

Becoming a Tolerant Muslim: Study of Dayak Converts

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Abstract:

The religious tolerance of the Dayak people towards converts in their families in Central Kalimantan shows that there are several problems which must be faced. Because apart from being a minority (Dayak converts), the Dayak people still uphold the culture that has been passed down from generation to generation. This study is conducted using a field study with purposive sampling on converts who are identified based on the specified classification. Data are reviewed through literature studies and strengthened by in-depth interviews, then analyzed using the Nvivo 12 application. This study reveals that in practice, the Dayak people uphold religious principles while maintaining tolerance as a habitus which comes from historical products by producing collective individual practices or behavior. Furthermore, religious practices, tolerance, and habitus play an important role in the daily life of the Dayak community towards converts. This is because they respect each other's beliefs, customs, and culture through a system of mutual assistance between one another in social interactions and everyday life. An open attitude and mind are also the reason for harmony in respecting differences and maintaining goodness among others, but not forgetting religion and culture.

Keywords: Dayak People, Converts (Muallaf), Religious, Tolerance, Habitus.

INTRODUCTION

The people of Central Kalimantan adhere to religions as mandated by Law number 1 of 1965, namely Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism (Hamdanah, 2014). This means that the people of Central Kalimantan have based themselves on living religious values in their daily lives (Eko & Putranto, 2019). In carrying out worship, any religion receives full support from the state (Mujiburrahman, 2006; Hefner, 2013). As in the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 29 paragraph (2) and regulated in Article 28-part E in paragraph (1), which states "Everyone is free to embrace a religion and worship according to his religion ...". Choosing a protected religion and practicing it is a very absolute part of human rights (Halim, 2013).

Whereas normatively, the people of Central Kalimantan, the majority of whom come from the Dayak tribe, have based themselves on living together in differences, as an

illustration for this community that is set on a symbol that contains the philosophy of "rumah betang" or large house, in which there are Muslims, the Kaharingan, Catholics, and Protestants live together in the shade of this mansion. This symbol became more and more meaningful after the conflict in Central Kalimantan in 2001 (Raihani, 2014).

If it is not responded well, this will lead to religious intolerance which can lead to conflicts that occur not only personally but also communally. For example, the conflicts of Situbondo (1996), Tasikmalaya (1997), Kerawang-Bekasi (1997), Ambon (1999), Kupang (1997), and Mataram (2000) (Arifin, 2009), and the case that occurred in Central Kalimantan in 2001 which resulted in hundreds of deaths (Raihani, 2014). In terms of religious tolerance, the dominant ethnicity in Central Kalimantan is the Dayak ethnic group with a percentage of 46.62% from the society. From this total, most of the Dayak people are Christian/ Protestant, Catholic and Hindu/ Kaharingan (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2020). However, the Dayak people who are from generation to generation, and are the largest and indigenous tribes in Central Kalimantan, have found some people who are Muslim as mu'allaf (Hamdanah, 2014).

For this reason, this study will be carried out with field studies to discuss how are religious life, tolerance, and religious habits in Dayak society. The data are collected through in-depth interviews using purposive sampling and strengthened by the NVivo 12 analysis. This is to review the practice of religion, tolerance, and habitus in the identified converts. The classification based on domiciled in the city of Central Kalimantan, non-Muslim, among their families there are converts, live in one house or adjacent to their residence, are male and/or female, at least 17 (seventeen) years old through converts data in the local Indonesian Office of Religious Affairs and Muallaf Center. In their daily lives, those who uphold religious principles, but still maintain tolerance as a habitus that was born from historical products by producing individual or collective practices or behavior. The purpose of this research is a series that can be applied in an attitude of tolerance in social life, especially the Dayak people who become converts.

