

MUSLIM KANAYATN: MINORITY IDENTITY DISORDER*

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ABSTRACT

In the past people identified the dayak, especially sub ethnic of Kanayatn as Christians or Catholics. By the time and the rapid progress of the Kanayatn communities in their religious aspect, there was also a change of faith. Since the 1980s several Kanayatn people started converting to Islam or mualaf. To reveal how the existence of those who live as minority Muslims in the midst of the Kanayatn who are still Christian or Catholic, this study was done using a qualitative approach with a case study design. The location of the study was in the remote area in West Kalimantan, precisely in Sidas Village, Sengah Temilah District, Landak Regency. Result of the study showed that after the Kanayatn people converted to Islam, they are experiencing a breakdown of identity. Their existence is accepted by halfhearted both by the Kanayatn and Malay communities. The Malay community in general are still perpetuating them as “converts”. Meanwhile the Kanayatn community (Christian community) considers them as Malay or descendant of Malay. Nevertheless, Kanayatn people who convert to Islam try to maintain their identity as Kanayatn people who are Muslim or in short Muslim Kanayatn. Other findings show that as the minority where they are lack of religious guidance, the Muslim community of Sidas Village must be smart in responding to the situation so that they can survive and coexist peacefully among of the Christian majority.

Keywords: Muslim Kanayatn, Minority, Identity, Mualaf, Religious Conversion.

INTRODUCTION

West Kalimantan is an area inhabited by three major ethnic groups, namely Dayak, Malay and Chinese. Kanayatn is a sub-ethnic of Dayak ethnicity. Since the 1980s, the Kanayatn who were identical with Christianity began to convert into Islam in big number¹. From the

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¹No data was found in the form of exact figures, but based on the observations of the authors when conducting research in 2007, there were at least 5 villages in Sengah Temilah with a total of 20-40 families from each village. This is also supported by earlier studies (Zulkifli, 2007)

past, the people of Dayak that convert into Islam generally have been called to or become Malays (Riwut, 197; King, 1983; Ode, 1997). But among the Muslim, the converters have been called as “mualaf” (converter). Even the converters themselves still recognize themselves as converts/mualaf. Although, they had converted to Islam for almost 20 years. Their religious or religious understanding was no significantly different from the Malays (who were born as Muslim). There is an impression that the Malays have not yet been able to accept Kanayatn Muslims as fully Muslim. Likewise, from the non Muslim Kanayatn’s point of view, they can no longer be recognized as Kanayatn people. This position makes Kanayatn Muslims in a difficult position, both unacceptable to be the alays and being no longer of the Kanayatn

people. Kanayatn muslims are neither Malay nor Kanayatn. This phenomenon shows a flurry and failure of self-identities converters. In addition to problems with ethnic identity, Muslim people in the village of Sidas, the village where this study was taken placed, minority is in aspects of the quantity. The first impression they had to live under what Bruner called (in: Sunarto, 2004) as dominant majority culture. As a majority, Kanayatn adherence and imposed various customary rules or laws for the entire community. If the two facts above are related, a question can be raised, is the confusion in the identity of the converter part of the mechanism of resistance to the cultural dominance of Kanayatn?

The issue of identity for the Muslim community of Kanayatn and their resistance to the dominance of the non-Muslim Kanayatn community is important to be studied in order to search a solution. Data from the field shows that they really need guidance and coaching that is appropriate to their needs. During this time, the coaching they received was only sporadic and it did not fit with their basic needs. According to Daradjat (2002), there are still many Da'i or religious preachers who can only give what they have, not what the community needs, because the da'i themselves do not know for sure the psychological needs of the society. Knowledge about the character of individuals and the community will make it easier for preachers to choose the da'wah approach. The Prophet also told that when talking to people, they should pay attention on their psychology, *khatib an nas 'ala qadri' uqulihim* (Daradjat, 2002). Starting from this, the preachers must have adequate knowledge regarding the condition of Muslim Kanayatn. The preacher must have knowledge and understanding of the identity and resistance of Muslim Kanayatn in the face of the domination of non-Muslim Kanayatn society in order to formulate the right da'wah strategy. Therefore, this research is to explore and describe the identity of Muslim Kanayatn, and to get a picture of how preaching activities already exist and what are people's needed and expected.

There are quite a lot of researches or writings on Kanayatn in general, for example: Weintré (2004), Florus (2010), Andasputra *et al.*(2011), and Hariyanto, Tangdililing and Suja'ie (2014). However, a research related to the existence of Kanayatn converts are very little, there were two studies, namely a research conducted by Zulkifli (2007) entitled "Conversion to Islam in Dayaks" and Hermansyan (2013) entitled "Islam and Religious Tolerance in Kanayatn Dayak Muslim Communities in West Kalimantan". Zulkifli's research was his thesis which looked more at the aspects of the historical process and the reasons for the conversion of the Dayaks (Kanayatn) to convert to Islam in Andeng Village, Sengah Temilah District (this is still one sub-district with Sidas Village which was the location of this research). Zulkifli's research concluded that the main reason for conversion to Islam was economic and socio-cultural factors. There is an assumption and hope that converting to Islam will have an impact on improving their standard of living economically. By converting to Islam there is also hope that their social status will be better if compared to remaining as non-Muslim Kanayatn.

Hermansyah's writing (2013) is an article in the journal *Islamica*. As the title suggests, this article reviews about the Islam of the Kanayatn people who just converted to Islam and their relationship with non-Muslim local residents. Hermansyah said that the Islamic community of Kanayatn is a nominal Islam and they has a high religious tolerance. Although this paper discusses the same material object, namely Kanayatn people who are relatively new to Islam, but in terms of formal objects are different. Hermansyah elaborated on the Islamic religion of the Kanayatn, while this study examines the identity of the Muslim Kanayatn and their resistance to Kanayatn domination in general. This Hermansyah article is important for this research, especially in providing an initial description of the typology of Muslim Kanayatn.

As mentioned above, there are only two studies that specifically address Dayak converts

(Muslim Kanayatn), namely Zulkifli's research (2007) and Hermansyah's article (2013). Zulkifli's research and Hermansyah's article are very meaningful to give an initial picture of the condition of Muslim Kanayatn especially their twists and turns to Islam. Specifically, a review of these two articles has been mentioned in the background section above.

