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# A STUDY OF RITUAL COMMUNICATION IN KADAYAN COMMUNITY IN SARAWAK

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Abstract: Makan Tahun is a ritual practice performed by the Kadayan community in Sarawak to celebrate the new year. This ritual is performed at the end of the year in December by the Kadayan community, who practice Islam, Pangan, and Christianity. The concern is how a culture with a wide variety of religious beliefs finds a solution in traditions that have been passed down through generations and inherited before any religion existed. During the execution of this ritual, various items were utilized as symbols for transmission which has unknown meanings beyond the group of practitioners. Therefore, this study aims to find out the meaning from the perspective of ritual transmission and symbols utilized in the execution. Ethnographic methods were used in data collection at the study location in Sebuti District, Sarawak. The informants involved in this research are religious experts and ritual practitioners. In-depth interviews with practitioners of the Makan Tahun ritual were conducted in 2018. Data is gathered through the compilation of interview transcripts and the structuring of themes to ensure that each interview is analyzed and interpreted from the perspective of the ritual practitioner community. According to the ethnographic method used, the Makan Tahun is regarded as a ritual to express gratitude for the sustenance provided in the current year. This ritual is performed in the hopes that the giver will multiply the sustenance for the following year. The spirit of tolerance is demonstrated when the Makan Tahun ritual is executed with an element of syncretism, and the entire ritual is guided by people who have a high level of religious understanding and hold social status as religious leaders in the community.

Key words: communication, ritual, symbol, syncretism.

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### 1. Introduction

According to McQuail (2002), ritual communication is an expressive communication that emphasizes more on intrinsic satisfaction that depends on the emotions and meaning of the ritual. In the other words, this ritual communication is an activity for celebratory, consummatory, and decorative. The ultimate purpose of ritual communication is to give the meaning of peace in society. Usually, the ritual depends on the symbolic forms of communication based on the ideas and approaches that are subsequently inherited by community members.

The ritual communication in the cultural context of the *Kadayan* community, Sarawak will be carried out every year. For the *Kadayan* community, ritual communication is unrestricted and will not be completed even they have changed in terms of education and social status. It is because, in the life of this community, ritual communication is very important especially those related to societal factors. The preservation of this practice will be maintained by ensuring that community insight in the implementation of *Makan Tahun* is inherited to the next generation by taking into account every socio-cultural development and belief in accordance with the guidelines agreed upon by community members.

In addition, according to Couldry (2003) in ritual communication, there are three interrelated terminologies which are communication, communion, and common. Besides, Couldry also stated that the implementation of rituals must follow the understanding of the practitioner's community because, without the involvement of the cultural practitioner's community, the communication of these rituals will not achieve the target which is to celebrate a ceremony together towards the prosperity. Changes in the flow of thinking due to the changes in social structure, especially in the field of education do not prevent them from continuing to implement this practice according to what has been agreed by the previous society. An element of syncretism is applied in the Makan Tahun because they want the benefit from the practice.

Furthermore, Mulyana (2005) explains that usually, the ritual communication will be implemented by the communities that often perform different kinds of ceremonies throughout the years and life. It is commonly associated with a religious understanding that forms the behaviour that leads to the importance of a ceremony in the communication of the ritual. Usually, the ceremony will exhibit symbolic features. The ceremonies forms implemented such as praying, recitation of the holy book, thanksgiving behaviours, and others. In addition, the ritual behaviour includes questions related to social communication which prioritizes the community's involvement in their family traditions, race, country, ideology, or religion.

The ritual perspective in the context of *Makan Tahun* sees that communication is not intended to convey a message, but more to the preservation of society, a representation from a shared belief. It is also supported by Carey (Carey 2009, 15), in a ritual definition, communication is linked to the terms such as 'sharing', participation, 'association'... the possession of a common faith". Consequently, the execution of rituals in various cultural groups of society is not part of the process of conveying the message but more of the ability to form togetherness, the preservation of society's structure.

Communication represents the basis for human unity, which then produces social boundaries, fiction or vice versa. Consistent with the vision of ritual communication, which is ceremonial participation that enables culture to be managed, preserved, and changed, the role of ritual communication goes beyond the message conveyed, including co-creation and cultural sharing that define reality (Carey 2009). Humans live in a reality that is broadly created by communication.

