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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial

Table of Contents	xxi
1. Living in Harmony: Acculturation of Balinese and Dayak Ngaju Cultures in Basarang Jaya Village, Central Kalimantan <i>Herwin Sutrisno; Gagoek Hardiman; E.E. Pandelaki; Theresia Susi</i>	401
2. Discursive Strategies of Verbal Violence in The Users Comments on Facebook News Updates <i>Ahmad Zulfahmi Muwafiq; Sumarlam; Diah Kristina.....</i>	413
3. The Menace of Moral Degenerations in Nigeria’s Tertiary Institutions: Islamic Universities to the Rescue <i>Saheed Badmus Suraju</i>	433
4. The Profile of Student Analytical Skills Through Hypothetical Learning Trajectory on Colligative Properties Lesson <i>Said Ali Akbar and Hasby</i>	455
5. An Analysis of Teachers’ Perceptions Toward the Role of ICT based Media in Teaching and Learning Process Among Primary Schools’ Teachers <i>Regina Rahmi; Fitriati Fitriati; Siti Fachraini</i>	469
6. Students’ Thinking Style in Analizing Physics Concept Through the Kinematic Graphics at SMA Negeri 2 Darul Makmur, Nagan Raya <i>Saminan; Endah Muliana; Agus Wahyuni</i>	483
7. The Development of a School-Based Conflict Management Model in Aceh Besar Junior High School <i>Muchsini and Hambali</i>	495
8. The Chinese Migrant Workers in Indonesia: The Local and Migrant Workers Context <i>Ali Maksum and Ahmad Sahide.....</i>	511



9. Capitalization of Tourism Development Policy in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara Indonesia <i>Winengan</i>	<u>533</u>
10. Science and Technology for the Export Product of Small and Medium Sized Enterprise (UKM) Kotaraja Rattan <i>Ully Muzakir</i>	<u>551</u>
11. Community Empowerment Through Mentari Baitul Mal Wat Tamwil (BMT) to Boost Muslim Family Economy in Kotagajah Central Lampung <i>M. Nasor; Ngisomuddin; Yosep Aspat</i>	<u>569</u>
12. A Qualitative Approach towards the Understanding of Managerial Employees in Islamic Organizations <i>Azwan Abdullah et.al</i>	<u>589</u>



Living in Harmony: Acculturation of Balinese and Dayak Ngaju Cultures in Basarang Jaya Village, Central Kalimantan

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LIVING IN HARMONY: ACCULTURATION OF BALINESE AND DAYAK NGAJU CULTURES IN BASARANG JAYA VILLAGE, CENTRAL KALIMANTAN

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Abstract

The transmigrants of Balinese ethnic living in Basarang Jaya Village, Kapuas, Central Kalimantan live harmoniously with the local ethnics (Dayak Ngaju) even though the area ever experienced ethnic riots that took thousands of lives and properties. The objective of this research is to find out the form of the cultural acculturation occurring between Balinese transmigrants with the Dayak Ngaju in Basarang Jaya Village. This research used phenomenology approach. The data were collected through in-depth interviews and participatory observations. The sources of research data are the local chiefs of Balinese and banjar Bali in Basarang Jaya Village and the first group of transmigrants coming to Basarang Jaya Village. The subject of the research was the Balinese transmigrants in Basarang Jaya Village. The object of the research is the way of life, the way of speaking, the food and the religious activities of Bali transmigrants. The research reveals some facts. First, the Balinese transmigrants have made adaptation by imitating how the ethnics of Dayak Ngaju lives. Second, there are changes in the language, way of life, food and religious activities of transmigrants. Third, the harmony between the two ethnics can be maintained by using the religion as the medium of integration.

Keywords: Acculturation, Culture, Bali, Dayak Ngaju, Basarang Jaya



A. Introduction

The policy on transmigration in Indonesia has been made since the Dutch colonial era marked by the implementation of the people colonization policy through the “Bedol Desa” Program by relocating the Javanese ethnic population to Lampung in 1905 (Aryanti, 2015). The Indonesian government continued this policy in 1947 through the transmigration program. People who join this program are called transmigrants.

