

## THE ISLAMIC EXTENSION STRATEGY FOR MUSLIM CONVERTS IN REMOTE CULTURAL SOCIETIES: A CASE STUDY OF THE MERATUS DAYAK TRIBE

Gusti Yasser Arafat;<sup>1</sup> Budi Guntoro;<sup>2</sup> Roso Witjaksono<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1,2,3</sup>Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

[1gyasserarafat@mail.ugm.ac.id](mailto:gyasserarafat@mail.ugm.ac.id); [2budiguntoro@ugm.ac.id](mailto:budiguntoro@ugm.ac.id);

[3rosowitjaksono@ugm.ac.id](mailto:rosowitjaksono@ugm.ac.id)

**Abstract:** *The key determinants in the extension of Islamic values and practices to a particular rural community lie in the specific meticulous strategies in order to result in the expected outcome. This study qualitatively elaborates scrupulous decent strategies in the extension of Islam to the Dayak tribe on Meratus mountain. The strategies proposed are formulated from to field observation where the researcher participated directly in the act of the community and conducted deep interviews with the indigenous people. The data are analyzed using Miles and Hubberman's cyclic data analysis. The validity and credibility of the data are checked through external validity and triangulation of data sources. The effectiveness of extension and communication strategies are discussed through the viewpoint of extension and communication studies. The preaching of Islam to the community relies on religious axioms that are discussed through the viewpoint of religious studies. Meanwhile, an ethnographic approach is used to understand the life of the Meratus Dayak tribe as the target of the extension. The results of this study is expected to reveal opportunities in extending Islamic values into the life of Meratus Dayak tribe as it shows the traditional values of their heritage. Appreciations and harmonious relationship to their culture and tradition determines the success of Islamic religious extension to their community.*

**Keywords:** *Da'wah; Islamic Extension Strategy; Meratus Dayak Culture; Muslim Converts;*

### Introduction

As one of growing religions in Indonesia, Islam lies on a formal legal basis in Indonesian Republic Law No. 1965 about the Prevention of Religion Blasphemy and Abuse on Islam, Christianity, Catholic, Hindu, and Buddhism. Other rules that regulates about religions in Indonesia is

1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Chapter 29 verse 2, “The State guarantees all persons the freedom of worship, each according to his/her own religion or belief” and Chapter 28e verse 1 “Everyone has the freedom to choose and practice their religion, education, employment, citizenship, and place of residence within the state territory. They also have the right to leave and return to the state territory.” Based on these regulations, Indonesian citizens are free to choose any religion including Islam. It also conforms to democratic fundamentals which value freedoms in every individual, in this case freedom of religion and freedom of expression.

The spread of Islam, Islamic extension, or what is commonly known as *da'wah* is an obligation to every muslim. It is stated in the Quran, An-Nahl 125: “(O Prophet), call to the way of your Lord with wisdom and goodly exhortation, and reason with them in the best manner possible. Surely your Lord knows best who has strayed away from His path, and He also knows well those who are guided to the Right Way.” Muhammad Sulaiman explains the meaning of wisdom call (*bil-bikmah*) as righteous and wisdom saying, which is the Quran; other mufassirin believe it means convincing proof. An-Nisaburi, for example, interprets *bikmah* as a strong (*qath'i*) argument (*hujjah*) that is convincing.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from the Quran, the command to preach, or *da'wah*, is also stated in *hadith*, “Whoever among you sees evil, let him change it with his hand. If he cannot do so, then with his tongue. If he cannot do so, then with his heart, which is the weakest level of faith”<sup>2</sup>. This *hadith* explains three ways to change evils. First, ‘changing with hands’ means through authority or government, in this case the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI/Majelis Ulama Indonesia), or certain authorities that have power to control through laws or *fatwa* from Muslim scholars or *ulama*. Second, ‘changing with tongue’ means through the role of *da'wah* or Islamic extension by *da'i/ muballigh* (preacher) and every other muslim. Third, ‘changing with heart’ means to endure and to be forbearing during hardships while keeping good relations with other believers. These actions are called *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* ((promoting

---

<sup>1</sup>An-Nisaburi, *Tafsir An Nisabury Mawaqiu At Tafqair, juz V*, (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al Ilmiyah, 2010), 65.

<sup>2</sup>An-Nawawi, Yahya bin Sharaf, *The Forty Hadith of al-Imam an-Nawawi*. transl. Umm Muhammad. (Jeddah: Abul Qasim, 1999), 70-72. [https://d1.islamhouse.com/data/en/ih\\_books/single2/en-hadith-nawawy-sahih.pdf](https://d1.islamhouse.com/data/en/ih_books/single2/en-hadith-nawawy-sahih.pdf)

good and preventing vice) or *da'wab*. Hafidz Abdurrahman asserts that Allah made *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* as a differentiator between *mu'min* (believer) and *munafiq* (hypocrite).

On the basis of Indonesian Republic Laws, the preaching of Islam (*da'wab*) then is legal on one hand; on the other hand, it is an obligation to every Muslim in Islam. The preaching of Islam by Islamic religious counselors or *da'i* is not only delivered to born Muslims but also to new Converts especially those living in remote areas.

This study portrays the preaching of Islam or Islamic extension committed by Islamic religious counselors in Hulu Sungai Selatan (HSS) regency, South Kalimantan as they access new Muslim Converts in the Meratus Dayak ethnic group. Meratus Dayak is one of Dayak tribes indigenous to Kalimantan island living along Meratus mountain in South Kalimantan. A strong heritage, old religion, well known to Meratus Dayaknese and reflected in their daily lives is Balian or Kaharingan. Although some of them are Muslim Converts, their cultural traditions still linger to this day. Kaharingan tradition is one of many complications faced by *da'i* in HSS as they try to access the new Converts. These *da'i* also suffer from the lack of economic support especially those that are not government employees or state civil services (*aparatur sipil negara/ASN*) under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Other obstacles faced by them are geographical barriers (i.e. steep road, remote location), lack of accommodation, and inadequate infrastructure.

