

SOCIAL SCIENCES & HUMANITIES

Journal homepage: http://www.pertanika.upm.edu.my/

Factors Influencing the Intention of Kedayan Muslims to Perform the Traditional Culture Associated with Syncretism

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ABSTRACT

In the study of religion, syncretism has been conveyed as a controversial concept and has become an issue for debate because it depicts 'impurity' or 'inauthenticity'. The term has been widely used by some Western scholars to elaborate on its practice among Ancient and Christian societies, and at the same time, it is also used in the context of Muslim communities, particularly in describing the practice of traditional cultures in Malaysia that were rejected by Muslim reformers. In practice, however, traditional culture cannot be easily distinguished from Muslim practices. Thus, what explains the desire of some Muslims to continue practising elements of their traditional culture associated with syncretism? This paper aims to discover the factors influencing the intention of the Kedayan people to practise elements their traditional culture that are associated with syncretism. Data were self-administered among 414 respondents and analysed using descriptive and inferential analyses of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. The results of this study revealed that the Kedayan people have a tendency to continue with practices of

ARTICLE INFO

Article history: Received: 14 July 2016 Accepted: 08 June 2018

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Keywords: Kedayan, Malaysia, muslim, syncretism, traditional culture

their traditional culture that may still contain remnants of syncretism. In addition, the results also revealed their agreement with

the common perception of traditional

culture and subjective norms as factors

influencing Kedayans' intention to practise

their traditional culture.

ISSN: 0128-7702 © Universiti Putra Malaysia Press

INTRODUCTION

The term 'syncretism' is derived from the Greek word, synkretizein, which means 'to combine' (Reese, 1890, p. 564). Plutarch, who noted that even brothers and friends who have quarrel prefer to associate with one another in the face of a common danger rather than to fraternise with the foe (Hasting, 1974, p. 155), first introduced the term in his writings on ancient Greek philosophy. The concept of syncretism was practised widely in Greek paganism, where religion, philosophy, culture and beliefs were established by merging various elements together, particularly in the second century AD or during the Hellenistic era (Wiener, 1973). In the 17th century, George Calisen Calixtus attempted a rapprochement between the Protestant and Catholic denominations. Nonetheless, syncretism as a term was later used negatively to refer to a contamination of one religion by another (Levenson, 2011).

In relation to the use of the concept of syncretism, scholars can be divided into two main streams, which are descriptive and normative streams. The first stream strives to avoid any evaluation of syncretism as being right or wrong, while the second stream asserts that evaluation of the term should be from a religious perspective (Zehner, 2005). The first stream regards syncretism as having an equivalent meaning to hybridity. For example, Colpe (1987, pp. 218–220) and Stewart (1994) discussed syncretism at length without offering a definition beyond the general notion of religious

mixing, and for them, the exact meaning was not necessary. Instead, they used a more inclusive definition and suggested that syncretism was a natural process that was applicable in the traditions concerned with maintaining their authenticity. Because of this, research into syncretism developed rapidly and the focus of the researcher was on the phenomenon of syncretism and the factors that influenced its practice, as Meyer (1994) suggested that syncretism could be the practical result of processes of translation and diabolisation.

From the Islamic perspective, syncretism is not permitted. However, in the context of traditional culture, it can be considered a natural process that cannot be avoided, especially during the early stages of accepting Islam (Mohd Mokhtar & Saari, 2015a). This phenomenon applies to the Kedayans (Magiman, 2012, pp. 128). Thus, the objectives of this paper were:

- To identify the intentions of the Kedayans in practising elements of their traditional culture that are associated with syncretism, and
- To discover the main factors influencing the intentions of the Kedayans to practise elements of their traditional culture associated with syncretism.

This study plays a significant role in understanding the cultural traditions of the Kedayan from their perspective and the cultural evolution that they experienced due to the influence of Islam, which they embraced.

Syncretism in the Traditional Culture of Kedayan Muslims

Syncretism is practised by different communities living in the Malay Archipelago, the home of the Kedayans, due to the influence of religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. The embodiment of the human spirit in Brahman is almost similar to the concept of the incarnation of the spirit of ancestors in objects, a belief held by traditional Malay communities. This belief was influenced by dynamism-animism. Prescribing to this belief, the local community easily accepted Hindu teachings. Accommodating two cultures or beliefs with minimal conflict can be viewed as syncretism. Even after the Malays had embraced Hindu-Buddhism, their previous worldview of dynamismanimism was not entirely abolished. This conditioning persisted even after the Malays had embraced Islam. Syncretism, which occurs in the Malay world, is usually in the form of consolidation between dynamismanimism and Islamic beliefs (Yahaya, 1998). Elements of syncretism can be seen in these communities in their practice of traditional medicine, tips and traditional rituals that are disclosed in the form of mantras or incantations (Selat, 1993). All these apply to the Kedayans, who are a Malay ethnic group originating from the Malay Archipelago.