Rituals are collective actions, generally focused on participants living in a diverse, ubiquitous place, producing a sense of identity and shared feelings that can be supported by appropriate symbols. Rituals create unity (McKinnon 2017). Furthermore, rituals create and recreate the symbolic forms, feelings, ideas, and moral beliefs that underlie the bonds of society. Communication produces culture and through the rituals, the society experiences celebration. Subtil (2014) discusses that the rituals are based on the communication perspective through the elaboration of ideas from Carey, explaining the meaning construct by focusing on rituals and highlighting the part of rituals symbolic as a community culture.

The implementation of *Makan Tahun* practiced by the *Kadayan* community is a ritual practiced that has been passed down through the years. Hence, this study survey how the practitioner's community finds a meeting point in implementing this practice with the diversity of beliefs adhered to. Besides, what is the collective action performed in this ritual to create unity (McKinnon 2017). The execution of the ritual is followed by the creation of a symbolic form, so what is the symbolic form embodied in the *Makan Tahun* celebration of the practitioner community if it exists. To solve this problem, the ritual communication approach is used in studying the meaning of rituals from the perspective of ritual communication and the symbols used in the *Makan Tahun* performance.

### 2. Previous Research

The study of human rituals is not a new research area. Many previous researchers have conducted a ritual analysis including the human life cycle which covers the three phases of life, which are birth, marriage, and

death. This research is particularly popular with the term of Rite de passage pioneered by Gennep (1960).

According to West & Tunner (2017), rituals are performed by a group of people who create rules and maintain them in any relations. They are the people who are responsible for categorizing the world, creating a rule and participating in every important action such as decision making, problem-solving, and retention of identity within the group through the identification in a cultural context.

Meanwhile, the early study of ritual by Bell (1992), used the term ritualization to provide an overview of rituals that contain a cultural context as the most effective ways in conducting a ritual. For him, this expression can help to explain the classical issues in the study of traditional rituals such as belief, legitimation, and power. The purpose of this action is to make it easier to categorize each behaviour in the rituals that sometimes have the same elements for example the acceptance of supernatural elements that have spiritual powers.

In addition, Rappaport (1999), also stated that the ritual is a behaviour that has been set by all members of society. In other words, ritual is one of the ways to communicate because in ritual there is a symbolic practice in social situations. Ritual is the conveyance of meaning that cannot be disclosed through words. Realizing that in the ritual there is a way to communicate, Carey (1998) explained in a ritual definition, communication is linked to terms such as sharing, participation, association, fellowship, and the possession of a common faith. The ritual ceremonies in this situation should be seen as a medium of communication that explains a situation by describing the meaning of the ritual symbol.

Many anthropologists define ritual as the meaning of communication. Thoroughly the community is not necessarily to understood the communication portrayed because it is more of an abstract term used as the conveyance of meaning in a ritual ceremony. Moreover, the ritual is also a performances interaction and the structure of the ritual is essentially a nature of communication principles. As described by Rappaport (1999), Leach (1976), Tambiah (1979), and Wallace (1966).

Leach (Leach 2000, 179-180) suggests the ritual as a communication instrument, explained that the ritual communication with two related points of view; 'doing things' and 'saying things' which are directly associated with the communication space. The ritual consists of language that includes an action that interprets the meaning of communication occurs. The meaning of the language is accepted through knowledge and mutual acceptance in the practitioner's society. The most important aspect in explaining the interactions is based on the social relationships with effective communication.

A few research of ritual communication in various kinds of traditions have been conducted such as Andung (2010) related to ritual

communications of the Adat Boti community, Nusa Tenggara Timur in the Natoni tradition. Next, Maifianti et al. (2014) also use the perspective of ritual communication in Aceh Blang Kanuri among the farmers. Hadirman (2016) has conducted research in describing the form of ritual the Katoba tradition communications in for the of Muna ethnics and finding the purpose of the tradition as a traditional communication medium. While at Jawa Timur, observation from the ritual communication perspectives was conducted by Handayani (2018) through looking at the ritual communications pattern of paddy farming season in Ngemplak, Sambikerep, Surabaya. All the listed research is lead towards the study in the context of indigenous people in the Indonesian archipelago and until now there is no detailed study of ritual communication has been found in the Malaysian community cultural inhabiting the Borneo Island.

