

Cultural Acculturation of the Villagers in Desa Pegayaman Buleleng Bali

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Abstract— Bali Islands has long been known as a tourism destination in Indonesia. A unique thing in the island is the majority of its population embraced Hinduism as their main religion. However, in the society whose religion is mostly Hinduism, the residents who live in Desa Pegayaman, Sukasada, Buleleng District are almost entirely Muslim. Muslim community has lived in Buleleng for more than 400 years however the two communities with different social and cultural background live together in harmony and tolerance. The cultural mixture called the cultural acculturation between Muslim community in Desa Pegayaman and Balinese Hindu society becomes a social process in the intercultural communication. The paper will discuss the cultural acculturation in the five elements of culture according to the Theory of Samovar which are history, religion, values, social organization and language.

Keywords— Pegayaman; culture acculturation; Hindu; Bali

I. INTRODUCTION

Bali Islands has long been known as a tourism destination in Indonesia. A unique thing on the island is the majority of its population embraced Hinduism as their main religion. However, in the society whose religion is mostly Hinduism, the residents who live in Desa Pegayaman, Sukasada Sub-District, Buleleng District are almost entirely Muslim.

The arrival of Muslim residents started when there was a ceasefire between I Gusti Ngurah Panji, King of Buleleng Kingdom and Mataram Sultanate in Blambangan in 1587. The ceasefire was carried out after a son of I Gusti Ngurah Panji was killed in the war. After the no-attack agreement was signed, Mataram Sultanate gifted an elephant with three Muslim elephant handlers to I Gusti Ngurah Panji. The elephant was placed in Banjar Jawa Singaraja, and the Muslim elephant handlers and their descendants resided in Buleleng. Their religion remained Islam like their ancestors (Prasetya, 2012).

The name "*pegayaman*" comes from the word "*gayam*" or *gayam* tree or *Inocarpus fagifer* or *Tahitian chestnut*. The trees grew in Pegayaman. Balinese people called Pegayaman villagers as "*nyama selam*" or Muslim brothers. While Pegayaman villagers called those, who live outside their village as "*nyama Hindu*" or Hindus brothers.

Although Muslim community has lived in Buleleng for more than 400 years, the two communities with different social and cultural background live together in harmony and tolerance. The cultural mixture called the cultural acculturation between the Muslim community in Desa Pegayaman and Balinese Hindu society becomes a social process in the intercultural communication. The acculturation that occurs in the region is kept maintained so that it establishes intercultural and interreligious harmony.

Based on the long history, this research will study the cultural acculturation between the Muslim community in Desa Pegayaman and Hindu society. According to Koentjaraningrat (1990), epistemologically the cultural acculturation comes from English, i.e., acculturation. The acculturation concept refers to a social process, and it occurs if there is a group of humans who have any culture in front of foreign cultural elements. As a consequence, the foreign cultural elements are received and processed into their own culture. However, the social process does not eliminate the characteristic of its origin culture.

Deddy Mulyana and Jalaluddin Rakhmat refer culture as the order of knowledge, experiences, belief, values, attitudes, meaning, hierarchy, religions, time, roles, relationship, space, universe concepts, material objects and properties owned by great group of individuals from one generation and another through the efforts of individuals and groups (Mulyana and Rakhmat, 2010).

On the other hand, Samovar, Peter and McDaniel state that there are five essential things as cultural elements, i.e., history, religion, values, social organization and language (Samovar, 2010). Moreover, Kluckhohn in Koentjaraningrat states

that there are seven general elements found in each culture, i.e., language, the system of knowledge, social organization, the system of life equipment and technology, the system of livelihood, the system of religion and arts (Koentjaraningrat 1990). This paper will discuss the cultural acculturation in the five elements of culture according to the Theory of Samovar for Muslim community in Desa Pegayaman.

II. METHOD

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach. According to Lexy J. Moleong, the qualitative research is research intended to understand phenomenon on those experienced by the research subjects like behavior, perception, action, and others holistically and descriptively in forms of words in a language in a specific natural context by using scientific methods (Moleong, 2010).

