

Facing World Religion Paradigm: Challenges Of Dayak Kaharingan During New Order Era Into Reforms

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Abstrak

Kepercayaan sebagai bagian dari kehidupan manusia, merupakan bagian dari salah satu hak dalam kehidupan manusia untuk meyakini kepercayaan apapun yang mereka inginkan, akan tetapi, dengan semakin banyak dan beragamnya kepercayaan yang ada, berdampak pada munculnya standarisasi kepercayaan yang layak untuk di kategorikan sebagai agama. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk membahas bagaimana salah satu kepercayaan asli masyarakat Kalimantan yaitu kabaringan, yang belum bisa dikatakan sebagai sebuah agama karena terbentur oleh berbagai standarisasi agama. Tulisan ini menemukan bahwasanya standarisasi yang diawali oleh pengertian agama menurut E.B.Taylor berdampak pada suatu kepercayaan harus memenuhi beberapa syarat seperti kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan, kitab suci, pembawa agama atau nabi dan lainnya harus bisa dipenuhi untuk bisa dikatakan sebagai sebuah agama. Hal ini berdampak pada Kabaringan sebagai sebuah kepercayaan yang hanya bisa dikatakan sebagai "aliran kepercayaan" bukan agama di Indonesia. Naik dan turunnya hubungan antara agama lokal dan negara yang terjadi tidak hanya pada masa orde baru akan tetapi juga reformasi sedikit banyak dipengaruhi oleh paradigma tersebut.

Kata Kunci: Agama; Dunia; Kabaringan; Orde Baru; Paradigma; Reformasi

Abstract

Belief, as part of human life, is part of the fundamental rights. However, the increasing number and variety of existing beliefs impact the emergence of standardized beliefs that deserve to be categorized as religion. This paper discusses how one of the original beliefs of the people of Kalimantan, namely kabaringan, cannot be considered a religion because various religious standards hamper it. This paper finds that standardization which begins with the notion of religion, according to EB Taylor, has an impact on a belief that must meet several conditions, such as belief in God, holy scriptures, carriers of religion or prophets, and others. The standardization impacts Kabaringan as a belief that can only be said as a "aliran kepercayaan," not a religion in Indonesia. The rise and fall of the relationship between local religion and the state that occurred during the New Order era and reforms were more or less influenced by this paradigm.

Keywords: Kabaringan; New Order Era; Paradigm; Religion; Reform Era; World

Introduction

Modernization is influencing not only the economy, politics, government, and culture but also religion in the world. It is a long process in human history. Each people expect changes and development in their life. Through the changes and development, their life will be meaningful. Modernization is not merely influencing the economy, politics, government, and culture but a religion worldwide. Modernization is in the globalization era, a long process in human history. Each people expect changes and development in their life, not merely as an object of technological changes or development. This condition probably happens if people are lost value being their life principles. The value meant is the cultural and religious values that can construct the pattern of human life and improve it. However, culture is not only stopped by the human self but should also develop as an era demanding.

God reveals religion to be the primary paradigm of human life. Religion is a historical term, like all other terms and phenomena. In academic programs and recent publications, 'Indigenous Religions' as a separate category increasingly fit neatly into a 'world religions' paradigm¹. In the journal of paradigms behind (and before) the modern concept of religion, Catherine Bell (2006) identifies five basic paradigms for understanding the historical emergence. It uses the generic idea of "religion" in the Christian cultures of Europe and

¹Stephanie D. Barger, "James L. Cox. 2007. From Primitive to Indigenous: The Academic Study of Indigenous Religions. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, Pp. 171, ISBN 9780754655695, Hb, \pounds 50.00." (Edinburgh University Press 22 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LF UK, 2009), 104-105.

America². Modernization as the key paradigm discussed Christianity as the prototype; religion as the opposite of reason; the modern formulation of "world religions"; the cultural necessity of religion; and critical analysis of the Western "construction" of religion. Shortly, Bell's storyline explores a handful of crucial paradigms that have been and still are to academic understandings of religion in several fields.

Tomoko Masuzawa identifies that the world's religion is classified according to geography, and those religions consist of originated in the Ancient Near East (primarily Judaism, Christianity, and Islam); the religions of South Asia (almost always including Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, but sometimes adding Zoroastrianism); and religions that developed in the Far East (Confucianism, Taoism, and Shinto)³. The world acknowledges those religions with many populations, including Indonesia, as a multicultural state.