DISCUSSION

The Substance of Religious Tolerance

Adherents of different religions are the reason to recognize them as brothers in God (Salahuddin et al, 2019). The Ministry of Religion always tries to make the lives of religious people in Indonesia open to one another to accept the different necessities of the various religions that exist. Because tolerance is an attitude that does not reject differences in practicing the religion of each religion (Muslimah, 2018).

Jayus (2015) stated that tolerance in Islam is built on basic foundations, as in Q.S. al-Isra '(17:70) regarding the principle of human glory no matter how diverse, Q.S. Yunus (10:99) regarding the belief that differences are inevitable and the will of Allah, Q.S. al-Kahfi (18:29) about believing that non-Muslims are not responsible for the way of life of Muslims and Q.S. al-Maidah (5: 8) about adhering to the principle of justice. This means that the tolerance taught by Islam is a basic principle in being universal. On the contrary, it differs from tolerance in humanity and equality as human beings as in Q.S. Luqman (31:15), Q.S. al-Mumtahanah (60: 8) about building kinship among non-Muslims, including their own parents with different beliefs, in Q.S. Al-Kafirun (109: 6) concerning firm principles in the area of i'tiqadi.

The habit of living with tolerance by being willing to accept differences with each other has become a habit of cooperation to mutual respect and gives the right to practice

worship in accordance with the religion and beliefs of each (Lidiana & Rahmayanti, 2017). The harmony that is maintained in Al-Amin's environment is due to the strong social and cultural capital contained in it. However, this harmony is still inseparable from the framework between the majority and the minority, so that the character of social capital and especially cultural capital contained in Al-Amin's environment tends to adopt various other forms of capital (Punia & Nugroho, 2020; Saputra et al., 2021).

Fuad (2018) stated that tolerance is based on constructive learning theory, with active learning, self-learning, collaborative learning cooperative and cognitive strategies. With the learning stage; ask, discover, community learning, modeling and true assessment. This kind of learning can encourage open-mindedness, respect for differences of opinion, *memilikirasa* understanding and critical thinking about financial literacy (Dwi & Rahmatia, 2021). In addition, forming a *habitus* through new knowledge that is accepted as truth, even though there is a process of acquiring new knowledge as student cultural capital from learning, personal reflection, dialogue with friends of different religions eventhough does not cause conflict and hostility (Parama, 2012; Yunita & Mudzakkir, 2013). Religion and culture play an important role in producing harmonious social norms, which affect individual social practices to broader social arenas such as politics and economics, based on respect for differences, maintain the goodness of each other, do not forget religion and culture by Ernas et al. (2014).

The Attitude of the Dayak Community Towards Muallaf

The Dayak people who know if a family member converts, they have different responses. Table 1 explains how the response of informants, namely a convert who is identified based on the classification as domiciled in the city of Central Kalimantan, is non-Muslim, among his family are converts, living in one house or near their residence, are male and / or female, at least 17 (seventeen) years of age through conversion data at the local Indonesian Office of Religious Affairs and Muallaf Center. For Informant 1 (IJ) said that failure to educate children, when old age is not taken care of, moral punishment from the family, Islam is harsh and intolerant. However, it is his right; the important thing is to be responsible with his choice and stay devoted to parents by informant 2 (ID) and Informant 3 (JL). In addition, Informant 4 (FW) considered that keep paying attention and nurturing younger siblings and parents who still adhere to Hinduism (Kaharingan). Religion is the choice of each, and religion cannot be forced to prevent family conflicts and protect the feelings of his extended family through maintain relationships and kinship in the village by Informant 5 (IP), Informant 6 (LD), Informant 7 (IT), Informant 8 (SH), and Informant 9 (IY). Nevertheless, Informant 10 (ND) and Informant 11 (MM) added opinion because continue to provide financing to families who choose to become converts and give freedom to their family members who choose to convert and provide capital in conditioning the *habitus* of religious tolerance.