In the context of Islam development, strategy is understood as perceptiveness to direct all human potentials and resources to achieve prosperity and fortune<sup>3</sup>. Effective strategies increase power and chances as well as minimize weaknesses and potential threats<sup>4</sup>. Kusnadi argues that there are no such things as effective and 'good' strategies relevant to all targets as strategies depend on how a counselor delivers his materials to the target community and what the community actually needs<sup>5</sup>. Extension strategies rely on how well a group of counselors play their roles, understand the root of the problems, touch the cognitive,

---

<sup>3</sup>Syarif Ustman, *Strategi Pembangunan Indonesia dan Pembangunan dalam Islam*, (Jakarta: Firma Jakarta, 1998), 8

<sup>4</sup>Sriroso Satmoko, Bayu Sasongko, and Mukson, "Strategi Pengembangan Penyuluhan Pertanian di Semarang Jawa Tengah", *Pengembangan dan Penyuluhan Pertanian* 15, no 27 (2018), 53. <https://doi.org/10.36626/jppp.v15i27.29>

<sup>5</sup>Dedy Kusnadi, *Dasar-dasar Penyuluh Pertanian* (Sekolah Tinggi Penyuluhan Pertanian Bogor, 2011), 27

affective, and psychomotor aspects, and enlighten the target group to be able to self-manage themselves<sup>6</sup>.

*Da'wah* concepts are highly related with social exchange and symbolic interaction in which appraisals turn up and bring with it the amelioration of people's condition. Therefore, *da'wah* does not only involve worshipping God; it can also be expressed through politeness, greeting each other, and everything that entails goodness for all. *Da'wah* is expected to bring joy to all members of the society since Islam comes to bring with it prosperity, contentment, *rahmat*, and good news (*basyiran*) for all human beings<sup>7</sup>.

Islamic extension strategies, according to Hamid, are systematic approaches to enlighten, guide, and convey information about Islamic values and, at the same time, build the society so their understanding about values and development in Islam elevates and later on will improve their behaviors, habits, and skills<sup>8</sup>.

Hamid arranges several strategies in Islamic extension as follows: 1) identifying the strengths of target by collecting data about the area and target group then analyzing them, 2) formulating the monograph potentials of the region or target group, 3) arranging work plans (weekly, monthly, annually, and incidentally), 4) setting out the term of reference, 5) implementing the work program, 6) and evaluating the work program<sup>9</sup>.

Islamic extension strategies should be built on the awareness of the target group's condition. It is basically a method to deliver messages (*da'wah*) by paying attention to the heterogeneity of the target groups, involving cultural background, tradition, jobs, education levels, and social status of the society<sup>10</sup>.

---

<sup>6</sup>Edi Setiyanto, Restu Sukei and Suwarno, *Pedoman Penyuluhan Bahasa Indonesia*, (Jogjakarta: Balai Bahasa Yogyakarta, Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2008), 35

<sup>7</sup>M. Kholili, Syamsul Hadi, and Subejo, "Islam Yang Rahmat dalam Membangun Umat: Studi terhadap Dakwah Paif Kabupaten Sleman", *Kawistara* 4, no. 3 (2014): 299. <https://doi.org/10.22146/kawistara.6385>

<sup>8</sup>Abdul Hamid. "Strategi Pelaksanaan Penyuluhan Agama Islam." *bdkbanjarmasin.kemenag*. September 7, 2020, <https://bdkbanjarmasin.kemenag.go.id/artikel/strategi-pelaksanaan-penyuluhan-agama-islam>

<sup>9</sup>ibid

<sup>10</sup>Rosidin, Widodo, and Siti Aminah, "Strategi Penyuluh Agama Islam dalam Pemberdayaan Mualaf Kecamatan Turi Kabupaten Sleman", *Al-Qalam: Jurnal Ilmiah*

## Method

This is an investigative-qualitative research. Acknowledging the indigenous ethic code, it pays attention to things that are personal, private, taboo, and sensitive to the local culture and religious belief of the indigenous people of Dayak Meratus. The confidentiality informants are protected using pseudonyms and initials. This study uses emic approach; it elaborates the data through narration and detailed story constructed from the data source (informants) after being evaluated and interpreted using relevant theories<sup>11</sup>.

The researcher triangulate data from several sources: local muslim Meratus Dayaknese, Islamic preachers from surrounding Meratus mountain, other ethnographic researchers who conducted similar studies and practitioners from *Muallaf* Center Indonesia, observation notes as the researcher immerse himself in the local activities of Meratus Dayaknese, and research artifacts containing data of number of muslim Converts around Meratus from Central Bureau of Statistics (*Badan Pusat Statistik*), Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), Religious Affairs Office (*Kantor Urusan Agama/KUA*) and *Badan Amil Zakat Nasional* (Baznas), Islamic preaching (*da'wah*) materials from Alquran and Hadist, and photos of Meratus Dayaknese local rituals.

The data are collected through several ways<sup>12</sup>. *First*, field direct observation. The researcher engaged in the villagers' sacred activities and traditional rituals, e.g. *arub bawanang*, *arub manyidat banib*. The researcher also immersed himself in the Islamic extension processes conducted by local *ulama* or Islamic preachers (*da'i*) assigned by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI), Islamic mass organizations, Islamic educational institutions, and *Badan Amil Zakat Nasional* (Baznas) located at local mosques on Meratus mountain.

*Second*, face-to-face deep interview with the informants. The researcher interviewed around thirteen local muslim villagers especially the new muslim Converts on Meratus mountain and ten Islamic preachers (*da'i*) from the institutions mentioned above to understand the

---

*Keagamaan dan kemasyarakatan* 14, no. 1 (2020), 4.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.35931/aq.v14i1.204>

<sup>11</sup>Hamidi, *Metode Penelitian dan Teori Komunikasi: Penulisan Proposal dan Laporan Penelitian*, (Malang: Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 2007), 124

<sup>12</sup>John C. Creswell, *Research Design: Pendekatan Metode Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Campuran*, transl. Achmad F. and Rianayati K. P. (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2019), fourth ed., 252-254

situation and challenges in outreaching Islam into the community, strategies implemented by Islamic preachers, and responses of the community to the *da'wah* materials conveyed by them. To ensure the external validity of data, the researcher also interviewed other ethnographic researchers who conducted similar studies and practitioners from *Muallaf* Center Indonesia.

*Third*, focus group discussion. Several Islamic preachers (*da'i*) were gathered to reveal the groups' perception and experience conveying Islam to the Dayaknese community. On the other hand, the new muslim Converts from Dayaknese community were also gathered to collect information about their experience converting to Islam and the situation they encountered afterward. *Fourth*, documentary study involving physical authentic proofs about Dayaknese muslim converts mentioned above, reports of their number, agenda documentation, etc. including audio visual materials namely videos, sounds, and photos.

