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The Acculturation Strategy
of the Tabut Community in Bengkulu

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Abstract: *This research examines the acculturation strategy of the Tabut community, a minority group in Bengkulu. Acculturation occurs when two or more cultures meet, and the purpose of an acculturation of an acculturation strategy is to harmonize the contact. According to the Berry perspective, there are four strategies that groups or individuals can apply during acculturation. These are: integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization. Most cultures in Indonesia, physical or non-physical, have been formed through an acculturation process. The Tabut tradition in Bengkulu is an example of a non-physical cultural process of acculturation. The Tabut came to Bengkulu from Punjab hundreds of years ago, and the long process of acculturation has occurred within the community and through their traditions. An integration strategy has been used by the Tabut community to preserve their heredity. In this context integration means maintaining the original culture and perceived cultural contact.*

Abstrak: *Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan strategi akulturasi pada masyarakat Tabut sebagai sebuah kelompok minoritas. Akulturasi terjadi ketika dua atau lebih budaya bertemu dan melakukan kontak. Berdasarkan perspektif Berry, terdapat empat strategi yang dapat dipilih oleh individu atau kelompok dalam melakukan proses akulturasi. Tujuan dari strategi akulturasi adalah untuk terjadinya harmonisasi diantara kelompok atau individu. Keempat strategi akulturasi tersebut adalah integrasi, separasi, asimilasi dan marginalisasi. Kebanyakan budaya yang ada di Indonesia baik fisik maupun non-fisik adalah hasil dari proses akulturasi. Salah satu budaya non-fisik adalah tradisi Tabut yang ada di Bengkulu. Tabut masuk ke Bengkulu ratusan tahun yang lalu dari Punjab. Komunitas Tabut dan tradisi mereka telah mengalami proses akulturasi. Strategi yang dipilih oleh keluarga Tabut yang dipilih untuk mempertahankan warisan budaya dan komunitasnya adalah integrasi. Dalam konteks ini, integrasi berarti mempertahankan budaya asli dan tetap melakukan kontak budaya.*

Kata kunci: Akulturasi, Strategi, Tradisi Tabut, Komunitas Tabut, Etnografi.

ملخص: تهدف هذه المقالة إلى بلورة إستراتيجيات التثاقف عند مجتمع تابوت باعتباره بمجموعة أقلية. ويحدث التثاقف عندما تلتقي وتتصل الثقافتان أو أكثر. هناك أربع إستراتيجيات من منظور بيري يمكن أن يختارها الفرد أو المجموعة عند القيام بعملية التثاقف. والهدف من هذه الإستراتيجيات هو خلق الانسجام بين المجموعة أو الفرد. أما الإستراتيجيات الأربع فهي: التكامل والفصل والتكيف والتهميش. إن معظم الثقافات المتواجدة في إندونيسيا مادية كانت أو غير مادية هي نتيجة عملية التثاقف. ومن الثقافات غير المادية تقاليد احتفالات تابوت في بنجكولو. ودخلت هذه الاحتفالات منذ مئات السنين من منطقة البنجاب. إن مجتمع وتقاليد تابوت شهدا نوعا من عملية التثاقف. والإستراتيجية التي اختارتها أسرة تابوت من أجل المحافظة على تراث ثقافتها ومجتمعها هي التكامل. والتكامل في هذا السياق يعني المحافظة على الثقافة الأصلية مع الاستمرار بالقيام بالاتصال الثقافي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التثاقف، الإستراتيجية، تقاليد تابوت، مجتمع تابوت، الإثنوغرافيا.

Acculturation is commonly referred to when discussing immigrants and refugees. However, it is somewhat difficult to understand the meaning and application of the term, particularly within the scope of social sciences. This is due to a lack of information, discussion, research and theories about acculturation. Acculturation could simply refer to every adaptation made between individuals and groups who come from different cultural backgrounds. Redfield, Linton and Herskovits have proposed a more formal definition of the term. "Acculturation is defined as a phenomenon which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936, 149). The meeting of two or more different cultural groups will not only result in a new cultural form, but can also create discomfort between the migrant group and the host group. When individuals or groups are unable to adapt to a new culture they will feel discomfort. To sustain themselves through discomfort, the group of immigrants must have strategy.

As explained above, the author suggests that acculturation has occurred within the culture of the Tabut society in Bengkulu, where Punjab tradition is deeply rooted. The tradition is quite unique because it doesn't originate from nor belong to Indonesia, yet it still remains today. In addition, it could be referred to as a Shia tradition carried out by Sunnis. An interview with a Tabut family, reveals that they continue the tradition in order to preserve it, despite having no knowledge about it. Another source admits that the tradition has acculturated to Bengkulu culture and society.

> Acculturation has affected Tabut society in every cultural aspect, including language. Most of words used by the society originate from Punjab, such as *abbah* (father), *dada* (grandfather), *biwi* (wife), *dawat* (ink), *mamun* (uncle, respected person), jel (jail), *gam* (sad), *penja* (five fingers), *soja* (worship, respect) and more. More evidence of the acculturation process can be found in a script written in Persian (Interview with Syiafril, 2015).

A Tabut celebration was initially a religious ritual carried out by Shia in Arabia to commemorate the struggle of Imam Husein bin Ali bin Abi Thalib, the grandson of Prophet Muhammad SAW, on the battle of Karbala (Dahri 2009; Herawansyah 2012; Poniman 2014). Poniman (2014) further asserts the Karbala tragedy is often presented in a form

of parade in some countries. In the procession, Shia followers express their mourning and grief by flagellating themselves on the back with steel chains or other objects until bleeding. Poniman (2014) insists that the ritual still exists in India, Palestine, Iran and Iraq on every 10th Muharram, mostly known as Ashura. In his paper, Donaldson (1993) states thatsocieties see the martyrdom of Imam Husein as a national catastrophe, and his struggle in the battle of Karbala is worthy of nothing other than jihad.

Meanwhile, a 13-day Tabut ritual in Bengkulu is mainly carried out to welcome the Islamic New Year, salute *the syahid* of soldiers who lost their lives in the the battle of Karbala, especially Imam Husein and commemorate the Islamic revival, which reached its peak between the 7th century and 13th century (Interview with Syiafril, 2016).

In his research, Herawansyah (2012) states that Tabut rituals were initially carried out in other areas outside Bengkulu, such as Painan, Padang Pariaman, Maninjau, Pidie, Banda Aceh, Meulaboh and Singkil. However, the tradition has since been banned in those areas, and it has disappeared after being abandoned by its followers. Tabut rituals, remain in Bengkulu and Pariaman West Sumatra, which is commonly known as *Tabuik*. Even though both traditions share some similarities, *Tabuik* in Padang is just a festival without ritual, while Tabut celebration in Bengkulu are accompanied by a series of rituals conducted by Tabut descendants.

Tabut ritual have not been well accepted in recent years, despite being considered , local indigenous culture and supported by the government. This cultural antipathy is a result the majority of Bengkulu society being Sunni Muslims, who see the rituals that are carried out in the tradition (Poniman 2014). Additionally the society still regards the tradition as a part of Shia rituals, which is associated with lots of negative values.