The religious tolerance of the Dayak people towards converts in Central Kalimantan shows that there are several problems that must be faced. Because, converts are people who have just converted to Islam, while their faith is not solid yet. The Dayak in question is usually used by foreign researchers who refer to the indigenous people of Kalimantan, especially non-Muslims (Hermansyah, 2017). Whereas what is meant by converts here is a person who changes religion from non-Muslim to Muslim or embraces Islam and continuously studies Islam (Rasid, 2015).

In the descriptive conclusion of the Dayak people who experienced inner battles with their families when converting to Islam. The logic of thinking of the dayak people when their family become converts through the negative stigma of islamic teachings, losing a family member, community punishment, failure to educate children, life becomes out of harmony, become an enemy for response of non-muslim dayak community personnel. It is said to be habitus because of a repetitive and long-lasting process, even the perpetrators sometimes do not realize that they will form a habitus and are beyond the reach of observation and control by the will (Bourdieu, 2017). Likewise with the Dayak community's habit of tolerating Dayak people from their families who are converts who think religion is their own choice and cannot be forced. As in the Habitus Theory, that the habitus is a disposition system that lasts and is able to last for a long time and can be transferred to the next generation (Bourdieu, 2017).

Allah SWT also commands believers to be fair in responding to differences in decisions made by someone, which is a person's human right, including the choice to embrace religion. "O believers! Stand firm for Allah and bear true testimony. Do not let the hatred of a people lead you to injustice. Be just! That is closer to righteousness. And be mindful of Allah. Surely Allah is All-Aware of what you do." (Q.S. Al-Maidah: 8). The verse above, as interpreted by Hamka in Hidayati (2018), "O believers! You must be upright men because of Allah, bear witness with justice, and do not cause hatred in you and become an obstacle to one people, that you will not be just. Be fair! That is what will bring you closer to piety. And fear Allah, Allah knows very well whatever you do."

Bourdieu (2017) opinion provides an understanding that the habit of Dayak non-Muslim communities in tolerating Dayak converts can serve as a guide for their structures, namely as a principle that animates and organizes practice, and is an objective representative that can be adapted to the results. An effort to equalize the habits of individuals, and from generation to generation of non-Muslim Dayak people who are aware of even those that are not realized, from a process that takes place slowly, lasts a long time, continues in a continuous process. Allah SWT has also reminded in his word, "And say, 'O Prophet,' "'This is' the truth from your Lord. Whoever wills let them believe, and whoever wills let them disbelieve." Surely We have prepared for the wrongdoers a Fire whose walls will 'completely' surround them. When they cry for aid, they will be aided with water like molten metal, which will burn 'their' faces. What a horrible drink! And what a terrible place to rest." (Q.S. Al-Kahfi: 29)

This is what causes fear. That, when a family converts, it will be considered as failing to educate their children, when old age is not taken care of, moral punishment from the family, Islam is harsh and intolerant. In fact, actors from social facts like this are said to only suggest what people should think and do (Ritzer & Goodman, 2011). Even so, there are also those who think that changing religions is the right of everyone, the important thing is to be responsible with their choices, to remain devoted to their parents, to care for and to protect their younger siblings and parents who are still Hindu (Kaharingan).

Dayak Community Religious Practices Against Converts

Figure 1 explains the conceptualization that occurs in people's lives who live together even though they have different religions. In practice, belief is the more dominant variable with a percentage of 44% than customs and culture, and the attitude of mutual help with a percentage of 33% and 22% respectively that plays a role in everyday life.