Indonesia has Islam as its significant religion instead. Other religions are enlisted officially in Indonesia, namely Christianity, Catholicism, Hindu, Buddha, and Confucianism. However, there are still many religions and beliefs followed by Indonesia society that are still not accommodated and acknowledged by the Indonesian government. One of the religions is *Dayak kaharingan* in Kalimantan.

Interestingly, as happened to the local religion, namely the people's religion of Dayak Kaharingan, the government, through the ministry of religion, socializes and approaches, and negotiations for them to want to move and be labeled to one of the religions recognized by the government of Indonesia. In the case of Dayak Kaharingan, the government labels them as part of the Hindu religion. So Dayak Kaharingan changed its name to the Hindu Kaharingan religion to be recognized by the Indonesian government.

The politicization of religion in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of a great missionary religion or world religion, which considers matters relating to animism. This belief is considered a "folk tradition" and not a religion. This is an effect of the theory raised by Taylor on animism, which is the beginning of the origin of religion. In this era of modernism, animism is no longer a part of religion. However, the religion of monotheism is what is modern today.

This paper will explain how Dayak society's belief can be regarded as part of animism. Then the author will explain the effect of the separation of animism and religion, as happened in Indonesia. Especially *kaharingan* was not considered by the Indonesian government a legitimate religion, so they must be willing to move to one of the religions recognized by the Indonesian government.

Methods

This paper uses a qualitative method with a literature study approach. The literature study research method is a research method that examines and analyzes existing and documented data from various sources, such as books, journals, scientific articles, and others. Literature study research aims to know and understand a problem comprehensively under study.

In research on the Dayak Kaharingan, the literature study research method can be used to gather information about history, culture, and beliefs. Apart from that, literature study research can also be used to find out how the paradigm of earlier scholars and the thoughts that formed a religious paradigm can be formed so that it influences views on Dayak Kaharingan's beliefs. To collect data, the author can search for and read various literary sources that are relevant to the problems studied. After the data is collected, the author can then perform data analysis using various techniques, such as thematic or qualitative analysis.

²Catherine Bell, "Paradigms behind (and before) the Modern Concept of Religion," *History and Theory* 45, no. 4 (2006): 27-46.

³Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism* (University of Chicago Press, 2005).

Discussion

The Paradigm of World Religion in Indonesia

In Gellner's view, the definition of religion comes from the Judeo-Christian culture. For centuries there was a misunderstanding about religion in Asia due to the Western view of religion⁴. The category 'world religion' was denounced as a fabricated idea. Understanding Asian religions like Hindu, Shinto, and Buddhism with glasses 'world religion' is derived from the Judeo-Christian tradition is a step in the wrong. Values, scriptures, prophets, religious ceremonies, and rituals in Asia should be allowed to grow without pressure from the religious sense arising from the Christian Jewish.

World religion is defined as the religion with the largest population of countless adherents of the whole population in the world. For many parts of the world, information about religious affiliation is available from consensus and surveys. For other parts of the world, there is little reliable information. The popularity of the world religion paradigm rests on many factors, primarily promotion by the discipline to solve the many problems of emphasis, logic, and cultural centrism when multiple religions are introduced. Nevertheless, the paradigm always involves one major problem that readily generates resistance by some included traditions. Namely, the "leveling" implied making one's religion just another in a group of comparable items⁵

Indonesia as a state defines religion more than the political aspect, though, in reality, Indonesia never defines religion formally and only provides an indicator of the natural religion. However, the existing indicator becomes a resource problem relating to the multiplicity of religions in Indonesia. Some indicators of religion in Indonesia are its international affiliates, having followers, having the concept of prophethood, having a holy book, and having an area of origin.

One of the incongruities from the Indonesian government towards the freedom of religion is that the government only recognizes six religions (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism). Each Indonesian person in Indonesia must embrace one religion: the personal data mentioned in official documents such as passports and other identity cards. Atheism and animism are not an option if the religion in Indonesia and society devoted to one such belief are considered blasphemous and state.

In Indonesia, *religion* is defined as "agama," just a change of English to Indonesian. Since religion and "agama" are the same, they have specific requirements to be part of it. Something that could be categorized as a religion is a divine revelation recorded by a prophet in a holy book, a law system for the community of believers, congregational worship, and a belief in the Only God. One example of cults that are not recognized because the country does not meet recognized religious indicators is the case of the indigenous Dayak people who hold beliefs in Kaharingan.

