



# Identity Politics of the Muslim Minority in Pagayaman Village (Strategies on Maintaining Harmonious Life in Bali)

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**Abstract.** This paper discusses how the Pegayaman Muslim community struggles to gain legitimacy from the majority of Balinese Hindus for their existence. Efforts to adopt various Balinese traditions and cultures, including combining elements of Balinese tradition and culture with Islamic identity in naming and implementing their daily practices. By observing the implementation of several conventions in Pegayaman and conducting in-depth interviews with several community leaders and Pegayaman Muslim residents, it is evident that the process of melting the identity of Pegayaman Muslims as “Balinese” is through the acculturation process. In Bourdieu’s language, it has become a habitus for the Muslim citizens of Pegayaman. How they think and act concerning the social relationships they build with the surrounding community gives rise to a choice of strategies to merge “totally” with the culture around them. In reproducing a culture, the involvement of young people, represented mainly through mosque teenagers, can foster a collective awareness of the importance of their identities. These identities already have their legitimacy and turning them into a symbolic capital that will continue to be used to build broader social relations.

**Keywords:** Acculturation · Habitus · Muslim Minority · Symbolic Power

## 1 Introduction

Although the life of the Muslim community and the Hindu community in Bali is generally well underway (Pringle 2010; Barth 1993), a kind of acculturation model differs from some of the Muslim communities in Bali. It can be seen from the emergence of different self-names in these communities. There are at least three other models of self-naming in the process of acculturation, which can be used as starting point to examine the models of acculturation of society when there is a process of conversion to Islam (Ricklefs 2008; Hasmy 1981): *first*, the use of Arabic names as a whole, such as the names "Muhammad Rauf" and "Ahmad Amir Hamzah"; *second*, combining Arabic words with local terms, e.g., "Muhammad Ketut Anshari" or "Ahmad Nyoman Kiriana"; and *third*, the use of local names as a whole, such as: "IMade Wiryawan" or "Ketut Sulakshmi." This research aims to reveal the meaning behind the three models of using the name associated with

how the negotiation occurs when Islamic teachings meet with Hindu traditions that are so thick in Bali.

As one of the most easily seen forms of religious identity expression by others, the choice to use Arabic (Islamic) names, especially with the condition of being a minority community, is certainly not an easy matter and comes just like that, at least, we can reflect on the various examples of minority groups that are ultimately forced to hide or even replace identities related to their communities (Bertrand 2004; Mulkhan 2001). One example that may still be warm in our memory is the various forms of discrimination received by those with Arabic (Islamic) names in the aftermath of the September 11 tragedy in America (Kumar 2012; Esposito 2002; and Habeck 2006). Not a few Indonesians, even those who obtained scholarships from the American Government itself, eventually left for Uncle Sam's country because they coincidentally had names similar to the list of names of those suspected of being involved in terrorism crimes.

With the various negative consequences that must be borne due to the choice of self-identity in minority communities, as mentioned above, specific communities can run identity politics in a "play it safe" way without highlighting the community's religious identity (Mariuma 2014). In this context, the three model names that have emerged in the Muslim minority community in Bali are interesting to examine further related to the meaning behind the choice of different names. Although it is implausible that there will be an adverse treatment for the time being regarding the choice of name, by understanding the meaning of the choice, we will also find it easier to understand the various forms of rituals and traditions carried out by the Muslim minority community in Bali, mainly related to multiple models of adaptation and modification of different practices that in some places have a distinctive feature that is a fusion of elements of Islamic and Hindu traditions.

## **2 Research Method**

This paper is based on fieldwork at Pagayaman Village in the District of Sukasada, Bali. The fieldwork employs ethnographical study in constructing the identities of Pagayaman Muslims. Most data for this paper is derived from observations on several religious festivals in Pagayaman village and in-depth interviews with Pagayaman Muslims, both the elite circle of the villagers, as well as the lay people. In order to analyze the data, The habitus theoretical framework from Buordiaeu is used to see how the process of reproducing the Islamic identities of the Pagayaman Muslim community through various religious activities carried out in the form of festivals that involves the wider community, including the Hindu community around Pagayaman Village.