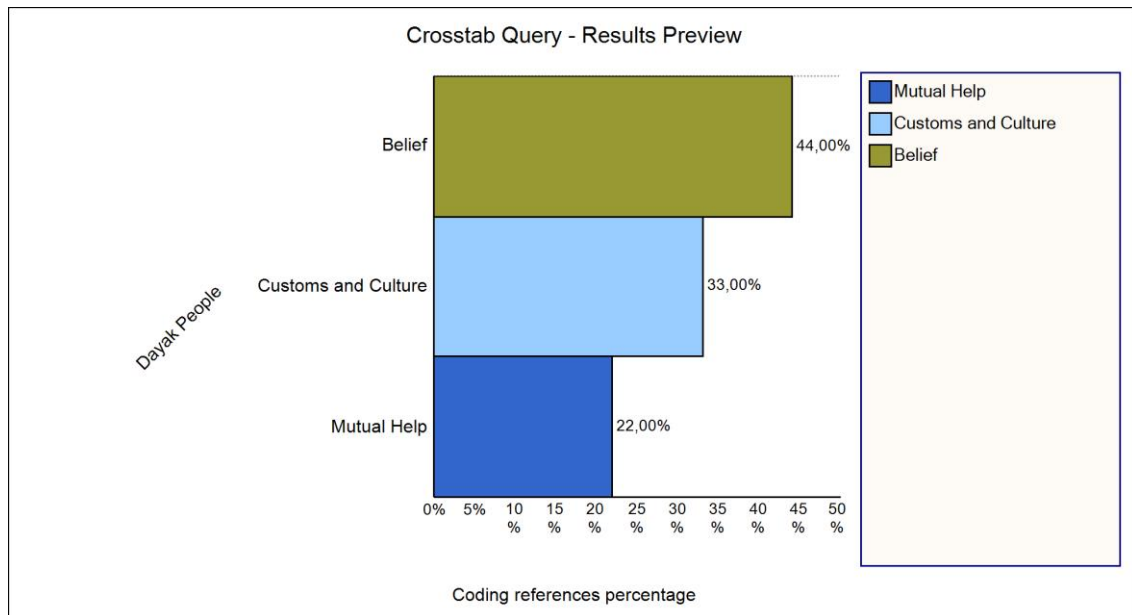


Figure 1. Religious Practices
Source: Analysis of Nvivo 12, 2021

As social beings, in the practice of religious life, the Dayak community is not much different from society in general. Their life shows an attitude of mutual help and cooperation with each other and also between the Dayak tribe and other tribes. Based on the author's observations, the dominant social interaction of the non-Muslim Dayak people of Kalimantan is along with the Malays. Even their social life is felt by the author to be very strong and very attached when viewed from their customs or habits and their culture. This is also reflected in the word of Allah SWT in the Al-Qur'an Surat Al-Maidah verse 2, "...Cooperate with one another in goodness and righteousness, and do not cooperate in sin and transgression. And be mindful of Allah. Surely Allah is severe in punishment." (Al-Maidah: 2)

Even though the non-Muslim Dayak people were previously Animism and now have embraced one of the religions, but the customs of the Dayak people are still very close to beliefs related to Animism (Dulami, 2018), and these habits also have an impact on family members, and the people around him. Parents in the Dayak community as in general, educate their children openly and flexibly in socializing, and accept other communities outside their community. However, still believe, if you transgress, you will get the anger of the spirits. This kind of belief is still believed from generation to generation, including those who have converted. Even though some of the Dayak people have embraced Islam and live in a Hindu religious environment, natural sanctions are still believed. For example, someone asks permission from a spirit if he wants to plant crops so that he doesn't get angry with the guardians of nature. This kind of belief is believed and carried out by the non-Muslim Dayak community as well as their converted families. The similarity of belief from this kind of legacy makes non-Muslim people think that religious matters are a family affair of their converts with God, but social and society affairs that must be maintained in order to live in harmony (Lubis, 2015).

Tolerance Practice towards Muallaf

The harmony of the non-Muslim Dayak community relations with their converted families has also been proven through the results of Dulami (2018), that the Dayak people have an open attitude to other communities, because they have assimilated with the Malays, Javanese and Sulawesi tribes. Meanwhile, in this study, the Dayak people in Central Kalimantan who are not Muslim assimilate with the Banjar and Javanese tribes predominantly. In their daily lives, the customs of the Dayak people are carried out through association, marriage and social interactions. This has been explained since the VII century AD, in which the practice of religious tolerance from the Java island, then spread to all islands in the archipelago, and Islam became the majority religion with more than 85% of Indonesia's population (Dulami, 2018).

