

Articulation of Indigenous Tradition in Tourism

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Articulation of Indigenous Tradition in Tourism: Case Study of Kenduri Sko in Kerinci Jambi

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Abstract

Several studies have argued that there has been a decline in the practice of local communities because of the polemic dichotomy between culture and religion. This is also the case in the local communities in Kerinci, Jambi. This study examines the practice of *Kenduri Sko* as one of the local traditions of Kerinci people that has been rarely practiced. *Kenduri Sko* when interpreted literally comes from term “Kenduri” and “Sko”. *Kenduri Sko* is tentatively yearly tradition that is practiced by local people since long ago. In 2017, the government of Sungai Penuh City took over the practice as an icon of tourism which is called as *Festival Sungai Penuh*. The Government officials argue that such a way to promote local practice in tourism as an attempt to recall collective memory of the people which has been declined in the tradition of society. This article supposed that *Kenduri Sko* as an indigenous tradition had been articulated in tourism as a kind of contemporary form of national needs and cultural spirits. Therefore, this article also recommend to the stakeholders to keep the indigenous values of the practice such as ritual, symbol, and etc. The article concluded that kind of articulation has succeeded put Indigenous people as main actors in where the role of the government as a supporting actors to preserve the traditions.

Keywords: Indigenous Religion, Local Tradition, *Kenduri Sko*, Articulation

Abstrak

Beberapa penelitian berpendapat bahwa ada penurunan dalam praktik masyarakat lokal karena dikotomi polemik antara budaya dan agama. Ini juga terjadi di komunitas lokal di Kerinci, Jambi. Studi ini meneliti praktik *Kenduri Sko* sebagai salah satu tradisi lokal orang Kerinci yang jarang dipraktikkan. *Kenduri Sko* ketika diartikan secara harfiah berasal dari istilah “Kenduri” dan “Sko”. *Kenduri Sko* adalah tradisi sementara yang dipraktikkan oleh masyarakat setempat sejak lama. Pada tahun 2017, pemerintah Kota Sungai Penuh mengambil alih praktik tersebut sebagai ikon pariwisata yang disebut sebagai *Festival Sungai Penuh*. Pejabat Pemerintah berpendapat bahwa cara seperti itu untuk mempromosikan praktik lokal dalam pariwisata sebagai upaya untuk mengingat kembali memori kolektif orang-orang yang telah ditolak dalam tradisi masyarakat. Artikel ini menduga bahwa *Kenduri Sko* sebagai tradisi asli telah diartikulasikan dalam pariwisata sebagai bentuk kontemporer dari kebutuhan nasional dan semangat budaya. Oleh karena itu, artikel ini juga merekomendasikan kepada para pemangku kepentingan untuk menjaga nilai-nilai adat dari praktik seperti ritual, simbol, dan lain-lain. Artikel tersebut menyimpulkan bahwa jenis artikulasi telah berhasil menempatkan masyarakat adat sebagai aktor utama di mana peran pemerintah sebagai mendukung aktor untuk melestarikan tradisi.

Kata Kunci : Agama Leluhur, Tradisi Lokal, *Kenduri Sko*, Artikulasi

Background

Practices of local tradition had been subject of contestation in the study of religion. One of the debates took place around the scholar of religion is to what extent religion and culture can survive when encounter each other. The debate about religion and culture is always interesting to study. However, some scholars often reproduce this polemic without

giving a fresh look at discussing the polemic of religion and culture. This paper will try to explain important issues in the common ground between religion and culture. Some scholars and studies often challenge traditional practices because they are considered contrary to religion. Among them there is a mention that a particular practice is irrelevant to the context of the times and modernity. Among



others assume that a practice of a particular tradition is contrary to pure religion and belief. The consequences of this view will cause people to lose their identity.

Religion and culture have long been a contested term in scholarly discourse especially in religious studies.¹ Religion is often accepted as it is without criticism. Religion is always associated with the teachings and values that have been standard. Generally, religion is thought to originate from an absolute authority. Unlike religion, culture is often understood as the opposite of religion. Everything that is outside of religion is then categorized as a culture. If religion is considerably theological then the culture is formulated as a result of human creative works that have diverse forms and practices.