## **3 Result and Discussion**

### **3.1 Rituals and Traditions of the Pegayaman Muslim Community**

As is common in a community, Pegayaman Muslims also have distinctive values and culture as a form of representation of their community identity. This particularity is illustrated in various rituals and traditions carried out in the daily life of Pegayaman

Muslims. The value of practices carried out for generations by Muslims in Pegayaman substantially has quite a lot in common with other Islamic communions, particularly among traditional Islamic groups. It rests on a blend of elements of Islam and local culture. The form of fusion between Islam and local culture in Pegayaman is interesting because the culture of the Balinese people is generally seen as identic with Hinduism, which remains the majority religion in Bali. The same is true in traditional Islamic circles in various places, including Java. However, local culture is still seen as a form of "culture," which in many ways is often regarded as "not a religion." Hence, it is easier to position in religious subordination. What's more, Islam then transformed into the dominant religion in society, so the fusion that emerged was eventually seen as something familiar.

In the context of the Pegayaman Muslim community and several other Muslim communities in Bali, the culture of the Balinese people is synonymous with Hinduism, so what comes to the fore is a form of fusion between Islam and Hinduism as a religion. In this context, various forms of fusion or harmonization will be explained in the Pegayaman Muslim community, especially those that include three things: the use of the name, the celebration of Eid al-Fitr, and the celebration of the Maulid of the Prophet Muhammad. Tentu only, apart from these three things, there are still various other rituals and traditions in the Pegayaman Muslim community that describe the fusion of Islamic elements and Balinese culture, which is identified with Hinduism. However, the three things above were chosen because they have a distinctive aspect that characterizes or identities of Pegayaman Muslims.

#### 1. Use of Names Following Balinese Tradition

One exciting thing that is most readily known from Pegayaman Muslims is the use of names that combine elements of Balinese culture with Arabic names that are characteristic of a Muslim. The use of naming rules in Balinese traditions, such as Wayan, Ketut, Putu, Nengah, and Gede, is well preserved and combined with the identity of Arabic names that characterize Islam, such as Ahmad, Fatimah, Sururudin, Asghar Ali, Aisyah, and others. So, the names appear, which sounds foreign to most people because the name in the tradition of giving the name of the Balinese people is seen as part of the Hindu religious identity. Names such as: "Made Fatimah," "Ketut Rahmadi," or "Putu Ahmad Sholeh" do sound awkward because they are seen as combining two religious identities in one name. In the context of daily activities, there is often a joke when someone hears the distinctive name of a Muslim Pegayaman, as told by Rahmat, a student from Jakarta who happened to be visiting Pegayaman Village:

"The names of the citizens here are unique, maybe like we combine baptismal names with Islamic names, for example: "Antonius Muhammad Salim" or "FX. Arifin". Of course, this kind of combined name is unusual. It may exist only in fantasy. But here almost all the people have such a name, a combination of Hindu names with Islam. Salute me..." (Interview with Grace October 27, 2019).

There are only four kinds of Balinese (Hindu) names used by Pegayaman Muslims that describe the order of children, as told by Nengah Sururuddin, one of the leaders of

the Pegayaman Muslim community who took care of a sizable Islamic boarding school in Pegayaman:

"Muslims in Pegayaman only use four names in order: *Wayan*, *Nengah*, *Nyoman*, and *Ketut*. In Balinese custom, this is referred to by the term citizen chess, which can also be *Putu* (*Wayan* and specifically for men is *Gede*), *Made* (*Nengah*), *Nyoman*, and *Ketut*. If there is a family with more than one child-like Mr. Samaudin, then the names of the next children remain *Ketut*, not returning to the name of the first child in general. *Ketut* after the fourth child is commonly referred to as *Ketut Cenik* (little *Ketut*)" (Interview with Negah Sururuddin, 26 bbbbr 2019).

The explanation seems to want to emphasize that the use of Balinese names in the view of the Pegayaman people is a "must" because it is part of the customs and culture of the Balinese people and has nothing to do with Hinduism.

The use of names following the customs and culture of the Balinese people themselves is actually not only limited to giving names to children but also the village naming system and other things related to Islamic rituals and traditions are also often tucked away terms that are also commonly used by the Balinese in the context of daily life, including various forms of offerings and clothing that are also commonly used by the Balinese people in the context of daily life, including various forms of offerings and clothing that are worn during the performance of religious rituals and traditions. The use of the name Banjar, for example, is still maintained in various systems related to Banjar in the typical traditions of the Balinese people in general, including Subak, community social obligations, to the tradition of harvesting the results of plantation with various forms of ceremonies.

