

Role of Majelis Taklim and Adaptation Muslim Minority with Tengger Local Culture

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Abstract

The variety of traditional ceremonies or local cultures that flourish in the Tengger region often creates a dilemma for the Muslim minorities living in this area. Therefore, the existence of *Majelis Taklim* as a non-formal Islamic educational institution has an important role in the process of socialization and acculturation to bring Tengger Muslims into a cultured cultural life, as well as to maintain the continuity of existence of Tengger Muslim minority in order to survive in the Hindu majority society. *Majelis Taklim* is a place to increase religious knowledge and develop religious life. Therefore, the focus of the study in this paper is the role of the *Majelis Taklim* in shaping the adaptation behavior of the Tenggerese Muslim community with the local culture and the adaptation of Tengger Muslim society with local culture. Using the ethnographic approach and Merton anomie theory, the author tries to reveal the empirical facts of Muslim minority behavior in the Tengger region of Pasuruan regency.

Keywords: Majelis Taklim, Muslim Minority, Adaptation, Local Culture.

Introduction

Sociologically, the Tenggerese people living in the foot of Mount Bromo are predominantly Hindus. In his life tends to prioritize a sense of kinship, tolerance, priority of cooperation in a massive (collective) in various things (Sutarto, 2006). Adaptation process of Tengger Muslim community in Kec. Tosari which only amounted to 6,472 souls, almost half of Hinduism reached 11,956 (Anon, 2014) can run in tandem with local cultural values. Adaptation is meant here is the pattern of human adjustment to the environment in an effort to establish and develop his life. The need for adaptation is for the struggle for existence (Hawley, 1950). Suppose a strong sense of brotherhood, the people of Tengger feel a brother even though different religions. They respect each other and help one another. Even during Hindu (Karo) festivals, Muslim are invited to eat at their homes, and vice versa if it comes to their Eid-Fitr festivities of Hinduism go out to eat or gather at the house of the Muslims.

That is how their brotherhood can be said to be mutual respect. The W. Robertson Smith theory of the ceremony states that religious or religious ceremonies, which are usually

performed by many religious or religious communities concerned, together have a social function to intensify community solidarity. Their motivation is not primarily to worship their Lord, or to experience personal religious satisfaction, but also because they consider that performing a ceremony is a social obligation (Koentjaraningrat, 1987).

The diversity of traditional ceremonies or traditions that flourish in the Tengger region will sometimes create a dilemma for the Muslim community living in this area. Do these traditions lead to polytheism because present offerings on the spirits of the ancestors which means to believe in the existence of power other than God. In addition, the implementation of the Mahayana Hindu culture. So this is where Muslims are required to be selective and knowledgeable.

Understanding the universality of Islamic teachings by placing the holy verses of the Qur'an proportionately and as a source of inspiration (Hilmy, 2013) of course it takes an Islamic educational institution that is able to play an active role in transmitting Islamic values comprehensively to the Muslim community of Tengger. The existence of non-formal Islamic educational institutions such as mosques or *Majelis Taklim* as one of the existing educational institutions in Tengger has an important role in the process of socialization and or enculturation to bring Tengger Muslims into a cultured cultural life, and to maintain the continuity of the existence of society and its culture (Imran, 2003).

Although categorized as non-formal Islamic educational institutions, but *Majelis Taklim* has its own position in the middle of society (Anon, 1994). This is because the assemblies taklim is a container to foster and develop religious life in order to form a cautious community to Allah. In addition, the *Majelis Taklim* is also a "spiritual leisure" park, because the organization is done in a relaxed manner. Another factor that makes the *Majelis Taklim* enough public interest is because this non-formal educational institution is a gathering of hospitality that live and able to cultivate and sustain the glory of Islam and also as a medium for delivering ideas that are beneficial to the development of people and nation.

Majelis Taklim as one of the providers of Islamic education in Tengger region, especially in the district Tosari Pasuruan district recently developed rapidly. This is evident from the place of worship which is also used as the basis of religious education activities for Muslims scattered throughout the district Tosari Pasuruan regency. Researchers released from various sources until 2014, there are already 22 mosques and 26 mushola. More than the number of temples that only 21 and 4 Church (Anon, 2014). This becomes interesting, although still a minority, the religious activities of Islam in this region is quite solid. Based on preliminary observations there are about 38 *Majelis Taklim* scattered there. Tosari also has 11 TPQ, more than Peradah, which is a Hindu religious activity that there are only eight activities.