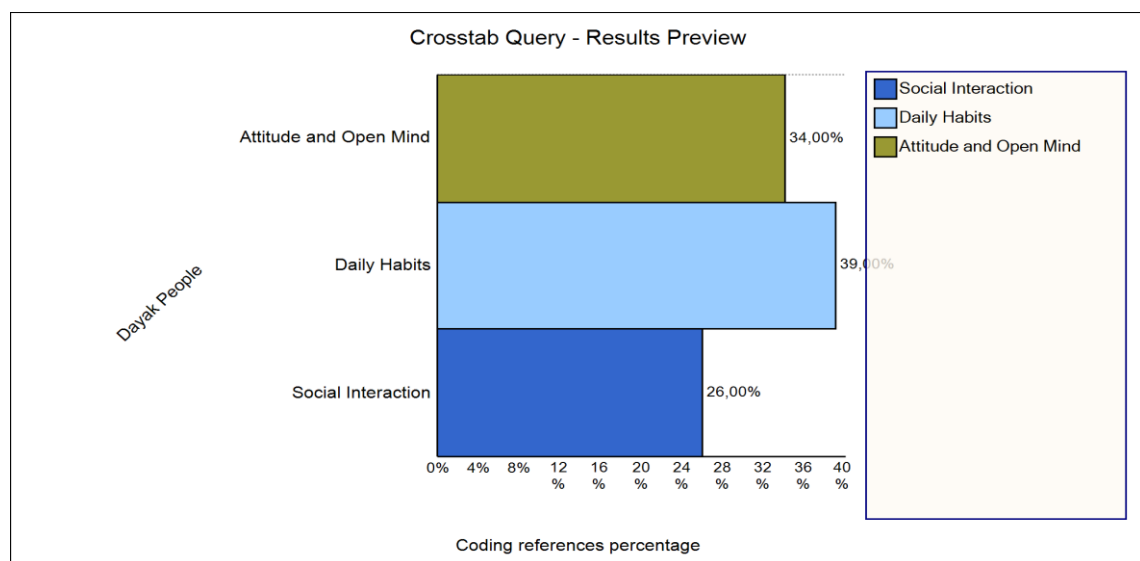


Figure 2. Tolerance Practice
Source: Analysis of Nvivo 12, 2021

In this study, Figure 2 reveals the practice of tolerance that occurs which connects several tribes who come into contact with the Dayak community in terms of religious diversity. The Dayak people who have hereditary customs have an attitude of tolerance for daily life that mingles with people of different ethnicities and religions. It can be seen that daily habits are more dominant with a proportion of 39%. Furthermore, the Dayak community's tolerance for converts was also triggered by an open mind and attitude with a proportion of 34%. This is because the Dayak people have been read by the times with access to technology and information that can be achieved generally. In addition, the proportion of 26% in the Dayak community is familiar with being socially accepted and accepting other tribes, but still believes in a culture of respect for nature.

Talking about the practice of religious tolerance according to Bourdieu's theory, basically, anything from the social life of the Dayak people of Central Kalimantan from the past until now is practical or practical. Where its existence lies in space and time, and can be observed by anyone in the three-dimensional realm, namely capital, habitus, and symbolic domination from generation to generation of Dayak people and from time to time who process the transfer of religious tolerance habitus (Bourdieu, 2017). Resources that are the strength of the transformation of the religious tolerance habitus of the Dayak

community emphasize that the practice of religious tolerance is the result of the dialectical relationship between structure and society as actors of tolerance by referring to daily habits, open-mindedness and attitudes, and social interactions. So, it can be understood that the practice of religious tolerance carried out by non-Muslim Dayak people to their converted families is not determined objectively, but also as a result of free will (Zulkifli et al, 2016).

