of protector, teacher, and father figure. This creates a hierarchical structure where members of the *pesantren* are subordinates, and the leader stands above them.

In the broader societal context, a patron often holds a privileged position. The patronage relationship between *kiai* and the community transcends territorial boundaries, extending across cities and provinces. The influence of *kiai* leadership and their expansive networks facilitates communication with external parties, including government and private institutions. The *kiai's* prominence allows them to serve as agents for disseminating government messages, such as development programs. Communities often show greater acceptance of these programs when

conveyed by a *kiai*. This reflects the elevated status of *kiai* within the socio-cultural framework of Javanese society (Umar, 2016).

The positive aspects of paternalistic leadership include a leader's strong sense of responsibility and personal attention to their followers. Such leaders provide protection and foster unity within their group. When a paternalistic leader demonstrates exceptional qualities, trust among their followers grows stronger. However, the negative aspects of paternalistic leadership emerge when the leader is absent or no longer in power. Followers may feel disoriented and lost, with the organization becoming disorganized. This dependency on the leader, akin to a father-child relationship, can lead to instability—just as the death of a father leaves a child in uncertainty (Abubakar, 2020).

In principle, the father-son relationship reflects a hierarchical structure, dividing people into distinct groups, such as officials (*priyayi*) and commoners (*wong cilik*). During royal times, kings often mapped their positions in relation to their subjects, who were further divided into various classes, including peasant families. These groups not only served as tribute-givers but also contributed their labor for community service, reinforcing the king's superior status. This hierarchical relationship laid the foundation for the patron-servant dynamic, which, though not entirely replicated in the context of *pesantren*, has persisted and evolved over time (Achmadin, 2023). In *pesantren*, this relationship is often expressed through the lens of Sufism, as illustrated by the saying of Ali bin Abi Talib: "I am willing to become a slave of my teacher who has taught me one letter; it is up to him whether he wants to sell me, free me, or keep me as a slave." The *kiai-santri* relationship is deeply rooted and often lasts a lifetime. Santri are morally obliged to bring tributes (*torator*) to their *kiai* and perform community service at their residence (Jailani, 2012).

Beyond the *kiai-santri* relationship, another form of interaction exists in *pesantren*: the *kiai-khadam* relationship. This dynamic further reinforces the *kiai's* role as a patron. Unlike regular *santri*, *khadam* dedicate themselves fully to serving the *kiai*, performing daily tasks as an obligation. The *khadam's*

role as a client is driven by the desire to seek blessings (*ngalap barokah*) from the *kiai* (Faisal et al., 2022). While the relationship between *santri* and teachers may be described as familiar, free, and democratic, the relationship between *santri* and the *kiai* or their family is often marked by authoritarian traits. The *kiai* is regarded as a sacred figure, and this dynamic fosters a sense of fanaticism among some *santri*, who may even be willing to sacrifice themselves to defend their *kiai*. This bond is often described by terms like *nunggal guru* (one teacher) and *nunggal banyu* (one source of knowledge) (Majid, 1997).

Indeed, the hierarchical structure of *pesantren* leadership resembles a monarchy, where the *kiai* holds absolute authority over the institution's life and operations. The *santri* are expected to show unwavering respect to the *kiai* in all aspects—religious, social, and personal. Forgetting this bond or failing to maintain respect is considered a serious disgrace, as it risks losing the teacher's blessing. Despite any efforts to democratize the leadership structure, the authoritarian element within *pesantren* life remains strong. The *kiai* is often seen as the sole owner of the boarding school, creating a noticeable distance between the *kiai* and his family on one side and the *santri* or *ustad* on the other (Naim & Qomar, 2021; Manshur, 2020).

The tradition of *pesantren* also embodies elements of feudalism cloaked in religious values, sometimes referred to as *religio-feudalism*. This can be observed in everyday practices, such as when *santri* visit their *kiai*, they do not simply "visit" (*nemoni*) but *sowan*—a term denoting respect. Additionally, the hierarchical structure is evident in the use of language, with levels such as *kromo inggil*, *kromo*, and *ngoko*. Titles further reinforce this hierarchy, as the *kiai* is often referred to as *romo kiai*, and his son is called *gus*, similar to how Javanese nobility use titles like *raden*. This hierarchical awareness fosters an absolute sense of respect and obedience among *santri*, who view their *kiai* not only as a figure of authority but as a conduit of divine grace. This belief in the *kiai* as a pious and chosen leader inspires *santri* to submit wholeheartedly,

believing that blessings in this world and the hereafter are mediated through the *kiai's* love and piety (Isbah, 2020).

The above challenges become increasingly complex in the modern era, as the dynamics of *kiai-santri* relationships evolve in response to globalization, technological advancements, and shifts in the younger generation's mindset. The traditional hierarchical and authoritarian model is gradually shifting toward a more democratic and participatory relationship (Setiyani, 2020). This transformation is further influenced by new paradigms in *pesantren* education, including the management of modern *pesantren* by business professionals. Such developments introduce new tensions and challenges in re-evaluating *pesantren* education in the modern context (A'la, 2006).

Globalization and technological advancements have significantly influenced how young people, including *santri*, think and behave. The accessibility of information through the internet and social media has expanded their horizons, reducing their reliance solely on *kiai* for knowledge. This has fostered a critical and active mindset, prompting *santri* to question the rules and traditions of *pesantren*. Exposure to diverse ideologies and global cultures has further reshaped their views and interpretations of religious values and traditions. These changes challenge the traditional hierarchical *kiai-santri* relationship, necessitating adaptation and increased dialogue to bridge differing perspectives and foster a harmonious, productive relationship (Khasan, 2010).

Patron-Client Heirarchy between Kiai and Santri

The role of a *kiai* is multifaceted. A *kiai* is not only a religious scholar who leads an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*), but also someone who upholds religious teachings with authority and influence. Some *kiai* do not own or manage *pesantren* but instead act as itinerant preachers, spreading religious knowledge through sermons and community engagement. These *kiai* are often referred to as *Kiai Teko* or *Kendi*, likened to a pitcher of water that quenches the thirst of the community. Their sermons serve as a form of spiritual sustenance. Conversely, *kiai* who manage *pesantren* are known as

Kiai Sumur, or "well *kiai*," with a stationary role where students and community members seek them out for religious knowledge, much like fetching water from a well (Fauzi, 2012).

A *kiai* is also often regarded as an *ulama*—a scholar who dedicates their life to studying religious knowledge, interpreting the Qur'an and Hadith, and guiding the community. In Indonesia, *ulama* are collectively represented through the Indonesian Ulema Council (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, MUI), an organization tasked with providing religious rulings and legitimizing government policies on religious matters, such as halal certification. The MUI comprises scholars, intellectuals, and community leaders who are recognized as experts in their fields. Due to its proximity to governmental authority, the MUI is often referred to as "formal *ulama*," with its legitimacy dependent on state recognition. However, many *ulama* operate independently in communities across Indonesia without formal ties to the MUI (Rahman, 2016).

The title of *ulama* develops through gradual recognition by the community, based on the individual's religious expertise and contributions. Horikoshi distinguishes between *ulama* and *kiai* by their social functions. While *ulama* often serve smaller, rural communities, *kiai* wield broader influence due to their charismatic authority. A *kiai's* social reach extends beyond that of an *ulama*, allowing them to play a significant role in guiding moral values and promoting virtue (Sukowati, 2019). However, the distinctions between *ulama* and *kiai* can blur, as a *kiai* often assumes dual roles: as a leader within the *pesantren*, functioning as an *ulama* in the *santri* environment, and as a religious scholar operating beyond the *pesantren* system. In this dual capacity, a *kiai* often collaborates with external institutions to fulfill their role as a religious expert (Fauzi, 2018).

Conceptually, the terms *ulama* and *kiai* differ sharply. The term *kiai* has evolved as a social construct rooted in communal recognition and often associated with religious leadership in the *pesantren* context. In contrast, the term *ulama* is derived textually from divine revelation and reflects a broader theological scope. The Qur'an, in Surah Al-Fathir (35:28), mentions *ulama*,

stating: "And among people, and moving creatures, and grazing livestock are various colors likewise. Only those fear Allah, from among His servants, who have knowledge. Indeed, Allah is Exalted in Might and Forgiving." This verse emphasizes the diversity in creation and highlights that those who truly fear Allah are those endowed with knowledge and understanding.

The Prophet's words, "*Al-Ulama' warosatul Anbiya'*" (Scholars are the inheritors of the Prophets), reinforce the esteemed role of *kiai*. Since *kiai* possess and impart religious knowledge to the community, their status in Islamic boarding schools has become synonymous with the title of *ulama*. A *kiai* is often credited as the founder of villages, clearing land for settlements. There is a widespread belief in the community that villages established by *kiai* are peaceful, safe, and blessed. Consequently, the *kiai* is honored as the village founder, earning the title of village leader for their contributions (Abdullah et al., 2021). Communities frequently recount tales of a *kiai's* mystical powers and profound knowledge, turning these stories into legends. As a result, *kiai* are often personified as embodying noble traits, exemplary character, and sacred qualities. Similar beliefs about the greatness of the *Sunan* or *Walisongo* in spreading Islam in Java are rooted in the mystical narratives prevalent among Javanese people. The influence of Hinduism and Buddhism contributed to the growth of mysticism in Javanese society (Pribadi, 2013).

In Islamic boarding schools, the *kiai* holds the position of sole leader, with high authority in disseminating and teaching religious knowledge. No other figure rivals the *kiai's* power, except for another *kiai* with greater charisma. The *kiai's* role is absolute, shaping the leadership style and development of the boarding school. Within the *kiai* community, younger or junior *kiai* are expected to show respect to senior *kiai*. Similarly, the life of *santri* is marked by a feudal culture typical of a paternalistic society, where younger individuals are expected to respect their elders. While Javanese cultural norms influence traditions within *pesantren*, the respect for *kiai* is also rooted in their religious expertise, such as their mastery of classical texts, educational background, and scholarly achievements (Humaisi, 2019).

The *kiai's* status in *pesantren* traditions is also influenced by heredity. Charismatic *kiai* often pass on their social status to their descendants, who inherit almost the same level of influence as their predecessors (Yasin & Khasbulloh, 2022). For example, the story of a highly respected *kiai* with a significant following and recognition by the government illustrates this phenomenon. Such *kiai* are likened to a forest tiger (*macan alas*): when paired with another tiger of similar lineage, the offspring are extraordinary. Likewise, marriages into influential *kiai* families are believed to produce descendants with significant influence (Mujahid, 2021).

Heredity is an important consideration for *kiai* in forming marriage alliances, as previously discussed. Many Javanese and Madurese people continue to value marriages into *kiai* families, believing that the children will inherit the *kiai's* noble traits. It is not uncommon for families to accept a daughter marrying into a *kiai* family, even as a second or subsequent wife, solely to gain the prestige of such a connection. The high regard for *kiai* families in these societies sometimes borders on excessive reverence, verging on the cult of personality. For instance, when a *kiai* in Jombang was asked about Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) replacing the traditional Islamic greeting *Assalaamu'alaikum* with "Good Morning" or "Good Afternoon," the *kiai* refrained from commenting. He simply stated that Gus Dur was a descendant of the great *kiai* Hadratus Sheikh Hasyim Asy'ari, emphasizing the importance of lineage (Idris, 2015).

The *kiai's* role as a religious figure and informal leader stems from public recognition rather than formal appointments. A *kiai's* leadership is not tied to government positions or specific groups but arises from the community's acknowledgment of their religious knowledge and its benefits. However, some individuals acquire the title of *kiai* through other means. For example, an official may appoint someone to teach religious knowledge and lead prayers in their neighborhood. Over time, this person may be called a *kiai* by the community due to their role. Yet, such *kiai* often have limited influence, known primarily to the officials they serve. Their duties may

include teaching prayer, conducting Qur'an lessons, and advising on religious laws, primarily for the official's family (Patriadi, 2017)

To hold the title of *kiai*, several conditions must be met. Prospective *kiai* must first become students in a boarding school (*pesantren*), study diligently, and participate in the recitation of *yellow-classical* books. They are also expected to engage in acts of devotion, such as fasting on Mondays and Thursdays or observing other practices recommended by their *kiai* during their time as *santri* (Achmadin & Fattah, 2023). While it is challenging to pinpoint the exact moment when a *santri* transitions into a *kiai*, the process typically takes a significant amount of time—often spanning decades of study in Islamic boarding schools. However, the length of time spent studying is not the sole determinant of a *santri's* readiness to become a *kiai*. Personal development rooted in religious teachings is a fundamental requirement, ensuring that *kiai* are not only knowledgeable but also consistent in practicing Islamic principles (Sulistiyati, 2023). The *kiai's* religious conduct—both in social and spiritual matters—is closely observed by the community. Thus, the personal preparation of a prospective *kiai* is imbued with a profound sense of responsibility, as they are seen as leaders accountable not only to their followers but ultimately to God in the hereafter (Dhofier, 2011).

This study reveals that the relationship between *kiai* and *santri* in *pesantren* is not limited to a spiritual teacher-student bond but also encompasses a complex power structure. The patron-client framework provides a useful lens for understanding this dynamic. As a patron, the *kiai* wields resources and authority that offer protection and benefits to their *santri* (clients) (Mappiasse & Hayadin, 2022). However, this patronage bond is inherently asymmetrical, often favoring the *kiai*. The *kiai* leverages their dominant position to maintain and expand their influence through identity construction, discursive practices, and rituals within the *pesantren*. Conversely, the *santri*, despite being in a subordinate position, are not entirely passive. They engage in negotiations, resistance, and survival strategies to preserve their autonomy and interests. These efforts, although

constrained, indicate that the patron-client relationship between *kiai* and *santri* is not monolithic but dialogic in nature (Aulia, 2018).