Inspired by the polemic between religion and culture, scholars propose the terms world religions are reductionist. Initially, the study of world religions must be read in the wider dynamic between religion as construction and religion before it is constructed. Religion as a construction is understood as the result of reification in the medieval Christian tradition. Such an institutionalized religion has been widely accepted in both popular or academic communities. By contrast, since the mid-20th century, scholars like Wilfred Cantwell Smith², Talal Asad³ challenged the institutionalized religion. Until the coming of scholars like James Cox⁴ which offers the idea of indigenous religion.

Discussions about indigenous religion have not ended as well. The powerful

hegemony of world religion continues to influence the position of local religion in the history of world religions. The polemic of the world's religions continues to color the long debates of scholars especially those that have been influenced predominantly by established scholars. Local traditions, cultures, religions and maternities are facing each other leading to the search for ideal form. Various scholars try to put forward various views and theories underlying the common ground between religion and culture. Among the scholars argued his theory is inseparable from the basis of basic assumptions that often have been from the beginning to polemic.

Among the theory which explained the encounter between religion and culture is theory of conversion. This theory is guided that in the process of intersection between world religion²⁷ and local religion there is a process "the process of changing a sense of root reality" or "a conscious shift in one's sense of grounding".⁵ (Heirich 1977). Conversion necessitates the entry and exit of a particular entity as a⁷ new entity. Richardson (1985) argued that in the old paradigm, conversion is generally viewed in passivity and deterministic terms, whereas in the new paradigm conversion is generally explained from the standpoint of active agency (i.e., self-directed behavior), personal choice, meaning, and negotiation.⁶

Among others is theory of syncretism³⁷. This theory mentions that there are "the combination of elements from two or more different religious traditions within a specified

¹Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions: Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005).

²Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *The Meaning and the End of the Religion*, (London: Mentor Books, 1962).

³Talal Asad., *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

⁴James L Cox, *From Primitive to Indigenous: The Academic Status of Indigenous Religions*. (Ashgate, 2007).

⁵Max Heirich., "Change of Heart: A Test of Some Widely Held Theories about Religious Conversion." *American Journal of Sociology* 83,5 (1977): 653–80.

⁶James T Richardson, "The active vs. passive convert: Paradigm Conflict in Conversion/recruitment Research" *Journal for Scientific Study of Religion* (1985): 163-179.



frame”.⁷ In negative sense, syncretism has been used by Christian theologians as a normative category describing religious processes or phenomena as somehow deviating from the essence of Christian.⁸ This theory is explained by many scholars who study the process of encounter between Islam and Javanese culture in the context of local tradition in Java. Some scholars like (Geertz 1971, 1976; Woodward 1989) when explaining the influence of world religion on Javanese culture underlines that the practice of religion and culture in Javanese society is basically a form of the process of syncretism between Islam as a new religion with culture.⁹ Geertz in *Islam Observed and Javanese Islam* through his theory of *Abangan, santri* and *priyai* basically categorize the ideal type of religious adherent within Javanese society.¹⁰

The last perspective that will be mentioned here is the theory of resistance. Abu-Lughod (1990) underscores that resistance is “a sign of ineffectiveness of systems of power and of the resilience and creativity of the human spirit in refusal to be dominated Resistance” is most readily thought to refer to social movements (or the broader categories of protest.¹¹ A form of collective action which occurs when individuals take action on behalf of their in group with the aim of improving conditions for the entire group... in which disadvantaged group members directly

challenge their subordinated position within the social system.¹²

Considering the various theories brought by these experts, we deliberately wanted to express some theories that are considered popular. Among these theories include acculturation. According to Redfield et al, “Acculturation was first defined as a process that occurs when individuals from different cultures come into contact with another culture, causing change in cultural pattern of either or both group”.¹³ Berry added that 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.¹⁴

From the various theories presented above, shows that there is still a tension between culture and religion that goes on continuously. This contestation resulted in the transformation of entities two things to each other increasingly showing dominance and hegemony over others. If such a model is developed then what happens is a cross-dispute between the various traditions. In many cases, an assumption that emphasizes a tradition's practice on one of them, will have an impact on reduction and decline in other practices. From our observation in the event of *Rawat Rawat Borobudur* some time ago in Yogyakarta produces different representation when the local government tends to distinguish

⁷Charles Steward, “Syncretism and Its Synonyms: Reflections on Cultural Mixture.” *Diacritics* 29(3) 1999.: 40–62.

⁸Ulrich Ber, “The Notion of Syncretism in Historical And/or Empirical Research.” *Historical Reflections* 27(6), 2001: 499–509.