Dayak Kaharingan, Religion or Animism

Kaharingan is the indigenous religion of Dayak. The title is taken from Danum Kaharingan, which means "water of life." After World War II, the term was used to express their cultural identity and desire to revive the original Dayak culture. In general, the Dayaks who embraced Kaharingan still called the Dayaks, but some converted to Islam call themselves Malays. It is based on the opinion of Ch. F. H. Dumont, in his book published in 1924, which said⁶

⁴David N. Gellner, "Religion, Politics, and Ritual. Remarks on Geertz and Bloch," *Social Anthropology* 7, no. 2 (1999): 135-153.

⁵Bell, "Paradigms behind (and before) the Modern Concept of Religion," 27-46.

⁶Edi Petebang, "Dayak Sakti, Ngayau, Tariu, Mangkok Merah," *Pontianak: Institut of Dayakology Research and Development*, 1999.

"The Dayaks are the actual inhabitants of Borneo Island; they used to have inhabited the island of Borneo. But when the Malays of Sumatra and Peninsular Land Melaka come over there. Dayaks then retreated. Grow old; grow deep into the ground next to the island of Borneo. Other than the Malays had Bugis again, and Makassar inhabits the east coast and the west coast of the island of Borneo. Similarly, Java people have come during the Majapahit Empire. Furthermore, the stranger who comes in west Kalimantan, namely the Chinese. "

His conviction found expression in various ways, but the principle is the same with worshipping God the creator, just a different way, and it is called. This may be due to staying away from one tribe to another and the difficulty of communication. In addition, due to the absence of a written grip that can be used as a guideline in carrying out the duties and obligations as faiths believed. Kaharingan has a place of worship called *Basarab* Hall or Hall *Kaharingan*. Their scriptures are *Panaturan* and books of other religions, such as *Talatab Basarab* (set Prayer) and *Tamar* (manual procedure of asking for God's help with the ceremony of sowing rice).

Kaharingan is a formal label for the belief system of luangan, maanyan, ngaju and otданum⁷, which is a group of Dayak in Kalimantan. Kaharingan comes from the root "herring," which means self-existence, source, or vitality. There is also a saying that comes from herring, Parey herring, which means "rice (rice) which grows spontaneously"⁸. There also found that Kaharingan means "living," a source of life stemming from God⁹. Kaharingan is a belief shared by many Dayak communities, sometimes, each group or region of Kaharingan Dayak has its way, but Kaharingan can not separate Kaharingan in northern Borneo in southern Borneo, but also can not be equated.

As a belief, Kaharingan is a way of life for the Dayak community, but for anthropologists, Kaharingan is categorized as animism. Because of the beliefs and rituals performed by adherents Kaharingan, Taylor E.B. conceptualized as animism, which is the belief of the lower race that is the origin of today's modern religion. Thought animism is derived from Taylor's thoughts about death and dream. In one case, the life within a person Appears to separate from the physical body. Conversely, a phantom or image Appears Able to do the same. Both reviews can be accounted for if we make a next and natural step in logic and combine them into one, into the idea of a personal soul that mirrors the body and animates it from within¹⁰.

Taylor categorizes animism into two forms. The first concerns the souls of individual creatures capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body, and the second concerns other spirits upward to the rank of powerful Deities. Spiritual beings are held to affect or control the events of the material world and man's life here and hereafter, and it is considered that they hold intercourse with men and receive pleasure and displeasure from human actions. The belief in their existence leads naturally. It might be said almost inevitably, sooner or later, to active Reverence and propitiation¹¹.

The belief of Kaharingan can be said as monotheism, but also polytheism simultaneously¹², because Kaharingan believes in God almighty one, the God who created the universe and all living things called Hatala langih, infinite tuning, and others. However, some spirits and gods organize human life in each field. As in agriculture, every adherent Kaharingan

⁷Joseph A. Weinstock, "Kaharingan: Life and Death in Southern Borneo," *Indonesian Religions in Transition*, 1987, 71-97.

⁸Weinstock, 71-97.

⁹Martin Baier, "The Development of the Hindu Kaharingan Religion: A New Dayak Religion in Central Kalimantan," *Anthropos*, no. H. 2 (2007): 566-577.

¹⁰Daniel L. Pals, "Introducing Religion: Readings from the Classic Theorists," 2009, 3.

¹¹Pals, 3.

¹²Weinstock, "Kaharingan," 78.

wants to start the farming process, ask for the blessing of the god farmer, or wish to clear land by burning, and then ask for the blessing of the God of fire.