In contrast to this negative perception, Tabut families argue that the ritual is not part of Shia and syirik practices. In an interview a Tabut religious figure states:

> "This tradition is conceived from Islamic teachings, not Shia or even shirk practices. It is natural if some people become possessed after burning incenses and saying prayers during the ritual. It is the "miracle" of Tabut ritual."[1]

Tabut families established an organization in 1993 known as Keluarga Kerukunan Tabut (KKT) whose members are families who

still promote the ritual. The establishment of the organization has some aims, including to organize and preserve Tabut rituals and their practice. KKT members come from Imam Senggolo descendants, and society outside the descendants who have a huge passion for preserving and developing the rituals. An organizer of sacred Tabut rituals[2] from Berkas districts states:

> "One of the reasons for establishing KKT was to preserve Tabut rituals, and its members are not limited to Imam Senggolo descendants. As long as they have a strong commitment toward preserving the tradition, they can become members. There is a consideration behind this regulation most Imam descendants no longer have an interest in carrying out the ritual (Marhayati 2015)."

As the result of a long-term process of acculturation, the author is interested in analyzing the form of acculturation that has taken place in Tabut society and traditions, based on the acculturation theory proposed by John W. Berry. The author argues that the theory investigates psychological aspects during the acculturation process before determining the type of acculturation strategy employed

Some of the psychological aspects observed include acculturation stress, cultural behavior, and the cognitive ability of the Tabut community to address their culture. According to the author's former research on acculturation, stress is not found in the Tabut community. This is because the group has been able to adapt to the general public. In contrast the behavior and cognitive ability of the Tabut Community can be observed in the changing of some rituals to adapt to current conditions.

The Process of Islamic Culture's Formation in Indonesia

While the majority of Indonesians are Muslims, when compared to other Islamic countries, Arabization has become deeply rooted in Indonesia. However, two of the main characteristics of Islamic art, *arabesque* (ornament arts) and calligraphy (Arabic writing arts), have had limited influence on Indonesian culture. Local traditions have not completely vanished in the process of Islamization. Instead of using military forces, Islamic religious figures have introduced Islam in more moderate ways, through trading, art, marriage and education (Arsyad 2012).

Acculturation cannot be ignored when discussing the formation of Islamic culture in Indonesia. It can be defined as a process of

blending two or more cultures that affect and absorb each other's cultural characteristics. Islam is dynamic, elastic and accommodative to local cultures as long as they do not contradict Islamic principles. The acculturation problem, however, relies on the procedures and implementation techniques. Gus Dur calls this "Islamic localization" (Asnawan 2011; Wahid 1989).

Islam is not antipathetic towards culture. In fact, it is very tolerant of local cultures. On examples is the design of the mosque. Masjid Agung Demak has *ranggon*, or tiered roofs, which reflect the concept of "*Meru*" from Hindu-Buddhist civilizations. It originally had nine tiers, before Sunan Kalijaga cut it down to three. The number three reflects the three diverse aspects of a Muslim: Iman, Islam, and good deeds. While Buddha and Hindu introduced stupa when spreading Buddhism and Hinduism in Indonesia, Islam did not bring Middle-Eastern Islamic symbols to the country. From this it could be inferred that Islam is not antipathetic to culture. Every cultural aspect can be adapted to the religion.

However, there are differences in reconciliation and the acculturation model for the spread of Islamic culture in Indonesia. The model in rural Javanese areas is different from that in coastal areas. Islam in rural Java tends to syncretic, despite the fact that people have recited shahada. The society still believes in Batara Guru, Batara Wisnu, *Dewata Sewwa'E*, and others. Islam in coastal areas, meanwhile, is more dynamic, as they have highers social mobility, and follows developments in the Islamic world (Arsyad 2012).

As explained above, acculturation should be acknowledged when considering the formation of Islamic culture in Indonesia. This research employed an analysis based on an historical perspective of the entrance and development of Islam in Indonesia. Since the process of Islamization has involved many channels, including art, puppet shows, marriage, education, trading, mysticism and tasawwuf, cultural contact cannot be avoided. Eventually, the characteristics of local cultures blend into the Islamization process (Arsyad 2012).

There are two forms of traditional Indonesian cultures that have connections with Islamic influences: kraton culture and popular culture. Kraton culture is developed by *abdi dalem* or noblemean, ranging from poets to architects. The king has full authority to create specific cultural symbols to preserve his domination. The symbols

are usually in the form of myth, found in some collections of empire literature, including chronicles, sagas and lontaras. Some myths take the form of literary works, which contain mythical stories about magic, sacred and other supernatural forces. The myths are created to evoke obedience and loyalty to the authority. For instance, Sultan Agung has the title *Khalifatullāh*, or God's representative, in Java. In addition, Sultan Agung also has the title susuhunan (Tim Penulis IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta 2002). Sultan Agung is known as a king who gave many contributions for the development of Islam in Java.

It should be noted that kraton culture outside Java has more similarities with Islamic concepts. In Aceh, a king is known as *al-Mālik al-'Adl*. It is different from Javanese kraton culture, which emphasizes the concept of authority and culture. Kraton outside Java, emphasizes concept of justice. Since the concept of full authority has been applied in Javanese kraton, conflicts between Javanese culture and Islam have escalated during the Islamization process. Social conflicts were among those that caused tension between rulers and the people. The Javanese concept of social obedience rests in the king's full authority, while Islam teaches that social obedience is established with the enforcement of sharia law.

Islam tends to be more defensive when facing cultural influences. The nobility and courtiers accept certain Islamic influences as long as they are adapted to suit the status quo of Javanese authority. This is characteristic of Javanese kraton culture, when it interfaces with Islam. This differs from kraton culture outside Java, which is more accepting of Islamic influences.

Like kraton culture, popular culture has myths and mystic tales. An example is the story of Sunan Kalijaga, whom people believe has a stone that is the remnant of his sujud (Kuntowijoyo 2008). Additionally, there is a story of a distinguished kyai (a Javanese expert in Islam), who prayed in Mecca before shortly returning to his *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). Even though the influences of Islamic popular culture are more focused upon mythical stories, cultural development in Indonesia absorbs more Islamic symbols. Thus, Islam is an important cultural source fors Indonesian popular culture.

Islamic influences also affect some disciplines in popular culture. In the context of traditional knowledge, called "*ngelmu*", Islam discusses an array of topics, from cosmology behavior in marriage (Arsyad 2012; Kuntowijoyo 2008).

Islamic popular culture also appears in the form of ritualistic and social expression, including in the "Tabut" ritual in Bengkulu to commemorate the Islamic New Year and the martyrdom of Husein' descendant. There is also the "*sekatenan*" celebration to commemorate *mawlid* (the observance of the birthday of Prophet Muhammad). Meanwhile Islam, influences musical art in the form of *qasidah*, *rebana* and *gambus* in Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi (Kuntowijoyo 2008).

