Da'wah Through Cultural Acculturation

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Abstract
The clash and resistance with local cultures forced Islam to find a symbol that was in line with the cultural capture capabilities of the local community. Islam's ability to adapt to local culture makes it easier for Islam to penetrate the lowest levels of society. As a result, Islamic culture was greatly influenced by peasant culture and inland culture, so that Islamic culture experienced a transformation not only because of the geographical distance between Arabia and Indonesia, but also because there were cultural distances. This process of cultural compromise certainly carries quite a few risks, because in certain circumstances it often tolerates interpretations that may deviate somewhat from pure Islamic teachings. This research aims to determine the relationship between da'wah and local culture and the negotiation of Islam with local culture. The research results show that the character of Indonesian Islam which dialogues with community traditions is accommodating to community traditions or local community culture rather than eradicating local community practices. Islam and societal traditions are placed in an equal position to have creative dialogue so that one of them is not in a subordinate position, which results in mutually weakening attitudes. This combination of Islam and community traditions is a richness of local interpretation so that Islam does not appear empty of true reality. Islam does not have to be perceived as Islam in Arabia.

Keywords: Indonesian culture, Islam, tradition, transformation.

Abstrak
Benturan dan resistensi dengan kebudayaan-kebudayaan setempat memaksa Islam untuk mendapatkan simbol yang selaras dengan kemampuan penangkapan kultural dari masyarakat setempat. Kemampuan Islam untuk beradaptasi dengan budaya setempat, memudahkan Islam masuk ke lapisan paling bawah dari masyarakat. Akibatnya, kebudayaan Islam sangat dipengaruhi oleh kebudayaan petani dan kebudayaan pedalaman, sehingga kebudayaan Islam mengalami transformasi bukan saja karena jarak geografis antara Arab dan Indonesia, tetapi juga karena ada jarak-jarak kultural. Proses kompromi kebudayaan seperti ini tentu membawa resiko yang tidak sedikit, karena dalam keadaan tertentu seringkali mentoleransi penafsiran yang mungkin agak menyimpang dari ajaran...

Kata kunci: budaya Indonesia, Islam, tradisi, transformasi.

Introduction

Islam is present in Indonesia to bring change in society for the better. However, Islam is not directly accepted by Indonesian society. As an initiative step, Islamic preachers in Indonesia spread Islam using media that they already own and are even embedded in the daily lives of Indonesian people. The media used is culture.

According to Lubis (1993), when Islam entered Indonesia, Indonesian archipelago culture was influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism, apart from the still strong presence of various traditional beliefs such as anime, dynamism, and so on. Islamic culture eventually became a small tradition amidst Hinduism and Buddhism. These traditions then influence and strengthen each other.

The areas of the archipelago that were first attracted to Islam were trade centers in large cities in coastal areas. Orthodox Islam could penetrate deeply in the outer islands of Java, where there was little Hindu or Buddhist influence. Meanwhile in Java, Islam faced resistance from established Hinduism and Buddhism. In a process like this, Islam not only has to tame its targets, but also has to tame itself (Abdullah, 1987:3).

The clash and resistance with local cultures forced Islam to find a symbol that was in line with the cultural capture capabilities of the local community. Islam's ability to adapt to local culture makes it easier for Islam to penetrate the
lowest levels of society. As a result, Islamic culture was greatly influenced by peasant culture and inland culture, so that Islamic culture experienced a transformation not only because of the geographical distance between Arabia and Indonesia, but also because there were cultural distances.

This process of cultural compromise certainly carries quite a few risks, because in certain circumstances it often tolerates interpretations that may deviate somewhat from pure Islamic teachings. This cultural compromise ultimately gave birth to what is known on the island of Java as syncretism or Abangan Islam. Meanwhile on the island of Lombok it is known as the Islamic term Wetu Telu (Zuhdi, 2009: 111).