'Kedayan' is defined in the dictionary, the *Kamus Dewan*, as 'escort' (Baharom, 2005, p. 702). The meaning is associated with the life of the community as an escort of the king in the feudal era. According to Parnell (1911), the word 'Kedayan' is

derived from the Malay word 'kodi' which means 'score'. This meaning is strongly related to the character of the escorts of great native princes; the escorts were known as kodi-an. According to Sidik (2007), the Kedayan ethnic group is believed to have originated from Java and was brought into Brunei by Sultan Bolkiah (the fifth Sultan of Brunei). The famous history of the Kedayans to Brunei is linked to the cockfighting events between the Prince of Java and the Sultan of Brunei. The Sultan of Brunei won the cockfighting competition and a group of people were given to the Sultan to be taken to Brunei as a reward. Therefore, at first, 'Kedayan' referred to the escorts of the king. When their number increased, they formed the Kedayan ethnic group (Bagol, 1994, pp. 8–11).

The Kedayan reside in Borneo. In Brunei, the Kedayans are the majority in the areas of Brunei-Muara, Tutong, Belait and Temburong. In Sarawak, the majority of Kedayans occupy the areas of Sabuti, Limbang and Lawas. In Sabah, the Kedayan are the majority in the Sipitang area. They also inhabit the Federal Territory of Labuan in Sabah. Sidik (2007) estimated the total population of Kedayan throughout Borneo to be 240, 000 people. According to him, it is difficult to determine the actual number of Kedayans in Borneo as there has been no census taken to specifically collect data on the Kedayan. Statistics on the Kedayan in Sabah, Labuan and Sarawak were obtained from the list of voters recorded during the Malaysian General Election in 2004. The estimated figure for this community around the areas of Sipitang stood at 20,000, based on the data provided by the Unit of Operational Census for Rural Areas, which conducted a census around the Sipitang district in 2012.

The ethnic Kedayan are frequently linked to unique daily rituals and traditional beliefs that they inherited from their ancestors, which includes rituals for a birth, wedding, death and events pertaining to their day-to-day economic activities (Bagol, 1994, p. 34). The Kedayans, who live as farmers, have adopted certain paddy cultivation methods to ensure good crop yield (Sharifuddin, 1970). In addition to planting rice, they also fish, an activity that calls for the practice of certain rituals among the Kedayan (Jaafar, 1981). The famous celebration of the Kedayan people is the annual festival (Makan Tahun), which they celebrate as soon as the harvest is completed (Magiman, 2012, pp.13-16). However, after they embraced Islam under the Brunei Sultanate, daily rituals and traditional beliefs that they inherited have been adapted to suit Islamic teachings. Nevertheless, the issue of syncretism arises in some of their daily rituals and traditional beliefs. Among the traditional cultural practices associated with syncretism among the Kedayans in Sipitang, Sabah, are the langir ritual bath (mandi langir), healing mantras, a ritual before building the house called circling the home (tawar halaman), stringing up the placenta, hunting tips and related mantras, cleaning graves in the month of Shaaban (a month in the Muslim calendar) and a variety of mourning feasts.

The *langir* ritual bath is the act of cleansing and perfuming oneself using water mixed with the *langir* root. This ritual is usually performed on the bride and groom during a wedding ceremony, on boys before their circumcision, on mothers after childbirth and on women after menstruation. However, its use is extended to animals for slaughter during Eid celebration, on non-living objects like vehicles, and on the dead after burial (Mohd Mokhtar & Saari, 2015b). Kedayans also have traditional hunting tips that include giving salutations before entering a wood and reciting the salawat (prayer for Prophet Muhammad p.b.u.h.) and wiping their face as a symbolic gesture of the light of Prophet Muhammad p.b.u.h (Mohd Mokhtar & Saari, 2015b). Furthermore, in the month of Shaaban, the men from the community usually clean the graves of the departed on a specified date. This is often accompanied by a feast called Makan Arwah (feast to mourn the dead), which is prepared by the women as they pray for their deceased family members. In addition to the *Makan Arwah*, they also practise other types of mourning feast. These feasts include the Feast on the Seventh Night, Feasts on Day 3, 7, 14, 40, 100 after the death of someone and the Friday Feasts. The Feast on the Seventh Night is held on the seventh night from the end of the month of Ramadan. The Friday Feasts are held three times on Fridays after a mourning period and tahlil (community recitation of prayers for the departed) on day 14 (Mohd Mokhtar & Saari, 2015b). Mourning Feasts are considered an element of traditional