The transmigration does not only involve the physical movement of the people, but it also involves the movement of the people’s cultural and socio-economic entity (Triyono, 2012). The meeting of various religions, cultures, tribes, and races in the transmigration area leads to social interaction among individuals, between individuals and groups and among ethnic groups. A group of people who move from one cultural environment to other cultural environment will experience the acculturation process (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). This process will affect the adaptation mode and the identity formation of the community (Abdullah, 2006; Morgan, 2014).

At the group level, acculturation involves changes in structure, social institutions, and cultural practices. At the individual level, it involves a change in one's behavior. These changes happen through a long-term process that occurs continuously as long as there is an interaction among the cultural groups. This process creates cultural adaptations such as language learning, sharing food preferences, and adopting traditional clothes and social interaction among the groups (Berry, 2005).

One of the transmigration areas is Central Kalimantan. Located at Kapuas, Basarang Jaya Village is the location of transmigrants from Bali. This area, a jungle, in the beginning, was built and opened in the 1960s (Rieley & Page, 2005). The Balinese who migrated to Basarang Jaya Village mostly came from the southern Bali such as Nusa Lembongan and Nusa Penida. This migration was driven by the worsening economic condition due to internal conflicts in Bali happening after the national revolution



and the Mount Agung eruption (Wirawan, 2008). To improve their lives, they joined the transmigration program.

Now, Basarang Jaya Village is known as Kampung Bali because of the strong identity established by the transmigrants. The identity appears in physical form such as the presence of *sanggah*/shrine in the yard, the use of Balinese building ornaments both in public and private buildings, temples and in non-physical forms such as Balinese religious organizations and customs.

The ethnic conflict in Central Kalimantan in 2001, first occurred in Sampit and spread to other areas including Kapuas (Klinken, 2007; Bouvier & Smith, 2008). The ethnic conflict had no impact on Balinese transmigrants living in Basarang Jaya village. They live in harmony with the DayakNgaju community. This is the reason of the author's interest to do research on the success cultural acculturation of Balinese and Dayak Ngaju in Basarang Jaya Village.

B. Method

This research used phenomenology approach(Ariola, 2006). The location of this research was in Basarang Jaya Village, Kapuas, Central Kalimantan (Figure 1). The location of this study was chosen based ontheconsideration related to the harmonious of the relationship between the non-native ethnics (Balinese) with the native ethnics (Dayak Ngaju) although the identity of the non-native ones in this area is very strong and the area ever experienced the ethnic conflict. The subject of this research is the Balinese ethnic residents in the village. The object of research is their way of life, language, food, and religious activities.

The data for the research were obtained through in-depth interviews of 13 key informants consisting of 7 people from the first generation Balinese transmigrants, 3 local chiefs of Balinese community, and 3 local chiefs of Banjar Bali community (Banjar Dharma Santi, Banjar Setia Dharma and Banjar Kertawana) in Basarang Jaya Village.In addition, the data were also collected from participatory observation.



Validation of the data was done by using visual data, interviews, detailed observation in the research site, discussion with interviewees and among researchers.