The use of self-names in the naming of various forms of activity that are inherent in this kind of daily life in the context of the early emergence of Islam in Pegayaman has become more easily accepted by society. Unlike in Javanese or Bugis villages, which have also been the basis of the Islamic community in Bali, Pegayaman Islam is relatively more able to develop as an Islamic village that has succeeded in melting into the traditions and culture of the Balinese people who are actually religious Hindu. Meanwhile, in the villages of Java and Bugis, although the surrounding community also accepts their presence well, it will soon be seen how the "boundary" between the traditions of the Islamic community and the local community. In terms of the process of naming children alone, it can be seen how the Pegayaman Muslim community puts elements of local culture into the most principled things in their daily lives so that they do not give rise to a strange nuance for the local community in the early days of the establishment of the Pegayaman Muslim community. This of course psychologically gives a feeling of comfort also for the Balinese Hindu community around Pegayaman so that the presence of the Pegayaman Muslim community is more seen as a "relative" or relative, thus giving rise to the term "Nyamo (i)Slam" which is not just a term without meaning, but

as a depiction of an attitude of fully accepting the existence of the Pegayaman Muslim community.

## 2. *Eid Ngejot* Tradition

In addition to naming by accommodating local cultural elements, the Pegayaman Muslim community also still maintains various types of traditions that describe how the process of acculturation that occurred in the early days so that their existence could be fully accepted by the surrounding community, which is predominantly Hindu. One of the important religious traditions that all Muslims always celebrate is Eid al-Fitr. This Eid can be different from one place to another. In the Pegayaman Muslim community itself, the implementation of Eid al-Fitr celebrations has always been closely related to a tradition termed "*Ngejot*" which can literally be used to give something, especially food, to others without viewing religious differences. Interestingly, this tradition is not only carried out by Pegayaman Muslims but also by the Balinese Hindu community in general, especially related to Galungan Day. So, during Eid al-Fitr, Muslims deliver food to their left and right neighbors, including of course those who are Hindus. Meanwhile, during the implementation of Galungan Day, Hindus deliver food to Muslims.

In terms of the process of implementing traditions, the events carried out by Pegayaman Muslims with members of the community who are Hindus can actually be said to have many similarities. In general, the process of implementing the *Ngejot* tradition goes through three important stages, namely: the stage of cultivation, worship, and apparition. At the penalizing stage, the residents of Pegayaman Village, especially mothers, work together, usually at the village head's house or traditional leader to make snacks made from white glutinous rice and given a green color from suji leaves or cinnamon leaves. This food is the basic food that will be served along with meat dishes and various snacks that are eaten in the next stage. Indeed, there is no standard rule that requires which stage to be carried out first, but one thing is certain the three existing stages must be carried out because one food with another is complimentary.

The second stage that is carried out is usually scoring, which is the process of making a variety of traditional cakes, or what is known as *jaja*. Some of the traditional cakes are usually made for *Ngejot* purposes, among them: is *Jaja Uli* which is made from white glutinous rice that has been cooked and ground so that it becomes chewy. This traditional cake is mandatory because it is usually used as a companion to eat yeast *tapai* as a result of the harvesting in the first stage; *Jaja Satuh* is pastries made from rice flour, wheat flour, or sago; *Jaja Kuping Gajah*; *Jaja Bolu*, and so on. This second stage is also carried out jointly by mothers, as in the first stage. The third stage, namely *panbait*, begins with the slaughter of animals (usually cows) whose meat is then cooked as a side dish that will be brought together with various other foods that have been made.

Before the implementation of the *Ngejot* tradition, actually, a whole month during the month of Ramadan carried out several other interesting traditions that were full of values of togetherness. One of the activities carried out every day throughout the month of Ramadan is the *Magibung* tradition, which is breaking the fast together at the Safinatussalam mosque using a tray to eat with 5-6 people. Usually, residents of Pegayaman Village will come to the mosque before iftar time, then sit in rows and distribute compotes and small cakes to break the fast. After breaking the fast, they then performed maghrib prayers in the congregation. After a short dhikr and prayer led by the

priest, the residents then sat in a circle of between 5 and 6 people and then distributed food with trays for each circle. Eating together in one tray is what is called *Magibung*. Here, of course, the values of togetherness can be intertwined and maintained, especially usually in the implementation of *magibung*, there are also inter-group talks in circles related to daily problems or other things just to get to know more about them. In fact, towards the last days of the fasting month, not infrequently, this *Magibung* is also a means to discuss when and how the *Ngejot* tradition will be carried out.