This study is micro-ethnographic focusing on the cultural side as the research object. The data are analyzed using a cyclic interactive model by Miles and Huberman, consisting of (1) data reduction by electing data, focusing on important data, abstraction, and rough transformation from the field, (2) data display through narrative texts, matrix, graphic, networking, and chart for clearer data reading and conclusion, and (3) drawing conclusion (verification) by making proposition formula with logical principles to obtain the findings, then studying them repeatedly, classifying the data, and make proposition<sup>13</sup>.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Meratus Dayak Ethnic Group as Cultural New Converts**

Converts (*muallaf*) oftentimes are defined as people who have recently embraced Islam and have relatively weak faith and thus need to be strengthened. This term also applies to non-muslims who show the potential and desire to embrace Islam<sup>14</sup>. The word *Muallaf* (convert)

---

<sup>13</sup>Matthew B. Miles and Michael Huberman, *Analisis Data Kualitatif: Sumber tentang Metode-metode Baru*, transl. Cecep R. R and Mulyarto. (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1992), 16

<sup>14</sup>Arafat Noer Abdillah. "Pemberdayaan Mualaf Pasca Konversi di Mualaf Center Yogyakarta". *Tarbiyatuna* 11, no. 1 (2020). 23-30. <https://doi.org/10.31603/tarbiyatuna.v11i1.3200>.

comes from Arabic *allafa*, which means to obey or to be tame. Sayyid Sabiq explains that converts are people whose hearts need to be softened, in a positive way, to embrace Islam or those with weak faith thus need to be strengthened<sup>15</sup>. Indra Wibowo from *Mualaf Center Indonesia* explains that *muallaf* cannot be simply understood as someone who has just embraced Islam; the definition leads further to a state of heart or faith in Allah which is weak and unstable due to lack of knowledge about Islam. Therefore, *muallaf* really needs assistance from all parties, especially the neighboring Muslims<sup>16</sup>.

Dayaknese are the natives of Kalimantan<sup>17</sup>. Dayak Meratus is one among hundreds of Dayak ethnic groups which are called *puak* (tribe). Dayak Meratus people live on Meratus mountain with thick protected tropical forest. They are divided into sub-tribes involving Dayak Pitap, Dayak Hantakan, Dayak Loksado, Dayak Piani, Dayak Bajuin, and Dayak Bangkalan spread along different regions in South Kalimantan, such as Awayan, Batang Alai, Batu Benawa, Balangan, Hulu Sungai Tengah Banjar, Tanah Laut, Tanah Bumbu, Kota Baru, Padang Batung, Tapin Atas, Belimbang, Sampanahan, Kalumpang Hulu, Loksado, etc.

### **Dayak Meratus' Indigenous Belief**

Indigenous religion of Dayak ethnic groups is Kaharingan<sup>18</sup>. It is sometimes also called '*agama Helu*'. Meratus Dayaknese Kaharingan was only recognized as 'religion' after the first General Election in 1955 when Panglima Pang Dayak, the leader of Dayaknese in Loksado, asked by the regional officials about the belief system of Meratus Dayaknese and then he mentioned the term 'Kaharingan'<sup>19</sup>.

---

<sup>15</sup>Sayyid Sabiq, *Fiqhus Sunnah*, transl. Nor Hasanuddin, (Jakarta: Pena Pundi Aksara, 2009), 677.

<sup>16</sup>Indra Wibowo. Interview by Gusti Yasser Arafat, December 15, 2019, interview IW, transcript, Dissertation Archives, Yogyakarta.

<sup>17</sup>Clarry Sada, Yabit Alas, and Muhamad Anshari, Indigenous people of Borneo (Dayak): Development, social cultural perspective and its challenges. *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 6, no. 1, (2019), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2019.1665936>

<sup>18</sup>Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah. *Adat Istiadat Kalimantan Selatan*. (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1977).

<sup>19</sup>Mohammad Soehadha, "Kolonisasi Agama Lokal: Peminggiran Agama Kaharingan Beserta Masyarakat Pendukungnya di Loksado, Kalimantan Selatan.", *research article*, (Yogyakarta: Pusat Kajian Dinamika Agama, Budaya dan Masyarakat PPS IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2003), 2.

Yet, the people of Dayak Meratus usually identify themselves as Balian. They were also known to Banjarese people as *buban Balian* (Balian people). The term Balian theoretically comes from two conditions. First, the religious leader of Balian is also called *Balian*. Second, Dayak Meratus people used to live in a communal house called *balai* or *balai adat*, which is led by a *Balian*; the term 'Balian people', hence, refers to the people who originally live in *balai adat*. Balian as a 'religion' is known by many names, such as *Agama Bahari*, *Agama Bahari Kala*, or *Agama Bahari Mumunan*. *Bahari*, *bahari kala*, and *bahari mumunan* come from archaic Banjarese which means 'ancient' or from 'ancient time'. In other words, Balian, *Agama Bahari*, *Agama Bahari Kala*, or *Agama Bahari Mumunan* mean a 'religion' embraced by Meratus Dayaknese a long time ago.

Being Dayaknese is commonly linked to their 'religion'. In other words, to be a Dayaknese is to have Kaharingan or Balian as a 'religion'. Even to these days, Dayaknese mostly are Kaharingan followers or Protestant Christians. Consequently, when a Dayaknese embraces other religions, especially Islam, he will lose his Dayakness, and will usually be recognized as Banjarese.

The term 'Kaharingan' today is more popular to common knowledge than 'Balian'. Therefore, this study too from now on shall refer to the 'religion' of Meratus Dayaknese as Kaharingan. Kaharingan comes from the word '*haring*' which means to live and to grow (naturally) without human intervention. '*Haring*' to Meratus Dayaknese also means 'good deed', such as doing things that would benefit nature and do not harm others. There was no literature nor oral record regarding when Kaharingan 'religion' emerged. What is known to Kalimantan people is just that this religion is inherited through generations since their ancestors far before Hindu, Islam, Christianity, and Catholic came to Kalimantan. According to the believers, Kaharingan came to Kalimantan together with the first Dayak man who ruled for the system to arrange the relationship between Dayaknese and other human beings, and their relationship with the greater God, and their relationship with the universe. Even though Kaharingan was the first 'religion', the later religions that came to Dayaknese people had given much influence to Kaharingan these days. In fact, interreligious relations between



Kaharingan, Christianity, and Islam are not something new to Dayaknese<sup>20</sup>.

Kaharingan believers embrace monotheism; yet it also touches other beliefs such as animism, dynamism, totemism, fetishism, spritism, and animatism. Animism believes in the spirits of ancestors. Dynamism believes that certain things contain special power or luck (*tuah*) e.g. big trees. Fetishism confines to heirlooms such as *keris*, charm, etc. Totemism believes in special connection and ancestry to the surrounding nature such as animals and plants; its believers would respect particular totem plants or animals as they represent the Protector. Kaharingan believers believe in the existence of God (*Tuban*) above other gods (*Dewa-dewa/Ilah-ilah*) as his subordinates, then spirits, souls of nature, spirits of the ancestors, supernatural persons, life after death, rights and wrongs, and holy ritual ceremonies, all of which are based on myths and legends. These believers are convinced that some natural beings such as rivers, mountains, land, etc have souls or occupants and they have power; therefore, they shall be worshiped so that every human agenda that has connections to these beings shall not be hindered. Meratus Dayaknese usually called these beings “*Datu*”, such as *Datu* who occupies forest mountain Halau-halau. Other living beings are also believed by them to have religious meanings.