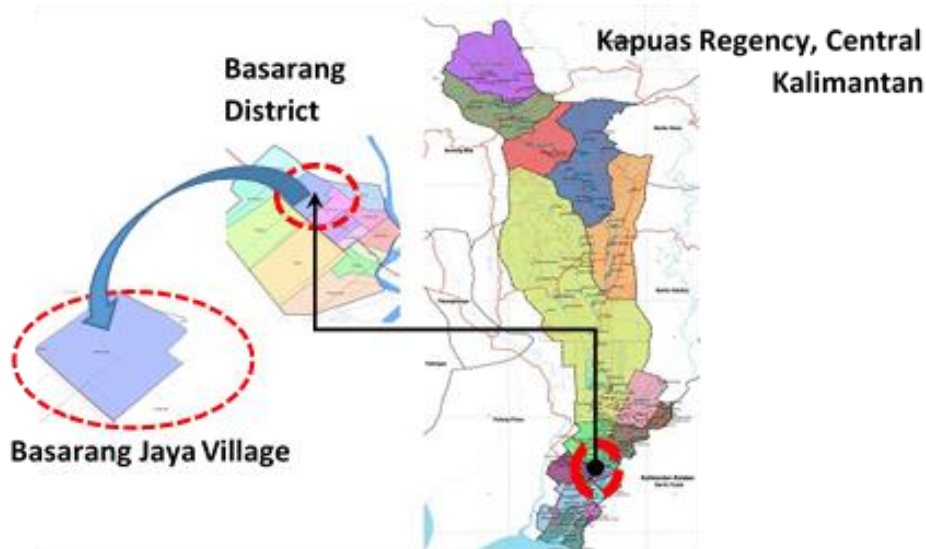


Figure 1. Research Location

Source: Development Planning Agency at Sub-National Level Kapuas, 2017

C. Research Finding

Interviews with key informants were conducted in November until December 2017. The interviews were done repeatedly until asurfeit of the obtained information was achieved. The interview results showed that the social interaction, already existing intensively for 60 years between the Balinese transmigrants and the native Dayak Ngaju, has caused the former to adopt, adapt, and accept the cultural elements of the later. Such process has created cultural adaptation implemented in the form of language use, food, the way of life, and spiritual values.

1. The Way of Life Acculturation

While using land transportation, the Balinese transmigrants in Basarang Jaya Village also use water transportation. This acculturation occurs because of geographical condition in Basarang Jaya Village. This

areais peatlandhaving many rivers, *anjir*¹, *handil*², and *saka*³ (Figure2). The Balinese use the water transportation facilities normally used by the locals Dayak Ngaju called *jukung*⁴and *alkon*⁵. *Jukung* and *alkon* are moored to a wooden stick or a large tree on the edge of *handil* or *saka* with *jukung* or *alkon*are placed in front of the house of the transmigrants. *Jukung* and *alkon* are used by transmigrants to transport themselves from their homes to their plantations or their fields, to go fishing, to go hunting and to distribute crops from their plantations to buyers.

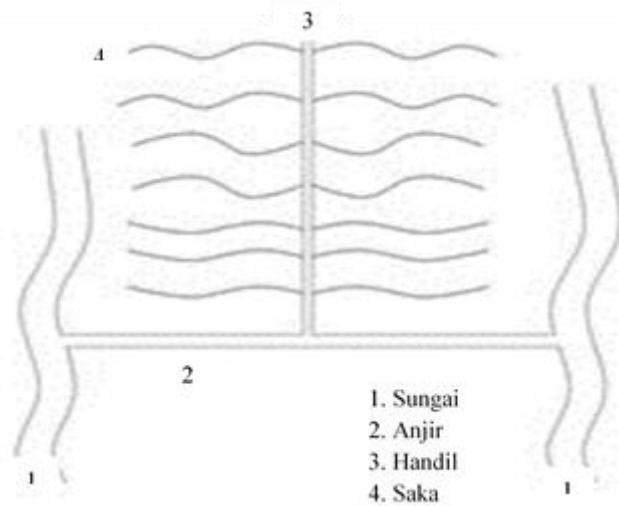


Figure 2. Illustration of the rivers, anjir, handil, and saka

Source: The Author's Illustration, 2018

Acculturation also happens in the livelihoods of Balinese transmigrants. In the pastat their hometown, these transmigrants were not

¹The canal connecting two major rivers.

² Small rivers functioning both as the transportation line to the plantation and as the part of irrigation system for peatlands and tidelands.

³ Rivers, smaller than handil that connects handil to anjir.

⁴Wooden boats without a roofhaving size 6-7 meters in length and ± 80 centimeters in width.