There are several writings about Kanayatn in general. In this section there are only four brief writings that will be reviewed. The first is the report of field observations by Weintre (2004) which specifically observes the outstanding ritual and agriculture in the forest in the Kanayatn community. The aspects observed included cultural, social organization, multi-diversity in agriculture, beliefs and rituals, economics, health and politics. The second is a book consisting several writings by Florus et al. (2010). This book contains various perspectives and various aspects of Dayak life in general. Although it was not specifically discussing Kanayatn, this book is important for providing a fairly complete picture of Dayak as a whole in West Kalimantan. The third is a book written by Andasputra, et al. (2011). This book can be said as a book explaining who Kanayatn really is, how their customs, habits, beliefs, economics, art and various socio-cultural issues. Apart from providing a relatively complete picture of Kanayatn, this book has advantages because it was written by Kanayatn people themselves. Therefore, this book is very important as a provider of initial information related to the life of Kanayatn. The fourth, the article written by Hariyanto, Tandililing and Suja'ie (2014) in the Thesis Journal of PSIS-PMIS Universitas Tanjungpura (UNTAN). The article derived from a thesis research described how the construction and reconstruction of Dayak ethnic identity, in this case is Catholic Kanayatn. This article has a similarity with the formal object of this research, which is talking about Dayak-Kanayatn identity. But the identity examined in this article is the identity of Kanayatn people who are Catholic. In addition, this article shows detail of Kanayatn's

identity as a majority in an area that is also relatively close to Pontianak City (about 20 km from Pontianak). Meanwhile, this research, in addition to identity viewed from the perspective of the religion of the Islamic minority, it was also conducted in an area where the Muslim is as minority. The difference in this research area will also lead to large differences related to the condition of the community.

Associated with the theme of minority groups, researchers found several writings in the form of books, articles and research reports that will play an important role in providing an overview of the concept of minorities in this study. First, the final report of the LIPI Research and Engineering Incentive Program in 2010 conducted by Basyar (2010). Basyar's results showed that Muslims in Gianyar and Tabanan faced many policies that made it difficult for them. These policies include: (a) Permission to build a *mushola* (small place for whorship) or mosque; (b) Procurement of burial sites; and (c) Identity card issues (KTP or KIPEM). After the Bali bombings, they also encountered difficulties in the economic field. There are prohibition on selling meatballs or trading in other informal sectors for immigrant Muslims. But, nowadays the situation has improved for Muslims.

They began to be more freely to make a living. Politically, Muslims in Gianyar and Tabanan, do not yet have representation in the legislative parliamentary (DPRD). The absence of Muslim representation in the DPRD certainly makes it difficult for them to access public policies. Various policies made that are not in favor of Muslim interests. It seems that their bargaining position is still relatively weak in dealing with their interests. Seeing this condition, Muslims in Tabanan, for example, approached the winning political party, so that they could easily communicate with them. Thus, Muslim interests come to be taken into account.

Second, Rehayati's article (2011). In his article, Rehayati concludes the case of Filipino Moro Muslims, an ideological problem rooted in

history. The existence of a Moro Muslim minority in the Philippines is not the same as Muslims in Africa, in Australia, in America and in Bosnia Herzegovina. Different historical backgrounds required different solutions. However, it needs to be criticized, is the establishment of an Islamic state for an independent Moro nation is the only solution to obtain peace in the Philippines? Meanwhile, there are divisions in Philippine Muslim organizations, such as MNLF, MILF, and Abu Sayyaf. The difference in the vision and mission agenda of each did not rule out new problems for fellow Muslims in the Southern Philippines. Then what is the solution? Tariq Ramadlan's offered to establish *da'wah* for Muslim minorities, it needs to be considered if they want a change.

Third, an article by Thontowi, (2013). Thontowi's research is based on the issue of why Rohingya Muslim minorities are denied their basic rights, and what efforts must be made by the international law so that genocide and discriminatory policies can be prevented in Myanmar. From his research, Thontowi concluded that there were several factors that made the Rohingya being a discriminatory minority, namely historical, legal and socio-economic factors. Myanmar's political and legal policy violates the provisions of the Convention on discrimination, not only evidenced by the fact that the Muslim Rohingya minority did not have citizenship, but also the state security apparatus and the majority Buddhist population have committed genocide and massacre, and other expulsions. To prevent the continued practice of the genocide in Myanmar, humanitarian assistance and humanitarian intervention and diplomatic punishment given by Asean countries are urgently needed.

Fourth, articles written by Ibrahim (2012). This article mentioned that Islam entered Thailand (Siam or Thailand) since the 11th century AD, but until now Islam which has long been present in Thailand, has not increasingly spread to all corners of Thailand, but instead it has been increasingly marginalized by various aspects.

Even Thai Muslims are a minority community besides the majority Buddhist community. This article discussed several important things, among others, about the history of Islam in Thailand, the religions followed by the people in Thailand, the relationship between Thai Muslims and the government, and the development of Islam in Thailand and its relationship with the Thai national education system.

Fifth, books compiled and translated by Zain, Mohamed and Mamat (1998). Although this collection of books is entitled *Muslim Minority in Thailand*, this book also contains writings on the Moro Muslim minority in the Philippines (written by Wan Kadir Che Man), Muslim minority in China (written by Samsu Adabi Mamat) and comparison of the Moro minority in the Philippines, Malay in Thailand and West Papua in Indonesia (written by RJ May). This book is comprehensive enough to map various conditions and problems faced by minority Muslim groups in four countries (Thailand, the Philippines, China, and Indonesia) in the Asian region. One of the interesting conclusions from the writings in this book is that religion is an important source of sharing or an important element of unity for people facing suffering. Religion is also important in building nationality-minority relations; this is because it also means international relations (pp. 159-161).

Based on the description above, the focus of this research is the existence of the Muslim minority Kanayatn among of a non-Muslim majority Kanayatn. This focus was viewed from two aspects, namely their identity as converts and resistance to the dominance of non-Muslim Kanayatn. The focus can then be formulated into the following research questions: What is the existence of the Muslim minority Kanayatn in the midst of a non-Muslim majority Kanayatn? This question is then divided into three questions: First: Why do Kanayatn people who have long converted to Islam still to be identified as converts? Second: What is their form of resistance to Kanayatn's domination in general? Third: What form of *da'wah* is conducted against the Muslim minority in the village of Sidas?

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Minority Concept

The word minority is once understood as a social group whose number of citizens is much smaller compared to other groups in a society and is therefore discriminated against by other groups (KBBI, 2012). While in other situation, it is also interpreted as a group of people who share some characteristics by birth that makes their groups smaller than some other groups in society and may cause others to treat them unfairly (Dictionary, Cambridge, 2019). As apart from scholarly debates, minority status does not necessary connect population although in many cases it has been used to explore the situation of group of people in relation with majority power in the context of minority-majority discourse. Antony Giddens (2009) argued that those who are called minorities fulfill at least three descriptions. First, the members are very disadvantaged as a result of other people's discrimination against them. Second, members have group solidarity with a "sense of shared ownership", and they look themselves as "completely different" from the majority group. Third, it is usually physically and socially isolated from the larger community. There is no single definition of *minoritas* (minorities).