Kaharingan believes in three Gods. First, *Suvara*, God who created a universe including human beings; he rules on earth and above the sky. Second, *Sang Hiyang Baharata*, gods who organize sustenance; there are two kinds of it: the good one, living above the sky, and the bad one, living on earth. Third, *Sangkanawang*, the God who grows rice with the assistance of other supporting gods. The names of spiritual beings in Meratus Dayak culture that are related to the arrangement of the universe are *doTanjung*, *Bububan Aing*, *Bapang*, *Sisia Banua*, *Indung*, and *Lampung*; related to the arrangement of human lives are *Raja Umbayang*, *Kariau*, *Jajanang*, *Iringan*, *Angau*, *Dangsana Ampat*, and a number of prophets and angels; and related to the arrangement and growth of rice are *Balian Tabalong*, *Balian Lanjarhari*, *Balian Harimaung*, *Balian Marus*, *Datu*

---

<sup>20</sup>Abdul Qodir. "Educational perspective on interreligious relations among Muslims, Christians and Kaharingan adherents in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia", *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 12, no. 7 (2021), 1277-1294. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-06-2019-0131>

*Laki Dangsanak Walu, Datu Ranggan, and Kabungsuan*<sup>21</sup>. *Suvara* is the Supreme God above all gods. He was accompanied by four assistants, *Jabari, Surapil, Iskail, and Mikail*. They all live above the sky, guarded by *Dara Langit* and *Muda Langit*. Meratus Dayaknese believed that *Suvara* created the universe from the void.

Farming (*huma*) to Meratus Dayaknese is a sacred ritual. In fact, *huma* is identified as an integral part of Meratus Dayaknese culture. They believed that rice was originally the food of heavenly beings. In growing rice (*huma*), they would go through a set of conventional procedures as they are convinced that rice will only grow well if certain ceremonial rituals are performed as what has been done by the heavenly beings. Since every object and being is believed to be occupied by certain residents, these residents would be mentioned in certain ceremonies. For example, *During Basamu Umang* ritual, Gods who possess plants, named *Datu Bini Badangsanak Walu*, would be praised and requested to give His blessing to the growth of the rice. Other Gods who are related to *huma* rituals are also praised, such as God *Jajanang* who possesses and maintains farming tools, God *Lampung* who takes care of the land, Gods *Jiuk* and *Maratu Jiuk* who master the clouds and rains, and God *Lanjarhari* who arrange seasonal cycle and the exchange of night and day.

When someone dies, Meratus Dayaknese believes the spirit would go to a place called *Balai Maratusi*. The struggle to reach this place depends on whether the person has done many good deeds or evils during his life. Some spirits who have not reached *Balai Maratusi*, called *Pidara* spirit, would wander around the village and possess the livings. The people then would ask the *balians* to chase away the spirit into *Balai Maratusi*. The *balians* would turn into spirits called *Pangguruan* spirits. There are also other spirits called *Kariau*, who were once the leaders of the village. They also might have difficulty reaching *Balai Maratusi* and end up making people lost, unable to find their way to some direction. Animals such as snakes, crocodiles, some birds, etc. in Meratus Dayaknese life are also believed to have spirits called *ingunan*. Every *bubuhan* (family) in Meratus Dayaknese usually has their own *ingunan*, considered as their protectors.

---

<sup>21</sup>Noerid Haloei Radam. *Religi Urang Bukit: Suatu Lukisan Struktur dan Fungsi dalam Kehidupan Sosial-Ekonomi*, (Jogjakarta: Yayasan Semesta, 2001),162.

### **Main Issues in the Islamic Outreach to the Meratus Dayaknese**

Meratus Dayaknese previous belief, Kaharingan or Balian, constitutes seemingly considerable challenges in the Islamic outreach to the community. Their belief rooting in the animism, dynamism, and totemism seems to contradict Islamic values of *tawbeed* or *syabada* which uphold the concept that Allah SWT is the only God almighty with no partners whatsoever. There is also dancing and musical rituals which are part of their sacred religious rituals that usually goes hand in hand with nature personified as their mother earth.

However, the fact that Kaharingan syncretized with some religious beliefs including Islam indicates that it actually opens up to other values beyond its ancient belief. Building harmonious relationship with them in order to convey Islamic values could be started by finding similar concepts between Islam and Kaharingan that may bridge the differences. Kaharingan coexists with nature just like Islam or muslims live in harmony with its surroundings including nature. In the face of Dayaknese culture which consider dancing and music as sacred rituals, Islam also has spots for cultural traditions in which music and dancing are welcomed. This research explores strategies implemented by Islamic preachers around Meratus mountain in the face of the challenges aforementioned.

### **Strategies in the Extension of Islam to Meratus Dayaknese Muslim Converts**

#### *In the Face of Animism, Dynamism, and Totemism*

Kaharingan believes that human spirits (animism), i.e. families who had died and ancestors, can still be wandering among the living and have certain power to affect the life of the living such as their peacefulness, social harmony, economy and health. Therefore, islamic extension strategy or *da'wah* to them could include the discussion about how human spirits could still exist among the living and make contact with them. Among useful references (*kitab*) regarding spirits are *I'anab* (juz 2, pg. 161) by Abu Bakar Muhammad and *Hadiyatul Ahyal lil Amwat* (pg. 184-185) by Abul Hasan Ali bin Ahmad bin Yusuf gin Ja'far Al-Hakkari. Abul Hasan quoted a *hadith*:

From Abu Hurairah that Prophet Muhammad SAW. said: "Gift the dead". When the companions asked what they should gift the dead with, the Prophet said: "With Charity and Prayers," and

continued to say that: “the souls of dead people descended every Friday on earth and begged their close ones with a forlorn voice: ‘O Mother, O Father, O Children, O Close ones to me, be kind to me even with a dirham, or a piece of bread or clothes, and Allah shall reward you.’”<sup>22</sup>

In addition, Islam does not prohibit the celebration of the death of family members on day 1, 2, 3, 7, 25, 40, 100 up to day 1000 which has been the rituals in Kaharingan. In Islam, there is also a concept about the existence of a *wali* (saint) of Allah that possesses *karamah* (the ability to perform miracles). The *karamah* of a *wali* still persists even though the *wali* has passed away; they could still affect the life of the living and facilitate some benefits or blessings from God to human beings.