The Islamization process that is taking place in the archipelago is basically in the process of acculturation. As is known, Islam was spread throughout the archipelago as a normative code in addition to aspects of arts and culture. Meanwhile, the society and culture in which Islam is socialized is an empirical realm. In this context, as intelligent creatures, humans are basically religious and it is with their reason that they know their own world best. It is in this logical flow that humans, through their cultural behavior, always increase their self-actualization. Therefore, in every cultural acculturation, humans form, utilize, change things that best suit their needs (Ambary, 2001: 251).

From this paradigm, still within the framework of acculturation, what became known as local genius was born. Here local genius can be interpreted as the ability to absorb while carrying out active selection and processing of foreign cultural influences, so that a unique new creation can be achieved, which does not exist in the territory of the nation that carries its cultural influence. This research aims to determine the relationship between Da'wah and local culture and negotiations between Islam and local culture.
The Meaning of Culture and Preaching

Culture is something that is inherent in humans, because culture appears along with the emergence of activities carried out by humans. In the large Indonesian dictionary, the word culture means thought, reason and anything about culture. Culture consists of two origins of the syllable, budi and power. It means the power of the mind which is reflected through creativity, initiative and feeling. Some groups identify the root of the word culture as being taken from Sanskrit, buddhayah, which means reason. From this culture, culture emerged. However, the majority of scientists equate the words culture and culture.

Based on the original meaning of the word, culture can be understood as things related to reason. This meaning is also used by A.L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn. Kroeber and Kluckhohn define culture as the accumulation of the results of human actions driven by desires, thinking power and the results of their feelings. Meanwhile, according to C. Kluckhohn, as quoted by Supartono, there are seven elements that build the concept of culture, namely religious systems and religious ceremonies, institutional systems in society, knowledge systems, livelihood systems, technology and equipment systems, language and art. Meanwhile, Edward B. Tylor in Primitive Culture defines culture as a complex unity that contains knowledge, beliefs, morality, traditions, arts and other potentials and contains habits carried out by humans in the process of interaction in society.

From these definitions, it can be understood that culture is the result of human thoughts, ideas or actions which include science, belief, art, morals, law and human habits as members of society.

Etymologically, the word da'wah means invitation, which comes from the Arabic words, da'â, yad'û, da'watan, du'a (Majma' al-Lughah al-'arabiyyah, 1972: 286) which means to invite, call, calling, summoning, supplicating and hoping that humans will always be on the path of Allah SWT. This term is often
given the same meaning as the terms tabligh, amar ma'ruf-nahi munkar, mauizhoh hasanah, tabsyir, inzhar, washiyah, tarbiah, ta'lim and sermon.

At the empirical level, preaching practice must contain three elements, the sender of the message, the information conveyed, and the recipient of the message. However, da'wah in terms of terminology has a broader meaning, namely as an activity of conveying Islamic teachings, ordering good deeds and preventing evil deeds, as well as giving good news and warnings to people.

As a practical discourse, da'wah is always associated with the phrase "wisely", an expression that emphasizes the rejection of any means of violence or coercion in realizing goals. This etymological meaning is derived from the words of Allah SWT (QS. an-Nahl [16]: 125 & QS. Yusuf [12]: 108).

Based on the explanation of this verse, it can be concluded that da'wah is basically a human effort and for human interests within the framework of realizing basic Islamic values in human reality where the benefit of all is the goal. The values in question are what are commonly termed the major themes of Islam, namely divinity (tawhid), justice (al-'adâlah), egalitarianism (al-musâwah), freedom (al-hurriyah), goodness (al-khayr), deliberation (alsyûrâ), amr ma'rûf nahi munkar, and so on.

The meaning of da'wah as a persuasive and friendly call or invitation is relevant to the da'wah method reported by Allah SWT himself in Surah an-Nahl. This verse explicitly describes the strategy of the da'wah method, which is commanded to "invite" people to the path of truth in three ways, namely (1) Presenting al-Hikmah; (2) Conveying almaw'izhah al-Hasanah (good lessons); and (3) Carrying out mujâdalalah (dialogue) in the best way.