The implementation of the *Ngejot* Tradition itself is usually carried out before or during Eid al-Fitr by distributing prepared food to all residents, including residents who are Hindus. In addition, there are also some residents who personally carry out the *Ngejot* tradition and distribute food directly to their left and right neighbors. The spirit of sharing with others is at the core of the implementation of the *Ngejot* tradition. The concern to continue to foster and maintain a sense of brotherhood is indeed an important factor in how the Muslim community of Pegayaman Village earned the nickname "*nyama slam*" (Muslim brother) from the Hindu-majority Balinese community. Balinese acceptance of the Pegayaman Muslim community has made the relationship between them relatively more harmonious compared to the new Muslim communities that have grown up in urban areas, especially with the increasing number of Islamic religious models. Which often gives rise to a sense of antipasti towards local customs and culture.

### 3. The *Maulid Nabi* Tradition

For Muslims in Indonesia, the celebration of the *Maulid* of the Prophet Muhammad SAW is an important moment that is used as a means to emulate the story and struggle of the prophet. Although in recent years new Islamic groups have emerged that oppose and even silence the prophet's *Maulid*, this celebration is still carried out and runs with great fanfare in various parts of the country, of course with different models and methods. In Java, especially in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, there is the *Sekaten* tradition, which is carried out one month before the implementation and ends with the *Gerebek Mulud* event at the peak of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, on the 11th of *Rabi'ul Awwal* or the third month of the Hijri calendar (Adnan 1996). While the cities along the north coast of the island of Java also have their own way of commemorating the Prophet's *Maulid*. Usually, they will gather at the mosque or prayer room while bringing food from their homes and will be distributed to fellow worshippers after the recitation of *Maulid Barzanji Maulid Burdah* or *Maulid Diba'iyah* (Syam 2005; Dirdjosanjoto 1999).

Likewise, for the Pegayaman Muslim community, the biggest and most important tradition in the calendar of activities of the Pegayaman Muslim citizens is the celebration of the *Maulid* of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. At this moment, all Pegayaman residents, including those who live outside Pegayaman Village, either because they work and live in other cities or are studying outside Pegayaman Village will gather together to welcome the celebration of *Maulid Nabi*. In this series of celebrations of the Prophet's *Maulid*, almost all the traditions in Pegayaman are highlighted, ranging from the art of *burdah* and *hadrah*, the tradition of *Ngejot Maulid*, to the tradition of making *Sokok Basa*, which is the culmination of the celebration of the *Maulid* of the Prophet Muhammad SAW, a kind of festival for the residents of Pegayaman Village. All levels of residents, from the older generation to children have the opportunity to participate in this series of celebrations, especially when a parade is held that accompanies the handover of *snags*

made by residents to be collected in the mosque before being prayed by the chairman or elders of the Pegayaman villagers.

The procession of the celebration of the Prophet's *Maulid* in Pegayaman itself begins about two weeks before the D-day of the Prophet's *Maulid* commemoration. It begins with a series of activities, which can be said to be almost all centered at the Safinatussalam Mosque, ranging from religious lectures to ancient types of competitions for children and teenagers. Indeed, in recent years, the committee for the implementation of the *Maulid* Nabi celebration has been handed over to mosque teenagers, especially by inviting those who are studying outside Bali, usually *mondok*, to maintain relationships with other residents and also as a form of effort to pass on the tradition to the next generation. This was confirmed by K.H. Asghar Ali, an elder of the Muslim community of Pegayaman and also recently elected as a *perbekel* or guardian in Pegayaman:

"The mas can read the proposal for the Maulid Nabi celebration made by the committee, I happen to have it. In the committee, the majority are young people, yes those who are active in the youth organization of the Safinatussalam mosque. In addition, children who are studying in Java, for example at the Lirboyo Islamic boarding school or at the Syafi'iyah Asem Bagus Islamic Boarding School, and happen to be at home, we always encourage them to be involved in any committee, including the *Maulid* Nabi committee. This is important because if they don't, they have an average of four to six years, during the holidays are not involved in the committee, usually, when they graduate from the cottage and come back here, the adjustment can be long" (Interview with KH. Asghar Ali, October 26, 2019).

The procession of the celebration of the Prophet's *Maulid* seems to increase in intensity when entering the month of Rabi'ul Awwal. This month, *barzanji* readings and recitations are more frequent, including various forms of rehearsals carried out by various art groups, such as *Hadrah* and *Burdah* or other groups that will participate in *kirab* events or marches on the 11th of Rabi'ul Awal or the culmination of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW.