As an example, the case of Muslim in Sarawak of Malaysia has been what it is called "majority in minority". It means that the terms of majority is not meant to be in number but rather in power. The case may also be called majority in political power. Other example may be seen in the case of the black group under the Apartheid regime in South Africa or the Chinese community in Indonesia as previously explained (Suaedy, 2012). Wirth (1945) also supported this condition of minority definition. On the contrary, Meyers (Basyar, 2010) gave more focus on the issue of power as the most essential terminology of the minority. Roger Scruton is in the position of supporting the argument that the group becomes a minority if it has several characteristics related to power and grouping as explained by Zain, Mohamed and Mamat (1998).

Minority categorization was given by Makesell and Murphy. According to Mikesell, Marvin W. Murphy, (1991) there are two categories of minority. First is minority-cum-territorial ideology; a minority that has certain territorial claims. Minority-cum-territorial claims did not only over culture, language and perhaps religion but also control over certain areas where they have lived for generations. This category can be applied to the cases of indigenous people and conflicts in Papua and Aceh in the past. Second is a minority non-territory; a minority that did not have a claim on certain territories. Non-theoretical minorities only claimed the freedom of expression and tradition that they have that is different from national identity, and is generally hegemonic. This applies to cases of religious minorities or beliefs and new social groups such as homosexuals, the environmental care givers, and so on.

Based on the various views above, in this study the minority is interpreted as a group that is in small quantities. Furthermore, this minority was explored whether they received discriminatory treatment in socio-cultural, political and economic aspects or not. The focus of this research is to what extend Muslim Kanayatn people received discriminatory treatment in the socio-cultural fields (especially regarding the implementation of customary law), politics, and economics.

Ethnic Identity

A common phenomenon in West Kalimantan since the Dutch colonial era, Dayaks (including sub-ethnic Kanayatn) are identified with Christianity (Christian or Catholic); while the Malays are identified with Islam². In recent decades there has been a new development that many Dayaks (including the sub-ethnic Kanayatn) have converted to Islam. This study specifically wants to examine the existence of people from the ethnic Kanayatn who decided to convert to Islam. This existence is examined from two things, namely their self-

² A complete detail explanation of this identification can be seen in Zulkifli (2007: 60-65); see also Riwayat (1979), and Widjono (1998).

identity as converts and their resistance to the dominance of Kanayatn in general. Therefore, in the following sections the concepts of ethnic identity and its relation to religion will be elaborated.

Identity, in the context of Malay world, means special circumstances of a person that relates to person/people as described by Tim Tim (2008). Other understandings on identity exist in seeing a person or in something that is used as an effort to introduce, approach, or alienate from others. Two sides of identity include that is used by the owner of the identity the identity definition produced by outsiders who have the power to provide traits. The identity of Muslim Kanayatn, in this context, is to examine how the Muslims of Kanayatn view themselves and how others look themselves (Mesthrie and Keller, 2001; Baharuddin, 1996).

The Muslim Kanayatn identity also intertwines with ethnicity as used by Petersen (1997) in his concept of ethno-identity. In addition, Talcott Parsons used ethnicity as a concept to describe ethnicity as a main focus of group identity (1975) as it was described in his work: "... ethnicity is a primary focus of group identity, that is, the organization of plural persons into distinctive groups and, second, of solidarity and the loyalty of individual members to such groups." Curry (1996) agreed in this proposal as well that ethnicity refers to people who have the same cultural characteristics as also described by Morris as quoted by Sunarto (2004) in the concept of ethnic group. Koentjaraningrat (1990) mentions the term ethnicity as a part of the culture.

Collins (2000) found that language has its unique relations with ethnicity. Furthermore, he explained that language has also related to a religion for many ethnic groups in West Kalimantan. In other situations, ethnic group is something that is defined socially, something that influences between those defined by its members and those defined by other groups as explained by Horowitz (1975) and Purwanto (2005) and Allardt (1989). In addition, Barth (1969) explains that ethnicity exists when people claim a certain

identity for themselves and are defined by others with that identity. Yusriadi (2005) uses this concept to support his work when doing research on the Malay and Dayak ethnic identity in many villages in West Kalimantan. And religious aspect in ethnic identity also calls Suparlan (2004) to employ the concept in his work that religious belief/religious beliefs usually strengthen ethnicity in a group identity. Working on the ethnic and religious identity in Sambas, Suparlan religious beliefs had no meaning in reconciling conflict among the same religious affiliation.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research used a descriptive qualitative with a case study design. The study was conducted at the community in a village, namely Sidas Village, Sengah Temilah District, Landak Regency, West Kalimantan Province. This village is about 155 km from the city of Pontianak, the capital of West Kalimantan Province.

The subject of this research was the Muslim community of Kanayatn (or Muslim Kanayatn) who in the Sidas community were known as Dayak converts. In the research process, it was found that Kanayatn people who had converted to Islam were sometimes referred to as "Malays". The informant of this study was selected using a snowball technique (Creswell, 2012; 2014; Bungin, 2017) with key informant Haji Sulaiman Idris and his wife Salimah. Haji Sulaiman is a Muslim community leader in Sidas Village. This key informant is also the chairperson of the Yayasan Lembaga Pendidikan Sosial dan Ekonomi "Sidratul Muntaha". This foundation organizes an educational institution Madrasa Diniyah Takmiliah "Nurhidayah Al-Musri" for children in Sidas Village. Meanwhile Salimah is an elementary school teacher who is also the chairman of the Shalawat Tauhidiah Council, in Sidas Village. From these two people the researcher was then recommended to interview a convert named Himbin and the head of the Al-Amin Mosque Eli Kusbandi. From Eli Kusbandi, researchers are recommended to interview a convert to Islam,

Mulyadi S (aka Obol) and Imam of al-Amin Mosque Ahmad Tauran. The subject of this study is also from the Kanayatn figure, Matheus Tajuin who also served as the Head of Sidas Village.

Data was collected using in-depth interview method and participatory observation (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984). In-depth interviews began with interviewing key informants, then it was continued with the snowball technique as described above. Participatory observation is conducted by following some routine activities such as recitation, prayer and religious guidance in the Muslim community of Kanayatn.

The research instrument is the author himself (Putra, 2011). To obtain data, the researcher seeks to create two specific conditions, namely the pre-data collection conditions and the conditions when collecting data. The condition of pre-data collection concerns the minimum problems of report creation and subjects selection, while the conditions at the time of data collection are the minimum problems of data collection techniques (Bungin, 2017). As a research tool, researchers used guidelines for in-depth interviews and observation guidelines.