Apart from that, since it was first revealed, the Koran has been inseparable from the dynamics of Arab society at that time. The context of Makkah society, which knows many Gods, has implications for the revelation of verses relating to the worship of the One God and the prohibition on associating partners with Him, so that the Prophet's preaching was related to
the culture and traditions of the Makkan people. Likewise, when the Prophet migrated to Medina, which had a pluralistic society, many verses were revealed regarding social rules that made it possible for them to live side by side. The Prophet, as a transmitter of the message, had the capacity as a reliable communicator. He gave an example of an effective way of preaching through traditional and cultural means.

This culture-based da'wah method then became one of the means used by subsequent generations to spread and expand Islamic teachings. Likewise, when Islam entered Indonesia, wisely, the Ulama who entered Indonesia succeeded in utilizing the local cultural wisdom of the community as a means of spreading Islamic teachings. This method is done because they are aware that local culture is something that is inherent in people's social life, and has even become an important part of the elements that shape their character. If Islam can blend into local culture, then Islam will also become part of the character-forming elements of society. This method is an effective way in the process of spreading Islam in Indonesia, so that Islam has unknowingly been practiced and embedded in many traditions in Indonesia.

**Relations between Da'wah and Local Culture**

Culture or culture is specifically human in nature. This means the manifestation and embodiment of all human activities as an effort to facilitate and fulfill their life needs. Culture consists of values and symbols. Cultural values are invisible, while cultural symbols which are the embodiment of values are visible. Mosques, markets, schools, homes, for example, are manifestations of the cultural values of the community. In every manifestation of human activity, cultural values are always present and all have cultural values, even though sometimes they are not cultural symbols.

Da'wah is a call or call for humanity towards the path of Allah, namely the path to Islam. As a dinullah, Islam originates from the revelation of Allah
SWT and the sunnah of His Messenger, he is a source of values that will provide the style, color and shape of Islamic culture. A form of culture that contains Islamic messages or values, even if it arises from people or communities who are not adherents of Islam. Likewise, vice versa, it is not said to be Islamic culture, even if it was born from people or communities who adhere to Islam, if it does not contain Islamic messages or values. In essence, Islamic da'wah is an actualization of faith (theology) which is manifested in a system of human activities of faith in the social sector which are carried out regularly to influence the way people feel, think, behave and act on the plane of individual and socio-cultural reality in order to strive for the realization of the teachings. Islam in all aspects of life using certain methods.

In the perspective of Islamic da'wah, culture is the actualization of human submission (worship or worship) to Allah. One of the analogues that shows cultural symbols and values as an attitude of submission to Allah, as He says (Q.S. Asy-Shua'ara [26]: 224-227).

The verse above informs that there are two types of culture represented by the perpetrator. First, a culture built with the dimension of piety, represented by cultural figures who believe, do good deeds, and always remember Allah and are patient in facing injustice. If it is agreed that culture is specifically human, then the influence of ideology, outlook on life, attitudes towards life, and the way of thinking of the perpetrator or originator of that culture become the basic values of that cultural form. Thus, a person who has individual piety and social piety within himself will certainly give birth to a type of culture that is also oriented towards facilitating the path of other people or society to become pious (al-Khair al-Ummah). Second, a culture built with dimensions of error and injustice. Someone with a communist or capitalist ideological background, for example, will of course also display cultural forms with the orientation and way of thinking of the ideology in question in building the order of their society.
Furthermore, the relationship between Islam as a religion and local culture is very clear in anthropological studies of religion. In this perspective, it is believed that religion is an incarnation of a cultural system (Tibbi, 1991: 1). Based on this theory, Islam as a divine religion is considered to be the incarnation of the cultural system of a Muslim society. This thesis was then developed into aspects of Islamic teachings, including legal aspects. Anthropologists and sociologists approach Islamic law as a Muslim cultural institution. In the current context, legal studies using a sociological and anthropological approach have been developed by Islamic legal experts who are concerned with the fate of the Shari'ah. In their view, if sharia is not approached socio-historically, then what will happen is standardization of sharia norms which are actually dynamic and accommodate changes in society (Al-Azmeh: 1988: viii).