The splendor of Islamic religious education through non-formal Islamic educational institutions *Majelis Taklim* and mosque whether and then have a positive impact or the term in Durkheim Functional Structural theory (Rakhmat, 2014) can "create social order" in the long term or short term for community life and culture in the region Tengger in general? Of course this needs to be observed and proven, especially in relation to Tengger Muslim adaptation strategy with local culture. Adaptation is understood as a coping strategy by humans in responding to negative feedback from the living environment of a living being.

The intended feedback is any change caused by the environment, either ecosystem or biophysical environment and social system (Moran, 1982).

Role of Majelis Taklim In Shaping Adaptation Behavior of Tenggerese Muslim

The existence of *Majelis Taklim* in the Tengger tribal region has brought benefits and benefit to the Muslim community of Tengger tribe, especially for those who become jama'ah (group). Because the normatif *Majelis Taklim* also have religious material that is "not lost" with formal education. As stated in the religious material syllabus of religious counseling in assemblies published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia through the Directorate General of BIMAS Islam and the Directorate of Information of Islam published in 2012, that the material Majelis Taklim globally contains three things, namely *aqidah*, *fiqh ibadah* and *akhlak* (Anon, 2012). The material is like an oasis for jama'ah, because some of them are very minimal religious knowledge. With a variety of religious material obtained, pilgrims can understand aspects of the teachings that can influence the behavior (adaptive) Muslim community of Tengger tribe with local culture.

In general, *Majelis Taklim* in Tengger region is able to give a positive contribution in providing insight into the science of community life for its congregation. The atmosphere of a regular Muslim society and able to realize the atmosphere of a safe settlement, serene, harmonious, mutual respect, mutual respect and mutual cooperation. This attitude is not only influenced by the local wisdom of Tengger people, but the religious material of *Majelis Taklim* also affirmed the importance of mutual respect, harmony and spirit of mutual cooperation of Tengger society.

As stated by Ustadz Basori when he delivered religious material in Mushola Al-Toha Hamlet Wanamerta Tosari village. One of the jama'ah asked about the pasuguhan that will be under to the studio in the ritual Pamujan Barikan ceremony (Ayu, 2006). "When did Ustadz under went a post to the studio?" Ustadz Basori then replied "Barikan Thursday night Friday, for his place in the mosque does not have to be in the studio, because it is delivered wherever God's listening and omniscient. And no jama'ah any objections, Barikan ritual held on Thursday night Friday at Mushola Al-Toha. The willingness of jama'ah to carry out the ritual of Barikan which is usually held in pamujan studio, then moved to mushola, actually more because Pamujan studio when ritual Barikan crowded with many people, so that more comfortable they do not mind to be implemented in mosque. And the Hindu community also does not regard this as an aberration, because although the Barikan is performed in the mosque, it does not alter the substance of the message contained therein.

Adaptation Behavior Of Tengger Muslim Society With Local Culture

Adaptation is the process of adjusting individuals, groups, or social units to norms, change processes, or a condition created. Further adjustments are made with specific objectives, including: overcoming obstacles from the environment, channeling social tensions, maintaining continuity of groups or social units, and surviving (Soerjono, 2000). The process of adaptation is strongly influenced by the environmental situation and human capacity itself, and in determining the choice and decision to adapt to the cultural dimension. The process of socialization in this case plays an important role to choose freely, the actions or behaviors that will do, because the actions of the community to consider the values, norms, needs, and objectives to be achieved.

The life of the Muslim community of Tengger in addressing socio-cultural constructions and its changes is a reflection of the form of adaptation. In relation to the adaptation of the Muslim community of Tengger with local culture, the researchers analyzed using Merton's anomaly theory containing five forms of adaptation, namely conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.

Conformity

Conformity is a behavior to follow the goals and the way that society determined to achieve its intended purpose (Robert, 1938). In this sense, there is an alignment between the values or cultural norms that developed in Tengger society with the changing socio-cultural values as a result of new cultural intervention. It is undeniable that the existence and role of *Majelis Taklim* is a form of new sub-culture as a forum for interaction and deepening the values of Islamic teachings through lectures, tahlil, pengajian kitab and so forth, which participated in "intervene" the system of values and culture of the Tengger tribe.