The data obtained from the interview and observation process are then processed and analyzed using an interactive model as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1984) through the process of data reduction, data displayed, and conclusion through drawing and verification. To test the validity of the data, as suggested by Sugiyono (2009), this research has gone through: (1) credibility testing using techniques to improve perseverance, triangulation, discussion with colleagues, using reference material and member checks; (2) dependability test, namely through an auditor conducted by the Committee of the Dictator.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A Brief Overview of the Village of Sidas

From the aspect of social life, most of the residents of Sidas Village are Kanayatn ethnic

(generally also often referred to as Dayak). The next ethnic groups that are quite a lot are Malay, Javanese, and Bugis. From the aspect of religious belief, the majority of the population adheres to Catholicism (49.98%), followed by Christianity (26.03%), Islam (16.39%), Belief (7.39%), and Buddhism (0.19%). As a means of supporting community worship, in Sidas Village there are 5 Catholic churches, 11 Christian churches and 3 mosques. Specifically for the community of believers, in this village there are also 8 panyugu places (places to perform rituals such as pantak) and 8 sacred places (Sidas, 2014).

Especially for Muslims, most of them are lived in Dusun Sidas as the village center. Muslims in the Dusun Sidas are referred to as the Malay community called Malay because they are “authentic” Muslims, Islam come from newborn is called of Muslim descent, not Islam because of the conversion process. Nevertheless, there are some people in this Sidas village who are “converts”, Islam because of the conversion process. In its social relations, the Malay Muslim community lives peacefully side by side with other communities in Sidas Village. There are no socio-cultural barriers among Malay Muslims and other communities. Even physically they are difficult to distinguish. In Dusun Sidas there is a mosque “Baiturrahim” as a center for religious activities of the Muslim community. In general, the practice of Muslim Malay shows the characteristics of traditionalist Muslims.

The next Muslim community is Muslim Kanayatn, or better known as a convert. Since a few decades ago many Kanayatn people converted to Islam. Mostly because of marrying a Muslim couple. Only a few people convert because of their own conscience and understanding. This Kanayatn Muslim concentrated his placed in the Dusun Bebehan. In this village there is a mosque “Al-Amin” which is simple and small. In this mosque the converts concentrate various religious activities, especially for Friday prayers. The imam of this mosque, Ahmad Tauran, is a Sambas man who has long lived in the Dusun Bebehan. Everyday, there are no differences in

Kanayan Muslims in Bebehan that make them separate from the general public. Almost all aspects of their lives are the same as the Kanayatn community in general. Their only difference lies in their beliefs that follows Islam and some religious practices in life.

Most of the population earn a living as farmers (84.96%). The rest are laborers (7.59%), Civil Servants (5.05%), private (2.00%), and honorary employees (0.40%) (Sidas, 2014). The farming business which is run by the residents is planting paddy rice fields and fields incising rubber. For marketing their agricultural products in the village of Sidas, both rubber and rice, there are a number of Malay business people who are ready to buy as containers to be resold other places.

Muslim Kanayatn: Conversion And Confusion of Identity Disorder

Based on data obtained from the informants, most of the Kanayatn people in Sidas Village converted to Islam because of their marriage to a Muslim couple. Some husbands join their wives or wives who join their husbands religion, in this sense is Islam. However, there are also some people who convert to Islam because of their own awareness, from the results of studying and exploring Islamic teachings. No conversion process was found that was motivated by economic factors as happened in Andeng Village (Zulkifli, 2007). In practice, there are non-Muslim Kanayatn people who made a procession to Islam (saying two sentences of syahadat) some time before they get marriage contract with a Muslim couple. They did this because there was indeed a desire to convert to Islam and want to marry a Muslim man/woman. But there are also those who did it at the time of the marriage contract procession, saying the shahada that is guided by the preacher or religious leader before saying the marriage agreement.

In addition to religious conversion because they want to marry a Muslim couple, there are also those who are driven by their own desires or awareness (studying and exploring Islamic

teachings). This awareness does not necessarily emerge but through a process, especially the understanding of Islam that is obtained from interaction with Muslims in the social environment.

One informant named Mulyadi S (40 years) converted to Islam because of his own awareness. His awareness came from his interaction with his Muslim fellows. Mulyadi S converted to Islam in 1995 and married a Muslim woman in 1999. Before converting he observed and compared between Islam and his previous religion. He acknowledged that Islam teaches about cleanliness and courtesy. The results of that comparison finally led him to decide to embrace Islam. Another informant, Himbin (50 years) stated that, although converting to Islam some time before marrying a Muslim woman, his decision to convert to Islam remained based on awareness and without any suggestion from anyone.

The Kanayatn community of Sidas Village has no problem if a family member decides to convert from traditional religion to Christianity/Catholicism or to Islam. Although contiguity with Islam has been going on for a long time, but until now most of the Kanayatn community are Catholic and Christian. In fact, both religions have become one of the important characteristics of Dayak in general. The process of converting to Islam which is quite a lot in the Kanayatn community began in the 1980s to the present. For Kanayatn people in the village of Sidas, they do not mind if their family converts to Islam. All informants in this study revealed that there was no problem for them if there were family or relatives who decided to convert to Islam. In Kanayatn community, it has become a common sight if in one family there are members who follow different religions.

High tolerance in religious freedom is not only demonstrated in the family. Tolerance has also become a characteristic of the Kanayatn community in social life. Some informants gave examples of the tolerance of Kanayatn people towards Muslims, especially in organizing wedding receptions or other events that inviting people to eat together. Some

informants explained, for example, that if there was a wedding, non-Muslim hosts would prepare Muslim homes for Muslim dining. They also serve food or side dishes (usually chicken) and tableware that is halal and cooked by Muslims.

It is interesting to observe further, as the interview process that took place flowed as it was, several times the informants gave the expressions of “descending converts” and “entering the sea” aimed at Kanayatn people who decided to convert to Islam. For example, the following quotation from Matheus Tajuin mentions the term “turun” (down). When explaining the customs of marriage, Tajuin said: “Adat perkawinan misalnya, kalau umpamanya orang kita kawin dengan orang Melayu lalu dia *turun*-lah kan, mualaf-lah” [In the customary marriages, for example, if our people marry with Malays then they come down, convert] (Tajuin, 2015)

The word “convert to Islam” is also used by informants when asked if a family converts to Islam, is it still considered a Dayak? It was because in other places, if they converted to Islam, they are no longer considered as Dayaks. Answering the question, the informant said:

Sebenarnya apa yang bapak ceritakan itu terjadi. Kakak saya yang nomor dua, saya urutan ketiga, sekarang tinggal di Pahauman, suaminya orang Jawa, dianya *turun*, mualaf. Kakak saya sekandung. Suaminya orang Jawa, Waryono, polisi, istrinya Elisabeth. Jadi kalau sukunya tetap, tetap suku Dayak. Cuma agamanya Islam (Tajuin, 2015).