⁹Mark R Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).

¹⁰Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971); Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

¹¹Lila Abu-Lughod, “The romance of resistance: Tracing transformations of power through Bedouin women.” *American ethnology* 16(1) (1990): 41–55.

¹²Lisa Droogendyk and Stephen C. Wright, “A Social Psychological Examination of the Empowering Role of Language in Indigenous Resistance.” *Group Processes and Intergroup Relati* 30(3) 2017: 303–16.

¹³Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, Melville J. Herskovits.. “Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation.” *American anthropologist* 38(1), 1936, 149–52.

¹⁴John W Berry, “Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures.” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29 (2005): 697–712.



between a tradition practice is considered as traditional and at other times there is a tradition practice which is considered modern. Consequently, the traditional practice is unable to compete with a modernity that continues to grow.

It seems to us that rather than using traditional art terms, it could be more relevant to calling a particular practice as a local or indigenous practice. However, this view is not necessarily attached to all categories as mentioned above. Therefore, it is important to present one of the theories referred to as articulation. Furthermore, the articulation theory departs from the assumption that both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects (Hall 1996).¹⁵ Hall added the form of the connection that can make a unity of two different elements, under certain conditions. It is a linkage which is not necessary determined, absolute and essential for all time. You have to ask, under what circumstances can a connection be forged or made. Articulation offers a nonreductive way to think about cultural transformation and the apparent coming and going of “traditional” forms.¹⁶

Having advanced theories about the encounter between world religions and indigenous religions above, we tend to use the articulation theory in discussing contemporary phenomena about the intersection of local culture in the current context. Considering the many studies that have been discussed about the articulation of local traditions in the dynamics of current cultural development, We are interested to see the articulation of local

tradition of *Kenduri Sko* in Kerinci society, Jambi. Therefore, before outlining the articulation of local traditions of *Kenduri Sko* in tourism, the author first in the next section will briefly express the articulation of *Kenduri Sko* in the Kerinci people.

Kenduri Sko in Kerinci Tradition

Understanding the context of Indonesian society can not be separated from the historical context that brings together different cultures competing with each other. No exception with the Kerinci community located in the high mountains in southern Sumatra. Kerinci is one of the oldest tribes inhabiting the highest mountains in Sumatra, the Kerinci mountains since thousands of years ago. The basic concept of the beliefs of the Kerinci people can be divided into two parts: pre-Islamic and post-Islamic. The beliefs of pre-Islamic society are characterized by belief in the various forces that exist in nature. The relationship between nature and the environment can be called as cosmological relationship.

Some of archeological and anthropological account contended that Most of the people of Kerinci before the arrival of Islam have embraced indigenous religion.¹⁷ The indigenous religion here is understood as a concept of belief in the relation of nature and cosmology as interrelated relationships with one another. Therefore, various literatures mention that the pre-Islamic pre-Islamic tribe has a concept of belief in objects, immaterial spirits, and also has a concept of relationship with nature that is continuously intertwined.

An early anthropologist who studies the culture of the people of Sumatra, Voorhoeve (1970) mentioned that the people

¹⁵Hall, Stuart. 1996. “Race, Articulation, and Societies Structured in Dominance.” *Black British Cultural Studies: A Reader*. 16–60.

¹⁶James Clifford, “Indigenous Articulations.” *The Contemporary Pacific* 13, 2 (2001): 468–90.

http://muse.jhu.edu/content/crossref/journals/contemporary_pacific/v013/13.2clifford.html.

¹⁷Nurhadi Rangkuti, “Prolog” in *Kerincimu Kerinciku: Dataran Tinggi Jambi dalam Perspektif Arkeologi*, Ed. Nurhadi Rangkuti, (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2016), 2.



of Kerinci were once known as a society that has pride in some heritage heirlooms of their ancestors.¹⁸ The heirlooms are made up of various kinds such as *Keris*, spear, manuscript, swords, *mustika* stones and all kinds of shapes. In addition to public confidence in the heritage objects, Kerinci people also has a knowledge how to understand nature is quite interesting. As the main food product of society and their main job as farmers in *Sawab*, Kerinci people believe that rice has soul and spirit. So that in the past, the activity of paddy is always accompanied by various rituals such as dance and so on.