### 3.2 The Meaning of Using Three Models of Names for Pegayaman Muslims

Actually, the phenomenon of giving names to children by combining elements of local culture with the religion adopted is not typical of the Pegayaman Muslim community. In almost all places on earth, there are always groups of people who try to combine elements of local culture with religions or beliefs that come from other places and happen to have embraced or replaced existing local religions. Why this naming becomes so important to show the identity of a group, becomes an interesting question to rethink its existence, given that in recent years the outbreak of the phenomenon of diversity that Nationalizing elements of local traditions or culture have raised concerns about potential conflicts that exist in the community. Advances in technology, especially through the internet world, have opened up wide opportunities for everyone to express their religion more freely, including for groups that are anti-local traditions and culture.

In Bali itself, as emphasized in the introduction, there have been various forms of protests over efforts to make one tourist certain of the label of Islam. The concept of *syar'i*

or halal village, which was once proclaimed, was negatively reacted by the majority of Hindus in Bali. This phenomenon shows clearly how naming, in this case, also has an important impact if we are not able to manage it properly. In other words, if we still take the view of William Shakespeare who uttered a popular phrase about "what a name means" then it is necessary for us to reflect again that naming has an important impact on society because it concerns how something is symbolized and identified by society.

The process of symbolization and identification of the naming by the community is of course based on the values and culture of that society. Negative attribution to certain terms, if not properly paid attention to, will certainly have an impact on the process of developing something in society. At least, in the context of how a person appreciates their beliefs or religion, we can see from how he gives names to their children. In Bali, Islam has been present in several places, especially in the coastal areas of Bali since the 14th or 15th century. As with the history of the entry of Islam in various places in the archipelago, the role of traders, although widely questioned, was seen as very important in the process of spreading Islam, including in the area of Bali (Supanto, 1991). In the Balinese context, the majority of traders are from the Bugis (Makassar) tribe, and tend to inhabit coastal areas, especially in the Singaraja, Karangasem, and Tabanan areas. The existence of Bugis village, as part of the Islamic community in Bali, can still be found in these areas. As for the inland Bali region, it appears that the more prominent political aspects play a role in the formation of Islamic communities. The political aspect here refers to the efforts of the kingdoms in Bali in placing soldiers imported from Java (Mataram or Blambangan) in hilly areas to deal with potential attacks from other kingdoms.

Interestingly, Muslim communities formed from the dominance of economic aspects show quite different characteristics from communities in rural areas that are more dominated by political aspects in terms of name usage models. There are at least three models of name usage for Muslims in Bali, namely: (1) using ethnic names of Muslim origin and sometimes combining with Arabic names, such as those easily found in Bugis or Javanese villages; (2) using the name in Arabic entirely, which is often also seen as a symbol for "Islamicness" *seseorang*; and (3) using a blend of Balinese and Arabic names, which are characteristic of the Pegayaman Muslim community. The three models of using this name are of course related to the process of acculturation that occurs when Islam meets Balinese culture. Here the role of the early generation of preachers certainly plays a fundamental role in determining the pattern of religion that appears in each Muslim community in Bali.

Based on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of a dialectic between *habitus* and *arena* that generates power over symbols, it can be seen how the process of acculturation that occurs in the case of the Muslim community in Bali between those who live on the coast or coastal areas in Bali and the Muslim community that inhabits the inner areas. It has, of course, the characteristics of different objective structures. The result of the dialectical between individual structures, which see humans as agents, and objective structures that become arenas, in Bourdieu's view produces practices that are different as well. The practice is then nurtured and passed on to the next generations through the processes of internalization, externalization, and externalization of internality. In simple terms, individual or social group experiences (*habitus*) in the context of their relations with



outsiders through various media, such as parenting, play activities, or through education in a broad sense will always produce an arena (field). It is in this context that habitus will double the social, economic, and political capital that an individual or social group has to win legitimate domination over the arena and will ultimately generate symbolic power in society.

In this context, we can see how the objective characteristics of coastal communities that tend to be more open provide flexibility for certain individuals or social groups in showing their identity. The Muslim community on the coast of Bali, in its social relations with the community, has relatively no opposition or rejection from local communities on the coast of Bali because of the objective structure of coastal communities that tend to be easy and far from suspicious of various differences, including differences in expressing religious identity. Therefore, neither non-Balinese names nor Arabic names interfere with the social relations between them. The forms of adaptation, which are part of the dialectic between the subjective structure of a Muslim and the objective structure of society, are undeniable.