[Actually what you told me happened in my life. My sister who is number two, I am the third, now living in Pahauman, her husband is a Javanese, he came down, converts. My sister is my sibling. Her husband is Javanese, Waryono, a policeman, his wife Elisabeth. So the tribe is still remains, it is still a Dayak tribe. Only her religion is Islam].

Meanwhile the term “masuk laut” was once put forward by informant Ahmad Tauran. When asked whether Dayak or Kanayatn who converted to Islam, are they still to be a Dayak or do they consider themselves as a Malay? Ahmad Tauran stated:

Itulah kadang-kadang mereka salah pandangan, di situlah jadi masalah. Masalah suku *kan* sebenarnya mereka masih tetap Dayak. Dalam Bahasa mereka sudah “masuk laut”, sudah “orang laut”. Kalau sukunya, di KTP *kan* tetap itu [Dayak] (Tauran, 2015).

[That is sometimes they have wrong view point, that is where the problem emerged. In terms of ethnicity, they are actually still Dayak. In term of language they have “masuk laut”, already being “orang laut”. In terms of ethnicity, it is still [Dayak] as it was shown on their identity card (KTP)].

The use of the terms “turun mualaf” (down to be convert) and “masuk laut” (entering the sea), to become “orang laut” (sea people), in the interview as mentioned above; it gives the impression that the term is still applied in the society. There is still a collective viewpoint that when a Kanayatn or Dayak in general converts to Islam they have “turun” (down) into mualaf (convert), have entered and become “orang laut” (sea people).

Regarding the assumption that Kanayatn people convert to Islam means switching from ethnicity to Malay, Head of Sidas Village explained:

Mereka ini [Kanayatn dan Melayu] dalam Desa Sidas sudah bergaul, susah untuk membedakannya. Karena raut [muka] kalau orang Melayu Sidas itu hampir sama dengan raut muka orang Dayak. Karena memang dia dari orang Dayak jadi mualaf. Jadi kalau Sidas ini mungkin 40 % mualafnya. Mereka dari Dayak. Dan memang moyang kita dulu orang Dayak. Moyangnya dulu jadi orang Muslim. Mungkin kakeknya masih orang Dayak. Itulah sampai sekarang masih mereka pertahankan. Maka bagaimanapun ributnya di daerah lain, kita di sini biasa-biasa saja. Termasuk pak Haji [maksudnya Haji Sulaiman Idris, tokoh Melayu-Muslim Sidas] moyangnya juga orang kita, orang Dayak. Nah ini pak Mansur ini [salah seorang Melayu-muslim, pegawai kantor Desa Sidas yang saat wawancara duduk di samping informan], neneknya orang Dayak juga (Tajuin, 2015).

[These people [Kanayatn and Malay] in Sidas Village have socialized each other; it is difficult to distinguish them. It was because their physical appearance of the Malay Sidas is almost the same as the appearance of the Dayak people. Because he is from a Dayak conversion. In Sidas there might be 40% of population that are converts.

They are from Dayak. And indeed our ancestors were Dayaks. His ancestors used to be Muslim. Maybe his grandfather is still a Dayak. That is until now they are still maintaining them. So no matter how noisy it is in other areas, we are still in harmony here. Including Pak Haji [that is, Haji Sulaiman Idris, a Malay-Muslim Sidas figure], his ancestors are also our people, Dayak. Well this is Mr. Mansur [one of the Malay-Muslims, an employee of the Sidas Village office who at the interview sat next to the informant], his grandmother was a Dayak person too].

The informant, Matheus Tajuin, wanted to convey that tolerance as the source of peace in the village of Sidas could be traced back to the origins of the Sidas Malays whose ancestors were Dayak who converted to Islam. Even further, it is said that folklore in the Landak Regency (ancient Islamic landak kingdom) mentioniang the Dayak Kanayatn people and the Malays actually come from an ancestor namely Nek Dara Itam (Putri Dara Hitam).³

³Putri Dara Itam (Ya 'Ahmad calls her the Princess of Tanjung Selimpat; the Landak people call it Nek Dara Itam) is the son or daughter of Patih Tegak Temula (a local / Dayak leader in Tanjung Selimpat Sepangok). Princess Dara Hitam is married to Raden Kusuma Sumantri Indra Ningrat who holds the title of Brawijaya Angkawijaya Sang Nata Pulang Pali VII (a royal lineage from the Singasari kingdom). From the marriage of Putri Dara Hitam with Pali VII Home, Raden Iswaramahayana who was born Duke of Karang Tanjung Tua was born. Raden Iswaramahayana is believed to be the founder of the Landak kingdom located in the Munggu area (located at the mouth of the Menyuke river which meets the Landak river). Reden Iswaramahayana is also believed to be the first King of the Hedgehog Kingdom to embrace Islam and is better known by the name Raden Abdul Kahar. For some reason, Putri Dara Hitam then married a local resident (Dayak) who was believed to have a magic power named Arya Siner (Ria Siner). Between Raden Iswaramahayana (Raden Abdul Kahar) and his mother's family (Putri Dara Hitam) from his marriage to Arya Siner there was a strong brotherhood. Those who live along the Landak river under the leadership of Raden Iswaramahayana (Raden Abdul Kahar) refer to their descendants as sea people and Princess Dara Hitam's descendants with Arya Siner as land people. They are called sea people because they live on the banks of the river where the Landak and Menyuke rivers meet; while people land because they settled in the interior because of the soul of Arya Siner as a natural forest and agricultural encroachers. Thus the short story of Putri Dara Hitam as written by Usman (2000).

Malays (people whose families have follow Islam for several generations) call Kanayatn people who convert to Islam converts, even though they have converted to Islam for years. This identity suggests that they have not become fully Muslims. On the other hand Kanayatn Muslims themselves are reluctant to be called converts again. One of the informants said: "Kalau saya sih merasa kalau masalah percaya, yakin saya sih yakin dan ndak merasa muafaf lagi" (for me, I believed that I am no longer as a convert) (Mulyadi, 2015).

Keeping the identity of converts to Muslims Kanayatn is not without consequences. On the one hand, among the people of Kanayatn they are in a position not entirely as Malay but also no longer as Kanayatn. Because of that they were received half-heartedly in the middle of the Kanayatn community. While on the other hand, in the eyes of the Muslim community in general, they are also considered not to be fully Muslim. Therefore they still get special treatment as converts as every year is recieved alms giving (as one of the groups supposed to receive zakat/ alms giving). So it can be concluded that Muslim Kanayatn identity is in the middle position between identity as Kanayatn and as Muslims (Malay?).

Regarding ethnic identity, the informants still claimed to be Kanayatn people even though they were Muslim. When asked whether Dayak or Kanayatn who converted to Islam had entered or became Malays, all informants said that the two were different. Kanayatn and Malay are tribe, while Islam is a religion. So when Dayak or Kanayatn convert to Islam, then they did not do tribal conversion, but conversion. Therefore they are still Dayak or Kanayatn people who are now Muslim. They have the awareness that it does not mean converting to Islam with the consequence of moving to become Malay tribe (which is always identified with Islam).