In addition, according to Yunus (1986) as quoted by Hafiful Hadi Sunliyensar The Kerinci tribe used to believe in the three supernatural rulers of *Deno* who inhabit the forests and mountains that are considered sacred, the Elves also known as *Mendari* or *Bidodari* who inhabit the skyhigh and skyline yellow sky, and *Mambang* is believed to control the Sea and upstream. The elements that became the belief of the Kerinci community mentioned above can be considered as a form of belief that underlies the community in the tradition *Kenduri Sko*.¹⁹

If we look at today representation of the Indigenous People of Kerinci, we could see that almost 100 % of them claim that they embraced Islam as their religion. Kerinci as Indigenous land advocates the value of Islam and also indigenous tradition. It clearly appears in the philosophy of their *adat* (Indigenous tradition) which is commonly stated as *adat basendi syara, syara basendi Kitabullah*. It means that Local traditions should be based on value of Islam when *Adat* Elites together with many elements such as intellectual, Islamic clerics, young people, local official government had a

responsibility to preserved the inherited traditions. The characteristics of harmony between Islam and Indigenous Tradition is the way people devoted their daily rules. The Elite *Adat* is the highest unofficial ruler in society. It had been done since long ago. Even, *Adat* had to choose the religious leader in every community based on *adat* ceremony. However, People also accept the idea of official government in every unit in the society. This fundamental principles had been practiced in the people life.

People of Kerinci articulates their religious and indigenous practices clearly through annually ritual called *Kenduri Sko*. Generally speaking, *Kenduri Sko* including a form of belief practices commonly practiced by Indonesians. *Kenduri* refers to the term "*Slametan*" in javanese tradition. Even though, *Kenduri Sko* can be considered as a unique form of practice for the people of Kerinci. Throughout the literature that the authors reviewed, *Kenduri Sko's* unique practice differs from general festivities in Indonesia. The term *Kenduri Sko* in Kerinci is quite diverse among the Kerinci people.²⁰ Some people call it as well *Kendubai Sko*, *Kenubi Seko*, dan *Kenubai Sko*. However, in general people call it by term *Kenduri Sko*.

The term *Kenduri Sko* is commonly referred to as *Kenduri Pusako* (*Pusaka* or heirlooms). These two terms basically have almost the same meaning and are close together, because both events are held simultaneously which are summarized in the ritual of *Kenduri Sko* or *Pusako*. The word "sko" contains meaning related to the maternal line of descent which is commonly called *kbalifab ngan dijunjung and waris yang dijawab* which is indigenous title

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¹⁸Petrus Voorhoeve, "Kerintji Documents: Bijdragen Tot de Taal-Land En volkenkunde." (1970): 369-99.

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¹⁹Hafiful Hadi Sunliyensar, *Ritual Aseyik Sebagai Akulturasi Antara Kebudayaan Islam dengan Kebudayaan Pra-Islam Suku Kerinci*, *Siddhayatra* 21, 2 (2016): 107-28.

²⁰Kerinci community known as a society that has a dialect that varies. Thus, it is understandable that one term can be mentioned with more than ten kinds of dialects.



that given to woman's son who is descended from his mother or brother of the woman.²¹

Meanwhile, the word *Pusako* or heirloom means anything received or leftover items in the form of inheritance from ancestors of the indigenous community in the past known as *pedadan*. Typically these objects include *keris* (traditional weapon), gong, sword, spear, ancient manuscript also stamped letters, *celak* (cosmetic used to blacken eyelid), charter and others. These objects are kept in *rumah anak batino* or *rumah gedang* (the house of traditional community) at the level, *perut*, and *lubah* known as *umab pesusun*, *umab gedang (gedang)*, *umab mendapo*, *umab sko* and or *custom house*. In addition, there are also heirlooms left in the form of ico soil (processed, tilled and utilized).²²

From some of the definitions above, *Kenduri Sko* can be said as a manifestation of the inherited and preserved traditions. Thus, *Kenduri Sko* in Kerinci Indigenous Tradition can be interpreted as an inauguration ceremony for indigenous titles (*depati*, *rio*, *mangku*, *datuk*, etc.) to the new one as a substitute for the previous one in accordance with the provisions of each *lubah* in the indigenous community and to issue or reduce and clean or purify heirlooms.

Kenduri Sko event is a series of activities that have special and specific objectives. Basically, there are two main purposes of organizing *Kenduri Sko* Ceremony namely the ritual of inheritance and cleansing of heirlooms and the inauguration or coronation of the person who will carry the traditional title.