Particularly in the view of Islam, based on the practice of tolerance of Dayak non-Muslim communities with Dayak people who are converts, the guidance of Islam in tolerance has limits (Fuadi, 2018). The limitation in question is a basic principle of tolerance which must be universal and guided by the source of Islamic teachings. Tolerance related to humanity and equality as human beings. As the hadith of the Prophet SAW, Having told us [Ishaq bin Nasr] has told us [Abu Usamah] from [Al A'masy] has told us [Abu Salih] from [Abu Hurairah radliallahu 'anhu] said, the Prophet sallallaahu 'alaihi wasallam said: " The best that a person has is to worship his Lord well and be faithful to his parents"(HR. Bukhari nomor 2363).

In other words, the religious tolerance of the Dayak non-Muslim community to their converted families can be used as social capital and religiosity as a strength to compete in a common life (Punia & Nugroho, 2020). This can also be a realm of tolerance, thus giving rise to real practices of religious life between non-Muslim Dayak communities and Muslim Dayak converts. Religious tolerance practiced by the Dayak Muslim community, including converts, is part of the implementation of the Word of Allah SWT which is described in the Al-Quran, which means: "Had your Lord so willed (O Prophet), all (people) on earth would have certainly believed, every single one of them! Would you then force people to become believers?" (Q.S. Yunus: 99)

The verse above shows a necessity if Allah SWT has indeed created different people, including differences in beliefs and religions. Because belief and choice of religion are human rights and are God's guidance to someone. Facts like this are like an effort to make the environment meaningful which has meaning and value (Ritzer & Goodman, 2011). In research by (Simeoni, 1884; Adorno et al, 2019), it explained that this is a condition that shows the character or personality of a certain person or society or nation which is marked by stability and immortality.

Non-Muslim Dayak communities as actors of the social practice of religious life that tolerate Dayak converts not only in contact with the situation and conditions of religious life of the Dayak community directly, but also have to deal with other environments inevitably. This is due to the Dayak community as actors of religious tolerance who practice and experience it as an integral component in these situations and conditions. The Dayak community as perpetrators of tolerance who give and accept tolerant habits between religions, as an extension of the habitus of the Dayak ancestors and parents, as well as from the Dayak community to their children and grandchildren or their next generation (Liu, 2012).

Habitus Practices Towards Converts (Muallaf)

The practice of the non-Muslim Dayak community to the Dayak community who are converts shows that there is mutual giving and receiving which means there is learning of the values of religious teachings, because there is sharing of experiences (Puslitbang, 2008). The tolerance achieved is tolerance for recognition in interpreting religion and life, this can be seen from everyday life which shows the role of helping one another in social life.