Then, how exactly do Kanayatn Muslims identify themselves? Kanayatn people who converted to Islam claim to remain as Kanayatn

people who are Muslim. One informant said that if people who converted to Islam were called Malay, then Madurese and Buginese who were Muslim should be called Malay. But in fact Madurese and Buginese people are still not called as Malay. So mentioning Kanayatn people who converted to Islam as Malay was inappropriate. Ethnic and religious issues cannot be compared; Kanayatn is the identity of ethnicity while Islam is a religious identity. If Muslims are from ethnic Malays, Madurese and Bugis, then Muslims from ethnic Kanayatn are also legal. That is the viewpoint of the informants regarding their ethnic and religious identities.

Muslim Kanayatn as a Minority

The last few years were acknowledged by informants that their Muslims did not experience the pressures of life in the dominant non-Muslim Kanayatn community. But once they had experienced a little pressure. In normal conditions, Muslim's life in Sidas Village can be said to be no different from other Muslim majority areas. It is just that sometimes there are special things that make Muslims in Sidas feel depressed. One informant, Ms. Salimah said:

In normal conditions, there is no [pressure]. But if there is a regional election or a Governor election, for example the legislative election, for example, we are also somewhat confused. Sometimes there is that pressure (Salimah, 2015).

The informants mentioned that in normal conditions, relations between groups (ethnic and religious) in Sidas village were normal and there were no problems. Relations between groups will arise when there is political momentum such as elections. Society is divided into groups because of differences in political preferences. If in the community there is friction between groups which is motivated by ethnic and religious elements, it is actually not entirely true. In political affairs, it is very often the contestants use ethnic and religious issues as “sexy” issues in gaining public support. Something like this was actually happened in Sidas Village as stated by the Salimah.

Some informants stated that in the past there were indeed restrictions on freedom of religious expression. But now this has not happened again. The people of Sidas village are wiser in facing religious and ethnic differences. In terms of freedom of worship and religious expression, basically there are no significant problems. New problems arise when there are external factors that influence, both in the form of politicization of ethnic and religious issues and conflicts in other areas that involve the solidarity of the Sidas village community. The informant gave an example, when there was an FPI-Dayak conflict in Pontianak or a Dayak murder case in Pahauman, there was terror, but the problem was immediately resolved when the leaders immediately intervened to rectify the problem.

In addition to the things mentioned above, there is one more thing that has caught the attention of researchers, namely regarding the customary law imposed by the community in Sidas Village. In fact customary law among the Dayak community has been enforced since a long time ago, including among the Kanayatn community in the village of Sidas. There is an assumption in the general public that if you go to the interior you have to be careful, because everything has customary law. For example, if driving into livestock (such as pigs, dogs, chickens) that roam the road, it will be subject to customary law by paying a sum of money as a fine. Not infrequently there are complaints that the fines imposed are not in accordance with the violations committed, there are even indications that customary law is used as a commodity for personal gain.

Along with this assumption, researchers sought to trace how the actual implementation of customary law in the village, especially in the Village of Sidas. The informants mentioned that it was true that the people of Sidas Village still hold strong and enforce customary law. All people's lives are governed by customary law. To implement customary law, customary management or stakeholder structures have been arranged, starting from the RT/neighborhood community, Dusun/small village, desa/village,

Kecamatan, Regency to Provincial levels. The custom leader at the RT level is called Pangaragah, at the dusun level called Pasirah, at the village level called Temenggung which is assisted by Gapit. At the sub-district, district and provincial levels are called coordinators. Each customary stakeholder has authority that is adjusted to their level. The implementing organization is the Dewan Adat Dayak (Tajuin, 2015), (Kusbandi, 2015).

The informants explained that the application of customary law sanctions was a mechanism that should not be ignored by custom holders and custom councils. If there is someone who violates customary law, then the issue must be discussed in customary deliberations. It is customary deliberations that are authorized to assess and impose customary sanctions on those concerned. So, it should not be the custom holder (pangaragah, pasirah or temenggung) let alone the general public assessing and imposing customary sanctions. If those who violate customary law are not Dayak, for example Malays, then there must be communication and consultation between the Dayak traditional councils and Malay customary stakeholders/organizations. This mechanism must be followed, and if it was violated, the person who abused the customary law will get customary sanctions from the custom Council.

The assumptions that have existed among the people about the use of customary law by certain elements are clearly not justified. So far, the common people did not understand the procedure and accept customary sanctions that are oppressive and it seems commercialized. It is the ignorance of the community that is exploited by those who misuse customary law. As a result, there is a prejudice that Dayak seem to use customary law to suppress others and seek financial gain. Therefore it is good for the people to learn about Dayak customary law so that there is no more abuse of customary law.

The minority of the quantity aspect does not mean the Muslim community (Kanayatn and Malay) also a minority in the other aspects. Data obtained in Sidas Village shows that the Muslim

community did not become a minority in economic terms. The Malay community played an important role in the village economy. In the cultural field it can be said that there are no differences between the two communities. They are minorities in numbers, but they have more influence on Social aspects and political life, where the Muslim community still feels under the domination of non-Muslim Kanayatn. In short, it can be said that the Muslim communities of Kanayatn and Malay Muslims in Sidas Village are belong to a limited minority among the majority of Christian Kanayatn.

After mapping the extent to which the Muslim community of Kanayatn, it can be said that they are minority, and it should also be noted several interesting things regarding their efforts to survive as a minority. As a limited minority within their own territory the Muslim community must behave and act intelligently in order to survive as a minority. All informants said that as a minority, they must be very clever to bring themselves. Although in some aspects of life they feel not free (especially in terms of custom), they are aware of their existence. It is in these conditions that the Malay proverb as used by the following informant becomes important: "*Kalau kita di sini ibaratnya di mana bumi dipijak di situ langit di junjung. Kalau dalam hal adat kita ikut merekalah*" (Kusbandi, 2015) [If we are here, we can stand on the earth is trampled on, and look up at where the sky is held. If it is in terms of custom, we join them]. If the saying is upheld by the Muslim community of Kanayatn and Malay they will be well received. and they will have harmonious relations which can be the basis for creating peace. Aside from being a defense strategy, actually the attitude of being very clever carrying oneself and showing a soft attitude is one form of da'wah bil haq. By showing a gentle way it is hoped that those who have not converted to Islam are attracted to Islam.