One of the possible local cultures can be compromised with the study, material or activity of *Majelis Taklim* which has been submitted is the active participation of Muslim community Tengger in welcoming the Karo celebration (Siutarto, 2006), even celebration of Karo celebration more lively than the feast Eid al-Fitr. For the Muslim community of Tengger, Karo feast is not much different from Eid al-Fitr, although these two holidays have different messages and intentions. Karo is a tradition done by Tenggerese people to glorify ancestral traditions. Apart from being a tradition, this ceremony is also a Selamatan community of Tengger tribe against the ancestors. Selamatan is a Javanese Muslim ritual performed to obtain a certain blessing from God (Hilmy, 1999). While Eid al-Fitr is a day of victory that is celebrated by all Muslims. In Indonesia make Eid al-Fitr as the main feast, a moment to stay in touch and gather with family, relatives, friends, neighbors to forgive each other.

Although these two celebrations generally have different intentions, the welcome procedures are not much different. This is shown in the welcome series of Karo festivities with the holding of ping pitu (selamatan seven times in seven days). This Selamatan activity is done by a rotating visit between villages for seven days. For these seven days, in every house and or village that has been predetermined, the arrival of guests from other villages prepares for a reception to welcome guests from other villages. In an atmosphere of Anjangsana, they also forgive each other for all the mistakes and also as a form of humility, mutual respect, and respect among others. Similarly during Eid al-Fitr, although the atmosphere of Anjangsana-anjangsini not as good as during Karo celebration, but some Hindu societies also visit their brothers, neighbors, or Muslim friends.

Innovation

Innovation is the behavior of a person who accepts goals in accordance with the cultural values that society desires, but rejects the norms and rules of conduct or behavior in the way that society stipulates by using prohibited means (Robert, 1938). This form of adaptation is actually "deviating" from the institutionalized ways in society. In this case is related to one form of Muslim behavior when performing traditional ceremonies of Barikan.

This tradition is usually held after a natural disaster such as earthquakes, eruption of Mount Bromo, eclipse, or other events that affect the lives of people Tengger. If the events

of nature give a bad sign then five or seven days after the event the Tengger held a ritual in order to be given salary and can reject the danger (deny sengkala) that will come. Conversely, if the natural events according to the prediction of good results, Barikan ceremony is also held as a sign of gratitude to the Great Hyang. In the Barikan ceremony all the residents gathered in the studio Pamujan and led by the village chief and their shaman. The cost of the Barikan ceremony is borne by all villagers.

Some of the Muslim community in Tengger region still carry out the Barikan ceremony because basically the purpose of this ceremony is to refuse to balak. Among them carrying out the Barikan ceremony is not in the studio, but in the mosque. As commonly Barikan, they prepare the recipes or blessings in the form of meals such as rice, side dishes, cakes and so forth. However, the prayers they prayed were not with the Shaman-led spell as was commonly done, but they read tahlil led by a ustadz.

As far as observations and sources of information have been unearthed by researchers, such adaptation behavior is not too questioned by the people of Tengger, especially those who are Hindus. Because in terms of addressing natural disasters as unfortunate together in principle they have the same goal of praying through the tradition of Barikan to be kept away from all forms of disaster.

Ritualism

Ritualism is the behavior of a person who accepts culturally permitted ways, but rejects cultural objectives or behavior that has abandoned cultural objectives but retains the way in which society has been defined (Robert, 1938). In a sense, carrying out cultural rituals but their meaning has shifted. In connection with this pattern of adaptation, researchers encounter the behavior of some Muslims while participating in the ceremony of Kasada.

Kasada ceremony is closely related to the story about the origin of Tengger society, especially about the legend of Roro Anteng and Joko Seger. After marriage, Roro Anteng and Joko Seger are eager to have children. They finally appealed to Dewata to have 25 children. Their appeal is granted but provided that the 25th child must be dedicated to Dewa Bromo (Brahma). As an adult, Kusuma's son from Roro Anteng and Joko Seger plunged into the crater of Mount Bromo and asked his brothers to in the tenth month exactly on the full moon to give the sacrifice to the crater of Mount Bromo, this ceremony then became the beginning of the ceremony Kasada (Sutarto, 2006).

Until now when celebrating Kasada, almost all Tengger people including Muslims flock to Mount Bromo to "sacrifice", by bringing crops, goats, chickens, money, and things related to the property to be thrown into the crater Mount Bromo. Uniquely, when in the throw to the crater was on the edge of the crater there are many people who are ready to catch the throw of property from people who want to sacrifice. So that treasures such as money, chickens, goats that have not yet sunk in the crater, captured or taken by some unscrupulous individuals seeking profit in the tradition of Kasodo. And strangely enough, those who throw the sacrifice do not question or do not mind such as the treasure thrown into the crater captured or taken by someone who deliberately want to take advantage on the slopes of the crater.