culture in this study because it is an ancestral tradition of the Kedayan community that includes not only *tahlil*, which is well known as a religious practice, but also the observance of significant dates, preparation of specific dishes and the burning of incense. These cultural traditions are still observed by the Kedayans, especially in Sipitang, Sabah.

Factors Influencing the Intention to Practise Traditional Culture

As mentioned earlier, syncretism among the Kedayan arises from past animistic beliefs that have not fully eroded. Thus, the traditional culture contains fragments of syncretism, seen for instance in the practice of the langir bath and tawar halaman, among others. This study delved into the question of the extent to which the Kedayans are willing to continue with elements of their cultural tradition featuring syncretism and into discovering the factors that influence them to do so. Earlier research demonstrated their attitude towards behaviour, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control that could possibly influence the desire of this community to maintain cultural traditions that may reflect syncretism. Attitude towards behaviour is defined as the positive or negative assessment of an object or action. Subjective norm is defined as the influence of the social environment on action i.e. whether it is a family or communal norm. Perceived behavioural control has been defined as the set of factors that could possibly promote or restrict the

desired actions of an individual (Ajzen, 1985).

Sidik (2007) portrayed the Kedayan community as a community that is strongly influenced by subjective norms such as parental and societal norms. They are seen as filial children who consider their elders as the wisest among their community members. In the matter of daily routines and lifestyle, they prefer to hold on to their traditional cultural practices and norms as have been set by their ancestors. A previous study by Magiman (2012, pp. 13-16) showed that the cultural tradition of the Kedayan is also influenced by their attitude, which includes the perception and assessment of practices. This can be observed through the paddy tradition, which is still practised due to the belief that it will bring bountiful harvest and prevent misfortune.

In today's context, the continued practice of these cultural traditions may be influenced by the various challenges and changes over time (Rajab, 1986). Among the influences is the accessibility to modern medicine and the lack of experts to head the practice of certain rituals, among other reasons. This contributes to the possible factor of behavioural control, as explained earlier.

METHODOLOGY

This research used the survey method. The instrument used was a questionnaire for gathering input from a larger sample so that the researcher's understanding of the subject matter could be easily generalised. The questionnaire could also be used to explain

the level of influence that each predicted factor has on the community's desire to retain these old practices. The instrument was a self-constructed questionnaire based on the theory of Planned Behaviour by Ajzen (1985). According to the theory, behaviour can be predicted from an intention to perform a particular behaviour. Intention should be predictable from the attitude towards the behaviour, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control. Hence, the framework yielded the following hypotheses:

- H1: Attitude towards traditional culture is a factor that influences the intention of the Kedayans to practise their traditional culture associated with syncretism.
- H2: Subjective norm is a factor that influences the intention of the Kedayans to practise their traditional culture associated with syncretism.
- H3: Perceived behavioural control is a factor that influences the intention of the Kedayans to practise their traditional culture associated with syncretism.

Guided by the Theory of Planned Behaviour, the researcher constructed a questionnaire consisting of five parts, which are, respondents' profile, attitudes towards traditional culture, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control and intention to practise traditional culture. Attitude was measured through 14 items of evaluation

of specific traditional cultural practices, for example, "Langir ritual baths purify the body and soul" and "Before hunting in the wood, wiping one's face with the 'light of Muhammad' and reciting salawat are important to ward off evil spirits," among other items. The measurement of subjective norms consisted of 18 items, for example, "My elders asked me to perform the *langir* bath," and "My elders advised me to wipe my face with the 'light of Muhammad' and recite the salawat before I go hunting to avoid disturbance from spirits." Perceived behavioural control was measured using 14 items, for example, "The roots from the langir tree are available at a cheap price in the market" and "The hunting tips of the Kedayan community are easily practised." Lastly, the intention to practise traditional culture was measured using 10 items, for example, "I will perform *langir* ritual baths" and "I will practice the hunting tips."