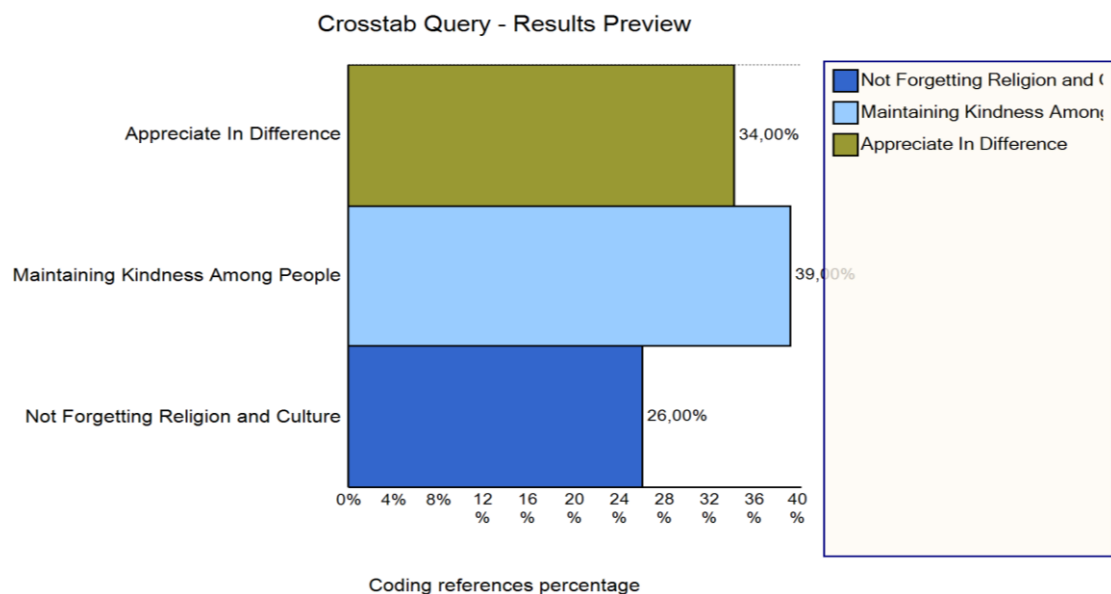


Figure 3. Habitus Practices
Source: Analysis of Nvivo 12, 2021

In the meaning of religion and religious life that is applied, there are elements that play a role in the practice of habitus, namely maintaining the goodness of each other, respecting differences and not forgetting religion and culture. This will reinforce the tolerance that occurs between the Dayak community and converts. Where the review in this study suggests that maintaining kindness between each other plays a more dominant role in interpreting religion and life with a percentage of 39%. However, not forgetting that religion and culture are considered irrelevant in the practice of habitus with the lowest percentage of 26%, because this is a personal matter and the practice of habitus in interpreting religion and life tends to be the way and behavior in everyday life. Then followed by the role of society in appreciating differences at 34%.

The practice of life shows religious tolerance by the non-Muslim Dayak community in Central Kalimantan by giving freedom to their children or their families who convert and practice a life full of harmony in diversity. This shows that the non-Muslim Dayak people of Central Kalimantan can control their feelings and their environment. This fact also strengthens the results of Normuslim (2018), which found that in the Dayak Ngaju tribal families in Central Kalimantan you can find different beliefs held by family members, but they can live in harmony, side by side peacefully, even some of them live together in one house. Allah SWT has also reminded converts to have proper tolerance for non-Muslims, including parents, by continuing to do good in humanity, as enshrined in the Al-Quran. Meaning: "But if they pressure you to associate with Me what you have no knowledge of, do not obey them. Still keep their company in this world courteously, and follow the way of those who turn to Me(in devotion). Then to Me you will (all) return, and then I will inform you of what you used to do." (Q.S. Luqman: 15)

In Normuslim (2018) research, there were three criteria for the uniqueness of tolerance of the Dayak tribe in Central Kalimantan that were not found in other tribes. The factors that cause harmony in the family are due to three categories, namely, harmony between family members is indeed well created, tolerance is created after a little intolerance,

and harmony is created after a time of conflict which refers to the internalization of the habitus. The internalization of the habitus from generation to generation of the Dayak people of Central Kalimantan in tolerating converts is a value that is integrated in thoughts, feelings and aesthetics, so that it influences and determines the value of the life practices shown by a person or society (Bayri, 2019). The same meaning as the opinion that the habitus is the values that are internalized through social space (Yusuf Lubis, 2014), in practice that the Dayak people of Central Kalimantan can reflect the position of a person or society in social life and religious life. Although not absolutely, in which the habitus acts as a structure, it is not responded by others (Ritzer & Goodman, 2011). Furthermore, in the process of practicing the religion one believes in, there may be a transition (Pink, 2015), such as from Protestant to Muslim, from Catholic to Muslim, Hindu to Muslim. Facts like this are not uncommon in Central Kalimantan, especially among the Dayak tribe, and some still live in the same house even though they have different religions (Hamdanah, 2014).