### 3.3 Reproduction of Meaning in the Process of Acculturation

The process of acculturation carried out by the Pegayaman Muslim community, as well illustrated in the combination of the use of names and various forms of traditions that accommodate, and even seem to be made as similar as possible to the traditions of the majority of Balinese people who are actually Hindus are of course the result of the long process, which goes through the stages of internalization, objectivation, and externalization. How then "practice" as a result of the relationship between habitus and arena is socialized between generations, with the dynamic context of social change, becomes the focus that will close this section.

There are various ways or strategies pursued by the Muslim citizens of Pegayaman to maintain how legitimacy has been obtained, which is then used as symbolic capital to build broader social relations. In the context of naming, for example, the Pegayaman Village government has a kind of unwritten rule to include Balinese names, which essentially only show the order of birth (first, second, third, and second child) in the birth records of residents that are well stored in the Pegayaman Village office. This process certainly provides a framework of collective awareness of the importance of identity as a Muslim "Balinese".

Besides, in the context of naming, the easiest thing to see is the implementation of traditions that continue to be maintained through various celebrations or festivals that are carried out regularly by all Pegayaman Muslims. The *Ngejot* tradition, which is actually a tradition carried out by Hindus in the celebration of religious holidays, especially Galungan Day, is also carried out consistently at important Muslim moments, such as Eid al-Fitr and also the Commemoration of the Prophet's *Maulid*, including the existence of three important stages in the procession. i.e. sedition, spelling, and shedding. Only elements that in Islam are prohibited are then modified in such a way, for example, food that uses pork is replaced with beef, including its processing which in Islam must follow certain rules.

The making of *sokok* in the celebration of the Prophet's *Maulid* is also actually from the side of the container and the shape is made as similar as possible to the *dulang* that

Hindus usually carry to the temple as a form of offering or offering, but the contents are replaced with eggs and flowers which are seen as symbolizing the meaning contained in Islamic teachings. The procession of the *Sokok* march is also accompanied by a *hadroh* from each Banjar that exists, using Balinese traditional clothes, complete with a headband, only tambourine wasps distinguish it from the ritual dances carried out by Balinese Hindus. One thing that is also interesting about this procession is the way of singing verses and praises to the prophet Muhammad listed in the *Maulid* books in *Makidung*, exactly the tune with Hindu priests reciting prayers at the temple.

The various kinds of implementation of this tradition for Pagayaman Muslims have become a socio-religious identity that has the strong legitimacy of the Hindu community that exists around Pagayaman, perhaps even throughout Bali. This is what in Bourdieu's language is seen as a symbolic capital that will continue to be re-directed with arena, where rules are very dynamic in accordance with the development and social changes of Balinese society in general. It is in this context that the regeneration process becomes important to be able to maintain the legitimacy that is characteristic of Pagayaman Muslims. The involvement of young people, especially through the youth forum of the Safinatussalam Mosque in every procession of the implementation of existing religious traditions is the most effective means to open opportunities for the socialization process, through the stages of extradition and internalization, so that the collective consciousness of pagayaman's distinctive Muslim identity can become a habitus for young people to then be ready to optimize the symbolic capital they have to enter arenas that may be the basis of their respective rules and procedures.

#### 4 Conclusion

Pagayaman Muslims have tremendous struggles in maintaining their Muslim identities in the midst of the Hindu majority. They used various strategies of acculturation to be considered as Hindus' fellows, ranging from mixing the use of Balinese terms with Arabic for their names, preserving offering requirements for commemorating religious holidays, and participating in most Hindu festivals by providing necessary foods to be served with other Hindus fellows. These acculturation processes need tens or even hundreds of years, passed down from one generation to the next. The willingness of Pagayaman Muslims to accommodate the Balinese cultures becomes a key success in how minority Muslims should adapt to other values and traditions without losing their Muslim identities.

The use of mixing terms of Balinese and Arabic languages, as represented in the names of most Pagayaman Muslims, shows the adaptability of Pagayaman Muslims dealing with different values and traditions in order to ensure their freedom in Islamic identities in their daily life. In general, people may be of the view that Pagayaman Muslims have practiced syncretism because in terms of name alone they have used elements of Hinduism. However, for Pagayaman Muslims, the element that is claimed to be part of Hinduism is actually just a term for the order of children in Balinese, not having anything to do with any doctrine in Hinduism. This wisdom in understanding the substance of culture is an interesting force to explain why Muslims in Pagayaman get good treatment from the Hindu majority in Bali and they can live side by side in harmony.

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