In addition to animism, Meratus Dayaknese also believe in the spirits that possess certain things and places, e.g. river, Halau-halau mountain, forest, cave, rings, *simpai* bracelets, *mandau*, big trees (i.e. *Karidaya*), *rantai babi*, *dau taguh*, *minyak bintang*, *minyak kuyang*, *wasi kuning*, drum, certain tattoo motifs, animal bones, etc. Concerning their dynamism belief, *da'wah* contents are expected to be wiser to not harshly judge such cults as *shirk* or idolatry of other things besides Allah. It could start by respecting the holiness of those places and items but gradually explains that Islam perceives certain things and places special because they contain *barakah* or blessings from Allah and not to be worshiped or praised. *Bughyatul Mursyidin* by Abdurrahman could be used as a reference for these materials:

“We believe that any objects have certain virtue from Allah and connection to Allah as we believe that they cannot cause *maslahah* and *madharah* except by His permission. Meanwhile, a trace or mark of an object returns to the object itself, i.e. it is noble due to the nobility that it carries. Regarding places, they do not contain any virtue; however, when certain places are used for goodness and worship such as *shalah*, fasting, and all kinds of practices done by any pious servants, then Allah’s mercy (*rahmat*) shall descent, the angles are present, and peacefulness will fill the

---

<sup>22</sup>Ahmed Ali Al Kuwaity. “The Beauty of Charity”. Al-Islam. accessed on November 17, 2024. <https://www.al-islam.org/beauty-charity-ahmed-ali-al-kuwaity/charitable-and-sending-good-deeds-dead>

heart. These are *barakah* (blessings) expected from those places.”<sup>23</sup>

Just like believing that *zam-zam* water is blessed is not a *syirk*, appreciating and admiring certain objects and places is not necessarily a *syirk*. Some objects and places are blessed because it is connected to Allah’s greatness and power.

Meratus Dayaknese also believed that humans have a mystical relationship with a spirit-being, such as an animal or plant. It is reflected in the rituals of their economic activities such as farming (*huma*) and gardening. Some primates such as monkey, ape, *bangkui*, *uwa-uwa*, *birangan*, and orangutan could disturb their gardening rituals; and some plants such as *taguh sabari* leaf are considered to have magical power.

In the face of this indigenous belief, the appropriate islamic extension strategy would be not to directly confront this is *shirk* and/or *keburafat* (superstition). As the society's faith gets stronger and their knowledge increases along with the progress of *da'wah* among them, they could step by step be informed that Allah is the only Mighty being who possesses all power in the universe. Some relevant references from the Quran for this topic would be *An-Naml* 20-22, *Al-Kahf* 22, *Hud* 64, *Ash-Shaffat* 107 and 144, *Al-Isra* 44, *Al-Haj* 18, *An-Nur* 41, *Saba* 10, *Shad* 18, and *Al-Baqarah* 68 and 259.

“And he took attendance of the birds and said, ‘Why do I not see the hoopoe - or is he among the absent? I will surely punish him with a severe punishment or slaughter him unless he brings me clear authorization’. But the hoopoe stayed not long and said, ‘I have encompassed [in knowledge] that which you have not encompassed, and I have come to you from Sheba with certain news’” (*An-Naml* translation, 20-22).

In a hadith narrated by Abi Huraira, Rasulullah peace be upon him said:

"The last hour won't come before the Muslims would fight the Jews and the Muslims will kill them so Jews would hide behind rocks and trees. Then the rocks and tree would call: oh Muslim, oh servant of God! There is a Jew behind me, come and kill him. Only "Gharkad" tree, it is of Jews' trees." (Bukhari & Muslim).

---

<sup>23</sup>Abdurrahman Ba'alawi, *Bughyatul Mustarsyidin*, (Beirut: Darul Fikr, 1995). 639.

*In the Face of Syncretism*

There are some speculations about Kaharingan or Balian. Some say that it is one of ancient Hinduism sects, later on labeled as Kaharingan Hinduism<sup>24</sup>. There is also another presumption that Kaharingan is a local belief which as the time goes by syncretized with the formal big religions around including Islam. Some concepts and even terminologies in Kaharingan are apparently close to that of Islam. For example, the first humans in Kaharingan are called *Datu* Adam and *Datu* Tihawa; *Datu* Adam is male and *Datu* Tihawa is female. In Islam, Adam is the first human and a prophet, and Siti Hawa is his wife, created from one of his ribs. *Datu* in Meratus Dayaknese refers to respected ancient figures, mostly their ancestors. *Datu* could also mean the astral beings that possess a haunting or sacred place or possess a certain object. The term *Datu* is also often used in Banjarese to refer to old people like grandfather or grandmother. This terminology is widely used among Malay societies which means ‘elderly’ or ‘respected’, with a little difference in accents; some Malays say *Dato* and *Atu*. At any rate, the story of why Adam and Hawa descended from Paradise to Earth is also identical between Islam and Kaharingan, that is because they ate from the forbidden tree.

Another resemblance between Islam and Kaharingan is the name of the angels. In Kaharingan, there are four angels that surround and assist the God, *Nining Babatara*: angel Jabaril, angel Surapil, angel Mikail, and angel Zarail; each of them accompanies *Nining Babatara* from four corners: front, back, left, and right. The naming of these four angels is also similar to those in Christianity, who are known as Gabriel, Michael, Serafil, and Azrael. The tasks of four angels in Kaharingan though are not mentioned.

Those resemblances in terminologies between Kaharingan and Islam opens up wider opportunities to convey Islamic concepts into Meratus Dayaknese. *Da'i* could tell stories from the Quran and *hadith* about Adam, Hawa, and angels of Allah. Some propositions from the Quran that could be used related to Adam and Hawa are *Al Baqarah* 31 & 33, *Al A'raf* 19 & 172. Another proposition could be a *hadith* narrated by Abu Hurairah, from the Prophet Muhammad PBUH: “Allah, the

---

<sup>24</sup>Tiwi Etika and Anna Schiller. Kaharingan or Hindu Kaharingan: What's in a Name in Indonesian Borneo? *Nova Religio* 25, no. 4 (2022). 64-87. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/856010>.

Exalted and Glorious, created Adam in His image with His length of sixty cubits.”