In this context, reimagining the *kiai-santri* relationship to foster greater equality is essential. This can be achieved by recognizing the complexities of the relationship, empowering *santri*, and transforming *pesantren* values to allow for more balanced participation and collaboration between *kiai* and *santri*. Key considerations include: (a) the *kiai's* significant authority and influence in traditional *pesantren* and how this influence is evolving in modern contexts; (b) the challenges *kiai* face in maintaining their authority amidst changing times, particularly with the rise of critical *santri* who have greater access to information; and (c) the capacity of *santri* to develop independent perspectives, participate in decision-making, and contribute to shaping *pesantren* values, with the ultimate goal of advancing the transformation of *pesantren* education.

Cultural Overview of the Relationship between Kiai and Santri

In examining the relationship between *santri* and *kiai*, two distinct phenomena emerge: the traditional *salaf* *pesantren* and the modern *khalaf* *pesantren*. In *salaf* *pesantren*, internal elements remain simple, with a high degree of homogeneity and a focus on traditional religious education. The *kiai* dominates the teaching and education system, and interactions between *santri* and *kiai* occur directly, often face-to-face. The *kiai* serves as the teacher of classical *yellow books* (*kitab kuning*), and students can directly seek clarification on complex topics from their *kiai*. The strong influence of the *kiai* in *salaf* *pesantren* is rooted in the simplicity of community social structures and the deeply religious content of the curriculum, which legitimizes the hierarchical relationship between *santri* and *kiai* (Sutomo et al., 2024). In such a setting, *santri* fear committing sins by questioning or protesting a *kiai's* views, as such behavior is considered a violation of religious values (Zulmuqim, 2020).

However, this traditional relationship model changes in *khalaf* pesantren, which integrate elements of modern education, including formal curricula and government-recognized diplomas. *Khalaf* pesantren emerged in the 1970s, offering diverse programs such as public school units, vocational training, and business ventures in agriculture and animal husbandry, often in collaboration with government or private sectors. Graduates of *khalaf* pesantren receive diplomas enabling them to pursue higher education or enter the workforce (Zuhri, 2023). Many formerly *salaf* pesantren have transitioned into *khalaf* pesantren by incorporating general education, such as elementary and secondary schools, and even universities. As this transition progresses, the emphasis on classical Islamic texts (*kitab kuning*) has diminished, as seen in institutions like Pondok Pesantren Tebu Ireng and Pondok Pesantren Darul Ulum in Jombang. The focus has shifted toward modern school-based education, with every *santri* enrolled in formal school units (Sudrajat, 2017).

The relationship between *santri* and *kiai* in *khalaf* pesantren is less dependent than in *salaf* pesantren. The educational process in *khalaf* pesantren is no longer dominated by the *kiai* but involves professional teaching staff, most of whom hold university degrees. These teachers often specialize in general knowledge, such as socioeconomics, technology, and mathematics, areas typically beyond the expertise of *kiai* educated in *salaf* traditions (Nata, 2018). Consequently, *santri* in *khalaf* pesantren interact more intensively with schoolteachers than with the *kiai*. Nevertheless, the *santri's* attitude of *tawaduk* (humility and respect) toward the *kiai* persists, albeit to a lesser degree. While obedience is no longer solely rooted in dependency, the *kiai's* ownership of the pesantren and their religious authority continue to command respect (Kawakip & Sulanam, 2023).

Religious subject matter in *pesantren* often contains moral and ethical teachings, reinforcing the *kiai's* elevated social status. The *kiai* is seen as a source of wisdom, and their advice is regarded as divinely guided. In *khalaf* pesantren, however, clearer boundaries have emerged in the *santri-kiai*

relationship. *Santri* are now better able to discern religious issues from non-religious ones, reflecting their exposure to diverse sources of knowledge and global culture (Mas'ud, 2004).

Challenges and Strategies in Kiai-Santri Relationships

Several challenges shape the dynamics of the *kiai-santri* relationship in the modern era. Access to global information and technology has influenced *santri*'s mindsets and behaviors, leading to differences in interpretations of religious values and traditions between *kiai* and *santri* (Achmadin et al., 2024). These influences have created potential conflicts and necessitated adaptations in *pesantren* practices to maintain the relevance of traditional values in a modern context.

To address these challenges, *kiai* and *santri* employ various strategies to maintain harmony and avoid conflict. Key strategies include: *first*, adjusting preaching methods: *Kiais* adapt their approach to preaching by acknowledging the cultural shifts and mindsets of the younger generation. They increasingly use social media and technology to communicate religious messages in ways that resonate with contemporary audiences (Achmadin, 2023). *Second*, creating spaces for dialogue: *Kiai* provide opportunities for open dialogue and discussion, allowing *santri* to share their views and address challenges. This fosters mutual understanding and helps bridge differences between *kiai* and *santri*. *Third*, encouraging broader learning: *Santri* expand their knowledge beyond what is taught in *pesantren* by exploring other sources, such as books, the internet, and social media. This broadens their perspectives and enhances their understanding of the world.

Despite these shifts, *santri* continue to respect *kiai* as spiritual leaders and sources of wisdom, maintaining the tradition of obedience while navigating the evolving dynamics of the *kiai-santri* relationship. The future of *pesantren* lies in balancing tradition with modernity, ensuring their continued relevance in a rapidly changing world (Khulusinniyah & Wassalwa, 2017).

The findings of this research provide valuable insights into the evolving dynamics of the *kiai-santri* relationship, particularly in the context of the transition from *salaf* to *khalaf* pesantren and the influence of modern education and globalization. However, several limitations should be noted. First, the study primarily focuses on the structural and relational dynamics within *pesantren* but offers limited exploration of the regional and cultural variations that might affect these dynamics across different parts of Indonesia. Second, while the research highlights the impact of globalization and technological advancements, it does not comprehensively address how specific digital platforms or media influence the attitudes and behaviors of *santri*. Third, the findings rely heavily on a patron-client framework, which, while useful, may not fully capture the diversity of *kiai-santri* interactions in modern pesantren settings, particularly where collaborative or egalitarian approaches are emerging. Lastly, the study pays limited attention to the perspectives of *santri* themselves, potentially underrepresenting their agency and adaptive strategies in navigating the complexities of the *kiai-santri* relationship. Future research should address these gaps by incorporating broader regional analyses, examining specific digital influences, and integrating *santri* perspectives to provide a more holistic understanding of these evolving relationships.

Conclusion

This research, through a deconstruction perspective, explores the dynamics of the *kiai-santri* relationship in *pesantren* and critically dismantles assumptions that have long been considered "natural" and "taken for granted." First, the study reveals that the *kiai-santri* relationship is not merely a spiritual bond between teacher and student; instead, it is embedded in a complex and hierarchical power structure where *kiai* often use their religious authority to maintain dominance and reinforce social boundaries. Second, the study highlights that the identities of "kiai" and "santri" are not fixed or natural but are historically and culturally constructed, often reflecting underlying interests. These identities are continuously reproduced through

discursive practices and rituals in *pesantren*, perpetuating the hegemony of *kiai* and constraining *santri* in subordinate roles, which can inhibit their independence and creativity. Third, the research uncovers how the dynamics of this relationship are marked by negotiation, resistance, and transformation. While *santri* occupy a weaker position, they are not entirely passive; their resistance and strategies for compliance reveal that the *kiai-santri* relationship is dialogic rather than monolithic.

The findings underline the importance of reconstructing *kiai-santri* relationships to promote greater equality. This can be achieved through several actionable steps: first, recognizing the historical and cultural complexities of the relationship to move beyond idealized notions. Second, empowering *santri* to realize their potential and cultivate autonomy, thus enabling them to contribute more meaningfully to their communities. Third, transforming *pesantren* values to foster spaces for more equitable participation and collaboration between *kiai* and *santri*. These changes have practical relevance in creating more inclusive and democratic *pesantren* environments. Furthermore, the insights from this study offer a framework for analyzing power and cultural dynamics beyond *pesantren*, providing a lens to understand similar relationships in broader social and organizational contexts.

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TAWADUK SANTRI IN NUSANTARA CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE: A MULTI- DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

The pesantren tradition is a vital aspect of Nusantara culture that shapes students' humility in both religious and cultural practices. This humility (tawaduk) is expressed through distinct attitudes and activities. This study aims to present symbols of students' humility within Nusantara cultural practices and explore the ecological aspects of the unique pesantren culture as portrayed in mass media. This qualitative research utilizes a discourse analysis framework. In mass media discourse, symbols of students' humility are reflected in socio-cultural dimensions through cultural practices such as "cocoghen" rituals, Quranic study sessions ("ngaji kitab"), welcoming the night of Eid al-Adha, seclusion ("khalwat"), and communal meals ("mayoran"). These practices honor Prophet Muhammad, instill noble ethics, foster Islamic brotherhood (ukhuwah islamiyah), encourage surrender to Allah, and promote restraint from worldly desires. Additionally, the pesantren cultural

practices serve as environments that preserve local customs, shape students' character, foster brotherhood, offer experiential learning, impart life values, and cultivate self-restraint. The finding of this research provides distinctive insights into the practices of local pesantren traditions, serving as a foundation for the development of the unique cultural heritage of the archipelago.

Tradisi pesantren merupakan aspek penting dari budaya Nusantara yang membentuk kerendahan hati (*tawaduk*) para santri dalam praktik keagamaan dan budaya. Kerendahan hati ini diekspresikan melalui sikap dan aktivitas yang khas. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menyajikan simbol-simbol kerendahan hati santri dalam praktik budaya Nusantara serta mengeksplorasi aspek ekologi dalam budaya unik pesantren seperti yang digambarkan dalam media massa. Penelitian kualitatif ini menggunakan kerangka analisis wacana. Dalam wacana media massa, simbol-simbol kerendahan hati santri tercermin dalam dimensi sosial-budaya melalui praktik-praktik budaya seperti ritual "*cocoghen*", pengajian kitab suci Al-Quran ("*ngaji kitab*"), menyambut malam Idul Adha, pengasingan diri ("*khalwat*"), dan makan bersama ("*mayoran*"). Praktik-praktik ini bertujuan untuk menghormati Nabi Muhammad, menanamkan etika luhur, mempererat ukhuwah Islamiyah, mendorong penyerahan diri kepada Allah, dan menahan diri dari keinginan duniawi. Selain itu, praktik budaya pesantren berfungsi sebagai lingkungan yang melestarikan adat lokal, membentuk karakter santri, mempererat persaudaraan, memberikan pembelajaran melalui pengalaman, menanamkan nilai-nilai kehidupan, dan melatih pengendalian diri. Temuan penelitian ini memberikan wawasan yang khas mengenai praktik tradisi lokal pesantren, yang menjadi dasar pengembangan warisan budaya unik Nusantara.

Keywords: *multi-discourse analysis, pesantren tradition, socio-cultural practice, student humility*

Introduction

According to data from the Director General of Islamic Education, the number of students (*santri*) in Indonesia increased from 3,759,198 in

Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, West Sulawesi Province, 2023). Additionally, data from the Ministry of Religious Affairs indicates that in 2023, the total number of male and female *santri* was 4.85 million (Director General of the Industrial Human Resources Development Agency of the Ministry of Industry, 2023). This increase highlights the importance of examining the distinctive characteristics of *santri*, which are rooted in the cultivation of authentic cultures within *pesantren* education and have implications for the development of unique *pesantren* cultures.

Pesantren are institutions with strong ethical traditions for educational development grounded in noble character (Farihin & Fahmi, 2023). Within the *pesantren* context, *santri* play a strategic role in supporting national development by contributing to character formation based on Islamic principles. Regulations concerning *santri* are reinforced by Presidential Decree Number 22 of 2015 regarding *Santri Day*, as well as annual implementation guidelines issued by the Ministry of Religious Affairs through Circular Letters SE 10 of 2023, SE 13 of 2022, SE 45 of 2020, and SE 47 of 2019. *Santri* are regarded as key agents of change, especially as carriers of unique characteristics rooted in *pesantren* philosophy and ideology. According to Indonesian Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning *pesantren*, article 18, paragraphs 1 and 2, *pesantren* management is expected to promote the values of Islam *rahmatan lil-alamin*, Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, while emphasizing the unique traditions, ideals, and character of *pesantren*. The unique characteristics of *santri* make them an attractive subject for research on the preservation of local values and *pesantren* traditions.

Tawaduk, or humility, is a crucial character component for *santri* in preserving *pesantren* values and traditions. *Tawadhu'* involves elevating the status of others above oneself (Al-Ghazali, 1995) and maintaining a balanced attitude to avoid undesirable traits. A *tawaduk santri* shows respect toward parents, teachers, and the community, aligning with the Madurese philosophy "*Bhuppa' Bhabu' Ghuru Rato'*," which emphasizes the application of religious values (Nasrullah, 2019). This research is

essential for understanding how *pesantren* traditions shape the character of *santri* within cultural and spiritual contexts.

The *pesantren* tradition is a significant aspect of the cultural richness of the archipelago, characterized by its unique features. Human personality is shaped by culture, which is recognized and validated socially, legally, and politically, as noted by Osborne and Nikolas (2024). Cultural differences are influenced by various factors, such as social history, naming practices, myths, religious traditions, social control, and geography. In the archipelago, these factors contribute to cultural diversity, including within *pesantren* environments. According to Azra (2006), *pesantren* not only teach classical religious knowledge but also promote local knowledge and culture, thereby shaping a distinctive Islamic identity in Indonesia. This tradition integrates religious and cultural practices, with each *pesantren* having unique traditions that cultivate culturally-aware *santri*. Therefore, the role of *pesantren* traditions in shaping cultured *santri* is a crucial focus for further investigation in this research.

This research employs discourse theory, focusing on mass media as the primary subject of study, since mass media serves as a modern communication channel that presents social characteristics in an informative manner. This aligns with Fairclough's (2003) perspective, which asserts that mass media functions as a social communication channel shaped by ideology and plays a role in social structure and change. Discourse is also seen as a tool of power for shaping societal self-image (KhosraviNik, 2009). Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse analysis—text, discursive practices, and social practices—are applied, with a focus on social practices to connect discourse texts with socio-cultural meanings. The research incorporates ecological discourse, examining the relationship between society and the environment (Khotimah, 2022). The ecological context reflects individual religiosity and how it is expressed within a particular religion (Stucky & Andy, 2020). Ecological discourse is significant in *pesantren* education, as highlighted by the eco-*pesantren* program launched in 2008, which aims to integrate environmental

education with Islamic teachings (Ministry of Environment, 2008). This program seeks to promote an environmentally friendly culture and enhance religious commitment by aligning ecological awareness with religious practices.