Meanwhile, other objectives which are accompanied by the implementation of *Kenduri Sko* include: 1) Giving thanks to God Almighty for abundant blessing, because this *Kenduri* ceremony is carried out after harvesting and

asking for safety to Him to be facilitated and sustained fortune because after *Kenduri Sko* activities local people will return to the rice fields and fields; 2) As a form of gratitude to ancestors, because they have contributed a lot to their children and grandchildren, namely those in the ranks of the generations who are replacing them now, such as *menaruko* (open land) for settlements and leaving *sko* and *pusako*. This is because of the community had a relation to the ancestors. As an indigenous practices, they perceive their ancestors still have a communication and a relation through reciprocity way to the community. Some people assume that the ancestor could still effect to them like being angry to the community and impact to the undesirable impact. Such as disasters, crop failure and others); 3) Reexamine the heirloom lands that were born from their heirloom house which may now be in the hands of other people or in other villages; 4) Gather all scattered relatives, gather in their family's house and heirloom house; 5) As a media for infrastructure facilities to strengthen brotherhood and strengthen the spirit of unity with fellow kinship members and with custom community in their respective territories; 6) As a forum and vehicle to establish a sense of togetherness with the principle of mutual assistance and strengthen the spirit of mutual cooperation.

The time of implementation in each indigenous alliance is different. There is a group that carries out 1 (one) time a year, 1 (one) time in 3 (three) years, 1 (one) time in 5 (five) years and even up to 1 (one) time in 10 (ten) years . More than that, there are also territories or indigenous alliances that carry out this *Kenduri Sko* once in 25 (twenty five) years. This

²¹As traditional ceremony carried out by the community after harvest, *Kenduri Sko* at the same time includes the appointment of the *sko tigo takab* or hierarchical concept of leadership in Kerinci. *The sko tiga takab* system consists of *depati* or the same level as *depati*, *permenti* or *Ninik Mamak* and *tengganai* or son. For *depati* and *Ninik Mamak* candidates must go through the

election at the level of *kalbu* and *luhah* and carry out the procession of affirmation or coronation. Whereas for a potential *tengganai*, this is not the case, because the eldest brother of mo **31** absolutely becomes *tengganai*.

²²Deki Syaputra Z.E., 'Rumah Gdang Dan Penyimpanan Artefak Di Kerinci', *Siddhbayatra*, 25.1 (2020), 59-75.



difference occurs because in accordance with the agreement that has been established so far. For those who carry out 1 (one) time each year, usually carried out after harvest or rice harvest is over.

Kenduri Sko processions generally require or take about 3 (three) to 4 (four) days, some even up to 7 (days) until the peak event. As for the whole preparation, it usually starts 1 (one) to 3 (three) months before. The implementation of *Kenduri Sko* procession is held in the area of their respective indigenous densities both at the level of the indigenous alliance and at the level of luhah. For the ritual of decreasing and cleansing the heirlooms carried out in the pesusun house, gedang house or custom house). Likewise, the coronation of *pemangku adat* (depati and Ninik Mamak). However, there are also areas that carry out the procession of inauguration/coronation on mendapo land and long field such as open yard in the yard of gedang (custom hall) or an open field in the middle of country in a four-angle moat.

In general, the practice of *Kenduri Sko* is carried out its purpose is as an expression of gratitude to God for the blessing of the harvested results and begging for fertility in the next harvest, in addition *Kenduri Sko* ceremony as a tribute to the spirit of the ancestors who fight for the village, in order to be shunned from all the terrible havoc that befell the village, to avoid the calamity hence the community held a ceremony *Kenduri Sko*, where the ceremony *Kenduri Sko* is one of the ceremonies in the area Kerinci.²³

Kenduri Sko is done a month after Eid, that is when the harvest season arrived. The event was held 4 days. *Kenduri Sko* is an important ceremony in Kerinci. It is usually a celebration for a syukuran (expressing

gratitude to God) after harvesting (usually harvesting paddy-rice), a *kenduri adat* (adat ritual meal), or an inauguration of *depati* (honorific title for someone important to guard the adat) and *ninik mamak* (elders of the community).²⁴

Kenduri Sko in the Kerinci Indigenous People is not a collective tradition undertaken by society in general. However, this tradition is done according to the each village government system or commonly referred to as *kemendapoan*. Each of *kemendapoan* in Kerinci people performs this tradition and differs from one another from its *Kenduri Sko* is not done under certain government control either village, sub district or kabupaten. This is because the practice of *Kenduri Sko* has been practiced since long time before the birth of the community government of Kerinci Regency. Later, this practice continues to develop until the practice of *Kenduri Sko* is done by the community in one village. Thus, the practice of *Kenduri Sko* tradition has expanded comprehension and is carried out more widely into its own practice in every village within the Kerinci people.