Additionally, these are some propositions regarding the angles. Proposition about *Jibreel* could be taken from *Al Baqarah* 97, At Tahrim 4, Al Qadr 4, and a hadith reported by Abdullah ibn Abbas: The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said, “Jibreel , upon him be peace, taught me to recite the Quran in one reading and I requested another. I continued to ask for more until he stopped at seven readings.” (Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī 4705, Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 819). Propositions about Mikael are for example *Al Baqarah* 98 and a hadith Anas ibn Malik reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said to the angel *Jibreel*, “Why do I never see the angel *Mikael* laughing?” Gabriel said, “Mikael has not laughed since the creation of the Hellfire.” (Musnad Aḥmad 13343).

Outreaching to Meratus Dayaknese community, *da'i* would try to be very careful and sensitive to the local wisdoms and traditional belief of the local inhabitants. Stories of Adam and Hawa and some angles of Allah SWT which have similarities with those of Kaharingan may become one of alternatives to bridge some gaps between Islamic concept of *tawbeed* and Kaharingan polytheism along with animism, dynamism, and totemism. The Dayaknese community would be very welcoming to hear that some things in Islam have identical names with those found in Kaharingan.

#### *Taking Opportunity from Meratus Dayaknese Oral Culture*

Meratus Dayaknese, like nearly all classic civilizations in rural and remote areas, do not recognize any written culture, except some representation or semiotic symbols with certain meanings, such as what were found in their traditional ceremonies. Dayaknese on Meratus mountain use oral media to communicate and convey ideas and messages through generations. It appears especially during worship and the recitation of *mamang*, mantra, and prayers. Musical sounds and rhythms that they produced during traditional ceremonies also do not refer to any written texts. Like all folklores in Indonesia, folklores in Meratus Dayaknese spread through generations orally, such as the legend of Batu Laki mountain, the origin of hot water of Tanuhi, the legend of Singa Api cave, etc. Some stories about saint persons, angels, astral

creatures, and gods in Balian culture also spread orally through generations.

As formal schools reach Loksado district on Meratus mountain, Meratus Dayaknese children gradually learn alphabetical writing. These are supported by educational programs run by foundations and institutions, such as Baznas of Hulu Sungai Selatan regency, community service programs (*Kuliab Kerja Nyata/KKN*) by Universitas Islam Negeri Antasari Banjarmasin, Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta, Universitas Islam Kalimantan Syekh Arsyad Al Banjari, Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Darussalam Martapura, Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Darul Ulum Kandangan, and Program Indonesia Mengajar. Even so, oral culture is still dominant due to its transcendental aspects, beliefs about magical beings, and myths inherited from their ancestors.

Concerning the oral culture of Meratus Dayaknese, the appropriate media for *da'wah* among this society would be through face-to-face interaction, i.e. through the preaching method. Meratus Dayaknese muslims have so far been very welcoming towards *da'wah* of the *da'i* especially the well-known *guru(s)* and their preaching approach with their epic stories and comical dialogues accompanying every religious message from Alquran and hadith.

In addition, it would be wise if the *da'wah* materials contain the story of intimacy between the ancestors of Meratus Dayaknese and Banjarese ethnics. Folklore like '*Intingan wan Dayuban*' tells about the brotherhood between two characters which later on would be the ancestors of Banjarese and Dayaknese people. In the context of introducing Islam (*da'wah*) to the rural Meratus Dayaknese, this story should be viewed as nothing but moral and social lessons that would get the *da'i* (Islamic preacher) closer to the *mad'u* (object of *da'wah*). In fact, just like Dayaknese, Banjarese too have folklore culture, well-known as *Madihin*, acculturated into Banjarese society to deliver religious messages in a way that is entertaining<sup>25</sup>.

Banjarese people had already embraced Islam since the establishment of Banjarese sultanate in 1526 M by the hands of Khatib

---

<sup>25</sup>Zulfa Jamalie, 'Madihin: Kesenian Tradisional Masyarakat Banjar Sebagai Media Dakwah Islam', *Khazanah* 2, no. 1 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v2i1.322>



Dayan<sup>26</sup> as the Banjarese sultanate had close relationships with Islamic sultanates in Java island such as Demak and Mataram. Many Banjarese sultans married Dayaknese princesses, e.g. Princess Maija, Dawang, Lawai, etc. Dayaknese always respect their elders, ancestors, and charismatic figures from the past even though they embraced different beliefs, i.e. Dayaknese respect towards Syech Arsyad Al Banjari from Kalampayan, *Guru Sekumpul*, and *Guru Kapuh* who are muslim *ulama*'. On the other side, Banjarese are often amazed at the expertise possessed by Dayaknese people, such as their skills in farming, hunting in the forest, and their magical prowess. Such harmony between different ethnicities should be considered as an opportunity to make *da'wah* or Islamic values more welcomed in the target group society.

#### *Taking Opportunity from Dayaknese Dancing Culture*

Like every cultural tradition in every ethnicity in Indonesia, dancing is also part of Meratus Dayaknese culture; they called it *tandik*. *Tandik* has an important role in the Dayaknese ritual ceremonies, along with the music and *mamang* recitation by the *Balians*. *Tandik* is performed by either Dayaknese women or men. Sometimes, it is performed together by women and men, for instance, in *aruh bawang* ceremony while circling the offerings within a *balai*. Sometimes, in other personal rituals performed by a *Balian* himself, the men performed *tandik* while reciting *mamang* while the women played the drum (*gendang*).

Approaching Meratus Dayaknese with *tandik* culture, one of strategies that could be used is introducing *nasyeed* or *dhiker* with body movement, accompanied by proposition from a hadith narrated by Ahmad ibn Hanbal and Hafidz al-Maqdisi from Anas ibn Malik:

“The Ethiopians danced in front of the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace); dancing and saying [in their language], “Muhammad is a righteous servant.” The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, “What are they saying?” And they said, “Muhammad is a righteous servant” (Musnad al-Imam Ahmad. 6 vols. Cairo 1313/1895. Reprint. Beirut: Dar Sadir, n.d., 3.152).”

---

<sup>26</sup>Rahmadi Rahmadi, ‘Membincang Proses Islamisasi Kawasan Kalimantan dari Berbagai Teori. *Khazanah* 18, no. 2 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v18i2.4164>

Ibn Kathir in *al Bidayah wa an Nihayah* and Abu Nu'aim in *Hilyatul Auliya'* mentions the narration of Sayyidina Ali about the habits of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH: "And when dawn comes, they remember God while moving like a tree swaying in the wind". Imam Syafi'i also mentions in *Fatawa al Khalili*: "I understood that movement while doing the *dhikr* and reading the Quran is not *haram* or *makruh*, but suggested in every condition including while standing, sitting, lying, moving, staying put, going on a journey, staying at home, for richer, and/or poorer." Islam civilization also treasures various kinds of dances, such as the cycling dance of sufism Jalaluddin Rumi, Arabic *Zapin*, and Aceh *Rudat*, all of which are not to be confronted against Islamic teachings.