### 3. Research Method

This research used a qualitative method with an ethnographic approach to observe the human behaviours that lead to the socio-cultural. The ethnographic research methods can prove the validity of the sources obtained based on several research methods. The participant observation technique, ethnography is a unique method of research because it leads to direct observation in a community such as this study of *Makan Tahun* for the *Kadayan* community in Sarawak.

Spradley (1997), stated that ethnography is a wide observation and not only focused on the behaviour but also encompasses the society's life cycle until now. Through this comprehensive observation, the researchers can understand the meaning of each behaviour until various forms of practices, customs, beliefs, and others, exist in a society.

In addition, ethnography is a description and interpretation of a culture or system of social groups in a society. The researchers will survey a group of people and study their behaviour patterns, habits, and ways of life. Ethnography is a process and the result of an observation. As a process, ethnography involves a long observation of a group in which the observation includes the daily observations of the respondent's life or through one-on-one conversations with members of the group. The researchers will study the meaning of their behaviours through the interactions with that group members. This study combines several methods of ethnographic approach including field research, participant observation, and ethnographic interviews.

The informants of this research consist of the imam, individuals who hold the title of Hajj (considered in the community as practitioners who have religious knowledge), and also the practitioner's community of *Makan Tahun*. The age range of informants in this study is around 65

years and above. In-depth interviews were conducted with the informants before the *Makan Tahun* festival to find out the implementation process. During the implementation of *Makan Tahun*, the observation method was also applied. All *Makan Tahun* activities were recorded (photos and video) and then a transcript of the interview was prepared. The purpose of this method is to ensure that they did not miss any information before and during the implementation of *Makan Tahun*.

The interview transcripts will be compiled using thematic methods to facilitate the data analysis. The meaning of symbols found in the Makan Tahun celebration is an adaption of the practitioner's community. Then, the meaning will be adapted to match the Model of the Holiness Ritual Symbol or Model Simbol Ritual Kesucian (Mohamad Maulana & Othman Yatim 2012) it becomes the base to the analysis in observing the meanings of symbols in the Makan Tahun. In the model, there are three main entities namely animism, religious beliefs, and divinity. Animism is a practice owned by the practitioner's community inherited through their respective families. The practice is actually to fill in the gaps that still exist in their culture. On the other hand, religious belief refers to the form of religion practised. The Kadayan community, they are Muslim. Despite being Muslims, they still hold to cultural beliefs based on the faith of animism. Through the process of syncretism, the tradition practised is intertwined with religious beliefs then it became a new approach after being agreed by the practitioner's community. For example, in Kadayan culture, although they still believing in the existence of supernatural and subtle beings, they also have traditional prayers. Through this religious belief is intertwined with the opening of each ceremony begins with the recitation of the verses of the Qur'an and ends with the verses of the Qur'an as well. This shows that the religious beliefs of the Kadayan community are open by believing that every good deed will be rewarded with kindness. The third element is the Divinity which leads to Allah S.W.T. and the religion of Islam. For the Kadayan community, the implementation of this ritual is an appreciation prayer offering for a successful rice harvest and community prosperity. The life that depended entirely on the paddy harvest was then shared as a whole to the villagers as a symbol of gratitude through the Makan Tahun. This ritual has various functions such as to intimate the family gap between the Kadayan community, also wanted to celebrate various forms of ceremonies such as prayer, ratib saman, yasin recitation, dhuha prayers, and so on. Then, the three elements are tied together through community cooperation and implementation by prioritizing the form of purity in the practice forms of the Makan Tahun ritual.