Issues concerning *pesantren* and *santri* have been explored in previous studies, which serve as valuable sources of information and inspiration for the development of this research. Firstly, a study by Aulia et al. (2024) explores an eco-friendly *pesantren* model, focusing on positive environmental behavior and sustainable practices. Secondly, Inayatussahara and Noorhaidi (2024) examine religious expression among female *santri* in Yogyakarta, highlighting the blend of Islamic life with popular culture. Thirdly, Sulistyati (2023) investigates ecofeminism within *pesantren*, emphasizing its ethical and value-based aspects. Fourthly, Putro et al. (2018) analyzed character education in primary schools rooted in *pesantren* principles, noting the role of kyai and teachers as role models and the use of Arabic language learning to instill moral values.

Building on these previous studies, this research introduces a novel approach by providing a comprehensive analysis of *tawaduk* among *santri* as a practice of unique *pesantren* cultural localism. Therefore, this study aims to present symbols of humility (*tawaduk*) among *santri* in the cultural practices within *pesantren* environments as depicted in various mass media. In addition, it explores the distinctive culture of *pesantren* as depicted in various mass media.

Method

This study is classified as qualitative research, with data presented as descriptions and analyses concerning the symbols of humility among *santri* and the Nusantara cultural practices within the *pesantren* environment, as covered by various media sources. The analysis is grounded in Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis socio-cultural dimension theory, the concept of *tawaduk*. Data sources include electronic media such as the official website of Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Moh Cholil, the official website of

Nahdlatul Ulama, and electronic newspapers such as Radar Solo and Kompas.

Data collection for this study employs documentation techniques and involves three stages. First, data collection instruments are prepared to gather documents meeting specific criteria: 1) news published in electronic media, 2) content from official Islamic boarding school websites, Islamic organization websites, and electronic newspapers, 3) information on socio-cultural practices within *pesantren*, and 4) content involving students. Second, documents are retrieved from the official websites of *pesantren*, Islamic organizations, and electronic newspapers. Third, documents are selected based on their alignment with the established data collection criteria. The research data collection instrument table is provided as follows:

Table 1 Data Collection Instrument

Document Criteria	Document Criteria
1. News published in electronic mass media	Document 1
2. News sourced from official websites of Islamic boarding schools, official Islamic organization websites, and official electronic newspapers	Document 2
3. News containing information about socio-cultural practices in the <i>pesantren</i> environment, such as traditions of celebrating religious and cultural festivals commonly practiced within <i>pesantren</i>	Document 3
4. Socio-cultural practices mentioned in the news must involve students	etc.

Data analysis in this study involves three stages: 1) classifying data according to research questions, 2) describing and analyzing each data set, and 3) drawing conclusions from the findings. The research process comprises three phases: pre-research (reviewing references, defining the topic, and formulating the research problem), research (data collection and analysis), and post-research (writing and submitting a scientific article to a journal).

Findings and Discussion

This section presents the results and discussion of the formulated problem. It consists of two subsections detailing these aspects. The following is a detailed exposition of these two subsections.

The Humility (Tawaduk) Santri Manifest in the *Pesantren* Cultural Practices

This subsection contains descriptions and analyses of research data derived from mass media discourse. The following is a description of the symbol of humility among Islamic boarding school students in the practice of Nusantara culture. There are five pieces of data that support the exposition in this subsection.

Data 1. Humility (Tawaduk) of Santri in the *Cocoghen* culture.

Title: *Suasana Cocoghen di Ponpes Syaichona Moh. Cholil* [The Atmosphere of Cocoghen at Syaichona Moh. Cholil Islamic Boarding School]

Quote 1: *Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Moh. Cholil Bangkalan sambut Bulan Maulid (Rabiul Awal) dengan Pembacaan Sholawat al-Habsyi bersama Jam'iyah Nasyid Islami di Musholla Pondok Pesantren. Tepatnya pada malam Minggu* [Syaichona Moh. Cholil Islamic Boarding School in Bangkalan welcomes the Month of Maulid (Rabiul Awal) with the recitation of Sholawat al-Habsyi together with the Jam'iyah Nasyid Islami in the school's prayer hall. Specifically on Sunday night]

Quote 2: *Acara ini diikuti oleh seluruh santri Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Moh Cholil, mulai dari santri putra sampai santri putri dan semua pengurus bagian yang ada di Pesantren serta seluruh asatidz yang ada.* [All students joined it, from male to female students, as well as all staff members and teachers in the school.]

Quote 3: *Dalam menyambut bulan mulia ini, diisi dengan Sholawat al-Habsyi serta pembacaan sholawat barzanji.* [To commemorate this holy month, it was marked by Sholawat al-Habsyi and the recitation of Sholawat Barzanji.] (Syaichona.net, September 16, 2023).

The news article on the Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Moh Cholil website, published on September 16, 2023, discusses the *Cocoghen* tradition, a socio-cultural practice observed during the Maulid month. The term '*Cocoghen*,' derived from the Madurese word '*cocogen*,' meaning

"matching," is associated with the celebration of the birth of Prophet Muhammad. "Maulid" comes from the Arabic terms "waqtul wiladah" (day of birth) and "makanul wiladah" (place of birth). This tradition originated in Arbil, Iraq, initiated by Salahuddin al-Ayyubi to revive the Islamic spirit through competitions honoring the Prophet Muhammad (Anwar, 1988).

Cocoghen is a tradition practiced in Madura to celebrate the month of Rabiul Awal, marking the arrival of Maulid. On the 1st of Rabiul Awal, Madurese people observe the Cocoghen tradition (Sahid, 2019). Similar celebrations occur elsewhere, such as the "malamang" tradition in Padang Pariaman, held two nights before Maulid (Poetra, 2021), and the "baayun maulud" tradition in Banjarmasin (Maimanah & Norhidayat, 2012). These practices highlight Indonesia's cultural diversity in commemorating Maulid. Thus, the Cocoghen tradition represents a cultural practice preserved at Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Moh Cholil.

The preservation of the Cocoghen tradition at Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Moh Cholil shapes students' image as embodying humility and respect for Indonesian cultural heritage. This humility is reflected in their practices, such as reciting the Al-Habsyi and Barzanji chants. The Al-Habsyi chant, from "Simth al-durar" by Al-Habib Ali, celebrates the life of Prophet Muhammad, while the Barzanji chant, from Sheikh Ja'far bin Hasan's "Barzanji," recounts his life and struggles. The book "Simth al-durar" is typically recited during Rabiul Awal, the birth month of Prophet Muhammad (NUonline, 2022). Similarly, the Barzanji chant originates from the "Barzanji" book by Sheikh Ja'far bin Hasan, which narrates the Prophet's life from childhood to his appointment as a Messenger, highlighting his struggles and serving as an example for Muslims (Ya'cub, 1974). By reciting these chants, students express their commitment to following the Prophet's example and deepening their love and devotion. This practice fosters humility and piety, enhancing students' respect and obedience toward Prophet Muhammad and their personal spirituality. According to Nasirudin (2015), feeling humble in the presence of the

Prophet reflects true humility. Additionally, the recitation of prayers serves to enhance individual piety (Ni'mah, 2020).

Data 2. Humility (tawaduk) of Santri in the *Ngaji Kitab* Culture

Title: *Ngaji Kitab Hidayatul Muta'alim Bersama Santri Putri Ponpes Syaichona Moh Cholil* [Reciting Hidayatul Muta'alim book with Female Students of Syaichona Moh Cholil Islamic Boarding School]

Quote 1: *Tepatnya pada hari Selasa, 12 September 2023, pengurus Amsilati Pondok Pesantren Putri Syaichona Moh Cholil adakan pengajian kitab tersebut dalam rangka edukasi untuk para santri tingkat Amsilati agar lebih semangat dalam belajar.* [On Tuesday, September 12, 2023, the administrators of Amsilati at the Syaichona Moh Cholil Islamic Boarding School organized the recitation for education to encourage students learning]

Quote 2: *Dalam pengajian tersebut KH. Ismail al-Kholili menyampaikan bahwa akhlak memiliki posisi penting dalam proses belajar, sehingga sudah menjadi hal yang lazim bagi para santri untuk mengetahui akhlak yang baik dengan mengikuti langkah ulama-ulama terdahulu dari berbagai aspek, baik dalam tingkah laku, prasangka ataupun dalam tutur kata.* [H. Ismail al-Kholili highlighted the significance of character in learning, noting that students should emulate past scholars in behavior, assumptions, and speech to understand good conduct]

Quote 3: *Guru kita terdahulu mengajarkan ada berbagai bahasa khusus untuk kita berkomunikasi terhadap guru, seperti abdinah-ajunan* [Our former teachers taught us various specific languages for communicating with teachers, such as servant-master]

Quote 4: *Akhlak Imam Hanafi kepada gurunya tatkala menuntut ilmu sehingga menjadi ulama besar menjadi rujukan dalam ilmu fiqh khususnya. Imam Hanafi berkata, saya tidak pernah berselonjor ke arah rumah guru saya, padahal jarak rumah beliau dan gurunya adalah tujuh rumah.* [The character of Imam Hanafi towards his teacher while pursuing knowledge so that he became a great scholar renowned in the field of jurisprudence. Imam Hanafi once said, I never rushed towards my teacher's house, despite it being seven houses away from mine] (Syaichona.net, September 13, 2023)

The discourse above is one of the news articles from the official website of Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Moh Cholil, published on September 13, 2023. Within the discourse, the socio-cultural practice dimension in the form of indigenous Nusantara culture performed by

female students (santri putri) of Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Moh Cholil is the tradition of "ngaji kitab" (Quran recitation and religious study). According to Sagala (2015), teaching mandatory religious texts represents the standardized learning model of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), where ngaji kitab, as an academic tradition, is passed down generationally as a distinctive learning model. Furthermore, studying religious texts (ngaji kitab) in Madurese society serves as an example of religious practice that has implications for the social context (Takdir et al., 2024).

The practice of ngaji kitab in the discourse centers on studying *Hidayatul Muta'allim*, a text on the ethics of knowledge seekers. This study promotes noble character, blessings, and beneficial knowledge (Hakim, 2012). The humility (tawaduk) of students is highlighted by their respectful behavior towards teachers, as demonstrated in their participation in studying ethics at Pondok Pesantren Putri Syaichona Moh Cholil. This respect aligns with the concept that students should show obedience and humility towards their teachers (Al-Ghazali, 1999; Amaly et al., 2020). This is in line with Mohune (2017), wherein the profound respect towards teachers is widely considered the most crucial aspect that should be adhered to by students. Such humility reflects proper moral conduct and adherence to Islamic teachings, which emphasize humility before Allah and politeness towards others.

Data 3. Humility (tawaduk) of Santri in the Culture of Welcoming Eid al-Adha Evening

Title: *Buk-Kobbuk, Cara Santri di Bangkalan Sambut Malam Idul Adha* [Buk-Kobbuk, How Students in Bangkalan Welcome the Eve of Eid al-Adha]

Quote 1: *Pondok Pesantren Al Ibrahimy Konang, Bangkalan, Jawa Timur menggelar aneka lomba serta buk kobbuk atau masak bersama. Semuanya dilakukan dalam rangka menyambut Idul Adha dan memeriahkan hari ulang tahun kemerdekaan ke-73 Republik Indonesia.* [The Al Ibrahimy Konang Islamic Boarding School in Bangkalan, East Java, held various competitions and "buk kobbuk" or cooking together. These activities were conducted to celebrate Eid al-Adha and commemorate the 73rd anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia]

Quote 2: *"Ini tradisi yang khas di pesantren kami," kata Ustadz Ismail. ["This is a distinctive tradition in our pesantren," said Ustadz Ismail.]*

Quote 3: *"Yang menarik adalah tentu saja buk kobbuk alias masak bersama dan seluruh rangkaian acara tersebut difasilitasi oleh pihak pesantren. Tujuan sejumlah kegiatan tersebut sebagai gebyar dari peristiwa penting bagi umat Islam dan juga bangsa Indonesia. Kami namakan dengan gebyar Idul Adha dan HUT RI sebagai upaya mempererat ukhuwah atau persaudaraan antarsantri lintas kamar dan asrama" jelasnya. ["What's interesting is the 'buk kobbuk' or cooking together and the entire series of events is facilitated by the pesantren. The purpose of these activities is to celebrate significant events for Muslims and the Indonesian nation. We call it the celebration of Eid al-Adha and the Indonesian Independence Day as an effort to strengthen brotherhood among students across different dormitories and boarding houses," he said] (NUonline, August 22, 2018)*

The data, published on August 22, 2018, on the official website of Nahdlatul Ulama, highlights the socio-cultural practice of "buk-kobbuk," a communal cooking tradition for Eid al-Adha. Similar unique cultural practices during Eid al-Adha in Indonesia include the Maugang tradition in Aceh, Manten Sapi in Pasuruan, and Air Kuat in Raja Ampat. These practices reflect the distinctive cultural heritage of Indonesian Eid al-Adha celebrations.

The humility of Islamic boarding school students (*santri*) is demonstrated through their participation in communal cooking activities, reflecting 'ukhuwah islamiyah' (Islamic brotherhood). These activities promote humility by fostering equality and submission to Allah. Shihab (1996) defines *ukhuwah islamiyah* as Islamic brotherhood grounded in submission to Allah. Gulen (2013) describes *tawadhu'* as recognizing one's equality before Allah and avoiding self-superiority, while Amin (2016) notes that *tawadhu'* involves social interaction without displaying superiority. Communal cooking, or buk-kobbuk, embodies this humility by encouraging brotherhood and tolerance, enhancing respect, and reducing discrimination among students, thereby supporting national values and promoting educational equity (Sa'adah & Sudrajat, 2023).