As explained above, historical, geographical and cultural differences have influenced the form of Islamic culture in Indonesia. Islamic culture in Java tends to be formed dialogically and through compromise. Meanwhile, ethnic groups outside Java have to choose Islam as their new identity and leave their local culture and faith, or completely reject Islam (Abdurrahman 2003; Kuntowijoyo 2008).

The Formation of Tabut Culture in Bengkulu

The word tabut (box) can be found in Quran, where it means a coffin containing Torah.

> "And their prophet said to them: Indeed, a sign of his kingship is that the (wooden) chest will come to you, in which is assurance from your Lord, and a remnant of what the family of Moses and the family of Aaron had left, carried by the angels. Indeed, in that is a sign for you, if you are believers," (QS 2: 248)

The verse appeared because of its relation to Bani Isrā'il's history. They previously believed if tabut appeared, and was in the possession of their leader, then favor would be on their sides. On the contrary, if Tabut disappeared, then disaster would strike (Poniman 2014).

Other sources explain the meaning of Tabut as a series of power struggles between Thalut and Jalut. A sign that Thalut would become a king was the return of "Tabut" to his hand, and with a piece inside it. Tabut, which was always brought to war, contained ten verses written on a plank, Prophet Moses's staff, and some of their ancestral clothing. Tabut was even stolen by the enemy, then taken back by the angels, brought down between the earth and the sky, and returned to Thalut. The return of tabut to Thalut signified that Thalut was the true king, and not Jalut. Shihab (2007) stated that surah Al Baqarah: 248 emphasizes the importance of preserving of old relics, especially if the bring about a sense of calm and encourages the community to be devoted. Moreover, tabut is the legacy of prophets and heroes. The benefits of old relics can have a positive impact on both the soul and mind.

Another story about tabut appears in the story of Prophet Musa. In order to save him from the massacre ordered by Pharaoh, he was put inside a tabut after he was born. Baby Musa was also saved after he was put inside a tabut (Interview with Syiafril, 2012).

Azra (2013) mentioned in his book that tabut ritual is often associated with Shia influence because it is celebrated on Ashura day, when Shia commemorates the death of Ḥusayn at the hands of Yazid ibn Muawiyah's army on Muharram 10, 61 AH/October 10, 680 in Karbala, Iraq. Ashura is celebrated in several places in Indonesia, including Aceh. During Ashura month, several Muslim families in Aceh usually prepare aspecial dish called Kanji Acura, which is made from sticky rice, beans, peanuts, coconut milk, and sugar. Kanji Asura will be cooked together in *meunasah*, a place for religious meetings. A tabut ritual, known as Oyak Usen, is also celebrated in Pariaman. During the Oyak Usen ritual, tabut Ḥusayn will be carried out and rocked by the angry mourning mass. Tabut is placed on a miniature female winged horse with a head as a *bouraq*. There is also a shroud with a beautiful decoration and several umbrellas on the top. Tabut ritual is also celebrated in Bengkulu. According to Syiafril's (2012) "*Tabut Karbala Bencoolen dari Punjab Symbol Melawan Kebiadaban*", Tabut appeared in every power struggle, conflict, and unbalanced dispute. It is relevant to mention "Tabut" in another story by Ahlul Bait that recalls the battle of Karbala, the unbalanced war between Ḥusayn's army of 300 men against the 4000 men of Muawwiyah's army. Ḥusayn was brutally killed in the battle and his head and hands were severed from his body. After the battle Ḥusayn's body parts were placed inside a coffin "Tabut" with a beautiful decoration. Ever since the incident, Tabut ritual is celebrated on every tenth day of Muharram.

According to the cultural division in the previous paragraph, Tabut culture is concluded in popular culture (folk culture) because it contains rituals, mystical stories, and the worship of one figure, al-Ḥusayn. Ahlul Bait, but not Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān, consider him like a king or *Imām*.

The formation of Tabut culture in Bengkulu occurred during the spread of Islamic religion in that area, which was not only carried out by Sunni (Ahlusunnah wal Jama'ah), but also by Shia (ahlulbait). The legacy of Shia can be seen in ritual or Tabut culture that is celebrated in every year in Bengkulu. The purposes of the ritual are: 1. To welcome

the new year of Hijri; 2. To commemorate those who died in Karbala, especially al-Husayn; 3. To recall the peak of Islamic glory in the 7th and 13th centuries.[3]

According to history, the beginning of Tabut culture in Bengkulu occurred in two phases. A Shia cleric, Maulana Ichsad, and his fellows instigated the first phase in 1336. Shaykh Burhanuddin (Imam Senggolo), also a Shia cleric, also a Shia cleric, instigated the second phase with his fellows in 1714. Both Shaykhs celebrated Tabut ritual in order to spread Islam in Bengkulu. Shaykh Burhanuddin married two women, one from Cinggris village and another from Lemau River (now Pondok Kelapa), Bengkulu. He settled with his offspring in a village located on the Berkas coast. His offspring married and assimilated with the native Bengkulu. This resulted in acculturation between Tabut and Bengkulu cultures. It is difficult to differentiate between Shaykh Burhanuddin's offspring and his fellows, and the native Bengkulu, because the process has occurred over hundreds of years (Herawansyah 2012). The difference can be seen in the approach to Tabut ritual, as almost all of Shaykh Burhanudin's offspring make preparations within their own groups.

This argument is consistent with findings from interviews with several informants:

> *"...jadi sejarah nyo tu tahun tigobele sekian, tigo bele tigo enam memang lah ado, datang rombongan ke Bengkulu. Nyebarkan ajaran Islam yang utamanyo tu... itu pertamo yang datang itu orang tigo bele... perjalanannyo tu dari Irak terus ke Punjab, dari Punjab ke Aceh, baru ke Bengkulu... tigo bele tigo enam sampe tigo bele empek enam itu... nah, lah lamo di Bengkulu tapi itu belom booming tabut di Bengkulu itu, nah yang boomingnyo nian... itulah yang dibawak oleh Syech Burhanudin..."* [4]

> "…In history, there was a group which entered Bengkulu, in order to spread Islam, around 13001336-. The first group consisted of thirteen people. They began their journey in Iraq, heading to Punjab. From Punjab, they travelled to Aceh, and then visited Bengkulu. They settled in Bengkulu from 1336 through to 1346, but at that time Tabut culture was not yet known. It became well-known after it was introduced by Shaykh Burhanuddin."

> *"…Itu yang baok itu dulu pedagang-pedagang itu ..nyiarkan agama Islam.. itulah yang baoknyo, yoo itulah Imam Senggolo tadi, Syekh Burhanudin tadi, rombongan itu yang baok.. dulu kan banyak orang dari Aceh, dari Padang, nah menetaplah di Bengkulu, kalo yang di Padang itu Syekh Burhanudin jugo itu.."* [5]

"…The ones who brought Tabut culture were merchants. They are Imam Senggolo or Shaykh Burhanuddin. They came from Aceh and Padang, then settled in Bengkulu to spread Islam. Tabut in Padang also originates from Shaykh Burhanuddin's offsprings."