Moreover, Taylor and Bogdan state that qualitative research is a research that produces the descriptive data of oral and written words as well as behavior that can be observed from the individuals being researched. Nazir also concludes that the objectives of the descriptive research are to make the systematic, factual and accurate description regarding the characteristics, facts, and relationship between the phenomena being researched (Nazir, 2011).

The case study is a research method being taken because according to Yin, it is appropriately applied if the research relates to "how and why" or explanatory form (Yin, 2014). In the research in Desa Pegayaman, the researcher applied the descriptive case studies. It would answer the research problem in relation to "how" so that it could answer how the cultural acculturation occurred in the villagers of Desa Pegayaman.

III. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

A. History

In this section, one by one the form of cultural acculturation that occurred in the Desa Pegayaman will be explained. The first cultural element is history. According to Larry Samovar, culture believes that history is a diagram that gives guidance on how life will be carried out today. The most important essence of history, according to Samovar, spreads from one generation to another and it will preserve viewpoint in one culture. The past stories inspire identity, values, and rules of behavior to members of one culture (Samovar, 2010).

In this research, after the informants were asked, they indirectly stated that they felt proud to be the descendants of Muslim Mataram soldiers. Their belief as Muslim has been preserved from one generation to another.

Even though the ancestors of the Pegayaman Village came from Central Java, after settling for more than 600 years in Bali, the villagers felt they were Balinese. They speak in Balinese and eat Balinese food. What distinguishes them is that they hold strong Islamic values. And this is applied in daily life.

Economic cooperation between Hindus and Muslims has made the two groups closely connected. Hindus usually become financiers and provide capital to Muslims who then buy cloves from surrounding communities. From every kilo sold, Hindus get a percentage according to the agreement with their Muslim counterparts.

B. Religion

Parkes, Laungani and Young in the book of Samova, Parker and McDaniel state that all cultures have dominant and organized religion where activities and belief occur such as ritual, ceremony, taboo things that have meaning (Samovar, 2010).

In this research, Islam religion has an essential role in the life of the villagers in Desa Pegayaman. When the research was conducted in April 2018, Desa Pegayaman has held Quran Competition for Buleleng District. All participants came from many areas in the district so that Desa Pegayaman, particularly at Masjid Jamik Safinatussalam and its surroundings, was intensively crowded.

According to Penghulu the Leader of Religion and Custom, since childhood in the children have been taught to learn The Quran at home or in the mosque. There is no villager in Desa Pegayaman, according to Penghulu, who cannot read The Quran (an interview with the Leader of Custom and Religion Nengah Abdul Gofar Ismail in Desa Pegayaman on April 5, 2018).

In Islam, it is believed that the religion was revealed as a mercy to the universe. While for the Hindus they know local wisdom Menyama Braya which is a concept that teaches good relations between human beings. In addition, Hindu society adheres to the principle of Tri Hita Karana, which is the teaching of three sources of happiness. That is good human relations with God. Good relations with fellow humans and good relations with the environment.

However, it should be noted that there are few Balinese cultural symbols shown in Desa Pegayaman. For example, an elephant statue is installed on top of the village gate. This is quite interesting because in Islam there must be no depiction of

creatures that live on land, in the sea or in the air. So it is assumed that the elephant symbol above the village gate simply as a sign that the ancestors of the village community were elephant handlers. It will remind them that their ancestors from Mataram Sultanate.



Figure 1. Desa Pegayaman Village Gate

C. Values

Important value taught to children in Desa Pegayaman is religion. Islam is the primary education taught to them. In Desa Pegayaman, there is an Islamic boarding school namely Pesantren Al-Iman. The school receives students from the playground, Elementary School and Junior High School. According to School Principal Pesantren Al Iman, Deddy Saputra (39 years), there were totally 200 students who were studying in the Islamic Boarding School.

According to Penghulu, Nengah Abdul Gofar Ismail, since his childhood, his parents had taught him to read The Quran. After learning at home, the religious study will be taught at the formal level, such as Junior High School and the mosque programs.