Data 4. Humality (tawaduk) of Santri in the Khalwat Culture

Title: *Tradisi Unik Pondok Pesantren Al Hikmah Gatak, Santrinya Wajib Berkhalwat 3 Hari sebelum Pulang Kampung* [Unique Tradition of Al Hikmah Islamic Boarding School Gatak, Students Must Engage in Khalwat for 3 Days Before Returning Home]

Quote 1: *Ponpes Al Hikmah santrinya terdiri dari putra dan putri dari mahasiswa Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Raden Mas Said Surakarta. Yang membedakan Ponpes Al Hikmah dengan pondok lain, yaitu mengkaji kitab fiqh dan kitab suqih. Bagi santri dilatih mencari rezeki dan pahala. Di ponpes Al Hikmah santri ditekankan dalam bidang tasawuf (menata hati).* [Al Hikmah Islamic Boarding School serves both male and female students from UIN Raden Mas Said Surakarta and is distinguished by its focus on fiqh and suqih texts. The school emphasizes tasawwuf (spiritual purification) while training students to seek both sustenance and spiritual rewards]

Quote 2: *Uniknya setiap tahun sebelum liburan panjang, setiap santri diwajibkan untuk berkhalwat dulu selama tiga hari sebelum pulang. Khalwat berarti berdiam diri untuk mendekatkan diri dengan Allah. "Khalwat di sini yaitu berdiam diri, menata hati, menenangkan pikiran, mencari ketenangan batin dan mendekatkan diri kepada Allah," ujar Miftahul Huda.* [Uniquely, every year before an extended holiday, each student is required to engage in khalwat for three days before going home. Khalwat involves secluding oneself to draw closer to Allah. "Khalwat here means seclusion, nurturing the heart, calming the mind, seeking inner peace, and drawing closer to Allah," said Miftahul Huda]

Quote 3: *"Jadi khalwat itu di sebuah ruangan tertutup yang ditutupi dengan kain putih selama tiga hari tiga malam. Nggak boleh bicara dan membisu," tandasnya.* ["So khalwat is done in a closed room covered with white cloth for three days and nights. No talking and maintaining silence," he emphasized.] (Radarsolo.Jawapos.com, March 22, 2024).

The discourse is a news report from Radar Solo, published on March 22, 2024, focusing on the khalwat tradition at Al-Hikmah Gatak Islamic boarding school. Khalwat, a distinctive cultural practice in Indonesian Islamic boarding schools, is also observed at institutions such as Baitur Rohmah, Darul Muta'alimin, and Darus Shofa. It is defined as a solitary practice in which one empties the heart and mind of worldly matters to engage in devout remembrance of Allah (Abdullah, 2018).

The symbol of humility among the santri is highlighted by khalwat–seclusion in a closed room at Al-Hikmah Gatak Islamic boarding school for three days and nights to draw nearer to Allah. This practice aims to purify the heart and find tranquility. Thus, the santri’s practice of khalwat is viewed as an act of humility (tawaduk), defined as a humble attitude or a sense of insignificance before Allah (Hidayat, 2014).

Data 5. Humility (tawaduk) of Santri in the Mayoran Culture

Title: *Tradisi Mayoran, Makan Bersama Beralaskan Daun Pisang di Ponpes Darun Najah Lumajang* [Mayoran Tradition: Dining Together on Banana Leaves at Darun Najah Islamic Boarding School in Lumajang]

Quote 1: *Tidak seperti iklan di televisi yang penuh dengan hidangan manis, para santri Pondok Pesantren (Ponpes) Darun Najah di Desa Petahunan, Kecamatan Sumpoko, Kabupaten Lumajang, bersantap ria dengan menu seadanya.* [Unlike television advertisements filled with sweet dishes, the students of Darun Najah Islamic Boarding School (Ponpes) in Petahunan Village, Sumpoko District, Lumajang Regency, enjoy a festive meal with simple dishes]

Quote 2: *Mereka berkumpul di kamar untuk menyantap menu berbuka puasa bersama. Makanan itu diletakkan di atas daun pisang. Bagi para santri Ponpes Darun Najah, makan bersama yang dikenal dengan istilah tradisi mayoran itu telah dilakukan sejak dulu.* [They gather in rooms to break their fast together. The food is served on banana leaves. For the students of Darun Najah Islamic Boarding School, dining together, known as the mayoran tradition, has been practiced since long ago]

Quote 3: *"Kiai selalu berpesan bahwa di pondok pesantren adalah tempat untuk belajar tirakat (prihatin), tradisi mayoran ini salah satu wujud nilai tirakat," kata Irfan, Ketua Ponpes Darun Najah* [“The kiai always emphasizes that the boarding school is a place to learn humility. The mayoran tradition is one of the manifestations of this humble value,” said Irfan, Chairman of Darun Najah Islamic Boarding School] (Surabaya.Kompas.com, October 4, 2022).

The discourse above is derived from a news article on the official electronic newspaper website of Kompas, published on April 10, 2022. The socio-cultural dimension of the discourse originates from the unique tradition of pesantren, specifically the practice of mayoran. Mayoran is a

distinctive Nusantara cultural practice within the pesantren environment, as evidenced by its prevalence in various pesantrens. According to the discourse, mayoran involves a communal meal or breaking of the fast among students (santri), where food is shared from a common table, fostering values of sincerity, brotherhood, and Islamic solidarity (Rinaningtyas & Amin, 2021).

The symbol of humility for santri is illustrated through their communal breaking of the fast. The practice of mayoran is intended to teach santri tirakat (devotion), which involves abstaining from worldly desires to promote equality and discourage reprehensible behaviors, as highlighted in quote 3. Furthermore, self-restraint is emphasized as a form of Sufi knowledge that promotes simple living and dedicating one's life solely to worship (Fahrudin et al., 2024). This embodies the principle of humility. Additionally, refraining from worldly desires trains students to sincerely accept life's challenges. The spirit of sincerity among students influences their willingness to carry out every activity solely for the sake of Allah (Ummah, 2017).

The Environmental Aspect within the Distinctive Culture of *Pesantren*

This subsection describes the environmental aspects related to cultural practices within the context of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren). The pesantren culture includes traditions such as Cocoghen, Ngaji Kitab, welcoming Eid al-Adha, khalwat, and Mayoran.

The Cocoghen tradition, part of the Nusantara culture, was highlighted by Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Moh Cholil's electronic mass media on September 16, 2023 (see Data 1). This tradition reflects the influence of the environment on its practice and underscores the relationship between living organisms and their surroundings (Maknun, 2017). It explores how the environment, viewed as a dynamic entity encompassing various objects and conditions, shapes human self-image.

The discourse emphasizes the interaction between santri (students) and their environment, particularly within the Musholla at Pondok

Pesantren Syaichona Moh Cholil. Here, the environment functions as a space designated for practicing Cocoghen. This interaction is unidirectional, with humans primarily utilizing the environment as a setting for Cocoghen. Consequently, the ecological element is presented as a means of preserving Cocoghen culture.

On the second culture, namely ngaji kitab, there is an environmental aspect as illustrated below:

Setelah pengajian kitab, KH. Ismail al-Ascholy menambahkan wejangan mengenai akhlak dan ilmu. Diantaranya, beliau menyampaikan bahwa seorang santri harus peka dalam berilmu maupun bertingkah laku agar tidak terjadi hal-hal yang kurang patut untuk dilakukan. Oleh karena itu adab itu harus fleksibel, artinya harus menyesuaikan dengan situasi dan kondisi. [After teaching the scripture, KH. Ismail al-Ascholy advised that students should be mindful in both knowledge and behavior to avoid inappropriate actions. He emphasized that manners should be adaptable to different situations and conditions] (Syaichone.net, September 13, 2023)

The discourse presented is part of a news article from the official website of Pondok Pesantren Syaichona Moh Cholil, published on September 13, 2023. It discusses one of the traditions within the pesantren environment, specifically the practice of studying religious texts (ngaji kitab). The article describes a teacher advising students, highlighting how interactions between teachers (kyai) and students shape ethics and knowledge. This aspect of ngaji kitab illustrates the dynamic influence of the environment on human development. According to Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, these interactions belong to the macrosystem, demonstrating how the environment shapes students' culture, patterns, and values, with a particular focus on fostering good ethics through ngaji kitab (Ettekal & Joseph, 2017).

Regarding the third culture, the tradition of welcoming the Eve of Eid al-Adha, a Nahdlatul Ulama news article dated August 22, 2018, discusses the buk-kobbuk tradition at Al Ibrahimy Konang Islamic boarding school. This tradition emphasizes unique environmental aspects, including specific patterns and interactions within the school setting (see

Data 3). The buk-kobbuk tradition involves communal cooking during Eid al-Adha at Al Ibrahimy Konang, illustrating the interaction between students and their environment, shaping their habits and fostering brotherhood through interpersonal interactions. According to Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, the influence of the environment on rule creation belongs to the macrosystem, while the students' interactions reflect the microsystem (Ettetal & Joseph, 2017). This analysis highlights both environmental and interpersonal ecological dimensions of the buk-kobbuk tradition.

The fourth culture is the khalwat tradition, as described in an article published by Radar Solo on March 22, 2024. This tradition at Pondok Pesantren Al Hikmah Gatak involves students secluding themselves in enclosed spaces for three days (see Data 4) to seek closeness to Allah. Agung (2018) suggests that this approach, which views Allah as the ultimate source of determination, influences a person's character. The interaction between students and their environment during khalwat shapes their values and practices. In Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework, this process is part of the macrosystem, where environmental factors shape the formation of students' values and character.

The final pesantren culture discussed is the Mayoran tradition, as outlined in a Kompas electronic newspaper article published on April 10, 2022. This tradition involves communal eating at Darun Najah Islamic boarding school in Lumajang, where students break their fast together with food served on banana leaves (see Data 5). The environmental aspects of this practice reflect the interaction between students and their environment, fostering self-discipline and steering them away from secular attitudes. The mayoran tradition emphasizes simplicity and environmentally friendly practices, as highlighted by Vogel's theory on non-material cultural aspects of eating (Lumsden, 2023). According to Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, this practice pertains to the mesosystem, demonstrating how the environment shapes individual experiences (Ettetal & Joseph, 2017).

Conclusion

There are two conclusions as unique findings and answers to the purpose of this research. Firstly, In the mass media discourse, Islamic boarding school students' humility is shown through socio-cultural practices such as cocoghen, reciting religious texts, celebrating Eid al-Adha, seclusion (khalwat), and communal activities. Their humble attitude is reflected in practices like reciting selawat al-Habsyi and selawat barzanji, studying the Hidayatul Muta'alim book, communal cooking, torchlight processions, three-day retreats for spiritual closeness, and modest communal fasting. These activities demonstrate their submission to Allah, restraint from worldly desires, reverence for Prophet Muhammad, and commitment to Islamic brotherhood with teachers and peers. Secondly, the ecological aspect in Islamic boarding school cultural practices is reflected in interactions among students, teachers, the natural environment, and the surrounding community. This influence is evident in how the school environment helps preserve local cultural heritage, shapes students' character, fosters brotherhood, facilitates societal interactions, and instills values of submission to Allah.

This research makes a significant contribution to the fields of macro-linguistics (discourse analysis), anthropology, and ecology. The contribution includes examining the interrelated phenomena between local pesantren culture, as part of anthropological studies, and the pesantren environment, as a subject of ecological research. The unique relationship between local pesantren culture and the environmental aspects of pesantren presents a potential issue that can be analyzed from a critical discourse perspective as a medium of popular communication in human civilization. Additionally, this research provides distinctive insights into the practices of local pesantren traditions, serving as a foundation for the development of the unique cultural heritage of the archipelago.

Thus, this research not only analyzes the discourse dimensions as a reality of socio-cultural practices within pesantren environments but also

the involvement of pesantren environments in the complex interaction between humans (santri, teachers, community) and the environment (nature, pesantren). The results underscore the significant role of the environment, socio-cultural context, and ecological factors in preserving and shaping the unique values of pesantren. This depiction represents a unique finding that can serve as an inspiration for future researchers in the field. However, this study has limitations that should be addressed in future research. These limitations include a focus solely on phenomena related to cultural practices and ecological aspects within pesantren environments, derived from media discourse. Future research should consider contemporary media perspectives on strategies for preserving cultural practices and ecological aspects of pesantren.

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GROUNDING SPEECH ACTS: THE HUMANIST CAPITAL OF NATIONAL HERO TGKH. MUHAMMAD ZAINUDDIN ABDUL MADJID

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Abstract

Effective character education needs to be contextualized in real life to have a significant impact. TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid is a national hero from Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara who becomes a prominent figure on character education. This research discusses how TGKH directly demonstrates character education through his daily speech acts to students, congregation, and the surrounding community. The research method used is a historical method which consists of four stages: heuristics, source verification, data interpretation, and historiography. It used a lot of primary sources in the form of oral interviews. The research results show that character education by TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid was built through direct examples through everyday words and actions, how to reprimand students who make mistakes, providing direct examples of doing things, and simple speech acts in everyday life. His teaching was very influential in the internalization of character education that emphasized on

the importance of example in everyday words and actions. This shows that a practical and personal approach to character education has a significant impact on shaping moral and ethical values in society. These speech act strategies offer valuable insights into leadership, education, and community engagement.