Informant Een also stated:

"Kalau sepengetahuan abang dari gaek, itu tadi...rombongan tadi datang ke Bengkulu samo kek bedagang. Bedagang masuk ke Bengkulu sambil nyiarkan agama Islam. Kan Islam dibawok...dak do Islam ko dulu di Bengkulu".
[6](Interview with Een, 21 January 2017)

 "The doctrine from my parents, the purpose of the group who came to Bengkulu, besides bringing Tabut culture, was trade. Besides trading, they also spread Islam because at that time Islam was not present in Bengkulu."

Based on these informants' opinions, the spread of Tabut culture in Bengkulu is for Islam's mission to spread Islam, and was not introduced by India's army (*Sepoy*) as previous arguments have suggested. Sepoy people can be considered followers of Tabut culture before they came to Bengkulu.

Syam (2005) explains that culture change in coastal communities, from the local tradition to the Islamic tradition, in the context of locality, leads to acculturation, not adaptation. This is because such changes accommodate two elements into a new unity, within which there will be elements that are included and discarded.

It also happens during Tabut ritual within the organizing community. When Tabut ritual passed to Imam Senggolo's offsprings which had assimilated with the native Bengkulu, acculturation of Shia theology with the Islamic tradition of the Bengkulu community occurred. As previously mentioned, the actual process of acculturation of religion and culture occurred when the Indians (Hindu/Buddhist) began to enter Indonesia.

Culture acculturation occurs because of the eagerness of the people, especially the communion family of Tabut, toward preserving Tabut culture. They want native Bengkulu, who have a background in cultural differences and beliefs, and can entirely accept Tabut culture. If the majority of (Bengkulu society) accepts the existence of Tabut culture, the acculturation process and preservation of Tabut ritual is easier.

Acculturation is the cultural and psychological process of two cultures meeting that results in a new culture, or maintenance of each other's culture. The formation of the new culture can occur rapidly,

or take a long time, depending on individual and group strategy. In other words, acculturation is cultural change resulting from contact with other cultures. Assimilation is a process of the mixing of an ethnic group (immigrants or minority ethnics) with the majority of society. This process leads to the disappearance of a group's characteristics, such as language, customs, ethnicity, and personal identity (Berry 2005; Sam and Berry 2006). I take one example of these issues, and examine the cultural and psychological aspects of these phenomena that take place during the process of acculturation. During acculturation, groups of people and their individual members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict, and the need for negotiation in order to achieve outcomes that are adaptive for both parties. Research on aculturation, including acculturation strategies, changes in behaviours, and acculturative stress are reviewed. There are large group and individual differences in how people (in both groups in contact.

Cultural acculturation can be readily seen as a process and change that occurs in the community. In contrast, psychological acculturation cannot be so easily observed. It's difficult to differentiate whether the cause of the change is from an external or internal influence, for example, through a contact, diffusion or innovation within a particular cultural group. There are several cultural or ethnic groups in plural communities that can live together and share in social and political ways. There are two key aspects to this concept: first, whether the community with a different culture is sustainable. Second, whether the group participates in everyday life in the plural community (Sam and Berry 2006).

One case of cultural acculturation is the spread of Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Cultural acculturation in the spread of religion can be in a physical or non-physical form. In the physical form it can be seen in places of worship. In the non-physical form it can be observed through procedures or rituals of worship.

The spread of Islam in Indonesia needs to have a cultural vision, because it will be able to cover all aspects and dimensional perspectives, attitudes, and actualization in human life with a more integrative cultural movement. It can be observed through the use of *wayang* by Sunan Kalijaga in order to spread Islam in Java. When many people came to watch *wayang*, Sunan Kalijaga began to incorporate the culture and values of Islam that had already acculturated with local culture

and values. Finally, people's interest on *wayang* made them want to know more about the Islamic values contained in Sunan Kalijaga's *wayang* stories. They then began to convert to Islam. Sunan Kalijaga's methods inspired other ulama outside Java to involve local culture in order to spread Islam. It also occurred in a similar way in Tabut culture (Herawansyah 2012).

This tradition was initially introduced by Shia followers, while the majority of the Bengkulu community were Sunni. In order to be accepted, this tradition needed to be acculturated with the local community. This process led the Bengkulu community to accept Tabut culture, and this ritual continues to be celebrated today (Poniman 2014).

Based on this explanation, the Tabut community has experienced the multicultural model. They join into the local plural community as a minority, but still preserve their traditions. Multiculturalism is a theoretical and psychological argument that not only encourages a recognition of the equality of all nations and cultures, but also promotes an idea that every cultural group has a right to follow their development path, activities, values, and norms. The multiculturalism perspective is based on self-exploration leading to self-awareness. However, it needs to be understood that an individual's perspective is extremely limited, partial, and relative, influenced by the individual's background. It doesn't mean that the individual is always right or wrong. It means that everyone should respect, recognize and understand various opinions (Levy and Shiraev 2012).

The Acculturation in Psychology

Acculturation is a component of cross cultural psychology. It is necessary to understand acculturation in this context in order to distinguish a collective individual area. Graves (1967) refers to the terms of psychological acculturation to depict a change individually experienced. It is due to contact involvement with other cultures, and engagement with the acculturation process, that ethnic and cultural communities may adapt. Indeed, when acculturation in a group and in individuals is distinguished, these situations exist for two reasons. First, a change obtained in both areas varies from a change in a community area resulting from social structure, economic base, and organization and politics, and an individual's community may face substantial

change in self-identity, values, and attitudes. Second, not all individuals participate in collective changes in either one or many situations.

A researcher is allowed to consider two concrete reasons from individuals who experience psychological change. While general changes appear in a group, individuals illustrate the acculturation process through their membership of a cultural group that being changed. Hence, it is important for cross cultural psychology researchers to examine the relationship to comprehend and discern the systematic characteristics, so that findings in the process of psychological responses to contact and cultural change are encountered (Berry et al. 2002).

The acculturation discussion in cross cultural psychology underlines three aspects: first, contact or interaction takes places in response to cultural demands; second, some changes take place in individual cultures or psychology, both short term and long term. Third, according to the two previous aspects, it can be identified that dynamic activities may occur during and after the contact, as well as yielding a stable process. Discussion of these aspects inevitably causes change in phenomena and introduces some new phenomena accompanied by cultural interaction processes.

The former concept of acculturation is unidimensional model in which cultural heritage retention and acceptance of the new culture is reversible (Gordon 1964). It had been thought that the unidimensional model brings the immigrants into contact with new values, culture, and beliefs of the new settlement, and wish to withdraw the original culture. Cabassa (2003) (in Ando 2014) assumes that acculturation is a zero-sum phenomenon, which means that at the beginning of life the individual may face cultural heritage loss or compromise with the new culture. This assumption considers acculturation from the unidimensional point of view that highlights the low degree of inherit culture influence on the individual. This situation cannot explain to some extent the immigrants' experience complexity in response to acculturation concept limits.