⁵Wooden motorboats without roof having size 6-7 meters in length and ± 80 centimeters in width.



familiar with rubber plants. After living in Basarang Jaya Village, they became rubber farmers, plantation farmers and rice farmers commonly like what the Dayak Ngaju do for living. The transmigrants' rubber plantation are located on the right and left sides of *handil* or *saka*.

2. The Language Acculturation

Both ethnic groups living in the same place cause the acculturation of language. Balinese transmigrants living in Basarang Jaya Village make an effort to learn Ngaju language (the native language of the Dayak Ngaju) both passively and actively. The language used by Balinese transmigrants in communicating depends on the speaking partners. If the speaking partner is a Dayak Ngaju, then the language used is the Ngaju language (in this case, transmigrants use both passively and actively Ngaju language) or mixed language between Ngaju language and Bahasa Indonesia (if the transmigrants do not master the Ngaju language actively). When communication occurs among Balinese only, then the language is the Balinese. In some situations where there is a mixed marriage between Balinese and Dayak Ngaju, each couple tries to learn the language of his or herspouse. They use three languages to communicate namely Indonesian, Balinese, and Ngaju languages.

3. The Food Acculturation

The food acculturation occurs due to different geographical conditions, so Balinese transmigrants consume what Dayak Ngaju people eat (Susi, Buchori, Rudiarto, & Sutrisno, 2017). They also follow the Dayak Ngaju ethnic way of gathering food sources by hunting wild boar and deer, set up *buwu*⁶, *marengge*⁷, *mangaruhi*⁸ and search for wild plants.

⁶A missile-like fish trap made from thin bamboo.

⁷A curtain-like fish trap made from nylon.

⁸ Fishing activities which are done with bare hands at *handil/saka* during dry seasons.

This acculturation has brought several food names to Balinese transmigrants namely “*makanpaku*” and “*makanjantung*” like the Dayak Ngaju usually call them. “*Makanpaku*” is a term used by Balinese transmigrants to refer to a food made of *kalakai* plants (*Stenochlaena palustris*) and *bajei* plants (*Ceratopteris thalictroides*). These plants belong to a group of ferns that grow abundantly on peatlands. “*Makanjantung*” is a term referring to a food made of the heart of banana plant as the basic ingredient (Figure 3).



Figure 3. a. Bajei (Ceratopteris thalictroides); b. Kalakai (stenochlaena palustris); c. Jantung Pisang (Musa paradisiaca formatypica)

4. The Religious Acculturation

The Balinese are the largest adherents of Hinduism in Indonesia. Religious connection between Dayak and Balinese are very close. Before Christianity and Islam came into Kalimantan, the traditional belief of Dayak Ngaju ethnic is *Kaharingan*/Ngaju religion (Scharer, 2016). In 1980, *Kaharingan* was integrated into Hinduism which was legalized by the Decree from General Directorate of Hinduism and Buddhist Community Guidance of the Ministry of Religious Affairs Number: H.II / 1980 on 12 February 1980. Several ritual processes were then performed to strengthen the integration. The first procession was the *Sudhi Wadani*⁹ ritual for the representatives of *Kaharingan* people which was held at Pura Jagadnatha

⁹ *Sudhi Wadani* is an inauguration ceremony for someone who becomes Hindu.



- Bali. Which then was followed by *Hambai ritual*, a ritual to raise the brothers-in-arms between Kaharingan chiefs and members of Persatuan Hindu Darma Indonesia¹⁰. *Balian Balaku Untung Aseng Panjang* and *Manggantung Sahur*¹¹ were the next ceremonies conducted in Central Kalimantan (Etika, 2017).

In addition to the Kaharingan, Dayak Ngaju ethnic also embrace various other beliefs such as Christianity, Catholicism, and Islam. Although there are various beliefs, Dayak is an open society and appreciates other societies having different cultures. This attitude is reflected in the philosophy of *Huma Betang* that becomes these people's way of life. This philosophy contains the values of equality, brotherhood and kinship and *belum bahadat* (Muhammad & Abubakar, 2010). The value of equality means that the Dayak people do not recognize the difference in gender because men and women have the same position and responsibility. The value of brotherhood and kinship mean that Dayak people unite and fight together to face the challenges and solve occurring problems through consensus decision-making in the atmosphere of togetherness and brotherhood.