In addition, Kaharingan, that also believes in the spirits of the deceased, is still influential in their lives because they believe that the spirits of the dead do not go straight up into the sky but still to be around them. Therefore, they are still doing homage to the spirit of those who had died. Moreover, suppose the individual is responsible for or has a high societal position. In that case, it could be that the spirit of the person will be regarded as one of the gods, a god who is categorized as derived from humans, as the legend is very well known in the Dayak community. Kaharingan, the god commander birds formerly when life is a great commander in the battle for the Dayak community.

Kaharingan tradition is a form of respect for local knowledge. Kaharingan religion was born from the tradition of growing and developing the march of daily life Dayak tribe, from birth, marriage, and death. Generations upheld all the rituals and, until now, still practiced and adhered to its adherents. The Chairman of the Society Uud Danum, Rafael Syamsuddin, said that in West Kalimantan, Kaharingan faiths had been significantly reduced. This is different in Central Kalimantan, where the religion Kaharingan has been embraced by about 330,000 residents Ngaju Dayak tribe. Religion Kaharingan in Central Kalimantan is one of the tribal religions in the world that still survive amid development and globalization. While in West Kalimantan, the Kaharingan religion is "suppressed" under various pretexts.

Evolution of Kaharingan into Islam, Christianity, and Hindhu

According to the researchers, the trust Ancestry Indonesia is animism, dynamism, and demonology. Nevertheless, the Indonesian nation evolved and trusted the nation rooted in polytheism, henotheism, monotheistic animism, dynamism, and gemology. From the teachings embraced by our ancestors and formed by the experience of life profusion experienced, they pass over a long enough time.

Dayak is open to outside cultural influences, including the presence of great religions. Disclosure of them is used by the missionaries to spread their religion. Islam entered Kalimantan in the 13th century, brought by immigrants from other areas, such as Java, Malay, Bugis, and others. Dayak tribes who live in coastal areas and have much to do with migrants from other tribes converted to Islam. On the other hand, Christian missionary activities of Catholic and Protestant Christians have entered Borneo's interior and have run in earnest since the 19th century. The Christian missionaries use social media services, such as educational assistance, economic aid, and health services, to spread significant religions, primarily recruiting the younger generation. Most of the younger generation Dayak have converted to Islam, Christianity, or Catholicism. However, some of them remain in trust, Kaharingan.

There are three theories of globalization of culture, according to Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2004):

1. Cultural differentiation supports that globalization affects the community culture, but differences remain. The only fragmented culture without substituting is a native culture of a society.
2. Cultural hybridization assumes that there is nothing pure in a culture. However, culture results from a complex process, and the result is never the same as the constituent components.
3. Cultural convergence assumes that cultural globalization is closely related to cultural imperialism.

There is a culture that emerged and dominated as well as reduced other cultures¹³. In the Kaharingan culture that evolved into several major religions recognized in Indonesia,

¹³Irmayanti Moeliono, *Prosiding International Conference on Indonesian Studies: Ethnicity and Globalization*, vol. 1 (Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia, 2013), 350-372.

including cultural convergence, Kaharingan was omitted because it confused people. Kaharingan not only changed into Islam and Christianity, but the government added the Hindu religion in front of Kaharingan as Hindhu Kaharingan to make society embraces it as a religion in Indonesia. Process Kaharingan into Hinduism can not be separated from the letter of the Minister of Religion. Kaharingan was removed and became Hindu. The Director-General Guidance Hindu amplified strengthened integration by issuing a Decree of Director Number 37 of 1980, which confirmed the integration by forming the council Hinduism Kaharingan in Palangkaraya. Kaharingan integrated into Hinduism in 1980 following the restructuring of population administration by charging religion in identity cards.

Dayak people have a religion forced by local governments to meet with immigrant religions, Hindu. However, elements of their beliefs are not always the same as the Hindu religion. For example, Kaharingan has a place of worship called *Basarab* Hall or Hall *Kaharingan*. Their religious scriptures are *Panaturan* and books of other religions, such as *Talatab Basarab* (set Prayer), *Tawar* (manual procedure of asking for God's help with the ceremony sowing of rice), and so different from what is on the teachings of Hinduism¹⁴. Regardless of the views and differences, Central Kalimantan recorded about 350,000 people, or 20% of the population, who embraced Kaharingan, with 900 houses of worship. The total follower of Kaharingan in four provinces in Kalimantan reached 1.4 million.