A pilot study was conducted and all the variables were found to be very reliable as the Cronbach's alpha value attained exceeded 0.9. Copies of the questionnaire were distributed to 500 respondents in Sipitang, Sabah, because it is the heartland of the Kedayans in Sabah, Malaysia (Sidik, 2007). A total of 414 (82.8%) questionnaires were returned to the researcher. A reliability test was carried out to test the internal consistency of the respective scales. The scales for all the variables were also found to be very reliable as all the Cronbach's alpha values exceeded 0.85. This study used 414 samples because this figure was an

appropriate representation of the population number of the Kedayans in Sipitang, which stands at 20,000 people (Krejcie & Morgan, 1970).

The data were statistically analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). In order to ensure that the corresponding analysis was done, a normality test using the Kolmogorov-Smirno method was carried out. The values for three out of the four variables were above 0.05, indicating that the data were not normally distributed. However, according to Vaus (2002), a large number of respondents or samples that exceed 100 can be considered as meeting the requirements of normal distribution. Therefore, a Multiple Regressions test was carried out to test the consistency of the hypothesis with a large number of samples.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Respondents' Profile

The demographic distribution of the respondents in the study was balanced and is representative of the community. This was clearly observed in the following data. A total of 207 respondents (50%) were male, while the other 207 respondents (50%) were female. Their age range fell into five categories: 46 respondents (11.1%) were below 20, 125 respondents (30.2%) were aged between 20 and 39 years old; 165 respondents (39.9%) were between 30 and 49 years of age; 50 respondents (12.1%) were between 60 and 79 years of

age and 28 respondents (6.8%) were 80 years old and above. In the employment category, 101 respondents (24.4%) were in the government sector, 41 respondents (9.9%) were in the private sector, 114 respondents (27.5%) were self-employed, 105 respondents (25.4%) were unemployed and 53 respondents (12.8%) were students. In terms of level of education, 67 respondents (16.2%) did not have formal education, 76 respondents (18.4%) had up to primary level of schooling, 195 respondents (47.1%) had received education up to secondary school, 43 respondents (10.4%) had obtained the Malaysian Certificate of Education (SPM) with a Diploma or Certificate of Proficiency and 33 respondents (8.0%) had a Bachelor's degree or higher. The balanced demography is important for representing the community because the continuous practice of cultural tradition may have been influenced by gender, age, employment and education.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 shows the intention of the community to practise their traditional culture. Some traditional cultural acts that are likely to be practised among the Kedayans are cleaning of graves in the month of Shaaban (4.04), the Seventh Night Mourning Feast in the month of Ramadan (4.08), Mourning Feast during Shaaban (4.26), Mourning Feasts on Day 3, 7, 14, 40 and 100 after the death of a relative and three Fridays after the Mourning Feast on Day 14 (4.25). Some cultural traditions also had moderate mean scores; these

traditions included circling the home (3.42), stringing up placenta (3.60) and hunting tips (3.51), whereas some cultural traditions had relatively low mean scores, meaning

were less likely to be adopted such as the *langir* ritual bath (2.72) and healing through shamans (2.67) or incantations (2.72).

Table 1
Intention to practise elements of traditional culture

Traditional Culture	Mean
I will adapt <i>langir</i> ritual baths.	2.72
I will seek treatment through incantations.	2.72
I will seek treatment from shamans.	2.67
I will do the tawar halaman (circling the home).	3.42
I will string up placenta on a high place.	3.60
I will practise hunting tips for hunting.	3.51
I will practise the cleaning of graves in the month of Shaaban.	4.04
I will uphold the practice of the Seventh Night Mourning Feast in the month of Ramadan.	4.08
I will uphold the practice of the Mourning Feast during the month of Shaaban.	4.26
I will uphold the practice of Mourning Feasts on Day 3, 7, 14, 40, 100 and the Friday Mourning Feasts.	4.25

The findings indicated high mean scores for continuing traditional cultural practices such as cleaning graves (4.04) and holding mourning feasts (4.26). This could be due to the perception of these traditional practices as being in line with Islamic teaching. The mean score for the traditional practices such as the langir ritual bath, healing received from shamans and incantations, circling the home, stringing up placenta and hunting rituals were at the moderate levels of 2.72 to 3.60. According to B. A. Jaafar (personal communication, 19 March, 2014) and S. Daud (personal communication, 1 April, 2014), this could be due to the perception that these traditional practices are at odds with the teachings of Islam.

Hypotheses Testing

The three hypotheses were tested using the multiple regressions test, the results of which are presented in Table 2. Based on the results, this sample (n=414) revealed the attitude towards traditional cultural practices and subjective norms, which were significant variable predictors. Both variable predictors contributed to 78.3% of the criterion variant (r²=0.783). On the other hand, perceived behavioural control was found to be an insignificant variable predictor. Therefore, the two null hypotheses of this study were rejected.