#### *Taking Opportunity from Meratus Dayaknese Musical Culture*

In Meratus Dayaknese culture, music always follows their traditional ceremonies and religious rituals. The music comes from several kinds of skin drums, *sarunai* (a kind of flute), and *karakucak* (usually bound to ankles as they perform *tandik*). Playing music is very sacred during traditional ceremonies or religious rituals. It is a skill exclusively mastered by the Balian as they are assigned by their traditional elders (*guru jaya* and *balian tuba*) and inherited through generations until today.

In the face of this tradition, it is possible to introduce some musical culture in Islam as Islam, particularly in Indonesia, recognizes *mawlid nasheed*<sup>27</sup>, either *Al-habsyi*, *Diba'i*, or others, which are followed by percussion tools *terbang*, *ketapung*, *gendang bass*, and tambourine. Al-Ghazali in *Ihya' Ulum ad-Dien* mentions:

"Abu Thalib al Makki quotes about the permissibility of listening (to nasheed, songs) from several *ulama'*, e.g. Abullah ibn Ja'far, Abdullah ibn Zubair, Muahirah, Muawaiyah, etc. Abu Thalib al Makki says many *salaf as salih*, either from the companions (*sahabah*) or the *tabi'in*, consider it a good thing. Abu Thalib al Makki says that the *ulama'* of Hijaz (Makkah and Madinah) always listen to songs on special days in a year, i.e. the days required to praise His names, such as Days of Tashreeq. It has been done by

---

<sup>27</sup>Ahmad Suriadi, 'Akulturasi Budaya dalam Tradisi Maulid Nabi Muhammad di Nusantara'. *Khazanah* 17, no. 1 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v17i1.2946>

the people of Madina until these days. We too found that Qadhi Marwan has several singing slave women that he prepared for the *Sufi*. *Atba'* also has two slave women who sang for his brothers. Abu Thalib al Makki says that somebody asks Abu Hasan ibn Salim, 'How do you forbid listening to a song while Junaid, Sari Saqathi, Dzun Nun allow it?' He answered, 'How could I forbid listening to songs while somebody better than me allows it and listens to it?' Abdullah ibn Ja'far ath-Thayyar really did listen to songs. 'What I decline is the play that has singing in it'.

In fact, *mawlid al Habyyi* has been an integral part of Banjarese religious culture, which at some occasions is shared with Meratus Dayaknese especially in the celebration of the birth (*mawleed*) of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. Enthusiasm is evidence in their response towards the celebration of yearly *mawleed*. Islam also recognizes musicalities such as *qasidah rebana*, and others that call for goodness. Through music, many have been touched to increase their faith and obedience to Allah SWT.

#### *Getting Close to Nature: Accomodating Local Wisdom and Culture*

Meratus Dayaknese live in thick forest areas and mountainous land. Every detail of their activities is very close to nature, especially in economic aspects, such as traditional and manual gardening (aloeswood, cinnamon, etc.), farming<sup>28</sup> (i.e. *huma*), hunting, and harvesting (rocks, sand, and woods). Their local wisdoms also cover their economic life. For instance, to determine when they should start farming, a *balian's* advice is needed. *Balian* then would watch the stars at night to predict when it would rain. *Balian* has local knowledge about the weather related to the perfect timing to begin farming that he inherited from his *balian* ancestors through generations.

Meratus Dayaknese live in harmony with nature. For example, they took medicine from nature as *balian padukunan* conducted treatment

---

<sup>28</sup>Eva Alviawati, S Adyatma , MS Rahman, FA Setiawan , AM Rahman , P Angriani , AN Saputra and NF Aristin, "Livelihood strategies of farmers in loksado district, hulu sungai selatan regency, indonesia" Presented at *the International Conference on Anthropocene, Global Environmental Change and Powerful Geography (ICoAGPG)* 27/09/2022 Online, Indonesia. *IOP Conf. Ser.: Earth Environ. Sci.* 1190 012023. <https://10.1088/1755-1315/1190/1/012023>

and led various traditional rituals<sup>29</sup>. Other than that, even though they are familiar with shifting cultivation, they did not burn natural vegetation or forest to clear the land. They also look after the natural sustainability in their environment; for example, hunting down fawns is forbidden because it may end the deer population. Many kinds of primates are also left swinging on trees unharmed unless they enter the villagers' gardens. Plants such as lotus growing on the rock walls in the river banks are prohibited to be cleaned out to maintain the sustainability. All these norms have traditionally become guidance for Meratus Dayaknese in their economic life which is very close to nature.

Considering the aforementioned local wisdom of Meratus Dayaknese, *da'wah* materials that are related to nature would be specifically congruous, involving the topic about the creation of universe, the creation of the earth and the sky, and islamic teachings on how humans have a duty to protect the nature, i.e. they take from it but ought to conserve it. Some references that could be used are *Yunus* 5-6 & 24, *Anbiya* 33, *Al An'am* 99 & 141, *Ar Ra'd* 4, *Qaf* 9.

And He it is who causes gardens to grow, [both] trellised and untrellised, and palm trees and crops of different [kinds of] food and olives and pomegranates, similar and dissimilar. Eat of [each of] its fruit when it yields and give its due [zakah] on the day of its harvest. And be not excessive. Indeed, He does not like those who commit excess (*Al An'am* translation: 141).

## **Conclusion**

The key determinants in the extensions of Islamic values and practices to a particular rural community lies in the specific meticulous strategies in order to result in the expected outcome. The study on cultural aspects and traditions on Meratus Dayaknese using ethnography could help formulating these strategies. The Meratus Dayak ethnic tribe is highly respected for their heritage. Contemporary norms including other religions might potentially be a problem that would offend their belief and old tradition. Therefore, appreciation and acts of harmony to

---

<sup>29</sup>Muhammad Anshari, "Concepts of Illness Etiology in a Traditional Medical System: Analysis of Philosophy of Aruh and Healing Ritual as Ethnomedicine. *International Journal of Anthropology and Ethnology* 8, no 6 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41257-024-00107-5>

their culture are important to open up opportunities for the extension of Islam to the Meratus Dayaknese communities.

Meratus Dayaknese culture which is known to be very close to nature as their local wisdoms are based upon it. Many of their cultural traditions and traditional ceremonies contain beliefs which revolve around animism, dynamism, totemism, and syncretism. Meratus Dayaknese culture is also known for their oral folktales, dancing tradition, and traditional music. Islamic extension strategies should be formed based on sensitivity to these local wisdoms and understanding their soft spots to some similarities of concepts between their inherited religion–Kaharingan– and Islam.