The capital in social life is included in the religious life of the Dayak people of Central Kalimantan, namely cultural capital, economic capital, social capital, and symbolic capital of human honor and prestige (Adib, 2012). If we look at the facts from the religious tolerance of Dayak non-Muslim people to Dayak people who convert from their families, a process of forming a religious tolerance habitus is found as a habit that becomes the character of society, namely the habit of thinking and behaving towards natural ones and done (Martono, 2012). The life that is shown by non-Muslim Dayak people to converts in Central Kalimantan with tolerance is as cultural capital which is used as an intellectual qualification through family and community education (Adib, 2012).

The relationship with this research is family education, namely the parents of the Dayak community who are non-Muslim to their children who are converted and to their families who come from the same religion, then become converts of a different religion to them. However, according to Anam & Mahmudi (2021), the majority shackles still occur between conflict and community development in the establishment of places of worship in Indonesia. This also strengthens the findings of (Zadugisti et al., 2021; Muhtador et al., 2020) regarding the dynamics of religiosity among minority Muslims in Talun Purbo Jolotigo, Pekalongan, Central Java and Pati, Central Java.

However, it is not a few of the converts who come from the Dayak tribe experience the opposite treatment. When they choose to convert, they get treatment such as being ostracized, banished from the family or not recognized as family members, cut off from business relationships, especially family business networks, not given school fees or tuition fees, divorced, separated from their children, and other treatment which is unpleasant (Rahmah, 2019). In addition, based on Rahman et al. (2021) *syiir tanpo waton* and the spirit of Indonesian religious moderation such values are among the pivotal elements to teach and disseminate towards Indonesian generations for the sake of Indonesian harmony.

The practice of religious tolerance shown by the Dayak community who converted to Islam includes the realm of controlling the situation of diversity (Gandi et al., 2020). The methods practiced by the converts above are an anticipation of the intolerant practice of Raihani (2014). Collection of material and non-material resources from a person to achieve goals (Martono, 2012). In this paper, what is meant is the parents or family of the non-Muslim Dayak community. This fact strengthens the opinion of Hamdanah (2014), that there are views that are commonly encountered in the families of the Dayak people of Central Kalimantan, in which there are religious differences in their households.

CONCLUSION

The habitus of religious tolerance of the non-Muslim Dayak community towards Dayak converts in Central Kalimantan. In practice, this is indicated by the process of forming a religious tolerance habitus by non-Muslim Dayak communities to convert Dayak people. The results of this study also explain the tolerance practice group when the family converts. Prioritizing the realm of life that accepts differences and helps each other. This is pursued by controlling the environment to create a short-term life capital and a harmonious future life, by understanding that the decision to become a convert is a necessity, everyone has the right to choose or embrace a religion. However, it is also based on beliefs, custom and mutual help. Then, open-mindedness and attitudes, daily habits and social interactions are used as anticipation in social life as an effort to form tolerance in religion.

Non-Muslim Dayak communities as actors of tolerance for converts and their families are shown by respecting differences, maintaining goodness between others, and still not forgetting religion and culture. Several reasons also underlie the practice of habitus toward converts, namely, fear of losing a child or family, feeling that they have failed to educate their children or accompany the family, too heavy to face the stigma of other non-Muslim Dayak communities, have negative prejudice towards Islamic teachings, and cannot live side by side, and worry about a gloomy future because they feel neglected or nurtured (for converts children). All worldly reasons that are worrying for a minority of non-Muslim Dayak people will become a life of harmony gradually, because they are aware of attitudes in the practice of religion, tolerance, and habitus, in which one of the assets for the future is living in harmony with differences. This study can be developed towards further studies as a future research agenda, because the number of converts to Islam in Central Kalimantan continues to grow. However, the limitations of this study are still targeting the few areas in Central Kalimantan that were recorded and the approach taken to the family.

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