# 4. Findings and Analysis

# 4.1. Explanation of Makan Tahun and those who involved

Makan Tahun is a common practice for the Kadayan community in the Bekenu, Sarawak. If they did not perform this ceremony, their lives will be considered imperfect. In fact, according to the community of the Bekenu district, Sarawak, this ceremony is necessary to be performed every year after the rice harvest. Small or large the Makan Tahun ceremony is not important. The most important of this ceremony, it must be celebrated in a village attended by old and young generations. Not only that, this ceremony involved close or far relatives among the Kadayan community which usually involves those who live in Sarawak, Sabah, and Brunei Darussalam.

The content of this ceremony or ritual is celebrated in a village and usually, it starts from Thursday until Sunday. Based on the situation, this is not a common ritual due to the ongoing involvement of *Makan Tahun* is not an easy one because it involves a *Kadayan* community village. In terms of the socialization concept, this ritual has its uniqueness. Furthermore, the *Makan Tahun* ritual is performed to emphasize the Kadayan community's unity, although they are a minority group in Sarawak (Mohamad Maulana, 2012). Although their populations are small in Sarawak, they still uphold the life of the community based on paddy culture as the dignity of their existence.

Even not everyone in the Kadayan community is a paddy farmer, life-based on paddy culture is always practiced together. Every year, the paddy harvested will be donated and shared during the implementation of the *Makan Tahun* ritual. They believe that the new rice obtained is a tax payment for the *Kadayan* community. The new rice harvested become the main food of this ritual such as *kelupis*, yellow glutinous rice, and *nasi hidang* served to the guests that were present at the event. Not only that, the guests present will be given a ration as handicrafts such as *kelupis* and *kuih penyaram* for the family members who are absent from the event. This shows that the concept of socialization in the *Kadayan* community which does not forget the families who are not present. Because of that, supplies/rations such as handicrafts are important in *Makan Tahun* rituals. The rituals performed by society have a variety of meanings that lead to the meaning of prosperity and togetherness (Mohamad Maulana Magiman et al. 2020).

Makan Tahun is a religious ritual consist of Ratib Saman, Dhuha prayer, Hajat prayer, and other religious activities such as praising the greatness of Allah SWT who has given a peaceful life in the current year for the Kadayan community. The implementation of this Makan Tahun ritual has rules that need to be followed by the ritual performer (Norazila Inai et al. 2020). Those who are involved in the implementation of the Makan Tahun ritual need to ensure that their outer part is purely clean such as clothing and for the inner part that refers to women who are facing their menstruation are not allowed to participate in the ritual. This is because a woman's menstrual blood is categorized as dirty and if they did not follow

the guideline of the *Makan Tahun* ritual they will not achieve the goals. The most important aspect in ritual practice must follow the rules that have been set for perfection (Mangai Tugau, et. Al. 2021).

### 4.2. Communication Ritual in Makan Tahun

The ritual communication in the Kadayan community culture, Sarawak has a traditional beliefs element as well as religious symbols in the implementation of the Makan Tahun ritual. The main role of celebrating the Makan Tahun ritual is based on religious beliefs. Through these religious symbols are associated to show gratitude towards Allah S.W.T or Divinity. In the other words, the elements of Divinity refer to Allah S.W.T. This is because the Kadayan community worships Islam as their religion and every rule of Islam they need to implement it in their daily life. The main core of this cosmological question focusing on the three main questions which are God, nature, and humans. These three cores are inseparable from each other because of the connection of every question about nature and humans and the implication of divinity. Moreover, the view of the universe is not missed on seeing the real and supernatural world. This showed that every human behaviour not only can be indicated outwardly but every expressed act has an implicit meaning. The implicit network of behaviours often being used by society when performing ritual communication. The rituals forms showed the existence of symbolic elements that refer to the concept of divinity.

The ritual communication is based on the religious elements facing a reformation due to the influence of a new civilization. The existence of the religious process is an operation of tradition purification found in the *Kadayan* community. *Makan Tahun* highlights the function of religion in society as a process to preserve society in the presence of taboos agreed by members of society. In addition, it can preserve human beings as a perfect value giver among them if the religious lessons are refined and followed then the human position will be higher compared to all beings.