The Reality of Da'wah In Sidas Village

The information obtained from the informants mentioned that there was no coaching

and guidance that was truly planned and regularly or in other words there was no preaching that was managed with good management. Even in some areas or villages after Kanayatn converts to Islam, they no longer received guidance. They are left alone without guidance from any party. There are also those who are only guided into Islam, then a small place of worship (mushala) or a mosque are established, but converts are left alone without guidance. So it is not infrequently a number of converts that return to their original religion because they feel there is no attention and guidance.

Guidance that is commonly done (not only in Sidas Village but also covers other areas in the Landak District) is in the form of giving aid or alms giving to converts by some groups. The most frequent form of assistance is in the form of qurban animal meat at every Eid al-Adha and distribution of zakat (alms giving) on each Ramadan or Eid al-Fitr. Items that were given several times such as sarong, prayer rugs, the Koran and religious books, proper clothing and food. There is also assistance in the form of money and building materials to build mosques. Almost all forms of assistance come from Muslims in Pontianak.

In addition to distribution aid to converts at a certain moment (there is no specific schedule), converts were also given enlightenment by inviting preachers from Pontianak to give talks to converts. Usually it was used to celebrate the momentum of Islamic holidays. Thus, the guidance is only the provision of goods and religious lectures that are not permanent.

Provision of aids in the form of goods is actually not the basic needs of converts, as converts have their respective jobs as a source of income. Providing compensation to converts for years in addition to pamper, also it has an impact on the process of preserving the predicate of converts. The perpetuation of converts' identity also means that they cannot be fully accepted as whole Muslims. As if they still have to continue to be persuaded to feel at home in Islam. There is also a simple logic from Sulaiman Idris, a Sidas

Muslim figure, in understanding the assistance that is always given to converts.

[Seharusnya] Bukan dikasi kambing, daging setahun sekali. Setahun sekali dikasi daging, dimakan kemudian, maaf-maaf katalah, jadi kotoran. Dikasi pakaian bagus-bagus, setelah kotor jadi kain lap, kan tidak ada artinya (Idris, 2015)

[(It should) do not give goat, meat once a year. Once a year, meat is eaten, eaten later, forgive each others, it becomes poop. Given good clothes, after being dirty, it becomes a duster, it has no meaning].

Provision of food and clothing compensation is only useful for a moment. Besides that, giving compensation gives an impression to outsiders that the Kanayatn people converted to Islam only because they hoped for qurban meat and clothing. Religious conversion is not that simple. In addition to provide sporadic compensation and lectures, another informant stated that there had been efforts to provide regular guidance to converts, but it was not success.

Islamic religious guidance activities in Sidas Village actually have a routine and there is even an educational institution Madrasah Diniyah Takmiliah. But only centered in Dusun Sidas, which is predominantly Muslim Malay. While for Muslim Kanayatn who were concentrated in Dusun Bebahan the time of this study there were no routine religious formation activities. To provide religious knowledge and skills, in the Dusun Sidas the Madrasah Diniyah Takmiliah educational institution "Nur hidayah Al-Musri" was established. This madrasah is organized by the Yayasan Lembaga Pendidikan Sosial dan Ekonomi" Sidratul Muntaha which was founded and chaired by Haji Sulaiman Idris. Students are elementary school children, especially children from Dusun Sidas.

DISCUSSION

The data described above shows that the Kanayatn people who converted to Islam experienced an "identity disorder". After converting to Islam, they were considered by the

Kanayatn community to have become Malay. This is represented by the word “descend” or “become” Malay or *orang laut* (sea people). Meanwhile by Malays (Muslims) they are still regarded as converts. Both of these terms are not just questions of language, but they concern the meaning and implications of identity. The community thinks that Kanayatn people who convert to Islam mean that their identity becomes Malay. The implication is that there is an unclear positioning in those who convert. Among of the Kanayatn community, they are not fully considered as Kanayatn because their religion is not the same as the majority religion of Kanayatn. In the middle of the Malay and Muslim community in general they have not been fully accepted because they are still considered as not fully Muslim. Therefore they are referred to by Hermansyah (2013) as a nominal Islam.

This fact shows that for the majority of ethnic Kanayatn people built one of them is because of the similarity of belief or religion. This fact is in line with the statement of Collins (2000) Ethnicity is a human creation, as desired. Many elements are used to foster ethnicity, including language and religion, but all are based on religion. Parsons (1975) said: “... ethnicity is a primary focus of group identity, that is, the organization of plural persons into distinctive groups and, second, of solidarity and the loyalty of individual members to such groups.” Based on Parson, it can be assumed that the non-Muslim Kanayatn community considers the converters to no longer have a sense of solidarity and loyalty to their group. Although the converters have the same ethnicity characteristics as the same culture, such as language, regional origin, clothing, food, and values (Curry, 1996), but because they are not loyal to the majority religion (Catholic/Christian) that they are considered not being Kanayatn anymore.

A number of researchers or writers stated that Dayaks who converted to Islam were later called Malay. Enthoven (2013) notes that the population of Malays in Putussibau is mostly Daya [Dayak] Parks who convert to Islam, even

some of whom are leaders (chief) of Daya Parks themselves. Sihbudi and Nurhasim (2002) wrote: “Meanwhile ethnic Malay groups are like two sides of a coin with Dayak, because Dayak who follow Islam are automatically called Malay tribes”. The same thing was stated by Riwtut (1979) by stating “in general Dayak who still follow Kaharingan or Christian religion are still called Dayak tribes. But some who follow Islam call themselves Malay or in Singarimbun (1996) switch ethnic groups to Malay.

Ode (1997) argued that in some areas that are upstream of the big river, Dayak who have just follow Islam, immediately followed the pattern of life of the Malays. This process by non-Malay Borneo people are known as the Malay entry process or the Malay descent process. Ode continues his discussion that after converting to Islam or entering Malay, Dayak tend to deny their ancestors as Dayak. More than that, the Dayak people established themselves in true Malay identity. By becoming Malay, Dayak generally considered themselves to have gained “social mobilization” from a low social status to become Malays with a high social status.

The last thing stated by Ode above according to the researchers is more appropriate if it is associated with conditions in the past, especially during the victorious Islamic empires in West Kalimantan. The current conditions are very much different. Since the New Order era and moreover in the post-reform era, the social status of the Dayak has been no different from the Malays. In the field of education, politics, economics, social and culture, the Dayak have greatly improved. Even in the political field the Dayak have held important positions as state officials in the regions. With this position, they have high confidence to continue to declare themselves as Dayak. No more feelings of inferiority. Therefore, when they converted to Islam they confidently continued to declare themselves to be Muslim Dayak.