Islam as a religion, culture and great civilization in the world has since its inception in Indonesia in the 7th century and continues to develop until now. He has contributed to the cultural diversity of the archipelago. Islam is not only present in the great traditions, it even enriches plurality with the Islamization of culture and the indigenization of Islam, which in turn gives birth to many small Islamic traditions. The various colors of Islam from Aceh, Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Sasak, Bugis, and others give a certain pattern of diversity, which as a result can have an ambiguous face. Ambiguity or also called ambivalence is a function of religion that is generally accepted from a sociological point of view.

Talking about the influence of local culture and customs in relation to religion, there is a struggle to compromise religious religious messages in synergy with local content. The encounter between religion and local culture takes many forms. Firstly, experiencing a clash that reached the point where the local culture was destroyed and replaced by a new one with Islamization, for example, which happened in Padang in the past. Second, there are those who take the accommodation route. This means that there are meetings that complement
each other and do not bring each other down. “Islam is accepted but only symbolically. Substances such as belief in ancestors are still maintained. Third, it takes the form of hybridity. This means accepting religion but only half of it, the rest is local tradition. This form is then commonly known as, for example, Javanese Islam, Banjar Islam, Sasak Islam and so on (Baso, 2003:3).

**Negotiating Islam with Local Culture**

As a pluralistic nation, Indonesia has a variety of cultures that differ from one region to another. Each region has cultural characteristics that reflect their identity. This seems to have become a sunnatullah which has been stated in the verses of the Qur'an. In this context, the cultural diversity of a nation can be seen from the habits, customs, norms and values, as well as the behavior of the community itself. For example, almost all tribes or regions have different traditional ceremonies, religions, traditional houses, traditional clothing, traditions, and even norms. The various cultural colors that exist are a source of pride for the Indonesian people. The cultural diversity of this community is also utilized by the ulama to spread and develop Islam in the archipelago.

In spreading Islam, there is a reciprocal relationship between the ulama, society and the culture within that society. The attitude and character of a cleric in spreading Islam will color the situation and conditions that develop in society. Because it is the duty of a cleric whose aim is to direct and even change the religious and social views and insights of the local community where they are located. On the other hand, the actions, thoughts and attitudes of a scholar will also be greatly influenced by conditions that are developing in society.

One of the most effective methods applied by Indonesian ulama at the beginning of the emergence of Islam in Indonesia was to use the traditions and customs of the local community as a means and medium for spreading Islamic teachings. One example is Sunan Kalijaga's brilliant idea to utilize Javanese people's beliefs, which are still very strong in the traditions of Hinduism and
Buddhism, as a medium to introduce the religion of Islam. The public's passion for watching wayang performances, gamelan and several other artistic performances encouraged Sunan Kalijaga to marry these customs with Islamic teachings, or what is often known as cultural Islamization. If initially the wayang shows known to the public often told stories about Hindu or Buddhist figures, then Sunan Kalijaga changed its function to become a medium for promoting Islamic teachings, such as introducing that God is One, introducing the pillars of Islam, introducing the Prophet and Apostles, and so on.

The da'wah carried out by the early spreaders of Islam to the archipelago has shown a strong accommodation to the traditions of the local community. So Islam comes not as a threat, but as a friend who plays an important role in cultural transformation. This shows that the character of Indonesian Islam which is in dialogue with community traditions was actually brought by Indian missionaries in the early spread of Islam in Indonesia who were accommodating to community traditions or local community culture rather than Arab missionaries who were puritanical in eradicating local community practices. The Islamic character brought by the Indian people was what Walisongo continued in his preaching in Java.

The process of Islamic dialogue with community traditions is realized in the cultural process mechanism in dealing with local negotiations. It was not accepted as is when offered by local treasures. This is where Islam and societal traditions are placed in an equal position to have creative dialogue so that one of them is not in a subordinate position, which results in mutually weakening attitudes. This combination of Islam and community traditions is a wealth of local interpretation so that Islam does not appear empty of actual reality. Islam does not have to be perceived as Islam in Arabia, but Islam must dialogue with local community traditions (Zada, 2003).

