Exploring Cultural Authority: The Dichotomies of Zikir Songs in the Malay Community of West Kalimantan

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Abstract: : This article examines the reproduction of cultural authority within the Sambas Malay culture, emphasizing the distinctions in the utilization of songs for performing *zikir* or *barzanji* in broader terms. This issue is approached through a multidisciplinary lens that integrates aspects of cultural studies, ethnomusicology, and symbolic capital. This research is qualitative because it explores the complex relationship between the *zikir* practices of the community, resulting in narrative data. The data was collected through interviews and participant observation, which included engaging with the *zikir* participants during their rituals and practices. The process of data analysis occurs in three distinct stages. Initially, data reduction is conducted to arrange the data in a more structured manner. The second point presents the reduced data thematically in a table that includes images, text quotes, and snippets of dialogue. Data verification was conducted to reach conclusions. The process of interpretation involved restating and reflecting on the data in light of the prevailing socio-cultural context. The findings suggest that the dichotomy acts as a means for *zikir* practitioners to recreate cultural authority, aiming to reshape the Sambas Palace's influence over those who engage with traditional songs. This reproductive process occurs through inversion and reinforcement.

Keywords: Reproduction; Cultural Authority; Song Dichotomy; *zikir*; Sambas Malay

1. Introduction

The melodic recitation of *Barzanji*, *Srakalan*, or *Syaraful Anam*, constitutes the expression of praise directed toward the Almighty and the Prophet Muhammad within the ritual practices of Muslim communities during life-cycle ceremonies. Among the Malay community of Sambas, this practice is referred to as *zikir nazam*, which is a form of devotional recitation derived from a section of the *Kitab Majmu'ah wa Adh'iyah wal Mawalid*, specifically the *Barzanji nadhom*, which serves as the textual basis for the *Barzanji* recitation. *Zikir nazam* is distinguished by its unique musical style, which exhibits a distinctly Malay melodic character and correlates closely with the social structure of the Sambas Malay community.

Generally, the emphasis on musicality in these recitations serves to enhance their aesthetic dimension (Lamya, 1986; Azmi et al., 2018; Bukhory, 2022; Ananda, 2020; Güner, 2022; Gusti, 2024). Within the Sambas Malay community in West Kalimantan, the focus on melody extends beyond mere aesthetics; it signifies a multifaceted social structure marked by authoritative relationships, as demonstrated through three notable trends. Initially, a distinction can be recognized between "old" and "new" song patterns, which have developed into a metaphorical dichotomy of "urban" and "rural." The designation of the term "old" pertains to historical contexts, specifically the era during which the Sambas Sultanate was in authority, whereas the term "new" denotes the contemporary development of the songs. The distinction between traditional and contemporary songs impacts the subsequent trend, which relates to the relational dynamics among the participants engaged in the classification of these melodies. The dynamics underscore the hierarchical relationships among individuals who are either directly or indirectly involved in the music. Ultimately, the dynamics of power are influenced by the resources or capital held by the participants, thereby determining their authority within this cultural practice. Therefore, the presentation of *zikir* through song serves not only as an artistic expression but also as a representation of the social structure and power dynamics within the community.

Earlier studies on *zikir* or *Barzanji* recitation have predominantly concentrated on four distinct perspectives. The initial perspective highlights the connection between religiosity and the functional dimensions of *zikir* among its cultural practitioners, specifically in the realms of education (Baruadi, 2014; Kameswari et al., 2020; Mawardi, 2009), and religious propagation or *dakwah* '(Wahyuni, Gojali, 2022; Hidayat, 2018; Katz, 2019; Okviasanti et al., 2023; Torabin, 2015)   ). The second perspective focuses on the concept of religious obedience, as discussed by Manullang et al., (2021), Maulana (2022), and Shadiqin and Ikramatoun (2022). The third track analyzes the text of *zikir*, as presented in the studies conducted by Mashur (2017) dan