Pendidikan karakter yang efektif perlu dikontekstualisasikan dalam kehidupan nyata agar memiliki dampak yang signifikan. TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid adalah pahlawan nasional dari Lombok, Nusa Tenggara Barat, yang menjadi tokoh terkemuka dalam pendidikan karakter. Penelitian ini membahas bagaimana TGKH secara langsung menunjukkan pendidikan karakter melalui tindakan tutur sehari-hari kepada para siswa, jamaah, dan masyarakat sekitar. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah metode sejarah yang terdiri dari empat tahap: heuristik, verifikasi sumber, interpretasi data, dan historiografi. Penelitian ini banyak menggunakan sumber primer berupa wawancara lisan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pendidikan karakter oleh TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid dibangun melalui contoh langsung dari perkataan dan tindakan sehari-hari, cara menegur siswa yang melakukan kesalahan, memberikan contoh langsung dalam melakukan sesuatu, dan tindakan tutur sederhana dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Ajarannya sangat berpengaruh dalam internalisasi pendidikan karakter yang menekankan pentingnya contoh dalam perkataan dan tindakan sehari-hari. Ini menunjukkan bahwa pendekatan praktis dan personal terhadap pendidikan karakter memiliki dampak yang signifikan dalam membentuk nilai moral dan etika dalam masyarakat. Strategi tindakan tutur ini memberikan wawasan yang berharga dalam kepemimpinan, pendidikan, dan keterlibatan komunitas.

Keywords: *Character education, humanist capital, speech act*

Introduction

The history of daily life has recently gained increasing attention in historical research. Several historians, such as Purwanto (2006), Roosa et al. (2004), Roosa (2008), and others, have focused on ordinary events that hold significant meaning in everyday life in the past. Certain figures played meaningful roles in their communities, including the national hero TGKH

Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, an influential Islamic leader from Lombok. He played an important role in promoting positive speech and actions that could be emulated by society (Saifuddin, 2019). He is also the pioneer of Islamic education in Lombok (Azmi & Wardi, 2020).

The importance of ordinary events in everyday life has also garnered attention from other social sciences, such as anthropology. The significance of daily life in understanding historical figures and communities can be seen in various works by anthropologists using ethnographic approaches (Danandjaja, 1994; Endraswara, 2021; Fetterman, 2023; Spradley, 1997). These works highlight how daily life, including speech acts that were previously overlooked, is now receiving serious attention across disciplines, including in the study of history, which is the focus of this paper. Research on historical figures and leaders is fundamental in describing the positive traits and habits that can be passed on to the surrounding community.

TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid was born in Kampung Bermi, Pancor Village, East Lombok, on 18 Rabiul Awal 1316 H, corresponding to April 20, 1908 AD. As a child, Zainuddin was named Muhammad Saggaf. His father was H. Abdul Madjid, and his mother was Hj. Halimatussa'diyah (Nu'man & Mugni, 2010). After completing six years of education at Makkah Ash-Shulatiyah, he was given the title Maulanasyeikh by his teacher, a name that is deeply associated with him, particularly within the Sasak community of Lombok (Anugrah, 2021). The figure of TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid is widely remembered and recognized by this title.

As the founding figure of the Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) community organization, headquartered in Pancor, Selong subdistrict, East Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara Province, TGKH Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid focused on advancing education (Fattah et al., 2017). In addition, throughout his life, his focus is on revitalizing da'wah, and raising social awareness among the people of Lombok and Indonesia as a whole (Wahid & Janah, 2022). His efforts spanned from the Dutch and Japanese colonial periods to Indonesia's independence. In recognition of his

significant contributions to the nation, on November 6, 2017, President Joko Widodo, through Presidential Decree No. 115/TK/Year 2017, conferred upon him the title of National Hero (Anugrah, 2021; Wahid & Janah, 2022). This prestigious title has also been awarded to other national heroes who shared his ideals and actions in supporting Indonesia's independence, such as Teuku Umar, Cut Nyak Dhien, Tuanku Imam Bonjol, and Prince Diponegoro.

TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid is highly respected for his religious character and leadership, setting a positive example for the wider community. This influence stems from the character education he imparted, often through simple means. His primary focus was on moral and character education for his congregation, grounded in the teachings of Islam, particularly the Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah following the Mazhab of Imam Asy-Syafi'iyah RA (Nasri, 2019). This approach is notably articulated in his renowned work, *Wasiat Renungan Masa*, which emphasizes the teachings of Ahlussunnah Waljama'ah 'Ala Mazhabil Imam Asy-Syafi'iyah RA (Atsani et al., 2023). Consequently, TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's behavior and values serve as a guiding example for many across the country (Muliadi & Pahmi, 2021).

Among his guidance, one significant piece is the testament written over time, especially the will from September 28, 1970, which contains 88 directives intended for the younger generation, particularly as they engage with the Nahdlatul Wathan organization (Nasip et al., 2019, p. 272). In addition to *Wasiat Renungan Masa*, other wills, delivered in speeches and imparted to students, congregants, neighbors, family, and the surrounding community, have been recorded as a reflection of his exemplary conduct and moral values (Emasari, 2021; Supriadi et al., 2022). This aspect has not been widely explored in previous studies and is the primary reason for conducting this research, focusing on analyzing the speech acts of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid in daily interactions.

Austin proposed that language use produces not only isolated sentences but also actions, implying that language should prompt others to

act. This concept, known as performative speech, integrates language with action to elicit responses from others (Safiudin, 2019; Izhar & Saftika, 2020). Speech acts reflect human psychology and daily habits, making them easier to understand and internalize. TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid is widely recognized for his demeanor, traits, behavior, and language, which collectively serve as a model of good character (Yuliana et al., 2020). His speech acts, well understood by the general public, students, and congregants, serve as practical examples in daily life and exemplify his role as a moral, communicative, and social guide.

People who know TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, whether directly or through others who have interacted with him, often draw inspiration from his character. His teachings on character are reflected not only in everyday speech acts but also in the principles of *Wasiat Renungan Masa*, which emphasizes values rooted in morals, manners, and leading by example (Atsani et al., 2023; Yuliana et al., 2020). His speech acts, characterized by nobility and goodness, are mirrored in behaviors that reflect honesty, trustworthiness, sincerity, religious devotion, steadfastness, patriotism, obedience, fairness, unity, filial piety, loyalty, tolerance, social responsibility, exemplary conduct, bravery, and hard work (Saihu et al., 2021). His qualities are deeply interwoven with religious values, embodying the implementation of religious law, which allowed the social organization he founded to gain full acceptance as a community guide in practicing Islamic law (Muslich, 2023).

Through his da'wah, he promoted and refined Islamic teachings in Lombok, using respectful speech and action that resonated with the community. His character shaped the values of the Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah organization, making its ethos an extension of his own. Consequently, scholarly works related to TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid are widely produced in the form of books, scientific articles, and audiovisual media (Muslich, 2023). The breadth of topics includes biography, historical contributions, and his character values.

Previous studies on TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid have primarily focused on his struggles, da'wah dimensions, social and economic contributions, and his testament (Saihu et al., 2021) including in politics (Husnah, 2019). His body of work, consisting of around 36 poems and *nazham-nazhom* (rhymed verses) in Arabic or Arabic-Malay, is another area of scholarly interest (Hamzah et al., 2023) and all his books which are also digitalized to enlarge the learning access (Bahtiar et al., 2019). Also, on his da'wah through songs (Wijaya & Fajri, 2023) and his insight on integrative education between Islamic subject and scientific disciplines (Khairi et al., 2024). However, this research specifically aims to examine his speech acts comprehensively, as they reinforce social, economic, and religious capital among families, students, and the broader Nahdlatul Wathan congregation. The internalization of these speech acts provides a foundation of social capital and commitment for individuals and groups (Nahdi, 2014; Zohar, 2005). In this social and cultural context, speech acts represent actions within a social structure, including the understanding and internalization of messages conveyed within that structure (Bourdieu, 1998; Coleman, 1990; Nahdi, 2014). Ultimately, his speech acts embodied values like respect, responsibility, honesty, compassion, and fairness, helping students comprehend, observe, and implement these principles in life (Hendriana & Jacobus, 2017).

In character education, prior research has focused largely on values that can be internalized from TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's works. This study, however, highlights character values derived from direct speech acts as experienced by students, community members, and family who interacted with him daily. The goal is to reveal his authentic character as expressed directly, rather than solely through his written works, covering: 1) his daily speech acts among students; 2) his interactions within society, government, and social circles; and 3) his family interactions with his wife, children, and grandchildren. These three practices in character education reflect how TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid instilled good character in daily life and through his work.

Research Method

Tracing and understanding a character's speech acts requires a historical approach. Abdullah and Surjomihardjo (1983) describe this as a structured periodization process. However, this research adopts the concept of "historical categories" proposed by historian Kuntowijoyo (1995), which emphasizes contexts within history that may be challenging to narrate chronologically and instead are explored within specific periods. Therefore, this study focuses on the period from TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's return from Mecca until his passing. This research employs a qualitative approach with historical methods to gather comprehensive, in-depth information that addresses the research questions and ensures accurate data. This method enables a detailed, thorough presentation of research findings. The historical method in this research comprises the following steps:

1. Resource collection (Heuristics). Heuristics involves searching for and gathering historical sources. This research primarily uses oral historical sources. According to Kuntowijoyo (2003), oral sources, obtained through effective interviews, provide valuable and detailed data in historical research. Informants are selected using purposive sampling to gather information relevant to the research theme. Oral data were obtained from TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's students across generations, as well as members of the congregation and community in his vicinity. Careful identification of knowledgeable sources ensures data validity. To add depth, supplementary observations and documentation studies were conducted.
2. Source verification. Verification entails source criticism, which is divided into internal and external criticism (Daliman, 2015). Source criticism ensures that research sources are reliable and credible. This research uses both primary and secondary sources, including books and field data. Source selection involves assessing each source's credibility carefully. External criticism evaluates document

authenticity, while internal criticism assesses the consistency and accuracy of information derived from oral sources.

3. Historical interpretation (Interpretation). Historical interpretation involves analyzing and understanding the data (historical interpretation). Kartodirdjo (1992) notes that interpretation in historical research is the process of deriving meaning from historical facts. In this study, data analysis aims to interpret the behavior and actions of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid in the context of character education.
4. Historiography
Historiography is the process of writing, organizing, and analyzing historical research findings (Dudung, 1999). Its purpose is to provide a clear account of the research process from start to finish, assessing the research's validity, reliability, and adherence to methodological procedures. In this way, historiography also serves to evaluate the overall quality of the research.

Results and Discussion

The data collection for this research focuses on gathering information related to the speech acts of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid. The field findings indicate that his speech acts are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.1 Research Result

Aspects examined	Research result
Speech acts to students	He taught students by providing direct examples in daily practices and was consistently polite, both in conversation and when offering correction.
Acts of speech to the surrounding community	His speech acts were marked by a friendly attitude toward those around him and a high level of social awareness.
Speech acts to the congregation	His speech acts also demonstrated politeness through his words, actions, and body language.

The speech acts of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid are reflected in his attitudes and actions when interacting with students, the community, and the congregation. After returning from Mecca, he encountered a challenging situation in Indonesia during the Dutch and Japanese colonial periods, which had adversely affected public education in Lombok (Shubhi, 2017). To address these pressing issues, he established an educational institution that extended to da'wah and social activities (Atsani & Nasri, 2021). His initiatives included: (a) Initiating a classical Islamic religious education system in schools; (b) Establishing a special madrasa for women (NBDI); (c) Holding Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha gatherings by visiting rather than receiving visitors; (d) Offering free public recitations (open to all ages) without requiring textbooks; (e) Organizing a prayer movement with *hidzib*; (f) Conducting *shari'ah al-qubra*; (g) Establishing a Tariqat called *Tariqat Hidzib Nahdlatul Wathan*; (h) Opening a public school adjacent to the madrasah in NTB; (i) Composing *nadzham* in Arabic mixed with Indonesian, such as *Batu Ngompal* (Adawiyah, 2018; Adnan, 1983).

The educational, social, and da'wah activities initiated by TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid served students, society, the congregation, and even the government (Tabibuddin et al., 2023). His speech acts manifested directly through the character and behavior he modeled, enabling students, community members, and family to quickly understand and internalize the values he promoted, especially through his everyday interactions. According to Nahdi (2014), this approach served as an initial gateway to deeper realms of understanding and values. Below is an illustration of his speech acts as character education conveyed to students, society, congregation, and family.

Speech Acts of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid to the Students

As an educational figure, TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid demonstrated love and grounded human values in his teachings through several practices:

1. Providing direct examples in daily life.

TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid emphasized the importance of paying attention to details, as neglecting small things could lead to greater oversights. For instance, he taught his students the correct way to respond to greetings: "When responding to greetings, we should say *waalaikumussalam*, not *waalaikumsalam*" (interview with ZB, 21/3/2022). He also guided students on proper manners for eating and drinking, instructing them to begin from the edge, not directly from the middle (Interview with HS, 12/3/2022).

2. Upholding precision and avoiding mistakes.

TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid stressed that allowing others to make mistakes without correction is a significant error. An informant recalled him saying, "It's your fault when you let others make mistakes. Advising should be done following the principles of da'wah as taught by the Quran" (Interview with MYM, 15/6/2022). He believed in correcting mistakes promptly, as exemplified by his approach: "He always gave reminders and set examples, urging us to address and correct others' mistakes immediately. Allowing mistakes to continue unaddressed is itself a mistake" (Interview with LHS, 12/3/2022).

3. Polite in Both Speech and Reprimand.

TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid approached each interaction with a deep sensitivity to the psychology of his audience, especially students. Recognizing that students are in a formative process, both academically and personally, he was careful in his guidance. One student observed that even when someone made a mistake, TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid would not respond with anger. Instead, he offered gentle advice and set examples of positive behavior (Interview with HS, 12/3/2022). Another student stated, "In all his actions, he always set an extraordinary example in teaching. He rarely got angry, but his teaching style was very detailed. He hoped all his students would become beneficial to many people" (Interview with LS, 22/3/2022). Despite his gentle approach, TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid was firm

when necessary, though he addressed issues with subtlety. For instance, he would correct students' speech or pronunciation carefully (Interview with MYM, 15/6/2022). If a correction risked embarrassing the student, he would address it privately outside the classroom (Interview with MZB, 21/3/2022).

In learning, misunderstandings of certain rules and inappropriate actions can be corrected through "pacu berajah" (diligent study). TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid applies humanistic principles with his students, as seen in the way he addresses mistakes. According to sources, he never punishes his students directly but instead provides understanding. If a student makes a mistake, he does not reprimand them directly; instead, he uses gentle sarcasm or irony so that students who feel guilty recognize their error immediately (Interview with ZB, 21/3/2022). For more serious mistakes, he may choose to ignore the student until they realize their mistake and correct themselves (Interview with LS, 22/3/2022).