Table 2
Summary model of multiple regressions

Model	R	R square	Adjusted R square	Std Error of the Estimation
1	0.838 ^a	0.703	0.702	0.45662
2	0.886^{b}	0.784	0.783	0.38949
3	0.886°	0.784	0.783	0.38996

- a. Predictor: (Constant), Mean Attitude towards traditional cultural practices
- b. Predictor: (Constant), Mean_Attitude towards traditional cultural practices, Mean_Subjective norms
- c. Predictor: (Constant), Mean_Attitude towards traditional cultural practices, Mean_Subjective norms, Mean Perceived Behavioural Control

Table 3
Significant variable predictors

Model		Unstandaı	dised Coefficient	Std. Coefficient	T	Sig.
		В	Std. error	Beta	_	
1	(Constant)	0.348	0.104		3.337	0.001
	Mean_A	0.896	0.029	0.838	31.230	0.000
2	(Constant)	-0.178	0.098		-1.807	0.072
	Mean_A	0.429	0.045	0.402	9.598	0.000
	Mean_B	0.603	0.048	0.522	12.460	0.000
3	(Constant)	-0.174	0.111		-1.565	0.118
	Mean_A	0.431	0.048	0.403	8.952	0.000
	Mean_B	0.603	0.048	0.522	12.441	0.000
	Mean_C	-0.002	0.033	-0.002	-0.075	0.940

Table 3 shows that the value of the t statistic of attitude towards traditional cultural practices was significant (t=8.952, p<0.05) as well as subjective norms (t=12.441, p<0.05). The perceived behavioural control was not significant as the value of t statistic was -0.075, with the p-value =0.940 (t=-0.075, p>0.05). Based on these results, the subjective norm was the most significant variable predictor with a beta value of 0.522, p<0.05), followed by attitude towards traditional cultural practices (β =0.403, p<0.05). However, perceived behavioural

control was not significant as a variable predictor ($\beta = -0.002$, p > 0.05).

DISCUSSION

The study revealed that the factors influencing the intention of the Kedayans to practise elements of their traditional culture were their attitude and subjective norms. The results showed that subjective norms were the most important factor influencing the intention of the Kedayans to practise elements of their traditional culture. Indeed, this finding was also confirmed in the

study of Sidik (2007), who showed that the Kedayans preferred holding on to traditional norms inherited from their ancestors. This could also be observed in every aspect of life, including matters relating to how they carried out their day-to-day economic and routine activities such as giving the honour of leading in certain rituals like the paddy ritual to experienced elders of the community (Sharifuddin, 1970), catching of fish (Jaafar, 1981), the langir bath, tawar halaman and others. In line with this, Rajab (1986) emphasised that this community placed importance on adherence to the values and norms of the community and seemed opposed to change to communal and cultural practices. According to D. Bakar (personal communication, 3 August, 2013), the younger generation of the community will generally obey and abide by the requests of their elders in practising traditional culture. This is because they are concerned that if they did not do so, some misfortune might befall them and they would then be accused of bringing calamity. The significant influence of subjective norms in Malaysia could possibly be related to the characteristics of Muslim societies in Malaysia that practise collectivistic culture. Therefore, social influence from family members, elders and friends is a strong determinant in practising traditional culture.

In addition, a positive attitude towards the common perception of traditional culture was also found to be a significant factor influencing the Kedayans in practising their traditional culture. This finding was in line with the results of Magiman (2012, pp. 13–16), who stressed that the rationale for holding on to celebrations such as the Annual Feast (*Makan Tahun*) among the Kedayans was a show of gratitude to their deity and in remembrance of their ancestors. This is also evident in the traditional practices of this community that relate to birth, marriage and death (Bagol, 1994, pp. 99–100). Meanwhile, perceived behavioural control was found to be an insignificant factor in influencing the intention of the Kedayans to practise their traditional culture.

CONCLUSION

Overall, this study indicated that the intention of the Kedayans to practise elements of their culture associated with syncretism was moderate due to two main factors, namely their agreement with the common attitude towards traditional culture and subjective norms. This finding is important and beneficial for the relevant parties to identify or determine the traditional practices that are still influenced by disputed perception. Understanding this finding is important for dealing with syncretism in Muslim communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work was supported in part by Universiti Malaysia Sabah under Grant No. PHD0009-SSI-2016.

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