So for the Muslim community, throwing the treasure into the crater of Mount Bromo is like giving *shodaqoh* (alms to the earth) to others. They continue to participate in the Kasodo tradition by throwing good properties in the form of money, chickens, goats or crops, but this tradition has undergone a shift in the initial intentions and goals as they believe in the legends of Joko Seger and Roro anteng giving offerings to Dewa Bromo (Brahma).

Retreatism

Retreatism is leaving a bad way of life both in conventional and conventional ways (Robert, 1938). Researchers found the behavior of the Muslim community Tengger who had left some ceremonial rituals. Such as Liliwet ceremony for family welfare. The ceremony is held in every resident's house before starting to work on his field. In this ceremony shamans give spells all parts of the house including the yard to avoid the catastrophe. Spelled places are kitchen, door, *tamping*, *sigiran* and four corners of the yard. Their motivation to practice this tradition is more due to the fear of "crop failure" on farming such as vegetables, such as cabbage, potatoes, carrots, garlic, and leeks that they plant in the fields. They believe that, when their plants are attacked by plant hopper so that their crops are not maximal, they are linked to the law of *karmah* or *kualat*, because they do not respect the ancestral traditions (Sutarto, 2006).

Because this is considered by the Tengger Muslim community as something that is contrary to the values of Islamic *aqidah*, as he knows when following the lesson in *Majelis Taklim*. Such as the discussion of one *asmaul husna* al-Jabbar. Where a mualim explains about the power of Almighty Allah over all things that have been experienced by someone in trying but failing. Man can only plan and try as much as possible, but the fact cannot be separated from the will and power of God. Such submission is almost done in every *Majelis Taklim*, so it can change some perceptions of Tengger Muslim society to always tolerate and be patient when facing the situation of failure (harvest), while continuing to pray and try to gain success.

Rebellion

Rebellion is the withdrawal of conventional aims accompanied by attempts to symbolize new goals or ways, such as the way of religious reformers (Robert, 1938). With regard to the behavior of Muslim societies, researchers cannot deny that there are some *Majelis Taklim* led by a proponent who tend to exclusively in the Tengger culture. There is even one of the immigrant descendants who have settled in the Tengger region since birth. On one occasion he stated firmly in the study taklim assemblies, that almost all local culture is done Tengger society contrary to Islamic shari'ah. He considers there are many traditions that have the potential to cause polytheism, wastage, and jahiliyyah. So many of the Muslim community feel offended. The da'wah model of taklim assemblies unable to accommodate the existence of ancestral traditions that have existed long ago, often avoided by the Muslim community of Tengger. Because for them, ancestral traditions existed before they were born and have been passed on to him, while Islam came in this region in the next period.

The various forms of adaptation behavior of Tengger Muslim society with the above local culture is a manifestation of their expression as it is in accordance with the capacity of their religious knowledge. The role of *Majelis Taklim* is very strategic in determining the direction of religious understanding (perception) and adaptation behavior of Tengger Muslim society with local culture.

Conclusion

The existence of *Majelis Taklim* as a social institution can create "chaos" in Tengger cultural structure. Whether consciously or unconsciously with the wider role of the *Majelis Taklim* as a new community structure in the community Tengger community can produce new consequences as well. But new and emerging consequences do not sacrifice the social order of Tengger society. Because the socio-cultural system of Tengger community keeps the local wisdom that has been rooted strong and efficient. Local wisdom such as the system of togetherness, mutual assistance, tolerance (in Javanese *tepo seliro*), mutual respect despite the different beliefs, soft in speaking, embarrassed flaunting aurat, beliefs about the law of *Karmah*, beliefs about the existence of life both in the world and in the afterlife.

This is in line with the structural functionalist theory of Robert K.M. which emphasizes social order and ignores conflicts in change in society. According to this theory that society is a social system consisting of parts or elements that are interconnected and united in balance. Society consists of a collection of individuals forming social groups, organizations, and institutions of no other institution is to achieve a social balance.

Majlis Taklim has been instrumental in shaping adaptation behavior of Tengger Muslim minority with local culture. There are five forms of adaptation strategies in this paper by using Merton's anomie theory as a knife of analysis. The intended adaptation is first, conformity with Karo culture and entities. Second, innovation with Barikan culture. Third, ritualism with the culture of Kasodo, Walagara and Sodorant dance. Fourth, retreatism (self-alienation) with the culture of Liliwet and Santi. And the fifth, rebellion with various cultures that developed in the Tengger region which is regarded as heresy behavior even leads to polytheism by some Tengger Muslim society.

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