However, the unidimensional model generates commentary due to the fact that European immigrants who came to America did not generally perform in ways corresponding to their cultural heritage. Since the early 1980's, cross cultural psychologists have agreed that the belief perceived, and the value of the host culture does not eventually reveal immigrants who will neglect beliefs, heritage and their cultural value

(Berry 1980). Berry developed an acculturation model of immigrants who engage with the "new" culture, and maintain their heritage culture, as free, two dimensional models. Further understanding psychological acculturation involve two levels of acculturation, namely individual and collective, or group level, as previously explained by Graves (1967).

In addition, at 1990 a parallel concept proposed by Clanet (in Berry 1997) posits the acculturation term with *interculturation*. Clanet argues that *interculturation* is "the set of processes by which individuals or groups interact when they identify themselves as culturally distinct.". According to its definition, there is no difference in meaning between acculturation and interculturation. The process of assimilation occurred as a result of culture involvement by both individual and group.

It could be implicitly inferred that as long as human interaction exists, the syncretic cultural contact and diffusion process will occure. The diffusion process of cultural spread is due to:

a. Migration of groups of individuals or nations from one area to another who come into contact with heritage culture in a new area;

b. The cultural diffusion that consciously spreads cultural items via particular individuals, such as merchants or traders, sailors, and missionaries. Consequently, it occurs in a symbiotic relationship that affects their pre-existing culture. Furthermore, there are cultural items that unconsciously act as a *pénétration pacifique* (Koentjaraningrat 1999).

It can be concluded that the examination of acculturation is by means of a dimensional model, due to acculturation involving not only the immigrant groups dimension, but also groups in a new area. In cultural psychology, the analysis embraces the acculturation process through two levels of analysis, individual and group level. Therefore, this study employs John Berry's theory of acculturation.

It has been stated previously that Graves (1967) distinguishes between two terms acculturation as a group-level phenomenon, and psychological acculturation. At first, acculturation discussion was limited to the cultural change in a group, but soon after acculturation studies embraced the psychological level among individuals. This distinction is for two reasons; First, to examine the systematic relationship between two variables of groups and individuals and, second, because not all individuals participate in an acculturation process in the groups they

belong to. Therefore, the situation that individual from the groups experience is varied during a change.

The concept of acculturation has become widely applied in cross-cultural psychology and has also been the subject of criticism over the definition. Some researchers consider acculturation similar to assimilation (Gordon 1964), yet others distinguish it from assimilation (Teske and Nelson 1974). Clanet, a French linguist, believes that acculturation resembles *interculturation,* a process in which individuals and groups interact due to variation in their identities arising from cultural diversity. Given these broad similarities in acculturation, using the term is irreversible for Berry as its meaning refers to involvement in either culture, both in good cultural items as well as psychology.

Berry (2005)I take one example of these issues, and examine the cultural and psychological aspects of these phenomena that take place during the process of acculturation. During acculturation, groups of people and their individual members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict, and the need for negotiation in order to achieve outcomes that are adaptive for both parties. Research on aculturation, including acculturation strategies, changes in behaviours, and acculturative stress are reviewed. There are large group and individual differences in how people (in both groups in contact asserts that acculturation is a change that occurs culturally and psychologically due to interaction between two groups or more, and individual encounters. From this perspective, Berry is thought to examine acculturation issues; First, by reviewing the provided literature, substantial issues concerning acculturation are concluded. Second, the concept of acculturation is employed to investigate individual differences experiencing acculturation, Third, acculturation outcomes are identified when an individual performs either strategy.

When considering how individuals differ in psychological adaptation, it is necessary to identify the changes that occur in those experiencing the acculturation process. As the massive changes arise, there are possibly effortless ways to overcome this challenge, such as by examining the way an individual talks, dresses, and eats. Nevertheless, the pattern of sequence problems results in acculturative stress, such as anxiety and depression, as well as uncertainty over the future in a new area. Adaptation processes are varied, and include, internal and psychological adaptation, and also sociocultural adaptation.

The quality of adaptation in oneself or in groups influences the acculturation strategies applied. These strategies are related to variations in how the cultural and psychological become fundamental factors. Moreover, the variables caused by the different strategies chosen by individuals are also pertain to acculturation strategies.

Berry's acculturation strategies (1997, 2005)I take one example of these issues, and examine the cultural and psychological aspects of these phenomena that take place during the process of acculturation. During acculturation, groups of people and their individual members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict, and the need for negotiation in order to achieve outcomes that are adaptive for both parties. Research on aculturation, including acculturation strategies, changes in behaviours, and acculturative stress are reviewed. There are large group and individual differences in how people (in both groups in contact consist of two components of individual change: attitudes and behavior. This facilitates the individuals to consider two orientations in acculturation: how strongly they maintain their heritage culture, and how strongly they wish to maintain the dominant cultural groups by seeking involvement.

The Concept of Acculturation Strategies

Following his initial concept outlining attitudes in reaction to acculturation, Berry (1980) proposed in 1997 a subsequent concept that emphasizes how individuals and groups experience acculturation. This literature developed substantially, with Berry (2003) asserting that every individual would experience assimilation and integrate with the dominant society (Gordon 1964). This idea is in step with a cultural level view, which looks at the interaction between two groups (either dominant or not) under examination. At the individual level, the way one deals with their collective culture may differ, (depending on education and occupation). At the family level, an individual contemplates his/her sexuality and roles in the family (as a mother or child). Short-term outcomes from the acculturation process, (including changes in attitudes and acculturative stress phenomenon) can be defined as a function of the acculturation process carried out, in required limitation. Meanwhile, long-term outcomes, (either psychological or sociocultural psychological) can be adapted correspondingly to the purpose of the strategies agreed upon by the community, and applied

by the members as a part of the followed community (Berry 1997, 2005)I take one example of these issues, and examine the cultural and psychological aspects of these phenomena that take place during the process of acculturation. During acculturation, groups of people and their individual members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict, and the need for negotiation in order to achieve outcomes that are adaptive for both parties. Research on aculturation, including acculturation strategies, changes in behaviours, and acculturative stress are reviewed. There are large group and individual differences in how people (in both groups in contact.

Berry's acculturation concept is usually demonstrated with schema of two dimensions (Berry 1997, 2001) that focus upon the preference of immigrants and the broader society to remain based in their own cultural perspective (*cultural maintenance*), as well as the frequency of intercultural contact encountered (*contact*). Bourhis, Moise, Perreault and Senecal (1997) assert that the cultural dimension should be changed to "culture adoption." In the other hand, some researchers have suggested that there are implications when comparing the dimensions of Berry's contact and adaptation. These implications demonstrate that acculturation is related to adaptation (Berry and Sabatier 2010; Ward and Kus 2012). Van Acker and Vanbeselaere (2011) suggest that a response that focuses on contact and cultural adoption can be demonstrated simultaneously, since they have a positive and solid relationship. Rodriguez, Zagefka, Navas and Cuadrado (2013) still use the term cultural maintenance in their research, but substitute the term contact dimension with adoption dimension. This is because they assume it is better to explore the concept of acculturation perception and its preference in the case of the adaptation dimension term.