As with the other local religions in Indonesia, their existence is almost forgotten, neglected, marginalized, and they suffer discrimination. Spiritual serenity is inviolable by the changes that apply in Indonesia and the whole world. Resilience soul, societal pressures, and issues of meaning no longer coalesce into a powerful force to move the individual to realize the religious symbols. People now feel it challenging to make all these religious demands and align the reality of life with the nature of religion.

Acculturation is a social process that arises when a group of people with a particular culture are confronted with elements of a foreign culture. The foreign culture was gradually accepted and processed into its own culture without causing a loss of cultural elements of the group itself. The process is too fast will mean coercion and would lead to bloodshed. Natural processes will require a process of mutual learning and mutual acceptance for a very long time.

Categorizing Kaharingan as One of The Religions in Indonesia

The government in new order regime implemented policy guidance to local beliefs by directing these beliefs as its mother to one of the five major religions. The implementation of the policy does not always have a positive impact. Many local faiths feel positioned marginally and only victims of government policy¹⁵. After the end of the *Orde Baru* era, the reform era blew fresh air for the local religious followers to gain official recognition from the government, especially since the reign of Abdurrahman Wahid. (Nuhrison, 2002). To these expectations, the adherents of Kaharingan in Central Kalimantan urged Kaharingan to be recognized as a religion.

Kaharingan, during this, misses the recognition of being a religion. Religion has an assortment of facial features, although some experts defined a limited basis because no single definition can cover all parts of the religion. Durkheim argues that religion is a tool to tie social relations. Furthermore, there is also the definition of symbolic meaning: religion is a symbol that has meaning. Geertz (1969: 1-46) interprets religion as what the community

¹⁴Tjilik Riwut and R. Nila, "Kalimantan Membangun: Alam Dan Kebudayaan. Sleman" (NR publishing, 2007).

¹⁵Kustini, "Peranan Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama Dalam Pelaksanaan Pasal 8, 9, Dan 10 Peraturan Bersama Menteri Agama Dan Menteri Dalam Negeri Nomor 9 Dan 8 Tahun 2006 / Editor, Kustini | OPAC Perpustakaan Nasional RI.," accessed December 30, 2022, <https://opac.perpusnas.go.id/DetailOpac.aspx?id=726991>.

believes and practices as reality instead of the concepts of religion itself. So with that, religion itself is regarded as a cultural system¹⁶.

Regarding the sociological approach, Kaharingan can be categorized as a religion of the earth or the local religion. Kaharingan taught. In reality, it is still practiced by the Dayak people, including some of those who have embraced religions other than Islam.

Factors that enabled the demand for stand-alone are the change of government policy towards the marginalized groups in the New Order regime. This policy is especially prominent during the reign of President Abdurrahman Wahid. Law No. 39 of 1999 on Human Rights also led to calls for the secession of the Hindu religion. In addition, recently, certain people have tried to ban followers of Kaharingan from using Kaharingan's attributes in their religious ceremonies (*Hinduisasi*).

Geertz views the origin of religion in society. He believes that the main characteristics of religious beliefs compare with other beliefs such as ideology, philosophy, science, or a sense of religious belief. The beliefs are not formulated from experience. Even the experience was born from religious beliefs. Adherents of religion do not get the religion inductively but deductively. Through approaches to symbolic anthropology, Geertz sees religion as a cultural system marked by symbols that highlight the religious imagery of religious society.

The administrative evidence of the civilians perceived to distinguish a person or Dayak ethnic community that embraces the belief Kaharingan and non- Kaharingan (general faiths such as Islam, Christianity, and others) is the religion column in the Identity Card unlisted Semitic religion or the religion that came from overseas.

This condition also occurs in "traditional religions" in Nusantara, like *parmalim*, *pelebegu*, *Wiwitan*, *kejawen*, *aluk ta dolo*, etc. This relates to the Law on Civil Registration No. 23, 2006. Under the bill faction, the general term "penghayat" is distinguished from the social category "religious" government version¹⁷.

The Struggle Journey of Local Religions in Indonesia

The practice of restricting local religions by the New Order government, especially after 1965, significantly influenced Kaharingan in its efforts to gain recognition. During the New Order era, claims of interests, differentiation of citizens based on their beliefs, and pressure from the majority religious adherents and political parties often occurred, especially in the pressure on local religion¹⁸. On the other hand, according to Arafat, the cause of the negative relationship between local religion and the government post-independence, the complexity of problems in inter-religious relations was motivated by social, cultural, political, and economic conditions. However, the historical roots of problems in inter-religious relations that give rise to conflicts of interest lie in state policy controlling religious affairs. Group interests often experience a transformation that begins with power relations between the majority and minorities accompanied by discriminatory treatment of the civil rights of local religious minorities¹⁹.

