

THE EXISTENCE OF KAHARINGAN WITHIN DAYAK IDENTITY IN WEST KALIMANTAN

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ABSTRACT

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

Keywords: Existence; Kaharingan; Dayak Identity, West Kalimantan

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN WEST KALIMANTAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

been top down and limited to ceremonial formalities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source: UNSFIR 2004

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

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

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

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

THE HISTORY AND DIVERSITY OF THE DAYAKS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KAHARINGAN RELIGIOUS RITUALS IN TIMES OF SOCIAL CONFLICT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE RETURN OF KAHARINGAN IN POST-CONFLICT ERA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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