The event of *Kenduri Sko* is commonly began by the process of *Ngejon Arab*. It means deliberation to form a committee or choose practitioner. The practitioner are those who are entrusted with the ceremony. His decision will appoint a chairperson and a secretary elected from the *Depati*. The practitioner who will arrange the ceremony *Kenduri Sko*, is a practitioner comprised of an old *belian* (male or female parent) who is considered to have the authority and adult. While *tengganai* consists of people who are younger than *Depati* but are married and *Kayo* is the youth of the village who is considered to have the ability to do so. The practitioner authorized by *Depati* usually

²³Interview by phone with tokoh Adat Desa Koto Baru Rawang, Septa Dinata.

²⁴Nyak Ina Raseuki, "Being Islamic in Music: Two Contemporary Genres from Sumatra." Unpublished Ph.d Dissertation. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009.



numbered eight or ten men all, with a division of five old guys and five young men.

Despite the fact that *Kenduri Sko* is practiced by every village in Kerinci differently in terms of time and form of its implementation, *Kenduri Sko* as a celebratory activity of the Kerinci community can generally be divided into three main activities: purification of heritage objects, feasts and the appointment of custom titles in society. According to the chief of *Adat* in Village of Koto Majidin:

"when explored further Kenduri Sko has various purposes, namely: (1) as a means of coronation of people of the indigenous group called Depati and Rio (2) as an expression of gratitude in the form of harvest that they obtain (3) as a means of ceremony of the decline of objects -the legacy heirlooms that have long been kept in larik umob Gdeang (Big Adat House).

The first activity is the purification of the heirloom (*pusaka*) done by a certain person. In practice, the purification of heirloom (*pusaka*) is done by traditional leaders in the community. This activity is done by preparing various forms of offerings. The heirloom (*pusaka*) are usually placed on the veranda of the house or the highest place in the house for storage. According to one of the indigenous actors who are in charge of cleaning the heirloom (*pusaka*), mention that the cleansing of the heirlooms is done as a form of respect for the heirlooms of the fruits. They believe that every object has certain strengths that can affect their daily activities.²⁵

„Once when there was a drought and pests that bit the rice fields of society causing crop failure. This is understood as the impact of the people that has been a year late to clean up the heirloom.. In the following year, the community again performs Kenduri Sko as usual“

²⁵ Interview directly with Pak Dailami (gelar Depati Rajo Mudo) pada 21 May 2018.

Subsequent activities in *Kenduri Sko* activities are traditional events in the form of displaying various products of society either material or immaterial. The material product is usually followed by a large *Kenduri* event. This massive slaughter is done by slaughtering at least 7-10 buffalos. Typically, this is used as a staple to cook a variety of typical cuisine such as society *Lemang* namely glutinous rice put into the bag semar ago in cooking, *Gulai rebung*, *Rendang* and other. The results of nature and livestock are eaten together is done as a form of peak of the people's gratitude for the abundance of gifts and blessings given to them by God. According to Pak Suharmi *"for four years we receive and utilize the natural results then we should be grateful to celebrate this great feast. People do it voluntarily and think of it as a charity of nature. This alms is also given to the deceased ancestors. The purpose of this alms is to reject the reinforcements"*²⁶

In addition, this *kenduri* activity is also interspersed with typical local dance performances. Among the main dances when the event of *Kenduri Sko* is *tari asyeik*. People believes deeply when performing *tari asyeik*, the ancestors were present with the people who had a party of *kenduri*. The success of the *Kenduri* is indicated by the existence of a society who believe on *kerasukan rob* or the anchestors. According to *Mak Sabi* *"If in Tari Asyeik, the dancers have been possessed means the ancestors present in the event of kenduri, indicating that they are happy with this kenduri"*.²⁷

Similarly, the peak of ritual is innagation of *ske* (local degree) for the indigenous leaders. This event can be considered as the peak of celebration of *Kenduri Sko* where at this time the adat leaders, *anak jantan*, *anak batino*, *teganai*, youth, children gathered in large enough spaces to follow the procession of traditional titles. The awarding

²⁶ Interview directly with Pak Suharmi at 20 May 2018 in Village of Koto Majidin, Kerinci .