The "serious mistakes" in this context generally involve students who are no longer obedient to the organization or cannot be trusted to carry out its mandate. His students shared that if a mistake is deemed critical or relates to matters of faith, he withholds assignments until the student can correct their behavior (Interview with MYM, 15/6/2022). In line with this, another student mentioned that the response depends on the severity of the error: for grave mistakes, he advises the student immediately, but if the mistake threatens the organization, he refrains from giving that student tasks (Interview with ZB, 21/2/2022). TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid exemplifies an educator who deeply cares for and understands the psychology of his students, from his teaching methods to his approach to discipline. This approach reflects his sensitivity to students' conditions and development in line with his era.

Speech Acts of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid to the Surrounding Community

Apart from his interactions with students, TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's approachable and exemplary demeanor is evident in his speech and actions toward the surrounding community. His speech acts with the local community reveal the following characteristics:

1. Friendly attitude toward neighbors.

He demonstrated friendliness through his language and intonation when speaking. According to a research informant, his friendliness gained the community's respect. In the early days of establishing the madrasa, he was able to convince the community to support it (Interview with HS, 12/3/2022). His approachable manner and engagement with the community contributed to his charisma and respectability, along with his wisdom and knowledge.

TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid founded several Islamic boarding schools, including Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyah Islamiyah (NWDI), an Islamic organization established on March 23, 2021, and Nahdlatul Banat Diniyah Islamiyah (NBDI), founded on April 21, 1943, as a branch of Nahdlatul Wathan focusing on women's education (Atsani & Nasri, 2021). The Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) organization is also well-supported by the local community (Sujai, 2023).

Not only writing books in Sasak language (Rahmatullah & Hamzah, 2022), TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid was accustomed to using refined Sasak language, which is still regarded as a mark of politeness. Scholars who are proficient in using this refined language are seen as capable of connecting with people's hearts. An informant noted that he always used polite and gentle language, even with ordinary people, and his mastery of the refined Sasak language made him easily accepted and respected. He consistently used the Sasak language with the Pancor dialect (Interview with MZB, 21/3/2022).

2. Demonstrates very high social awareness.

Beyond his friendliness and politeness in speech, TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's social awareness is evident through his actions in the community. One notable example is the establishment of Darul Aitam (NWDI), an orphanage that continues to serve the community today. According to a source, his care for the community is exemplified by his founding of Darul Aitam (Interview with LS, 22/3/2022). His example of social awareness demonstrates how the values of his struggle shape the national character of students (Yunitasari et al., 2023).

Another remarkable aspect of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's social consciousness is his support for small vendors. Rather than purchasing necessities from large merchants, he preferred to buy from local small traders around his residence. It aims to help improve their livelihoods (Interview with HS, 12/3/2022). Such example of social attitude belongs to the spirit to form student character (Badarudin et al., 2023).

Speech Acts of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid to the Congregation

The speech acts used by TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid with the congregation can be summarized as follows:

a. Politeness in speech.

The language TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid uses during his recitations is very smooth and easy to understand. He consistently uses a blend of Sasak and Indonesian, making it accessible for the congregation. An informant noted that, recognizing that most of the congregation consists of older people, he always mixes Indonesian and Sasak. He begins each recitation by asking the congregation which language they prefer—Indonesian or Pancor, particularly Sasak. The congregation typically requests a language that is easy to understand (Interview with MZB, 21/3/2022). Another informant added that his use of a mix of Indonesian and Sasak aims to ensure that even those who do not

understand Indonesian can follow his teachings (Interview with M, 24/3/2022).

b. Politeness in Action/Attitude

In every recitation, TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid consistently emphasized the key terms: faith and piety. He also highlighted the phrase “nyakin, ikhlas, istiqomah” (certainty, sincerity, consistency). This expression was so frequently reinforced by him that it has been passed down to this day. An informant mentioned that he delivered his teachings with finesse and politeness (Interview with MN, 22/3/2022). Additionally, his emphasis on the principles of faith and piety helped to strengthen the congregation’s commitment to the NW principles. Another informant shared that the phrase “nyakin, ikhlas, istiqomah” was emphasized so much that it has become a cherished motto of the NWDI community (Interview with MHS, 12/3/2022). Later, Madrasah NWDI has played a significant role in upholding national and religious values and the spirit of national heroes that are still relevant to the development of Islamic education today (Suparman & Nasri, 2024).

Conclusion

The research findings on the speech acts of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid toward his students, the surrounding community, and the congregation are as follows: (a) Leading by example through action. His actions often served as indirect messages or expressions to raise students’ awareness including his remarks were intended to prompt self-reflection, particularly among those who had made mistakes to correct their behavior. (b) Providing examples through daily habits. He modeled desired behaviors directly so that students could quickly understand and emulate his examples to perform the values he wished to impart. (c) Politeness in social interactions. He consistently used polite and gentle language to demonstrate his respect for all members of the community. (c) Politeness in actions and attitudes. His compassion for the community through Darul Aitam NWDI Pancor orphanage reflecting his commitment to social care. (d) Politeness in

speech with the congregation. His words were always smooth and easily understood since during his recitations, he used a blend of Sasak and Indonesian to make his teachings accessible and relatable to the audience.

The practical implications of TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid's speech acts highlight several key approaches for educators, community leaders, and religious figures. First, educators and leaders can use indirect yet effective methods to instill awareness and discipline. Second, habitual modeling of desired behaviors allows followers or students to learn through observation, reinforcing learning with practical demonstrations. Third, the emphasis on politeness in speech and action underscores the importance of respectful communication, fostering positive relationships within the community. Finally, the involvement in social causes, such as establishing an orphanage, demonstrates how concern for others can inspire community action and long-term commitment to social welfare. These strategies offer valuable insights into leadership, education, and community engagement.

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FORM OF COMMUNICATION FOR TEACHING BAJO CHILDREN THE LOCAL VALUES IN UTILIZING NATURAL MARINE RESOURCES

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Abstract

The issue behind the research on the Bajo tribe is the lack of understanding regarding the forms of communication used by the tribe to impart knowledge about local wisdom concerning the sustainable use of coastal and marine resources. Therefore, the aim of this research is to identify both the forms of local wisdom and the communication methods used to educate Bajo children about the sustainable use of coastal resources, ensuring the preservation of the Bajo tribe's cultural identity. The study was conducted among the Bajo tribe living along the coast of the Tiworo Strait in Muna Regency and West Muna Regency. The research informants consisted of 15 individuals, purposively selected, including elders and tribal leaders. The findings revealed that the local wisdom being passed down includes traditional management of coastal natural resources, such as: (a) the mammia kadialo tradition, involving fishing practices, which include palilibu, pongka, and sasakai; (b) traditional methods

of fishing, including *missi*, *ngarua*, *mana* (archery using traditional tools), and *nyuluh/balobe* (also called *ngobor*); (c) the Pamali tradition, which involves specific taboos at certain times and places; and (d) the Maduai Pinah ritual, a form of worship for the "sea ruler" believed to protect and provide natural resources. Communication methods used to teach Bajo children about the utilization of natural resources include intrapersonal communication, interpersonal communication, and group communication.

Permasalahan yang mendasari penelitian tentang suku Bajo adalah kurangnya pemahaman mengenai bentuk-bentuk komunikasi yang digunakan oleh suku tersebut dalam menyampaikan pengetahuan tentang kearifan lokal terkait pemanfaatan sumber daya pesisir dan laut secara berkelanjutan. Oleh karena itu, tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengidentifikasi bentuk kearifan lokal dan metode komunikasi yang digunakan dalam mendidik anak-anak suku Bajo tentang pemanfaatan sumber daya pesisir yang berkelanjutan, sehingga dapat menjaga kelestarian identitas budaya suku Bajo. Penelitian ini dilakukan pada suku Bajo yang tinggal di sepanjang pesisir Selat Tiworo di Kabupaten Muna dan Kabupaten Muna Barat. Informan penelitian terdiri dari 15 orang yang dipilih secara purposive, termasuk para tetua dan kepala suku. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa kearifan lokal yang diwariskan meliputi pengelolaan tradisional sumber daya alam pesisir, antara lain: (a) tradisi *mammia kadialo*, yang melibatkan praktik penangkapan ikan, termasuk *palilibu*, *pongka*, dan *sasakai*; (b) cara tradisional menangkap ikan, seperti *missi*, *ngarua*, *mana* (memanah dengan alat tradisional), serta *nyuluh/balobe* (juga disebut *ngobor*); (c) tradisi Pamali, yaitu larangan pada waktu dan tempat tertentu; dan (d) ritual Maduai Pinah, yaitu penyembahan kepada "penguasa laut" yang diyakini melindungi dan menyediakan sumber daya alam bagi mereka. Metode komunikasi yang digunakan untuk mengajarkan anak-anak suku Bajo tentang pemanfaatan sumber daya alam meliputi komunikasi intrapersonal, komunikasi interpersonal, dan komunikasi kelompok.

Keywords: Bajo tribe, communication method, local wisdom, marine resources

Introduction

Some coastal areas in Indonesia are generally inhabited by the Bajo tribe, often referred to as a sea community because their livelihood depends on the sea (Baskara & Astuti, 2011). In the past, nearly all aspects of their lives were spent on boats, continually sailing the seas. The Bajo tribe primarily makes their living as fishermen, with their livelihoods heavily reliant on coastal and marine resources. This is evident in the fact that their entire livelihood comes from the sea, and even their homes are built on the water. The Bajo tribe also possesses its own ethical and cultural system (Mukramin, 2018; Baskara & Astuti, 2011). This system has served as a guiding principle for the Bajo people, shaping their daily lives for generations.

The use of coastal and marine resources often faces various challenges. Resource utilization is frequently conducted without considering conservation and ecological balance, exploited for personal satisfaction and profit (Dai & Manahung, 2020; Hasrawaty et al., 2017; Setyaningsih et al., 2023). This unsustainable exploitation threatens coastal resources, leading to the degradation of their potential and the destruction of their wealth. This situation presents a dilemma for the Bajo people, who depend on coastal and marine ecosystems for their livelihood and survival.

As a culturally rich community, the Bajo tribe has developed wisdom in sustainably protecting and utilizing coastal areas. Artanto (2017) points out that the concept of local wisdom in the form of *Bapongka*, with its associated rules and taboos, represents an effort by the Bajo tribe to conserve resources and prevent damage to marine and coastal ecosystems. Furthermore, this concept is not merely an environmental protection mechanism but also a way of life, cosmology, and spiritual belief for the Bajo people. This wisdom aligns with the teachings of Islam, predominantly practiced by the Bajo tribe, as reflected in the following verses from the Qur'an: "And when he turns away (from you), he walks on the earth to cause damage to it, and destroys the plants and livestock, and Allah does not like destruction" (QS Al-Baqarah: 205), and "And do not cause damage on the

face of the earth after (Allah) has repaired it, and pray to Him with fear (that it will not be accepted) and hope (that it will be granted). Indeed, Allah's mercy is close to those who do good" (QS Al-Araf: 56).

As time progresses, local wisdom, including that of the Bajo tribe, continues to evolve. This cultural transformation refers to gradual changes that are ingrained in individuals over time, becoming habits that persist and are repeated consistently. From a communication perspective, this transformation is closely related to changes in communication patterns in various activities, whether at home, work, or in society. Communication theory can be viewed from at least three perspectives: first, as a one-way process of meaning construction, where the sender attempts to build or reconstruct meaning that is developed by the receiver; second, as a two-way process, where two or more individuals co-construct new meanings together; and third, as a diachronic process in all directions, focusing on the continuous development of meaning itself (Ruler, 2018).

Regarding the communication transformation of the Bajo tribe, Tamengge and Mingkid (2019) and Tamengge et al. (2019) stated that changes in the Bajo tribe's communication are due to their openness and integration with other tribes. Rustan et al. (2019) added that the factors influencing the communication behavior of the Bajo tribe in interacting with mainland societies include education level, lifestyle (kinship systems, residential patterns, language, and religious similarities), the need for cooperation, and various forms of social interaction such as cooperation, accommodation, and assimilation. This statement aligns with Geertz's view that socio-cultural changes can occur due to internal factors, where cultural supporters feel the need to adapt certain cultural institutions to the evolving social context (Tarasov et al., 2023). Additionally, socio-cultural changes can result from external influences, such as interactions with other cultures, especially through cultural contact and acculturation.

The study of communication within the Bajo tribe, particularly in the context of transmitting local wisdom to younger generations, remains underexplored. Most existing research has focused on inter-tribal

communication patterns, such as the studies by Falimu & Sibay (2023), Tamengge and Mingkid (2019), and Rustan et al. (2019). The exploration of the Bajo tribe's local wisdom regarding coastal resources is still in its early stages. Over the past decade, research has mainly concentrated on issues of coastal community identity (Ismail et al., 2015; Chou, 2016; Tahara, 2013), adaptation and social change (Suryanegara et al., 2015; Obie, 2016; Suliyati, 2017; Rustan et al., 2018; Satriani & Upe, 2018; Nurhaliza & Suciati, 2019), social interaction networks (Jasman et al., 2018), and the modernization of fishing gear (Hamzah et al., 2019).

Another study addresses coastal and marine resource policies related to Bajo ethnic identity (Obie, 2020), migration, and resource management (Umar, 2019). Other research focuses on educational values and work ethic (Dai & Manahung, 2020), life cycle traditions and rituals in self-maturation within marine management (Mustamin & Macpal, 2020; Dalia et al., 2018), as well as survival strategies amidst pressures on resource sustainability (Mukramin, 2018). With regard to the local wisdom of the Bajo tribe in utilizing coastal resources, studies have remained spatial, covering practices such as *bapongka*, or fishing expedition (Artanto, 2017; Utina, 2014), *pamali* or prohibitions based on tradition (Said et al., 2020; Basri et al., 2017), behavioral patterns (Lamane et al., 2020; Pinto, 2015), and belief systems (Maulidyna et al., 2021). More recent analyses focus on the role of local wisdom in preserving coastal and environmental resources (Setyaningsih et al., 2023; Hasrawaty et al., 2017). Specifically related to Bajo children, Machmud et al. (2020) explore their daily skills. However, research on teaching local wisdom values, particularly regarding the use and conservation of natural resources, has yet to be undertaken.