According to O'Dea (1966), Durkheim explains that every follower who adheres to religion will always feel something is beautiful and calm. Those who can interact with God will always feel stronger than before because they have been given the energy to go through this life. However, the religion concept cannot be described concretely even they believe in the existence of the concept and understanding of religion, by believing in the existence of God.

## 4.3. Religious Symbols of Makan Tahun

The word symbol is derived from the Greek word, 'symbolos' which means a sign or feature that tells everything to a person. Or usually, they said that a symbol is a sign, which contains a specific meaning. They stated

that a symbol is an object, event, sound of speech, or written form that is given meaning by a person. According to Mangai Tugau, Mohamad Maulana., at. al. (2021), humans can give meaning in every occurrence, or object related to the concept thoughts, and emotions of the recipient. To explain the meaning of the symbol then it is easier for the recipient to understand the meaning of the symbol first. This symbol or emblem is a thing or situation that translates the subject's understanding to the object or referred behaviours.

Meanwhile, religion is an institution of a belief system that contains elements of faith and human belief in the existence of supernatural things, which are the reality of life and death. Next, in the traditional beliefs, religion is associated with the form of deity and other subtle who inhabit the supernatural. Such beliefs are usually received through ancestors or from the relevant religious scriptures or from the mythologies and sacred tales that live in a society. This belief system is closely related to the religious ceremonies and the rites will be determined from the elements, events, and beliefs of the tools used in a ceremony.

According to Chittick (2001), religious ceremonies are known as a medium of the relationship between humans and God, the deity or subtle beings that inhabit nature. These religious ceremonies symbolize the concepts contained in the belief system. The whole system of religious ceremonies consists of various kinds of ceremonies elements, such as praying, prostrating, sajenan, ratib saman, and others. Moreover, sometimes they include interpretations of scripture that lead to the symbolic understanding, for example, Ibn Araby in his interpretation of Quranic verses that go beyond the text's literal meaning. This showed that the symbolic symbols found in this religion give a variety of meanings and only the practitioner's community understands the meaning of the symbols for this religion. However, when observing it deeply, the concept of understanding the religion and symbols is closely related which ultimately produces a different kind of meaning for the togetherness and prosperity of society.

Therefore, the *Makan Tahun* is a cultural system of the *Kadayan* community that is closely related to four based belief systems. First, the forgotten beliefs occur because the previous generations understand how important to implement the practice in a better way. The situation makes every form of ritual communication implemented will be led by a skillful practitioner among the community. This practitioner becomes their reference when performing the ceremony to make sure it will get blessings from Him.

Second, the culture that exists in the *Kadayan* society refers to the actions and behaviours in the social system. The actions and behaviours are mostly lead towards the forms of behaviour in the ritual. Most of the action forms are a good thing and, in the end, they will lead the *Kadayan* community spared from various hardships. The actions and behaviours

are more towards the forms of behaviour in the ritual. Usually, the behaviours shown are more looking at the concept of purity which every act and behaviour is clean and free from any impurities. Third, the forms of practice found in the *Kadayan* community are a form of idea.

This idea refers to the scope of their lives which is rooted in paddy culture. By maintaining various forms of beliefs that emphasize the prosperity of human and supernatural beings, they can understand all of their society through the order of life such as respect for human and supernatural beings, hold a banquet, and others. This shows that every behaviour within the scope of their society must be understood by them which ultimately forms the idea to be understood by future generations. Because of that, they did not face any difficulty in celebrating the *Makan Tahun* ritual every year.

Fourthly, the cultural system in the *Kadayan* society emphasizes the value system. This value system is based on the prosperity of their lives. If they did not apply prosperity in their lives, it will certainly cause various problems such as fights, malicious acts, envy, and others. Therefore, to prevent this from continuing to hover over their lives, an effort to cultivate the spirit of prosperity should be done by holding the ritual of the *Makan Tahun*.