Another value that parents in Desa Pegayaman have taught their children is polite behavior to their parents. The villagers of Desa Pegayaman hold the etiquette. According to Penghulu, Nengah Abdul Gofar Ismail, if there is an adolescent who invites him but he behaves impolite, he will ask to go home. The etiquette relates to the language stratification in Balinese society. It gets influence from Hinduism teaching. When they talk to persons who have older age, they should use a particular language.

Moreover, almost all women in Pegayaman village are seen wearing long Muslim clothes with a veil over their heads. The boys wear long sleeve clothes and trousers.

D. Social Organization

According to Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel, another cultural element found is a social organization or social system. It is shown in social units such as household, school, government, and others. The social system regulates personal and family norms as well as social behavior (Samovar et al., 2010).

Therefore, Islam plays a key role in the life of the villagers in Desa Pegayaman. According to the informant, Nengah Abdul Gofar Ismail, a Pegayaman girl rarely marries a Hindu young man. If there is a girl who marries a non-Muslim young man, usually she works in Denpasar and meets a Hindu young man. If the girl decides to marry the man, she is considered to expel from Desa Pegayaman. As a result, it is considered as well that the girl has broken out their family relationship (an interview with Nengah Abdul Gofar Ismail in Desa Pegayaman, April 5, 2018).

It was also said by another informant, Muhammad Yusuf Saleh (72 years) that despite a girl from Desa Pegayaman rarely marries a Hindu young man, but if it occurs the man commonly not has the courage to come with his proposal. He will not dare to come to the girl's parents. He has comprehended that if a girl from Desa Pegayaman marries a Hindu young man, meant she would break out her family relationship.

Otherwise, according to Muhammad Yusuf Saleh, if a non-Muslim girl marries a young man from Desa Pegayaman and the girl wants to convert to Islam, the villagers of Desa Pegayaman will gladly accept her. It is relatively possible that young men from Desa Pegayaman meet Hindu girls. Desa Pegayaman is surrounded with four Hindu villages. The four Hindu villages that are Pegayaman's neighbors are in the north Desa Pegadungan. Desa Silangjane, Desa Wanagiri, and Desa Pumanan respectively located in the east, south, and west of Desa Pegayaman.

According to Saleh Yusuf, because the village is surrounded by Hindu villages, several times Hindu youths (he referred to as “youths there”) met Muslim youths (he referred to as “youths here”), meet and quarrel which almost became a fight. To overcome this, Hindu and Muslim elders were invited to hold a meeting. Thus they can find the best solution.

However, family norms in the villagers of Desa Pegayaman decide that new member of the family will be accepted in Desa Pegayaman if they have the same religious belief that is Islam.

From the interview, another important norm in Desa Peyaman is the invitation from a Balinese villager to Pegayaman villagers. If a Hindu villager wants to invite some villagers of Desa Pegayaman, he usually calls a special chef for Muslim cuisine. In addition, he will prepare a special table for his Muslim guests. On the table, he will serve halal food. On the other hand, it also occurs when a Muslim household invites some Hindu villagers. The household will not serve beef dishes for his Hindu guests (the interview with Muhammad Saleh Yusuf in Desa Pegayaman, April 5, 2018).

The same thing was found in the Jatun community who are Muslim in the North Sulawesi Tondano. Because the majority of the Minahasa people are Christians for that reason when they hold a celebration, a "national table" is prepared exclusively for Jatun neighbors. The dish provided at this table is halal food. While at another table devoted to Christian guests (Azeharie, 2017).

When the villagers of Desa Pegayaman describe the cuisine names, then they name them in the Balinese language. For example, fried foods are called dikobet. Coconut lawar food is called lawar goba. What is more, although they are the descendants of Javanese people, they do not know gudeg cuisine again, the delicious cuisine from Central Java.

E. Language

The fifth cultural element is language. It is a common element that can be found in each culture. According to William A. Haviland, language is a means of conveying information and sharing experiences to society culturally and individually (Haviland, 2010).

Balinese society knows four levels of language. Ludy Paryatna and Sukma Wirani say that Balinese society is known to have communication ethics called *angguh angguh unguhing basa Bali*. It is real religious values of *Tri Kaya Parisudha*, i.e., three sacred attitudes. One sacred teaching of *Tri Kaya Parisudha* is holy or polite speech or *wacika parisudha* (Paryatna and Wirani, 2015: 2).