In line with the two acculturation dimensions mentioned previously, Berry (1997) posits four acculturation strategies: *integration* (persistent with cultural heritage and a strong desire for involvement in other cultures), *assimilation* (disengagement from cultural heritage and an exclusive orientation to others), *separation* (holding to the original culture but with a little interest in interacting with others), and *marginalization* (shedding both cultures without cultural learning). Of these strategies, integration is the most preferred, as it is beneficial for individuals to overcome stress, depression, and acculturation

uncertainty. Conversely, social contact plays a substantial roles at the group level (Berry 2008, 2011; Sam and Berry 2006).

The four strategies discussed above are acculturation strategy experienced by non-dominant or minority groups, or what Berry calls the ethno-cultural community. Besides the ethno-cultural group, larger society groups also deal with four acculturation strategies: *multicultural* (the larger society maintain their cultural identity and are willing to accept other cultures)*, melting pot* (the individuals do not wish to maintain their original culture, but carry out interaction with others)*, segregation* (individuals have an interest in maintaining cultural identity, while other cultures are disregarded)*,* and *exclusion* (individuals face little possibility of maintaining the original culture and do not interact with others).

Every culture can influence others, but the fact is that one's culture tends to dominate other cultures, so the non-dominant may affect the dominant group. Acculturation may increase the populations cultural diversity, perceived prejudices and discrimination (Rodríguez et al. 2013; Rojas et al. 2014; Smeekes and Verkuyten 2014), and national policy development (multiculturalism) (Celeste et al. 2014; Mana, Orr, and Mana 2009).

Research on acculturation strategy in an ethno-cultural group, henceforth referring to a Tabut descendant group, is generally problem focused. This group in acculturation is regarded as a minority because Tabut tradition only requires one's small society group to consider themselves as descendents of Imam Senggolo.

The Framework to Understand Acculturation

The aim of psychological research in an acculturation process is to improve individual well-being. There is some cross cultural and cross national research, particularly in acculturation, emphasizing the recent diaspora or migration (Ando 2014; Güngör, Fleischmann, and Phalet 2011; Mana, Orr, and Mana 2009; Ward and Kus 2012). However, this article is mainly concerned with the acculturation process in families of Tabut descendants that have existed for more than 300 years. Maintaining cultural heritage is considered important for this community, and has resulted in its existence until today.

It has been demonstrated that in understanding acculturation in psychology, not only focus on group-level, but also individual-level. Therefore, the figure below elaborates how to understand acculturation.
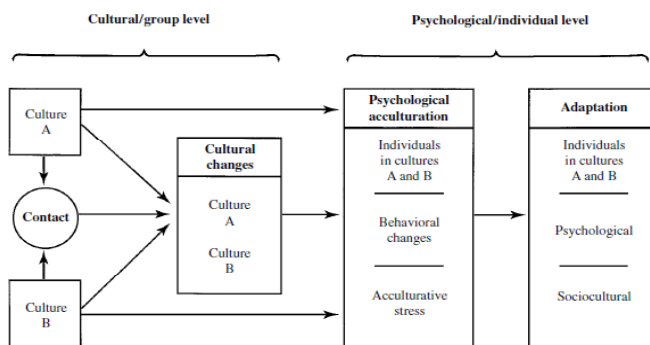
Figure 1: Research framework to understand acculturation
(Sam and Berry 2006)

Figure 1 illustrates that the group-level is the first step in determining the acculturation process, followed by cultural contact encounters between culture A and B, and finally the relationship characteristics in contact, and what cultural change may occur in both groups during acculturation. As a result, acculturative change at the group level varies corresponding to political, economic, demographic and cultural change that may relatively constrain or substantially change, depending on the view of dominant and non-dominant groups.

Further, a change in the level of cultural group becomes a fundamental change of individual-level (right side). Two types of change occur: psychological and adaptation acculturation. Psychological acculturation arises when there is individual psychological acculturation from both culture A and B, attitude changes (i.e. talking, dressing, eating), and acculturative stress (i.e. anxiety, uncertainty, depression and psychopathology). Individuals from culture A and B experience adaptation in accompaniment with a psychological process (i.e. feeling prosperous and proud) and a sociocultural process, and there is a contact with society in a new culture (i.e. daily life competition) (Sam and Berry 2006).

Gezentsvey's (2008) research emphasizes one's approach based upon whether a latter generation inherited heritage traditions or not. His research is appropriate to find the generation quality by examining its obedience through basic customs, cultural knowledge in general or Tabut tradition in particular, in which is the main focus of this research. Drawing on either ethnic group, native language capability demonstrates the quality and quantity of the future generation. Also, the hierarchy of

relative power, especially for the indigenous community, also illustrates continuity of the future generation. The sustainability of the indigenous community depends on its ability to decide its life path, so that it may reach life purposes in relation to the cultural pattern, social institution, and legal system of an area it belongs to. Hence, a tribal chief or public figure is required to indicate the defining acculturation strategy at the minority level that is experiencing the acculturation process. This article involves a chief of a Tabut community as an informant, to be investigated more about Tabut family, a community that still maintains tradition and rituals.

The Acculturation Strategy of the Tabut Community

This qualitative research project employed an ethnography approach. Six informants were recruited that met the following qualifications: (a) a descendant; (b) active in annual Tabut celebrations; and (c) a sacred Tabut agent. The writer collected the data through in depth interview of informants, as well as an examination of the literature.

From the interviews, it was found that most of the informants understood the rituals that were performed in the sacred Tabut community. In addition, they were also explained that Tabut tradition is about the Tabut ritual that is performed by Tabut religious figures. With regards to the history of Tabut in Bengkulu, most of the informants gave similar answers, though there were some discrepancies over the year of that Tabut arrived in the area. They also explained that trades from Punjab introduced the Tabut tradition, when they came to spread the teachings of Islam:

> *"…Jadi sejarah nyo tu tahun tigobele sekian, tigobele empek enam memang lah ado, datang rombongan ke Bengkulu. Nyebarkan ajaran Islam yang utamanyo tu…"*[7]

> "… So the history began in 13-something, but in 1346 there were some traders who came to Bengkulu to teach the people about Islam…"

Based on the informant's answer, the first traders introduce Tabut tradition came to Bengkulu in 1346 to trade with locals and also spread the teachings of Islam.

As for the Tabut family response to the non-Tabut family and their participation in the activities of the non-Tabut, the informants stated that the non-Tabut people always helped and supported them during Tabut month:

"Yoo boleh, semua boleh ikut. Termasuk pak RT, pak Lurah, yoo karno kepiawaian adik sanak ni yang bisa melobi lobi, mereka besatu, maaf ngomongnyo Tabut kito kan dari sini ke lapangan itu dibawak kek Kamtibmas, digiring oleh Tentara dan Polisi.. Tabut laen belom tentu, karno kerjosamo yang baik tadi" [8]

"Everyone is allowed to participate in Tabut ritual, including the head of the neighborhood and the chief headman. The Tabut families have the power to unite the people around them. When Tabut Penurunan was brought from the house to the designated location, it was escorted by local enforcers, the army, and police officers. However, the other Tabut does not get the same treatment because there is cooperation between the people here."