²⁷ Interview with Mak Sahi at 20 May 2018 di Village of Koto Majidin, Kerinci.



and inauguration of the adat title is done to continue and inherit the noble duties of indigenous and cultural guardians in society in order to remain sustainable. According to pak Haryadi "at this moment of giving adat title, the people will be reminded of their origins. They will be returned to their respective tribes and hearts as responsible for them in living in society. Because people can not live alone but must be part of the tribe or kalbu respectively."²⁸

The inauguration process of this traditional figure is also called the event of *tugeb manugeb*. *Tugeb manugeb* namely the depati inauguration doused with coconut milk. Until the evening peak of the spotlight of all layers of people, namely the event to sharpen the spirit of the ancestors. They danced with the ancestral spirits. Music played, incense switched on, until they were possessed. Various forms of mushroom procession and dance. The offerings used in traditional ceremony *Kenduri Sko* as a means of expressing with matters relating to supernatural powers. The proximity of the existence of the ancestors is always present in the people who have a *hajat* (spiritual need), if you make a mistake then the community is ready to receive a catastrophe.

Articulation of *Kenduri Sko* in Tourism: Islam, Indigenous and National Ideology.

As we explained above, articulation is a way to look at the two element of ideology as a dialectical and discursive practices. Based on the previous description of *Kenduri Adat* or *Kenduri Sko*, it can be concluded that *Kenduri Sko* is a form of articulation process of Islamic values and local values of society in relation to nature and the environment. Kerinci Indigenous People have a regular traditions which held in each indigenous community. People of Kerinci are who embrace religion as Islam. On the one hand, they also had their bounce of indigenous traditions like traditional dances, rituals, system of knowledges and so forth. All of these

dimensions live together in the people life. The reality of the manifestation of religious life and traditional life showed that religion and local practices become two fundamental elements in the Kerinci Indigenous traditions which forms practice of the people dynamically.

In the context of *Kenduri Sko* in Kerinci, Jambi, It seems to us that some views often identify the practice undertaken in the process of *Kenduri Sko* as a syncretist practice. This view is based on the assumption that there has been a mixture of values that are considered as Islam and culture. This is based on the narrative of one of the people who have practiced this tradition for a long time. Some of the reasons are the process of slaughtering animals to be sacrificed. According to the residents, animal slaughter is done in Islam. The slaughtered animals are recited several verses and the prayers are Islamic. Those who refuse to assume that animal slaughter has violated the justified religious law. Because Islam, animal slaughter is only allowed to be offered to God not for the purpose of offering for offerings or offered to the ancestors.

Such a view causes the reduction of ritual meaning as something that is no longer original and pure. Such a view will always lead to dichotomous efforts between culture and religion. This is explained by one of the religious leaders who expressed: "the practice of *Kenduri Sko* done by slaughtering buffalo is a form of polytheistic practice. Because it offers animals to the ancestors and ancestral spirits." Some other views mention that society considers this as a form of meeting between two cultures namely Islam and local traditions. This view is mainly put forward by some religious leaders who interviewed authors. They mention brightly in the rituals of *Tari Abyeik* that present the figure of the ancestors can not be justified. One mentioned "this process of cultural encounter was

²⁸ Interview with pak Haryadi (religious actor) at 21 May 2018 di Desa Koto Majidin,



initially still heavily influenced by local traditions that are still loaded with magical and irrational elements. Now, however, the people are conscious and they are gradually abandoning the opposition to religion and carrying out rituals consistent with the teachings of Islam "

We argue that in fact, the practice of this tradition is not lost and declined. In some areas such as *Siulak*, *lempur*, and *Kumun*, this ritual is still practiced by the community. This fact proves that, people still continue to practice the main elements in the process of ritual *Kenduri Sko* in society. One of the Indigenous figures mentioned "illegitimate if there is no *Tari Asyeik* ritual in *Kenduri Sko*, *Tari Asyeik* ritual is done merely to establish communication with the parents who have died. It becomes an expression of gratitude for those who have built the village so that it can be enjoyed by generations of their offspring".²⁹

The results of the above field studies show that while there are different views in society in general about ritual meaning, they continue to agree that some practices must still affirm the existing tradition. According to us, Kerinci Indigenous People is famous for its strong consistency in holding Indigenous law. They called the Code of Law with *Ajun Arab*. This legislation contains a hereditary agreement that has been passed down by the ancestors containing various indigenous laws and rules. Including the various indigenous rituals and processions that must be continued. *Ajun Arab* is almost certainly owned by every indigenous stewardship that is in the village in Kerinci.