## References

- Abdillah, Arafat N.. “Pemberdayaan Mualaf Pasca Konversi di Mualaf Center Yogyakarta”. *Tarbiyatuna* 11, no. 1 (2020). 23-30. <https://doi.org/10.31603/tarbiyatuna.v11i1.3200>.
- Alviawati, Eva, S Adyatma , MS Rahman, FA Setiawan , AM Rahman , P Angriani , AN Saputra and NF Aristin, “Livelihood Strategies Of Farmers In Loksado District, Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency, Indonesia.” Presented at *the International Conference on Anthropocene, Global Environmental Change and Powerful Geography (ICoAGPG)* 27/09/2022 Online, Indonesia. *IOP Conf. Ser.: Earth Environ. Sci.* 1190 012023. <https://10.1088/1755-1315/1190/1/012023>
- An-Nawawi; Sharaf, Yahya. *The Forty Hadith of al-Imām an-Nawawi*. Translated by Umm Muḥammad. Jeddah: Abul Qasim, 1999. [https://d1.islamhouse.com/data/en/ih\\_books/single2/en-hadith-nawawy-sahih.pdf](https://d1.islamhouse.com/data/en/ih_books/single2/en-hadith-nawawy-sahih.pdf).
- An-Nisaburi, *Tafsir An Nisabury Mawaqiu At Tafqair, juz V*. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub alIlmiyyah, 2010.
- Anshari, Muhammad, “Concepts of Illness Etiology in a Traditional Medical System: Analysis of Philosophy of Aruh and Healing Ritual as Ethnomedicine. *International Journal of Anthropology and Ethnology* 8, no 6 (2024). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41257-024-00107-5>
- Al Kuwaity, Ahmed Ali. “The Beauty of Charity”. Al-Islam. accessed on November 17, 2024. <https://www.al-islam.org/beauty-charity-ahmed-ali-al-kuwaity/charitable-and- sending-good-deeds-dead>

- Ba'alawi, Abdurrahman. *Bughyatul Mustaryidin*. Beirut: Darul Fikr. 1995
- Creswell, John C. *Research Design: Pendekatan Metode Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, dan Campuran*, Translated by Achmad F. and Rianayati K. P. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2019.
- Etika, Tiwi and Anna Schiller. Kaharingan or Hindu Kaharingan: What's in a Name in Indonesian Borneo? *Nova Religio* 25, no. 4 (2022). 64-87. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/856010>.
- Hamidi. *Metode Penelitian dan Teori Komunikasi: Penulisan Proposal dan Laporan Penelitian*. Malang: Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang, 2007.
- Hamid, Abdul. "Strategi Pelaksanaan Penyuluhan Agama Islam." *bdkbanjarmasin.kemenag*. September 7, 2020, <https://bdkbanjarmasin.kemenag.go.id/artikel/strategi-pelaksanaan-penyuluhan-agama-islam>
- Jamalie, Zulfa. 'Madihin: Kesenian Tradisional Masyarakat Banjar Sebagai Media Dakwah Islam', *Khazanah* 2, no. 1 (2003). <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v2i1.322>
- Kholili, Muhammad, Syamsul Hadi, and Subejo, "Islam Yang Rahmat dalam Membangun Umat: Studi terhadap Dakwah Paif Kabupaten Sleman", *Kawistara* 4, no. 3 (2014): 299. <https://doi.org/10.22146/kawistara.6385>
- Kusnadi, Dedy. *Dasar-Dasar Penyuluh Pertanian*, Sekolah Tinggi Penyuluhan Pertanian Bogor, 2011.
- Miles, Matthew B. and Michael Huberman. *Analisis Data Kualitatif: Sumber tentang Metode-metode Baru*. Translated by Cecep R. R and Mulyarto. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1992.
- Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah.. *Adat istiadat Kalimantan Selatan*. Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1977.
- Qodir, Abdul. "Educational perspective on interreligious relations among Muslims, Christians and Kaharingan adherents in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia", *Journal of Islamic Marketing* 12, no. 7 (2022), 1277-1294. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIMA-06-2019-0131>
- Radam, Noerid Haloei. *Religi Orang Bukit, Suatu Lukisan Struktur dan Fungsi dalam Kehidupan Sosial-Ekonomi*. Jogjakarta: Yayasan Ambarukmo. 2001.

- Rahmadi, Rahmadi, 'Membincang Proses Islamisasi Kawasan Kalimantan dari Berbagai Teori. *Khazanah* 18, no. 2 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v18i2.4164>
- Rosidin, Widodo, and Siti Aminah, "Strategi Penyuluh Agama Islam dalam Pemberdayaan Mualaf Kecamatan Turi Kabupaten Sleman", *Al-Qalam: Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan dan kemasyarakatan* 14, no. 1 (Januari-Juli, 2020), 1-28. <http://dx.doi.org/10.35931/aq.v14i1.204>
- Sabiq, Sayyid. *Fiqhus Sunnah*, Translated by Nor Hasanuddin, Jakarta: Pena Pundi Aksara, 2009.
- Sada, Clarry, Yabit Alas and Muhammad Anshari. Indigenous people of Borneo (Dayak): Development, social cultural perspective and its challenges. *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 6, no. 1, (2019), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2019.1665936>
- Satmoko, Sriroso, Bayu Sasongko, and Mukson. "Strategi Pengembangan Penyuluhan Pertanian di Semarang Jawa Tengah". *Jurnal Pengembangan dan Penyuluhan Pertanian* 15, no. 27 (2018).53. <https://doi.org/10.36626/jppp.v15i27.29>
- Setiyanto, Edi, Restu Sukesni dan Suwarno. *Pedoman Penyuluhan Bahasa Indonesia*. Jogjakarta: Balai Bahasa Yogyakarta, Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2008.
- Soehadha, Mohammad. "Kolonisasi Agama Lokal: Peminggiran Agama Kaharingan Beserta Masyarakat Pendukungnya di Loksado, Kalimantan Selatan.". *research article*. Yogyakarta: Pusat Kajian Dinamika Agama, Budaya dan Masyarakat PPS IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2003.
- Suriadi, Ahmad, 'Akulturasi Budaya dalam Tradisi Maulid Nabi Muhammad di Nusantara'. *Khazanah* 17, no. 1 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v17i1.2946>
- Usman, Syarif. *Strategi Pembangunan Indonesia dan Pembangunan dalam Islam*. Jakarta: Firma Jakarta, 1998.

*Gusti Yasser Arafat; Budi Guntoro; Roso Wijaksono*