Inevitably, Islam as a religion that has spread throughout the world appears to be creative in dialogue with local communities, being in a position to
accept community traditions, while modifying them into a new culture that can be accepted by local communities and is still within the path of Islam. Therefore, the arrival of Islam was an enlightenment for the Southeast Asia region, especially Indonesia, because Islam strongly supported intellectualism that was not visible during the Hindu-Buddhist era. In fact, the shift of Indonesian society from the Hindu-Buddhist religious and cultural system to Islam is equated with a change in the view of the Western world which was originally influenced by Greek mythology to the world of reason and enlightenment. The reconciliation of Islam with societal traditions is believed to be a process of acceptance that is carried out naturally and peacefully, without conquest. This is different from what happened in the Middle East, where Islam was spread through a process of political power. Islamic dialogue with this tradition is carried out in a spirit of negotiation. Negotiation is the process of interpreting something that is present and interpreting itself to look for something new that is known in culture as something alive (Zada, 2003). In a cultural context, people have the ability to negotiate in their own way. And in fact, the struggle between those who are visited and the newcomers in negotiating is not based on the spirit of mutual change, because if they change each other, it is no longer negotiation, but rather hegemony and even repression (Effendy, 2007). This means that negotiation is part of cultural transformation in cultural movements. The process that occurs is a creative process in the spirit of culture, so that both immigrants and those visited are in the same structure and degree.

In another context, negotiation is an effort to eliminate or reduce the value of the traditional strengths of immigrants. Negotiations function to harmonize what is foreign to local wisdom. Through negotiation, new things from outside the traditional area are not simply accepted, but are modified from their originality, adjusted to the acceptability of tradition. The existence of traditional negotiations is a natural thing. There is not a single tradition that does
not have negotiation, namely the ability to propose what belongs locally (as origin) side by side or interpret what comes from outside into something new (as creative creation). Negotiation, in this case, can be interpreted as a countercurrent in a softer meaning. In the negotiation process there is an effort to compare it with its original possession, there is a process of pragmatic and ideological considerations, and an intention to use it in a new way. In short, negotiation implies creative interpretation from the buyer or user. Negotiations mean that invasions from outside will be read differently, will be interpreted differently.

Negotiations are also related to efforts to eliminate the power of immigrant traditions. This second definition is closely related to the assumption that each locality is inhabited by a certain political power or power of truth. The arrival of immigrant traditions will more or less disturb the local power. Therefore, it is natural that locals will use immigrant traditions to articulate their interests, or use them as new bargaining power to strengthen their position in front of dominative and hegemonic powers. At this time new ways of meaning, which are not the same as the models of meaning in the area of origin, take place.

Negotiations between religious and cultural values occur because these two values have the potential to be relevant to each other. This relevant potential is what maintains the continuity of life between the two variables. On the other hand, if the two variables do not have relevant potential, then forms of antagonism in society with all their implications will emerge (Ali, 1985: 76). Of course, assuming that each tradition within itself has a set of values about what is suitable for itself and what is not suitable, or what is necessary for development and what hinders its growth. Herein lies the meaning of the use of the term resistance. Resistance is used to measure what happens when two different traditions carry out a process of mutual interpretation, adapting to each
other until finally producing an agreement in a communication pattern that is used together (Ruchiyat, 2003).

In history, the Islamic negotiation process in dialogue with societal traditions occurred in the scheme of: influencing and being influenced. Namely, Islam influences societal traditions and vice versa, Islam is influenced by societal traditions which are framed in the spirit of reconciliation. This reciprocal process brings a harmonious nuance to the Islamic style of the archipelago. There is a lot of evidence that can be shown how Islam is able to negotiate with societal traditions creatively, without being subjugated.

First, Islam influences society's traditions or the ability of traditions to lower the price of something so that it can become part of itself. In this process, what happens is that Islamic values enter into society's traditions, both in the form of rituals, arts and norms. In other words, Islam fills the religious procedures of local communities. The result of a negotiation process like this is the birth of local Islamic traditions which are practiced in various regions.