In general, the religious symbol in the Kadayan community culture is for the prosperity and preservation of the Kadayan community life from various problems. For them, human existence in this world should be spared from the malicious acts of envy, greedy from disturbing the beings in the cosmology of life. In the other words, all forms of bad behaviour are considered as filth that will eventually cause the Kadayan community to be afflicted by disaster. This is because the life of the Kadayan community which is based on paddy culture causes them to accept obstacles such as being disrupted by good pests that can be seen with the rough eye or vice versa. This situation occurs because paddy is the main source of social formation. If various problems cannot be solved it will cause the yield of paddy cultivation to decrease which led them in becoming poor and lose their source of income. So, to solve the problem, the religious symbols in this Kadayan culture are held as a rule of their life. There are three main features of religious symbols found in the ritual communication of the Kadayan community, Sarawak which is religious symbols as practices, religious symbols as necessities, and religious symbols as devotion.

### 5. Discussion

The communication of the *Makan Tahun* ritual in the *Kadayan* community demonstrate features symbolic forms of behaviours, which are *ratib* shaman, *dhuha* prayer carries the meaning of servitude and gratitude to Allah SWT. These findings indicate that the *Makan Tahun* performed by

the *Kadayan* community demonstrates their understanding of religion which ultimately forming behaviour that led to the importance of a celebration in the communication of the ritual. This is in line as stated by Alexander Chelum, Mohamad Maulana. et. al (2021), communication is related to the forms of ceremonies performed such as praying, reading scriptures, gratitude-related behaviour, and so on.

This activity also shows unity among the practitioner's community. The preparation of food such as *kelupis* provided by the men to ensure that the concept of purity is maintained throughout the activity. Men do not have a menstrual cycle like women which will put them in the category of "dirty" during the execution of this activity. Symbolic of purity described that the practitioner needs to be clean outwardly (clothing) and inwardly (in the context of menstrual blood, termed use for something unclean). Male practitioners who prepare the *kelupis* have to purify themselves by taking ablution before starting the task. They do the task together regardless of faith and religious beliefs. The findings of this study are parallel with what McKinnon (2017) argued that ritual activities create unity and Subtil (2014) elaborates that the meaning constructs by focusing on ritual and highlighting the symbolic side of ritual as a community culture.

According to Abdul Rahman Madjirie (1989), from the aspect of terminology, 'religion' according to the general public understanding is the belief in God and the way of worshipping Him to obtain His pleasure. While for primitive society, 'religion' is the festive ceremonies associated with divinity, or worship that accompanied by the slaughter of sacrifices as offerings. In addition, he states that Western writers, define 'religion' as a belief in the existence of a supernatural being, supreme, mighty, free from His will to act, organize, manage the universe, and highly worthy of obedience and worship. Based on that opinion, it can be concluded that the religion possessed by an individual is intended to enslave himself to God by performing the acts of worship directed by Him. Through worship, people believe that God will love them if they obey every command, and to reach the desired level, they need to purify themselves first. Therefore, in performing an act of worship related to the religion, it is necessary to be in a state of purity, because purity is a priority.

Besides, Abdul Rahman Madjirie's (1989) also stated that the findings of this research that the implementation of the *Makan Tahun* ritual must be in a sacred state to achieve the goal of the activity. The concept of slavery is also highlighted in the *Makan Tahun* with *ratib* shaman, *dhuha* prayer, and other religious activities as a symbol of slavery to Allah S.W.T. Humans expect that by following every instruction and abandoning prohibitions they will be saved from a bad thing.

The ritual communication found in the *Makan Tahun* ritual not only be described through the outward behaviours but it greatly reflects on the purpose of the act which is a sign of gratitude towards Allah S.W.T. The

Islamic teachings followed by the *Kadayan* community who believe in the existence of God and His messengers, intermediaries such as religious people, such as *Ustaz*, *Pak aji*, and *Pak imam*, can help facilitate the task of conveying the meaning of the *Makan Tahun* through prayer and so on. All matters related to religion will be led by religious people. This is because they are more knowledgeable about the procedure. In addition, the surahs in the Qur'an have been used as a guideline on every act perform that aims on receiving a blessing regarded their effort for a few days.

Although, the implementation of this ritual has combined different elements between animism and religion it is actually to create a sense of togetherness (Tugau, Magiman at. all. 2020). This is because they have been off from the daily workload and crises in the Kadayan community, especially those related to rice culture. The beliefs found in the ritual are used as a practice to create a new environment which is the concept of togetherness.

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