The values of the *belum bahadat* contained mean mutual respect between human beings and honoring values embraced by other people. The Dayak Ngaju's way of life is in line with the principle of Hinduism believed by Bali transmigrants called "*Kala Patra Village*". This principle means that Hinduism is flexible and does not demand rigid implementation of certain dogmas. Hinduism is open to any culture and thought, and it is illustrated in the implementation of the Siwaratri¹² night

¹⁰ Persatuan Hindu Darma Indonesia is the assembly of Indonesian Hinduism society that deals with matters pertaining to religious and social activities.

¹¹ This ceremony is one of the highest Hinduism ceremonies viewed from its ritual offerings, liturgy, attributes, and leader of the ceremony (led by Ida pedanda with his all attributes as a pandit/priest). The purpose of this ceremony is to give the Great Religious Assembly of Hindu Kaharingan the authority to hold religious ceremony for Hindu communities outside Dayak society.

¹² Siwaratri is the night for holy meditation or the night for atonement held annually to commemorate the descent of God/Shiva.

event where Bali transmigrants sing Gayatri songs using their Dewayadnyasong with Dayak Ngaju style.

D. Discussion

The acculturation between the Balinese community and the Dayak Ngaju community is a result of social interaction that has already happened for a long time. As a result of this interaction, there are newly adopted customs in the life of the Balinese transmigrants, and these cultural customs, like the ones that occurs among Balinese at Basarang Jaya Village, are in line with the previous researches (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2005; Berry, 2007; Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006; Li, Berry, & Zheng, 2016; La Torre & Montalto, 2016).

The difference in geographical and natural condition between Java and Kalimantan (Borneo) drives the Balinese transmigrants to make adaptation. Living in the peatland where there are many kinds of river, these transmigrants, who used to utilize land transportation only, must learn how to use water transportation (in river, *anjir*, *handil*, and *saka*) and how to farm in peatland (Susi, Buchori, Rudiarto, & Sutrisno, 2017).

In their first arrival at Basarang Jaya Village, the life of Balinese transmigrants was miserable because the life support from the government was limited and came late usually. Driven by compassion, the local community provided the transmigrants with food made from banana hearts (many banana trees were planted by local people at that time). The transmigrants, furthermore, also learned to eat ferns (nail plants) usually consumed by Dayak Ngaju community because these plants were easily found in their environment. This foodstuff acclimatization process then created new terms among the transmigrants namely "*makan paku*" or eating nails (ferns) and "*makan jantung*" or eating hearts.

Especially for the acculturation in the values of belief (religion), a phenomenon different from the previous researches occurred, in which the values of the transmigrants' belief were adapted to and then became the parent of the local community's belief. In Basarang Jaya



Village, integration variable occurred when Hinduism, the religion of most Balinese transmigrants), became the parent religion of the local religion of Dayak Ngaju community, "Kaharingan"; and such integration eventually created a religion named "Hindu Kaharingan" which can be found in Central Kalimantan Province only.

E. Conclusion

Bali transmigrants make adaptation to the surrounding cultural environment by imitating what Dayak Ngaju usually do or make. That both ethnics who live at the same place and make interaction daily have eventually developed the cultural acculturation. The acculturation of Balinese and Dayak Ngaju cultures in Basarang Jaya Village can be seen in the transmigrants' way of life, their mean of communication language, their food, and their religious activities. The principle of mutual acceptance, appreciation of other ethnic's culture and the integration of Kaharingan/old belief of into Hinduism is increasingly has easily driven the acculturation between the two ethnic groups. The feeling of sympathy, tolerance, and mutual respect between one and the other has brought the sense of togetherness hence harmony in the communal life of the Dayak and Balinese ethnics in Basarang Jaya Village in which religion has become the media of integration between the two ethnics.

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