In the form of norms, for example, Minangkabau has a story about negotiating tradition with Islam. There are adats "adat basandi Syarak, Syarak basandi kitabullah" (customs based on religion, religion based on the book of Allah) and "Syarak mangato, adat mamakai" (religion designs, customs use). In this adage it is clear that customs must stand and develop on the basis of religious law, namely the Koran and Hadith. This means that everything that is contrary to the Islamic religion must be removed from the traditional life or local culture of the Minangkabau people. In this sense, it appears that there is a monopoly on religious interpretation of Minangkabau traditional life. In fact, it could be said that it is not just a monopoly, but also dominates all understandings and interpretations of custom itself (Utama, 2002: 124-125).

This adage is said to be the result of reconciliation after the Padri War, 19th century. The Padri War was a battle between Indigenous people and Puritan Muslims. The firm belief in Wahhabism by Haji Miskin, Haji Sumaniak,
and Haji Piobang offended the Indigenous people. Especially when Poor Haji burned down the Traditional Hall of the Pandai Sikek community. At the time of reconciliation, they agreed to bargain with each other (Islam does not have to replace all customs, and customs do not have to reject all Islamic teachings). The result was an agreement to divide the areas of truth in the adage "Syarak mamato, adat mamakai". This negotiation process is a natural mechanism that occurs when Islam dialogues with societal traditions.

From what has happened since the beginning of the 19th century until now, it seems that Islamic customs and religion have succeeded in going through a mutually accepting process of adjustment. Islamic tolerance, as shown by the attitude of the ulama who do not question the issue of high inheritance and marriage, seems to have strengthened the relationship between these two value systems.

In the form of rituals, for example, the ritual activities carried out by the community are filled with Islamic teachings. Tahlilan is an Islamic mechanism for offering community traditions by filling in community ritual events when facing death. If previously people were busy with traditional ceremonies related to death, then after negotiating with Islam, they filled it with Tahlilan.

Second, when Islam is influenced by community traditions, what occurs is the process of accepting local community traditions or in other words the ability of traditions to subdue other influences that are considered "different" to become part of the tradition. This process usually occurs in the architecture of houses of worship and several devices within them. For example, the influence of Sundanese nuances on Islam can be seen in mosque buildings. In Sunda, initially many mosques did not follow Middle Eastern architectural styles, such as in the form of domes, entrances and mihrabs, but many mosques took the form of local architecture. Among them is the shape of the ancient Bandung Grand Mosque building which was famous for its "bale nyungcung".
In the context of normative negotiations, negotiation values are actually used pragmatically. For example, their religion is Muslim, but they still practice their traditional rituals. In this case, there is no fusion process, but rather they stand independently in their respective domains. The Muslim indigenous communities in Kampung Naga and Citorek, for example, show that religion and tradition are treated by adherents of indigenous communities pragmatically, not ideologically. In indigenous communities who are Muslim, there is a process of collaboration between two elements, religion and tradition, which they term as "rowing between two boats". On the one hand, they believe in Islamic beliefs, on the other hand, they use survival methods based on tradition. Farming or paddy fields is an activity that refers to a tradition based on calculating the stars which refer to gods or spirits. This is still used with the argument that Islamic teachings do not provide rules and instructions on how to grow crops, as well as that traditional planting methods have been pragmatically proven to produce better harvests (Qomaruzzaman, 2003).

**Conclusion**

The preaching of the early spreaders of Islam to the archipelago showed a strong accommodation to the local traditions of the local community. So Islam comes not as a threat, but as a friend who plays an important role in cultural transformation. This shows that the character of Indonesian Islam which is in dialogue with community traditions was actually brought by Indian missionaries in the early spread of Islam in Indonesia who were accommodating to community traditions or local community culture rather than Arab missionaries who were puritanical in eradicating local community practices. The Islamic character brought by the Indian people was what Walisongo continued in his preaching in Java.

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