The Bajo tribe in Southeast Sulawesi is dispersed along various coastal regions, such as North Konawe Regency, Kolaka Regency (including North Kolaka), Wakatobi, Muna, and West Muna. One area where the Bajo community resides on the coast of the Tiworo Strait in Muna Regency is Napabalano District. The Tiworo Strait, as a source of livelihood for the Bajo people, is reportedly facing sustainability pressures. Kharisma (2016)

reported that coral reefs in the area have been damaged, primarily due to environmentally harmful fishing practices, such as trawling, fish bombing, and the use of anesthetics. Currently, coral reefs along the coast of the Tiworo Islands are categorized as being in a "moderate" state of damage, with an average survival percentage of around 46% (Kharisma, 2016). In the future, as the population grows and resources continue to degrade, coastal resources in the Tiworo waters are expected to experience further degradation. Therefore, efforts that undermine the integrity and preservation of coastal and marine ecosystems must be minimized to ensure that these abundant resources can be utilized sustainably, securing a better future for the next generations, especially in facing global challenges and advancing development.

Considering the current state of coastal resources in the Tiworo Strait, it is essential to focus on the sustainable utilization and preservation of these resources. The local wisdom and traditions of the Bajo tribe can serve as vital elements in managing coastal resources sustainably. For the sake of future generations, it is important to introduce conservation practices from an early age, especially to the younger generation. Therefore, the current study has two main objectives. The first is to identify the forms of local wisdom practiced by the Bajo tribe in utilizing coastal resources as part of their cultural identity. The second objective is to explore how the Bajo people communicate and teach local wisdom values to their children in the use and conservation of coastal resources, ensuring their sustainability to support the existence of the Bajo ethnic group. These two objectives are then connected to the Islamic perspective, reflecting the religious beliefs of the majority of the Bajo tribe. The second objective also represents the novelty of this research, offering a scientific contribution by providing new information on how the Bajo community communicates local wisdom to young children regarding the sustainable use and preservation of coastal resources.

Method

This research was conducted using a post-positivist paradigm, commonly associated with qualitative research. Summarized from several sources, such as Hasddin et al. (2022) and Moleong (2010), qualitative research is characterized by its focus on uncovering social phenomena and presenting data through narratives, which allow for the description of real situations and facts. The process begins with identifying problems, establishing limitations, and focusing— in this case, on the communication of the Bajo traditional heritage in conserving natural resources to the younger generation. Following this, data collection (via observation and interviews), analysis, and interpretation of each finding are conducted, with the results then connected to relevant theories according to the focus of the study.

The study focused on the Bajo people living along the coastal areas of the Tiworo Strait, which are administratively located in Napabalano District, Muna Regency, and in West Muna Regency in the districts of Napano Kusambi, Kusambi, Tiworo Islands, North Tiworo, and Central Tiworo. The research informants consisted of 15 individuals who were selected purposively, focusing on tribal chiefs or respected elders within each community. The distribution of informants was as follows: 3 people from Napabalano District, 3 from Napano Kusambi District, 2 from Kusambi District, 2 from Tiworo Islands District, 3 from North Tiworo District, and 2 from Central Tiworo District.

Data collection was carried out through in-depth observations and interviews, using interview guides for support. This process took approximately two months, followed by one month dedicated to data processing and analyzing the research results. The collected data was then analyzed using a descriptive qualitative approach, following these stages: (1) Studying the data and information from various sources, including interviews, observations, and documents; (2) Reducing the data by creating abstractions, summarizing the essence of all statements to retain the key information; (3) Organizing the data and information into units; (4)

Categorizing the data and information; and (5) Reconfirming any data and information obtained (Maleong, 2000).

Findings and Discussion

Forms of local wisdom of the Bajo tribe in utilizing coastal natural resources

The Bajo tribe is closely associated with the sea, as their livelihood and survival are heavily reliant on it. This relationship has shaped local customs and values regarding the use of marine natural resources. This research successfully revealed the forms of local wisdom practiced by the Bajo tribe in the wise utilization of natural resources, many of which are still observed today. The findings show that there are several forms of local wisdom used by the Bajo tribe to manage marine and coastal resources along the coast of the Tiworo Strait, which can be grouped into three categories: *Palilibu*, *Bapongka*, and *Sasakai*.

Palilibu is a traditional practice of the Bajau people where they go to sea using traditional boats called *soppe*, which are powered by oars. This practice typically lasts one or two days, after which they return to the settlement to sell their catch, while part of it is shared and enjoyed with their family. The *palilibu* method is a daily routine for the Bajo people along the Tiworo Strait, whether for fishing in nearby waters or for tending to cultivated fish in floating nets. Based on interviews with informants, this tradition is still actively practiced today. "Palilibu has become a daily activity for us Bajo people. As Bajo people, this has been passed down from generation to generation and is our characteristic as a sea tribe" (Interview with Mr. Bahring, 2022).

While *Palilibu* is a daily, localized fishing practice, *Bapongka* is a more extended sea voyage tied to the nomadic traditions of the Bajo people. *Bapongka*, or *pongka*, is also referred to as *babangi*, a form of local wisdom in the sustainable use of biological resources, which is still practiced and passed down through generations by the Bajo ethnic group. The *bapongka* or *babangi* tradition involves going to sea for several days using a large boat

(*leppa*). This activity often includes entire families, with wives and children participating, and in some cases, even childbirth occurs on the boat. *Bapongka* activities are primarily focused on gathering marine products such as sea cucumbers and schooling fish like *Lolosi* or yellowtail (*Caesio sp.*) (Sangadji, 2015). The catch from *pongka* is the same as during regular fishing activities, but it is stored and collected over time. The collected catch is then sold to nearby villages.

Sasakai refers to the tradition of going to sea using multiple boats for extended periods, often several months, traveling between islands. This form of local wisdom is still practiced by the Bajo people living along the Tiworo Strait. According to gathered information, *sasakai* expeditions can last for months, reaching as far as islands across Indonesia and even border waters, such as North Sulawesi and Australia.

However, the research revealed that the *sasakai* tradition is almost disappearing among the Bajo people. This decline is due to two main reasons: (1) *Sasakai* is practiced by only a small portion of the population, while others prefer land-based activities such as trading or craftsmanship; and (2) *Sasakai* carries significant risks while at sea, and requires being away from family for extended periods.

In addition to the traditions of *palilibu*, *bapongka*, and *sasakai*, the Bajo tribe has inherited knowledge of the sea, including the presence of fish and other resources. They also possess the ability to identify coral clusters where fish spawn by reading natural signs, as described by one Bajau fisherman:

“When we go to sea, there are signs of fish presence, like seeing the glow of fish at night or the shadow of coral rocks (*garas*), which serve as shelters for fish from the waves. Other signs include calm and clear seawater, groups of fish-eating birds, bubbles on the surface, and changes in seawater color. After observing these signs, we immediately set up fishing gear, which we call *Tabere*. We pass this knowledge down through generations by including our children and wives in the process” (Interview with Mr. SND, 2022).

Based on observations and gathered information, fishing traditions can be grouped into two categories: individual and group conventional

techniques. Individual techniques used by the Bajau ethnic group include fishing, known as *missi*, seining (*ngarua*), archery (*mana*), and night fishing with torches (*nyuluh/balobe* or *ngobor*) (Hutabarat, 2001). The *missi* and *ngarua* techniques are still practiced today, typically during *palilibu*, where fish are caught using a traditional boat (*soppe*) powered by oars. Group fishing activities involve using bottom nets (*pukat asi*) and floating nets, typically done during *pongka* or *babangi*, which are longer fishing expeditions using larger boats like *leppa* or *sopek*.

Archery fishing (*mana*) is becoming less common and is at risk of disappearing. Two main factors contribute to this: first, the Bajo community in Latawe Village now mostly uses more practical fishing gear, such as nets or trawls. Second, archery skills are no longer widely practiced, especially among the younger generation. Interviews revealed that people are no longer interested in archery for fishing, finding it less effective. Additionally, the younger generation is reluctant to learn this traditional method.

The Bajo tribe also observes fishing prohibitions as part of *pamali*. According to Basri et al. (2017), the ethical system within the Bajo ethnic group, known as *pamali*, functions like a "taboo" system. It includes prohibitions on certain behaviors, such as fishing in restricted areas. These prohibited areas generally consist of waters with healthy coral reefs, which serve as spawning grounds for fish. These areas are also believed to be the domain of the *Mbu*, a guardian spirit of the sea, and are considered sacred by the Bajo people. The *pamali* rules are still followed by the Bajo community along the Tiworo Strait, enforced by traditional leaders with social sanctions for violators. These unwritten rules present challenges when attempting to formalize them in societal laws and regulations.

Another belief regarding marine resource use is the *maduai pinah* ritual. The Bajo tribe believes this ritual is connected to the worship of the sea's ruler and twin brothers (*kaka*). It is said that each child born has a twin in the sea, represented by an octopus and a crocodile. If someone falls ill, it is believed that part of their life spirit (*sumanga*) has been taken by their sea

twin and another part by the gods, carried to the seventh heaven (Basri et al., 2017).

The Bajo tribe holds a strong belief in natural law, which they believe punishes fishermen for violations. They are convinced that if someone disrespects the sea, their boat will sink (Maulidyna et al., 2021). Other consequences include being struck by lightning, continuous rain, storms hitting their settlements, or their ship sinking. As noted by Saad & Mansur (2016), the Bajo people have been taught by their ancestors to respect nature, avoid restricted areas, and refrain from actions that might provoke nature's wrath.

The *maduai pinah* ritual of the Bajo tribe on the coast of the Tiworo Strait is performed only at certain times. According to interview results, the *maduai pinah* ritual embodies gratitude and offers prayers to the Creator for the abundance of marine resources.

In almost all areas, the Bajo people continue to adhere to this tradition. Maduai pinah reflects gratitude and prayers for the wealth of marine resources in Latawe Village and its surroundings (Interview with Mr. UKD, 2022).

The ritual of *maduai pinah* begins by rolling a cigarette from palm leaf tobacco or *enau*, which is then placed on a tray with betel leaves and peeled betel nuts. This tradition has been passed down through generations and is still preserved today. For the Bajo people on the coast of the Tiworo Strait, the *maduai pinah* ritual can only be conducted in forbidden or sacred areas (*pamali*) after the fish spawning season ends.

Fishing traditions encompass not only the act of catching fish but also the social interactions among the Bajau people. The sea is their habitat, and many Bajo people use fishing activities as an opportunity to stay in touch with other Bajo communities along the Tiworo Strait and from different sailing destinations. Therefore, this tradition not only sustains their livelihood but also strengthens their sense of community and cultural ties across various regions.

Fishing and related activities occur on three levels. At the first level, fishing within a community (such as in Latawe) is led by a tribal chief. The tribal chief typically presides over the *maduai pinah* ritual and also fulfills the roles of *sasakai* and *pongka*, interpreting natural signs and identifying prohibited areas (*pamali*). The second level involves the head of the family, who leads *pongka* activities, often alongside one to three other family heads. They are responsible for interpreting natural signs and guiding others away from forbidden areas. Finally, the third level is the individual, where Bajau community members fish independently (*palilibu*) in areas near the coast or their settlements.

Referring to a verse from the Quran, it is recommended to use the marine resource well.

"And it is He, Allah, who subdues the sea for you so that you may eat from it fresh meat (fish), and bring forth from it ornaments which you wear. And you see the ships plowing through it, so that you may seek of His bounty and perhaps you will be grateful" (QS. An-Nahl [16]: 14).

One message from this verse is "you see the ships plowing through it" which can be interpreted as a reference to the use of environmentally friendly boats for fishing. For the Bajo people, using traditional boats is part of their daily life, a practice that has been preserved to this day. Including their children in fishing activities conveys the message, "this is how we, the Bajo people, fish," in a way that is respectful of the environment.

These values are deeply ingrained in the Bajo tribe. In the context of their community, this study found that these practices are still ongoing and can even be outlined structurally (see Figure 1). The transmission begins with traditional leaders, who pass down their teachings to elders and parents. This shows that the Bajo tribe's wisdom regarding the sustainable use of marine resources is still being preserved.