Nowadays, everyone can participate in Tabut ritual, irrespective of social class, race, and nationality:

"…Makanyo sayo sampaikan, tabutko bukan lagi punyo orang tabut. tabutko punyo provinsi Bengkulu, punyo orang banyak. Jadi silahkan ndak siapopun orangnyo silahkan ikut….jadi jangan lagi ado kato-kato "kami anak tabut"… kalu sayo idak endak lagi….makonyo kemaren 2015 sayo ajak orangtu campuran, Bugis, Batak, Padang, kareno sayo membina orang sekitar 50 orang sayo ajak untuk ikut bantu buek tabut" [9]

"… As I told you, nowadays, Tabut tradition belongs not only to Tabut people. Currently, Tabut belongs to Bengkulu. It is owned by everyone. So, everyone is allowed to participate in Tabut tradition and rituals… We are not allowed to say 'We are the children of Tabut,' like before… or at least, I don't make a declaration like that anymore…Therefore, in 2015, I invited all of the people, such as Bugis, Batak, and Padang, to participate in Tabut celebration. Moreover, I also trained about 50 children so they could participate in building Tabut."

Everyone was allowed to participate in every Tabut celebration as long as they were eager to conserve the Tabut tradition. With regard to marriage, every Tabut family member was allowed to have a spouse from any other tribe and social class. There was no rule that said Tabut family members had to marry other Tabut family members:

"Idak ado ketentuan keluarga tabut harus menikah dengan sesamo keluarga. Bebas ajo. Cuma ado waktu itu sayo tengok, mungkin kareno penduduk masih dikit, tapi sah. Idak melanggar garis wali. Keluarga tabut rato-rato peran andil di kotako…(terutama keturunan Imam Senggolo)" [10]

"There is no rule that says Tabut family members have to marry other Tabut family members. We are free to choose our own spouse. If I'm not mistaken, there was a rule like that, but maybe it was because of our small

number, so we're now allowed to marry anyone we like. However, even though we're married to a non Tabut family member, both the marriage and the children that are born in that marriage are legitimate. In addition, the Tabut family has a great influence in Bengkulu, in general (especially the descendants of Imam Senggolo)…"

Evidence showed that there was acculturation in Tabut society caused by the marriage which, according to them, produced a new society called Melayu Bengkulu and there were also changes in their rituals. Some of the rituals had changed because of adaptation to the culture of the native Bengkulu people:

"… Apo yang kito kerjokan di Bengkulu ko budaya, yang sudah dikerjokan turun temurun, terserahla kalu nenek puyang dulu adolah Syi'ah matilah nyo situ… makonyo sayo sampaikan kek kakak-kakak, paman-paman, walaupun sayo yang paling kecik sayo sampaikan, jangan lagi mengadokan kegiatan yang bisa bikin orang nuduh kito syirik. Misal: tabut tu dak usah lagi cak orang-orang dulu rembio tu di asok, dikemenyan, kareno itulah tadi. Kito kalu idak ndak dicap orang kito koreksi diri dulu. Kek mamu sayo sampaikan, kalu rombongan tabut masih pakai bacaon do'a yang tidak jelas mereka akan nuduh kito syirik. Makonyo tiok do'a mamu yang mimpin dan bacaon do'anyo harus jelas, do'a-do'a yang dimengerti orang misalnyo do'a mohon keselamatan …" [11] (Interview with Junai, 15 July 2016)

"… What we've done in Bengkulu is our culture—the culture that was handed down through generations. We don't care if our ancestors were part of Syi'ah. Therefore, I told my brothers and uncles, even though I'm the youngest in the family, I told them that please don't do anything that makes people accuse us doing something shirk. For example, let's stop doing the *Pengasapan Rumbia* (bamboo) ritual, where we also burned the incense. If we don't want people to accuse us as syirik, first we have to correct ourselves. I told my uncles that if we still use the unfamiliar prayer, people will keep accusing us as shirk. Because of that, now my uncles who lead the praying use the familiar prayers such as the prayer to ask for salvation to God."

Another informant's statement:

"… Ritual duo ribu duo bele, ada yang sayo ubah.. karno dikecek bikin syirik.. dulu sebelum tahun duo ribu duo bele, waktu saat Penja, kan dicuci Penja, kayak kemaren tu.. nyucinyo itu air pertamo itu, itulah jeruk dipotong-potong, itulah air pertamo, air keduo yang dipakai itu kopi, susu murni, air serobat.. yang mbak minum kemaren.. samo air cendana…nah kalo air cendana dak mungkin kito minum, kopi pait jugo dak mungkin..kalo susu kek air serobat tadi kan mubazir kito buang.. itu sayo ganti.. jadi air untuk nyucinyo diganti air bungo, terserah nak bungo apo.. dak usah nak bungo

setaman idak (tertawa).. supayo ngindari jangan dikecek orang syirik.. yoo karno mubazir tadi.. nah trus ado jugo waktu ngambik tanah.. ngambik tanah itu kan main siram gitu ajo, main siram kek kopi.. maen siram kek susu.. itu dak sayo kerjokan lagi.. duo ribu duo bele jugo.. yoo mubazir..[12]

 "I changed some parts in the 2012 ritual … Because people said that it was shirk. When we performed the *cuci penja* ritual before 2012, the first washing used orange water, while on the second one we used coffee, then milk and *air serobat* (ginger water) … And sandalwood water. Of course we couldn't drink the sandalwood water and the bitter coffee, but the milk and ginger water was too precious to throw them away just like that… Therefore, we didn't use them anymore, and nowadays we use the flower water so people won't accuse us as shirk. On the other hand, in *ambik tanah* ritual, there were some parts where we had to water the land with both coffee and milk. I didn't perform the ritual because we couldn't waste the coffee and the milk."

According to the informants' respons, it is evident that there is a change in the way they performed the rituals, such as in the prayers that are now used. They did not use the prayer that their ancestors used, which was in Punjab language, because many people did not understand how to recite it and its meaning. Moreover, there were some parts that were omitted to adjust to current conditions in Bengkulu, and in order to get rid of shirk or Shia accusations that were usually aimed at the Tabut families when they performed the Tabut ritual.

Based on the explanation of Berry's four acculturation strategies and the findings above, it can be concluded that there is a type of acculturation strategy used by the Tabut community in order to preserve their community. As explained before, the tradition of the Tabut community does not originate from the native Bengkulu society, but instead from Punjab, India by the traders who came to Bengkulu hundreds of years ago. In order to preserve their tradition, their ancestors had to engage in an acculturation process that continues to this day. Generally, we understand that acculturation is a process where two or more cultures merge, either in a community or a single individual. By referencing Berry's theory, this paper tries to explain the type of acculturation strategy that is used by the Tabut community.

There are four acculturation strategies in Berry's theory; integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. During the acculturation process, there will be both conflicts and negotiations that aim to get the most appropriate result for the communities that engage in the process (Berry 2005). I take one example of these issues, and examine

the cultural and psychological aspects of these phenomena that take place during the process of acculturation. During acculturation, groups of people and their individual members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict, and the need for negotiation in order to achieve outcomes that are adaptive for both parties. Research on aculturation, including acculturation strategies, changes in behaviours, and acculturative stress are reviewed. There are large group and individual differences in how people (in both groups in contact.