Such great control by the state over religion creates an imbalance in attitudes by the state towards the various beliefs it shelters and discrimination against local religions. However, the granting of significant rights to the majority religion is often seen not only during the New Order era but also during the reformation period in Indonesia. In the case of kaharingan, classifying the beliefs of the Dayak people into Hindus is incorrect because the two beliefs,

¹⁶Yusri Mohamad Ramli, "Agama Dalam Tentukur Antropologi Simbolik Clifford Geertz," *International Journal of Islamic Thought (IJIT)* 1 (2012): 62-73.

¹⁷Ira Indrawardana, "Berketuhanan Dalam Perspektif Kepercayaan Sunda Wiwitan," *MELINTAS* 30, no. 1 (April 1, 2014): 105-118, <https://doi.org/10.26593/mel.v30i1.1284.105-118>.

¹⁸Samsul Ma'arif, *Pasang Surut Rekognisi Agama Leluhur Dalam Politik Agama Di Indonesia* (CRCS UGM Yogyakarta, 2017).

¹⁹Arafat Noor Abdillah and Syafira Anisatul Izah, "Dinamika Hubungan Antara Agama Lokal, Agama Resmi, Dan Negara," *Mukaddimah: Jurnal Studi Islam* 7, no. 1 (December 20, 2022): 147.

namely Hinduism and Kaharingan, have fundamental differences that Tiwi Atika and Anne Schiller call old and new religious movements²⁰.

To get out of this problem, kaharingan followers have done various things, such as recording related archives and documents. They were capturing good communication, placing representatives of indigenous peoples to compete in government seats, choosing targets that could be made allies in government, and seeking as many allies as possible²¹. This effort then had a good effect, one of which was the issuance of a decision by the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia Number 97/PU-XIV/2016 in the form of officially including the identity of adherents in the religion column on KTPs as a new step in local religious endeavors such as the Dayak Kaharingan to survive. In Indonesia.

Conclusion

Kalimantan Dayak community believes Kaharingan as their belief, categorized by E B. Taylor as animism. It impacts Kaharingan as the belief system of a small portion of the people of Indonesia. Because of the separation between religious animism and modernism by E B. Taylor's impact on the emergence of religion by western scholars notion that refers to Christians who are part of the modern religion that create trust with different systems can not be called a religion.

It also happened in Indonesia with a different name of "agama", which also refers to the requirements of the mainstream world religions that believe in one God, have a holy book, has a prophet, and so forth. So, the belief system that does not meet these requirements is excluded from the "religion" in Indonesia. Ironically, the government converted the adherents of these beliefs to embrace one of the religions recognized by the government, as happened in Kaharingan being Hindu Kaharingan especially in new order era.

As with the other local religions in Indonesia, their existence is almost forgotten, neglected, marginalized, and they suffer discrimination. Religious serenity is inviolable by the changes that apply in Indonesia and the whole world. Resilience soul, societal pressures, and issues of meaning no longer coalesce into a powerful force to move the individual to realize the religious symbols. People now feel it challenging to make all these religious demands and align the reality of life with the nature of religion.

Acculturation is a social process that arises when a group of people with a particular culture are confronted with elements of a foreign culture. The foreign culture was gradually accepted and processed into its own culture without causing a loss of cultural elements of the group itself. The process is too fast will mean coercion and would lead to bloodshed. Even though the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia Number 97/PU-XIV/2016 officially includes the identity of adherents in the religion column on KTPs. Local religious efforts such as kaharingan to get out of the world religions paradigm still face various obstacles

²⁰Tiwi Etika and Anne Schiller, "Kaharingan or Hindu Kaharingan: What's in a Name in Indonesian Borneo?," *Nova Religio* 25, no. 4 (2022): 64–87.

²¹Aulia Nazmi, Fatimah Fatimah, and Suroto Suroto, "Upaya Suku Dayak Dalam Memperjuangkan Kaharingan Menjadi Salah Satu Agama di Indonesia," *Jurnal Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan* 8, no. 2 (2018): 255, <https://doi.org/10.20527/kewarganegaraan.v8i2.10624>.

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