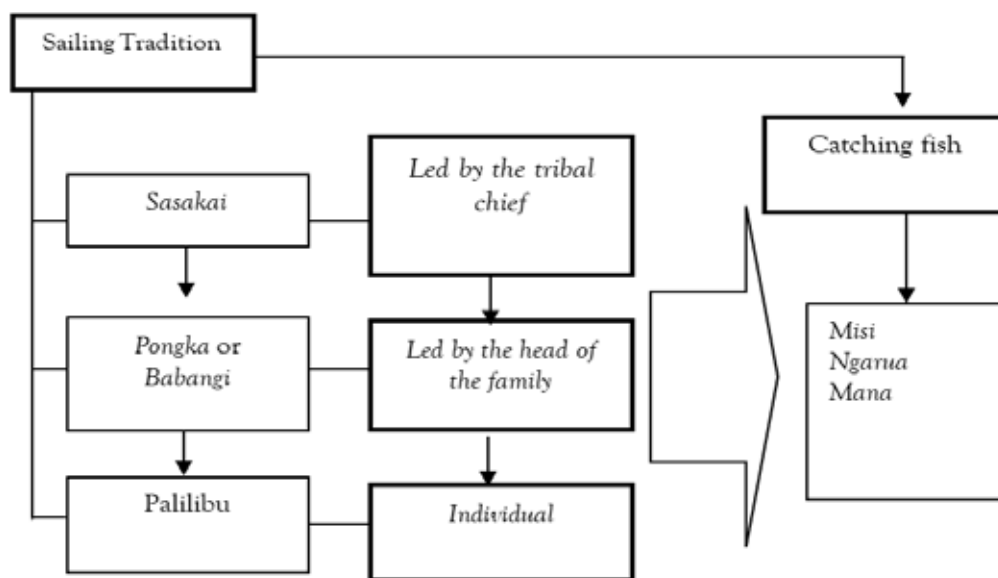


Figure 1. Structure Model of Local Wisdom Utilization of Coastal Natural Resources of the Bajo Community in the Waters of the Tiworo Strait
 Source: Authors, (2024)

Bajo People's Form of Communication in Teaching Local Wisdom Values to Children in Utilizing Coastal and Marine Resources

The discussion of communication forms in this study begins with communication theory, which is then confirmed through this research. The first step is to establish communication theory by Ruler (2018), who stated that there is still significant diversity regarding the definition of "communication" or "communicating." In classical Latin (Glare, 1968, in Ruler, 2018), communicate means "share with," "share," "make publicly accessible," or "discuss together." Rosengren (2000) suggests that, above all, communication concerns the process of meaning creation: how people psychologically, socially, and culturally create meaning; how messages are understood intellectually; and how ambiguities arise and are resolved. According to Littlejohn (1992), "Communication does not occur without meaning, and people create and use meaning in interpreting events." Thus,

the key question revolves around our understanding of "meaning" and how the process of meaning creation works (Ruler, 2018).

Communication can be understood through various perspectives that highlight its complexity and the different ways meaning is created. Ruler (2018) provides a middle ground for the diverse interpretations of communication by explaining three fundamental perspectives. First, communication as a one-way meaning construction process, where the sender attempts to create or reconstruct the meaning received by the recipient. Second, communication as a two-way meaning construction process, where two or more individuals collaboratively build new meaning. Third, communication as a process of diachronic meaning construction in all directions, focusing on the continuous development of meaning over time.

There are five recognized forms of communication as cited from Susanto (2010), Budyatna and Mona (2011), and Effendy (2011). These five forms are conceptually represented in Figure 2 below.

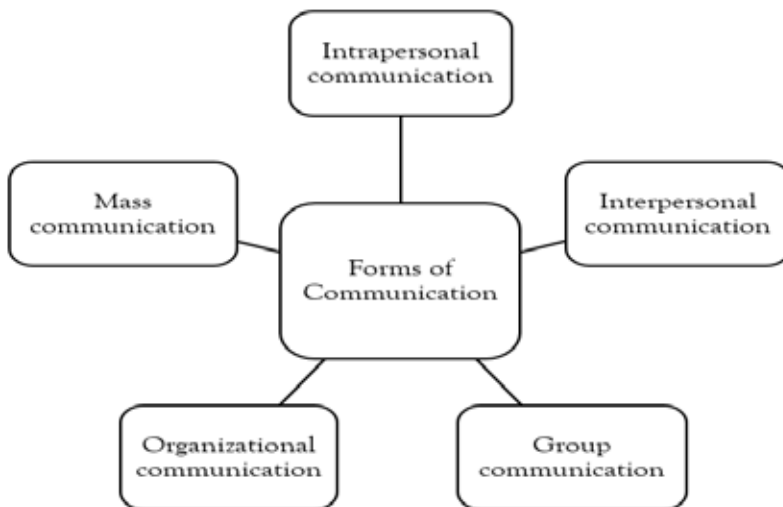


Figure 2. Figure 2. Forms of Communication

Source: Budyatna and Mona, (2011); Effendy, (2011); and Susanto, (2010)

The first form is intrapersonal communication, which refers to communication with oneself. A simple example is when we understand material or information, interpret a symbol, or recall an event. This can happen either intentionally or unintentionally (Susanto, 2010). Second is interpersonal communication, which is the exchange of meaning between individuals. It can be defined as the process of communication between one person and another (Budyatna & Mona, 2011).

Third, group communication involves the interaction between a person and two or more people (up to a maximum of seven in a group) to achieve cohesive results. This involves having a shared viewpoint and synergy in solving common problems, while also considering group dynamics, efficiency, and effectiveness in conveying information, as well as appropriate patterns or forms of group interaction (Effendy, 2011).

Fourth is organizational communication, which occurs when messages are sent or received based on the communication patterns within an organization. This includes the organizational structure, functions, relationships, and culture (Susanto, 2010).

Fifth, mass communication can be interpreted in two ways. First, it refers to communication that uses mass media, such as television or social media. Second, it refers to the number of communicants or communicators, which is often so vast that it is essentially unlimited. Mass communication encompasses various forms, including interpersonal, organizational, and group communication. The focus of mass communication theory includes the structure of the media, the relationship between media and audiences, media and society, as well as cultural aspects and the impact of communication outcomes (Susanto, 2010).

Regarding these five forms of communication, the interview results indicate that the Bajo tribe primarily uses three forms—intrapersonal communication, interpersonal communication, and group communication—to pass down knowledge to the next generation. These forms of communication are applied through local wisdom in the sustainable use and management of coastal and marine resources. A

summary of the interview findings, based on data reduction, is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Forms of communication to teach resource management of the Tiworo Strait.

Local Wisdom	Forms of Communication	Description
<i>1. Mammia Kadialo</i>		
<i>Palilibu</i>	Interpersonal	Parents provide signs and explain signs regarding areas, times and fishing that is considered dangerous and/or prohibited
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Bapongka</i> or <i>pongka</i> • <i>Sasakai</i> 	Intrapersonal	They also use gestures to indicate whether certain fish catches or the harvesting of other resources are allowed or forbidden
	Group	
Read natural signs	Intrapersonal	Parents give instructions, warnings and signals about natural signs that indicate safe or dangerous
	Group	At times, elders or the Tribal Chief also provide such guidance about natural signs related to safety and danger
<i>2. Fishing traditions</i>		
<i>Missi, Ngarua, and Mana</i>	Interpersonal	Parents sometimes give signals and explain warnings about areas and times deemed dangerous or forbidden
	Group	In some instances, parents or traditional leaders convey this information during gatherings, providing both signals and explanations regarding the prohibited areas and times.
<i>3. Pamali</i>		
	Intrapersonal	Parents give gestures regarding whether fishing activities are permitted or prohibited
	Interpersonal	They pass on instructions, warnings, and signals to their children regarding areas and times where fishing is forbidden.

	Group	At times, both parents and tribal chiefs provide this guidance, issuing warnings about prohibited zones.
4. <i>Maduai pinah</i>	Interpersonal	They also convey the belief that violating these prohibitions will result in the sea becoming "angry" or delivering "punishment," often illustrating the concept with stories that children can understand.
	Group	At certain times, elders or the Tribal Chief will explain the consequences of ignoring prohibitions, using stories that resonate with the children.

Source: Author 2023 (Summarized from interviews with JUS, AMT, TLO, MNU, AKB, and MDA)

The Bajo Chief supports this form of communication as a means of passing down knowledge to the next generation. Parents are expected to impart the values that define the Bajo people as a seafaring community. Without this transfer of knowledge, there will be a degradation of Bajoan values. As evidence, the current generation of Bajo parents exists because of the knowledge passed down by their own parents, who, in turn, inherited it from their ancestors. An excerpt from a statement captures this sentiment:

"Every parent must teach their children our Bajoan values as Bajo people. At family gatherings or during certain natural phenomena, these moments become opportunities to convey our values. This is how the inheritance of local wisdom is preserved from generation to generation" (Interview with Mr. MNS, 2022).

The statement above emphasizes that maintaining traditions and customs is a duty for every tribe, including the Bajo. He often refers to one guiding principle: parents are obligated to impart knowledge to their children. Citing the Quran, he mentions: "And let those who fear Allah leave behind weak children, for whom they worry about (their welfare). Therefore, let them speak the right words" (QS An-Nisaa verse 9).

This verse warns of the dangers of allowing children to grow up ignorant, especially about their environment. Knowledge is the foundation for a well-functioning life. The Bajo tribe views knowledge (including science) as essential and something to be taught to children first, before any further actions. Imam Bukhari similarly said, "Al-Ilmu qoblal qaul wal 'amal" (knowledge precedes words and actions), echoing the emphasis in the first revelation to the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) in Surah Al-Alaq, "Read in the name of your Lord who creates."

The transmission of knowledge regarding the Bajo's local wisdom is informal. In this context, communication becomes an instrument used by every Bajo parent. As shown in Table 1, Palilibu is passed on as a form of interpersonal communication with their children. This is done by signaling and explaining areas, times, and fishing activities considered dangerous or prohibited. This form of knowledge transfer ensures that Bajo children inherit a deep understanding of sustainable resource management, which is crucial for maintaining the tribe's cultural identity and environmental harmony (Samudin et al., 2019).

Bapongka or pongka and sasakai—learning about local wisdom in the use of coastal and marine resources—are communicated through intrapersonal and group communication. In this process, parents provide signals regarding fish catches and other resources, indicating whether these actions are permissible or dangerous. This method ensures that traditional knowledge and values are preserved and passed down, maintaining the Bajo tribe's deep connection to their environment and sustainable resource management practices. This transmission of knowledge reflects the Bajo people's enduring connection to their environment and promotes long-term ecological stewardship (Sinapoy & Djalante, 2021).

The knowledge of Bajo children's ability to interpret natural signs is also communicated through intrapersonal and group communication. Parents use intrapersonal communication by providing instructions, warnings, and signals about which natural signs are safe or dangerous (Samsudin et al., 2019). Group communication occurs when, at certain

times, an elder or Tribal Chief gives instructions, warnings, and signals regarding these natural signs.

The methods for catching fish, such as Missi, Ngarua, and Mana, are taught through interpersonal communication, where parents give signals and occasionally explain signs regarding dangerous or prohibited areas and times. These techniques are also shared through group communication, where parents or traditional leaders impart information during gatherings, providing explanations about areas and times considered hazardous or off-limits. This approach not only ensures the practical skills of fishing are transferred but also reinforces cultural norms and respect for the environment within the community (Sinapoy & Djalante, 2021).

Knowledge of local wisdom concerning Pamali is communicated through intrapersonal, interpersonal, and group communication. Intrapersonal communication involves parents using body signals to indicate whether fishing activities are allowed. Interpersonal communication occurs when parents provide information, instructions, and warnings about restricted fishing areas and times. Group communication takes place when both parents and tribal chiefs offer information, instructions, and warnings to children about prohibited fishing times and locations.

Finally, wisdom about utilizing Maduai Pinah's coastal and marine resources is conveyed through interpersonal and group communication. Interpersonal communication involves sharing information about the consequences of violating prohibitions, explaining that the sea may become "angry" or impose "punishments." This is often followed by a story that the children can understand. Group communication occurs at specific times when parents or Tribal Chiefs give similar warnings, accompanied by stories that help children grasp the consequences of not respecting these prohibitions (Samsudin et al., 2019).

The strength of this research lies in its ability to present a form of communication used in imparting knowledge to Bajo children, which had not been revealed by previous researchers. This new information contributes to the body of knowledge and can be utilized by various stakeholders in the

sustainable management of coastal and marine resources. For the Bajo tribe, in particular, as socio-economic dynamics evolve, it is crucial to preserve and teach the values of local wisdom to ensure future generations are well-prepared from an early age, preventing the degradation of the Bajo people's maritime traditions.

The weakness of this research stems from the focus on five forms of communication. To address this limitation, future research should explore a broader diversity of communication forms and/or apply other communication theories that are more relevant to the specific context of the Bajo ethnic group. By expanding the scope of communication forms, future research can provide a more comprehensive understanding of how the Bajo community preserves and transmits their cultural knowledge, ensuring a richer perspective on the continuity of their traditions.

Conclusion

The local wisdom of the Bajau tribe, who live along the coast of the Tiworo Strait, in utilizing coastal and marine resources includes: (a) going to sea or *mammia kadialo*, which encompasses activities such as *palilibu*, *bapongka*, *sasakai*, and the tradition of reading natural signs; (b) fishing traditions like *missi*, *ngarua*, and *mana*; (c) *pamali* or prohibitions; and (d) *maduai pinah*, rituals related to beliefs in "sea dwellers." However, the practices of *sasakai*, *mana*, and *maduai pinah* are rarely performed, indicating they may be at risk of extinction in the future. Despite this, the wisdom of the Bajo tribe has helped preserve their way of life, as evidenced by the low number of reports concerning damage to natural resources in the waters of the Tiworo Strait. Additionally, there has been no resource conflict between the Bajo tribe and mainland communities.

The transmission of knowledge to Bajo children on sustainable resource use is conducted through three forms of communication: intrapersonal, interpersonal, and group communication. These forms serve as instruments that continue to thrive, and it is evident that the values of local wisdom are still respected today. While Bajo wisdom is not integrated

into the formal local education curriculum, the ability to communicate these noble values regarding the use of natural resources has been successfully preserved. This helps explain why the Bajo tribe continues to exist as a maritime people to this day.

The practical implications of this study are significant for various stakeholders, particularly in the fields of education, resource management, and cultural preservation. For educators and policymakers, the findings suggest the need to incorporate elements of Bajo local wisdom into formal education curricula, particularly regarding sustainable natural resource management. For environmental and resource management authorities, the Bajo tribe's practices provide a valuable model of sustainable living, particularly in coastal and marine ecosystems. Furthermore, recognizing the importance of practices such as *mammia kadialo* and *pamali* in preventing overfishing and environmental degradation can enhance local resource governance strategies. Lastly, for cultural preservation groups and NGOs, there is an urgent need to document and revitalize endangered traditions like *sasakai*, *mana*, and *maduai pinah*. Efforts should be made to preserve these practices through cultural programs, ensuring their transmission to future generations.

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ب	b	ط	th
ت	t	ظ	Zh
ث	ts	ع	‘
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	h	ف	f
خ	kh	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dz	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	و	w
ش	sy	ه	h
ص	sh	ي	y