The success of articulation of *Kenduri Sko* represent in the event of city in 2017 when the Local Government of Sungai Penuh City held a cultural harmony weekend event. This tourism event became the first time to rise the local tradition of people namely *Kenduri Sko*. *Kenduri Sko* held in this event is not the

same as the *Kenduri Sko* procession generally held by indigenous peoples. In the event of the harmony of the city of Sungai Penuh Culture Week, the procession of culture which is shown only in the form of purification of heirloom. As explained earlier, the usual process of *Kenduri Sko* consists of three kinds of activities: cleansing of heirlooms, traditional customs and inauguration and traditional titles.

According to one of the organizers:

*"The implementation of the harmony Week Culture is a form of performance art for the benefit of tourism. The government distinguishes between the performing arts of Kenduri Sko as a local practice with that represented in this tourism. The number involved consisted of 8 indigenous density institutions located in Sungaipenuh. The purpose of the festival is to encourage indigenous peoples to re-launch Kenduri Sko".*³⁰

In line with that, the Head of Tourism and Culture of Sungaipenuh City in a direct interview with the authors puts it: *"Dispubar organizes this event as an annual ritual, this year organizes a decrease and cleansing event, next year appointment of the adat, the third year will be returned to their respective kemendapoan -something. There has been a grand design of the event since 2018. The government believes this activity will not interfere with cultural and religious activities in the community".*

Looking at the representation of the local government holding this *Kenduri Sko* festival shows that the government realizes that the interests of tourism are different from the true implementation of local traditions. This awareness indicates that the government through the tourism office held an event that was lifted from local art arts intended only as a small representation of the main activities in this *Kenduri Sko*.

Kenduri Sko as an event of tourism has not neglected the principles rules of the real *adat*

²⁹ Interview with Pak Afrizal (Gelar Depati Rajo Mudo Hitam) pada tanggal 22 Mei 2018.

³⁰Interview by phone with Zulwachdi (Government Employee of Dinas Pariwisata dan expert on Kerinci culture.) at1 Mei 2018.



actors. In such event, the process of ritual conducted by the indigenous people. In the event, some indigenous community was invited by the official to perform the ritual in the event. The official do not tend to imitate the rituals. They let each community to perform by their selves. Likewise, the officials only facilitated the performances. From the event, we could see that the element of ritual either played by indigenous people or performed to the audiences do not denied the essence of the rituals.

The event of tourism initiated by local government official showed the *Kenduri Sko* as articulation of indigenous and religious practice find the exact moment in the society. When element of Islam as religious dominant symbol of the people and Indigenous practices which still preserved by people could accept and give a nuance of contemporary articulation of national spirit of culture. The articulation of *Kenduri Sko* in tourism is not merely a way to substitute the indigenous local practice as an tourism event, but it was only ceremonial event that was done as a kind of national program of advancing culture. For some elite local, such an event could be a way to collect local memory of the people. In advance, the preserved tradition of *Kenduri Sko* still held in every community.

The performance of such a ritual in cultural event also showed that the flexibility of the element of indigenous and religious ideology in the practice of articulation. How the local government facilitated the event is being accepted by the indigenous people. They can move together on bringing the new value of articulation that is not only between Islam and indigenous but also national ideology.

Conclusion

Kerinci people articulate *Kenduri* in tourism. They bring up tradition culture logic into the new context in which the tourist agent adjusts. Articulation of *Kenduri Sko* in

Kerinci can serve as an example for cultural articulation that occurs in society. This reality is different from most traditions of society in Indonesia. Some practices of local tradition are always challenged when encounter between religion and culture. In the context of local people in Kerinci, there are no significant obstacles and challenges when the local tradition which is called as *Kenduri Sko* articulated in tourism. Here, the practice of local tradition gains legitimacy in the surrounding community as an acceptable practice and can be convinced to the public in general.

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