There are four levels of Balinese language. Firstly, Balinese people speak *Alus Language* when they speak to religious leaders, or they do in official ceremonies. Secondly, there is *Madia Language*. Balinese people use *Madia Language* when they talk to parents or teachers. Thirdly, it is called *Bahasa Andap*, and the last one is *Kepara language*. Here Balinese people use it when they speak in daily activities. It is a common language or social language.

The villagers of Desa Pegayaman also use *angguh unguhing basa Bali*. The Balinese language stratification indicates the real cultural acculturation in the villagers of Desa Pegayaman. The villagers of Desa Pegayaman use the Balinese language in their daily activities as well. The Balinese language becomes their native language. After more than 600 years they have settled in Bali Island, the villagers do not recognize the uses of Javanese language when they interact with each other. According to Bill Adams in *Alo Liliweri language* can be seen as a statement about extraordinary awareness about social self (2007). When referring to Adams' opinion, the villagers seemed to be very aware that they were Balinese because they spoke every day using Balinese and applying language strata strictly

A different thing happened to the Jatun Muslim society in Tondano, North Sulawesi. Even though they are now the 9th generation of their ancestors - the Javanese Warfighters – they are still using Javanese language, cooking Javanese food cuisine and holding various celebrations that are usually carried out by their ancestors in Yogyakarta (Azeharie, 2017).

However, the interesting thing of the cultural acculturation in Desa Pegayaman is their giving names to their descendants. The name of the villagers in Desa Pegayaman is the mixture of Islam and Balinese names. For example, the name of the key informant who became the Leader of Custom and Religion or *Penghulu* was *Haji Nengah Abdul Gofar Ismail* (60 years). Moreover, the leader's name of *Al-Iman Pesantren* in Desa Pegayaman was *Nengah Surudin*. The School Principal of this Islamic Boarding School who was also the key informant in this research was called *Deddy Saputra* (39 years old). He was originally from Yogyakarta but married a girl from Desa Pegayaman. He has four children, and their names are all Balinese names.

According to the interview with *Deddy Saputra*, it is known that Balinese culture recognizes the naming order of children. The first child is named *Ngurah*. The second child is named *Nengah*. Name of the third child is *Nyoman*. And the fourth child they call *Ketut*. If a household has the fifth child, the sequence of the Balinese names will be repeated again from the name of *Ngurah*. *Deddy Saputra* has four children, he names all of his children with Balinese names (an interview with *Deddy Saputra* in Desa Pegayaman on April 5, 2018, at 14.00).

IV. CONCLUSION

The long history has colored the journey of Muslim community in Desa Pegayaman. It started when the elephant handlers who brought the gifted elephants from Sultan of Mataram Sultanate to I Gusti Ngurah Panji, King of Buleleng Kingdom, settled in Buleleng the end of the 1500s. Since their settlement, the Muslim community has been growing, and they are called "nyama muslim" (*Muslim brothers*). The call comes from a Balinese Hindu society.

The primary common values held by both groups are economic cooperation. Generally, the Hindus provide capital and the Muslims buy cloves from residents around Buleleng. With this economic collaboration, the relations between the two groups became strong.

Another value is the belief in each other's religion. In Islam, it is believed that the religion was revealed as a mercy to the universe. While for the Hindus they know local wisdom Menyama Braya which is a concept that teaches good relations between human beings. In addition, Hindu society adheres to the principle of Tri Hita Karana, which is the teaching of three sources of happiness. That is good human relations with God. Good relations with fellow humans and good relations with the environment.

Another thing that caused the two groups to get along well was the role of the community elders who were actively monitoring their children quite tightly. Even though villagers of Pegayaman have historical roots from Central Java but they feel as Balinese, live like Balinese and firmly held Islamic norms.

The cultural acculturation between the Muslim community in Desa Pegayaman and Balinese Hindus society becomes a social process in the intercultural communication. It can be shown from the aspect of history, religion, values, social organization and language. However, it should be noted that despite Balinese culture has colored the life of the villagers in Desa Pegayaman as written above, the villagers still hold the principles of Islamic and practice it every day.

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