According to the interview with the head of Tabut community, and the informants of the research, it was found that in order to preserve their tradition, rituals, and community, the Tabut families have had to adapt with the local culture. In this case it is the culture of native Bengkulu society. Some of their attempts to adapt with the local culture have included clearing the Shia accusation on them and not involving Shia people when they perform the Tabut ritual. If the Shia people want to participate in the Tabut ritual, they are only allowed to give donations. Moreover, the materials for building the Tabut is adjusted to those that can be found in Bengkulu, and they also do the same when making musical instruments such as the Gam and Tassa. However, there are things that cannot be changed such as the date of the Tabut ritual, which will always be held from 1-10 Muharram, and the foods like *sebrat* bread, which can also be found in Punjab. The Tabut community also still uses some words from the Punjab language, such as *abbah* (father), *dada* (grandfather), *biwi* (wife), *dawat* (ink), *mamu* (uncle, highly respected person), *jel* (jail), *gam* (sad), *penja* (five fingers), and *soja* (worshipping, respect). The other words can be found in the "*naskah do'a*" that was written in Arab Persia (Interview with Syiafril, 2015).

Some of the rituals that contradict with Islamic teachings are being left behind, and they do not perform them anymore. People in the Tabut community do not want people to assume that Tabut is shirk and wasteful.

Moreover, the Tabut families welcome the non Tabut people to participate in every ritual they perform yearly. In addition, there is no obligation for Tabut family members to marry other Tabut family members.

By observing the behavior of the Tabut community, who still preserve both their tradition and rituals but also adapt to the local culture, it

can be concluded that the Tabut community uses integration as their acculturation strategy. Integration is one of Berry's four acculturation strategies.

Integration is the best of the four acculturation strategies for avoiding individual and group conflicts, either with members of the community or locals, which in this case is those native to Bengkulu. Through integration, both the individuals and the group can avoid psychological disorders such as stress. This corresponds with the author's previous research, which discussed the relationship between spirituality and acculturative stress. It was found that in the Tabut community, especially amongst their younger generation, there was not a high level of stress.[13] However, this does not mean that they ignore or abandon the Tabut tradition that was handed down through generations in their community. It was a result of their lack of participation in the Tabut celebrations and rituals. Many of the Tabut family members are allowed to participate in Tabut celebrations, especially in the Tabut ritual, when they are older, around the age of 35-40 years old.

Conclusion

Tabut tradition in Bengkulu is the result of a long acculturation process that continues to this day. This tradition exist because of the good acculturation ability of the Tabut community (the immigrant group). The Tabut Community does not hesitate to adapt to and communicate with the locals but they still preserve their own traditions handed down through generations. From Berry's four acculturation strategies, it can be concluded that the Tabut community, employs the integration strategy. Integration is the best strategy due to its ability to merge an immigrant group's own traditions with the native's culture, in this case the tradition of the Tabut community and the culture of native Bengkulu. The Tabut community is able to both preserve their tradition and adapt with the local culture in Bengkulu. By using the integration strategy, there is no high level stress among The Tabut family members, which will help them to avoid any conflict with other communities.

In addition, the form of acculturation in Tabut community eliminates rituals that are susceptible to oblique views of the majority. It's like an *ambik tanah* ritual. Formerly, *ambik tanah* was added to the ritual of watering the soil with coffee water, but is now removed because it is considered redundant. Furthermore, the prayer that is

read is the usual one used by the general public. However, the burning of *kemenyan* remains to eliminate unpleasant odors and add to the sacredness.

Tabut tradition in Bengkulu is purely cultural and is intended to remember the struggle of al-Husein, and to reminisce about the spread of the teachings of Islam in Indonesia, especially in Bengkulu. It also is intended to celebrate the new year of Islam. Additionally, the Tabut tradition in Bengkulu has been considered the local indigenous tradition. The Tabut celebration has also been celebrated in Pariaman, Aceh, and Thailand. However, the tradition of the Tabut community in Bengkulu does not want to be considered as Shia, so they acculturate with the locals. The teachings of Islam that they profess nowadays are those professed by the Muslims in Bengkulu.

The suggestion for future research is to focus upon the Tabut community from an economic perspective, and on daily life outside Muharram month.

Endnotes

1. Interview with Syiafril, 16 September 2015.
2. Interview with Anwar, 5 January 2016.
3. Interview with Syiafril, 22 January 2016.
4. Interview with Adil, 27 November 2016.
5. Interview with Man Ta'a, 13 December 2016.
6. Interview with Een, 21 January 2017.
7. Interview with Adil, 27 November 2016.
8. Interview with Syaiful, 1 February 2017.
9. Interview with Junai, 15 July 2016.
10. Interview with Junai, 15 July 2016.
11. Interview with Junai, 15 July 2016.
12. Interview with Adil, 27 November 2016.
13. The results, however, show no high level of stress. It could be inferred that the younger generation in tabut society ignore their inherit culture. They rarely participate in tabut celebration and ritual. Most of tabut people who participate in the culture aged from 35 to over 40. (Marhayati 2015).

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The journal invites scholars and experts working in all disciplines in the humanities and social sciences pertaining to Islam or Muslim societies. Articles should be original, research-based, unpublished and not under review for possible publication in other journals. All submitted papers are subject to review of the editors, editorial board, and blind reviewers. Submissions that violate our guidelines on formatting or length will be rejected without review.

Articles should be written in American English between approximately 10.000-15.000 words including text, all tables and figures, notes, references, and appendices intended for publication. All submission must include 150 words abstract and 5 keywords. Quotations, passages, and words in local or foreign languages should

be translated into English. *Studia Islamika* accepts only electronic submissions. All manuscripts should be sent in Ms. Word to: http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika.

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2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
4. Wahid, Din. 2014. *Nurturing Salafi Manhaj: A Study of Salafi Pesantrens in Contemporary Indonesia*. PhD dissertation. Utrecht University.
5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

Arabic romanization should be written as follows:

Letters: ', *b*, *t*, *th*, *j*, *ḥ*, *kh*, *d*, *dh*, *r*, *z*, *s*, *sh*, *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *t*, *z*, ', *gh*, *f*, *q*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *h*, *w*, *y*. Short vowels: *a*, *i*, *u*. long vowels: ā, ī, ū. Diphthongs: *aw*, *ay*. *Tā marbūṭā*: *t*. Article: *al-*. For detail information on Arabic Romanization, please refer the transliteration system of the Library of Congress (LC) Guidelines.

ستوديا اسلاميكا

إسلام وفقه نوسانتارا:

التنافس على الهوية وعلاقة السلطة

والرمز الديني لجمعية نهضة العلماء

محمد نور حارس الدين

الصمود والتكيف والتثاقف:

تعبير عن هوية العلماء في المنفى بـ Kampung Jawa Tondano

احمد شهيد