The following explanation of Coomans will help to understand the meaning of Malay entry. Coomans (1987) stated that the common name

Daya [k] does not contain the understanding that the Dayak tribes are one and the same anthropological group. The name Daya [k] is intended for all residents in rural areas of Kalimantan who are not Muslim. Therefore the names Daya [k] and Halo are socio-religious terms and not anthropological terms that distinguish ethnic groups. As a socio-religious term, the name Daya [k] is the same as non-Islamic or infidel. Furthermore Coomans (1987) stated, repentance to Islam is felt as a severance of relations with life and culture. For the people of Daya [k] “masuk Melayu” is synonymous with “converting to Islam”. While the Daya [k] who converted to Catholicism or Protestantism is still called as Daya. By converting to Islam, the number of Daya people has become even less. In this sense, Islam influences the culture of the Daya tribe. Another case it was with Catholicism, where missionaries distinguish religious aspects in terms of society and culture in general.

As Coomans referred to Dayak as socio-religious categorization, then in the context of “turun Melayu” or “menjadi orang laut” it must also be interpreted in the Malay context as socio-religious categorization. If you understand Dayak/Kanayatn in the context of socio-religious categorization; whereas in the context of anthropological Malay (as ethnic identity), the understanding will experience confusion. The use of the terms “turun mualaf”, “menjadi laut”, “turun Melayu” or “masuk Melayu” can be understood in the Dayak/Kanayatn context and Malay in the socio-religious context, not socio-anthropological. This understanding framework cannot be allowed to roll on without criticism. In the perspective of researchers, it is time to restore the meaning of Dayak/Kanayatn and Malay in the socio-anthropological context as ethnic identities that are different from the categorization of Christian-Catholicism and Islam as religious identities. It is important to consider that socio-anthropological studies in West Kalimantan (especially among IAIN Pontianak academics) should be directed at

repositioning Dayak terminology (and various ethnic variants in it) and Malay (and various ethnic variants in it) into socio-anthropological categorization (as ethnic identity) which is separate from Christian-Catholic categorization and Islam as religious identity.

Self-identification among Dayaks after converting to Islam as noted by Zulkifli (2007), there are at least three variations in attitudes taken by Dayaks who convert or convert to Islam. First, they changed their Dayak identity to Malay identity when they embraced Islam. Second, Dayaks who embrace Islam call themselves “Senganan” (or “Hello” in East Kalimantan) or other terms; neither Dayak nor Malay. And the three Dayaks who converted to Islam called themselves Dayaks-Islam [see also more complete explanation in Abdillah (2010)]. Based on this categorization, the cases that occur in Sidas can be categorized in the third category. Therefore, in this study researchers more accurately call Kanayatn people who converted to Islam in Sidas Village as Muslim Kanayatn.

Identifying the converters with Muslim Kanayatn is not baseless. Baharuddin (1996) mentions that there are two sides of identity, namely the identity used by the owner of the identity itself, everyday (every day defined) and the identity used by outsiders who have the power to (authority defined) provide characteristics or traits. Furthermore, Mesthrie and Keller (2001) stated that identity is the traits (traits, etc.) that exist in a person or in something that is used as an effort to introduce, approach, or alienate from others. The data above reveals that Kanayatn people who converted to Islam still recognized themselves as Kanayatn. Likewise others continue to declare them as Kanayatn. Therefore, the identity as Muslim Kanayatn can be used to introduce them to outsiders that they are Muslims who come from ethnic Kanayatn. Kanayatn Muslim identity can be a medium to get closer to both the Kanayatn and Malay communities.

Regarding minority issues, the Encyclopedia of International defines minorities as a group

of people who have different cultural and humanitarian characteristics with a dominant group. Minorities always fall prey to unfair services by dominant groups in social, political and economic terms. Based on this definition and based on the data presented above it can be concluded that the Muslim community in Sidas cannot be said to be an absolute minority. It was because in the economic aspects, they are relatively dominant. This can be said as a survival strategy.

Sociologically the Gidden (2009) stated that those who are called minorities fulfill at least three descriptions. First, the members are very disadvantaged as a result of other people's discrimination against them. Second, members have group solidarity with a "sense of shared ownership", and they see themselves as "completely different" from the majority group. Third, it is usually physically and socially isolated from the larger community. When referring to the Gidden criteria, it is clear that the Muslim community of Kanayatn has not yet been categorized as a minority. In social life, they did not experience subtle discrimination. From their confession, they still regard it as part of a large Kanayatn family. While physically and socially they are not isolated, because they live in a mingled community. Nevertheless, in fact Muslim Kanayatn can be said to be discriminated and marginalized in its own environment.

Based on the observations in the field, it can be said that the minority (especially in terms of quantity and socio-political) of Kanayatn Muslims showed different categorization from what it was stated by Mikesell and Murphy (1991). Kanayatn Muslims in Sidas Village cannot be included in the minority-cum-territorial ideology or non-territory minority categories. Kanayatn Muslims are indigenous people in their village but because of their conversion to Islam, sociologically they are as minority. Therefore, author more accurately named Muslim Kanayatn in the category of minority in territory.

Referring to the condition of the Muslim community of Kanayatn mentioned above, it is necessary to formulate a da'wah strategy that is able to fit their basic needs and reach further into the future. The basic needs that need to be fit are strengthening aspects of aqidah (faith) as the initial foundation so that their Islam is not deterred by environmental influences. For this reason, a form of coaching that is routine and integrated with the socio-cultural community is needed. Kanayatn's various cultures and traditions that are not in accordance with the teachings of Islam must not be totally discarded. It takes a long process to be compatible with the values of monotheism. For the long term, the efforts that have been made by the community in the form of sending Muslim Kanayatn children to study in various Islamic boarding schools in Java are proper and must be supported. It is these children who are expected to become the driving force of da'wah in the Muslim community of Kanayatn.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the Muslim minority of Kanayatn remains valued and recognized by the majority of non-Muslim Kanayatn, even though they (Muslim Kanayatn) themselves experience unclear identities. Malay Muslims consider them to remain converts because their Islam is still minimalist. Kanayatn people who are Christian or Catholic said they had become Malay. While they themselves still claim to be Kanayatn people who are Muslim. Therefore they are more accurately called Muslim Kanayatn. Although quantitatively Kanayatn Muslims belong to a minority, but from an economic perspective they are relatively dominant. This economic domination is a form of self-defense as well as resistance to the condition of their minorities in terms of quantity. Meanwhile, in terms of culture, both Kanayatn people who are Muslim and Christian or Catholic have the same cultural basis. There was only in certain cases that Kanayatn Muslims tried to leave their old culture, namely in terms of eating and drinking which

are forbidden in Islamic teachings. The forms of da'wah addressed to the Muslim community of Kanayatn have not yet been conducted by professional preaching management. As a result, preaching in the form of financial compensation tends to perpetuate their identity as converts. Therefore, it is necessary to pursue propaganda based on professional management that refers to the basic needs of Muslim Kanayatn and it should have far-reaching vision for the future.

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