Najamuddin (2018). The fourth perspective encompasses dichotomous debates, such as those between advocates and detractors of practices like *Barzanji*, frequently situated within the discourse of innovation (bid'ah) versus tradition (sunnah) (Kresse, 2023; Jubaidi & Khoirunnisa, 2024). Additional discussions encompass the decision to either stand or sit during the recitation of '*asyraqal*' (Kaptein, 2019) and the distinctions between sacred and profane elements in *zikir* chanting (Henkel, 2011; Idham Hamid, 2021). These studies highlight the inherent functional dimensions of *zikir* practices, while also underscoring the reinforcement of cultural-religious identity. This research redirects attention to the structural relationships inherent in *zikir* practices that address the continuous social transformations occurring within the community, following the performative studies (Wulf, 2006: 398).

Building upon this foundation, this research examines the variations in *zikir* practice as a manifestation of dichotomy, which encompasses an inherent power struggle directed towards ongoing consolidation. This practice is understood as a process of reproducing cultural authority. The reproduction of authority is analyzed through the interactions among resources, participants, and performative components within *zikir* practices. This research aims to address three fundamental inquiries: Firstly, in what ways do variations in song styles during *zikir* readings illustrate changes within the Sambas Malay social context? Secondly, in what manner are these differences transformed into social dichotomies that illustrate power relations? Thirdly, what forms of capital do actors hold in the categorization of old and new songs that illuminate power dynamics? The responses to these inquiries establish the foundation for elucidating the process of cultural authority reproduction in *zikir* recitation.

This study contends that the emphasis on melody within *zikir* practices constitutes a performative form manifested during recitations. This performative practice is characterized by processes that reproduce cultural authority, as depicted through power relations. This reproduction takes place through the dichotomy of songs that are transformed within socio-cultural contexts by individuals associated with power or those engaged in local *zikir* practices. As a result, there exists a notable aggregation of resources among the participants involved in both traditional and contemporary music. The intricate dynamics involved are perceived as a mechanism for the reproduction of cultural authority within *zikir* recitations. This study explores the distinctive components of melody and sociocultural dynamics in the *zikir* practices of the Sambas Malay community, illuminating the interplay between aesthetics, social structure, and power. This highlights the necessity of comprehending these practices not solely as religious or cultural expressions, but as active engagements in the reproduction of cultural authority and social hierarchy.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Reproduction

Reproduction is an endeavor that aims to preserve the continuity of social structures in society, despite changes in form (William, 1981). Pierre Bourdieu was the first to introduce this concept, which provided the initial empirical context for education in modern society. Bourdieu perceived the education system's role as "reproducing" the dominant class culture, thereby ensuring the preservation of covert power dynamics and the continuance of domination (Bourdieu, 1986; 2010). In a cultural context, reproduction entails the transfer of values and capital across generations and cultures. This implies that reproduction is an active process that confirms its presence in social life, as changes in form and structure are an adaptive endeavor to maintain existence (Abdullah, 2015). Other research regards cultural reproduction as a potential pathway for social mobility and as a means of perpetuating social inequality (Blaskó, 2003). These diverse viewpoints suggest that actors engage in reproduction as a means of preserving a previous existence that was characterized by power.

A form of power that transfers between individuals or organizations over time is necessary for the maintenance of existence (Chabal, 1992). In Bourdieu's terminology, this power is symbolic or veiled, as it is not overtly present in the social process. The process of reciting *zikir* is characterized by this. According to Bourdieu, symbolic power is the ability to alter and construct reality by transforming and creating it as something that is recognized, acknowledged, and legitimate (Bourdieu, 1995:170). This perspective posits that symbolic power is situated in the domain of ideas, which are associated with the perspectives, perceptions, and appreciations of individuals within social space, including the aesthetic practice of reciting "*zikir*." In the realm of performing arts, the actor's function is particularly significant in the preservation and reproduction of cultural practices through the utilization of a variety of capital structures, including cultural, social, economic, and symbolic capital (Nukha, 2018).

The crucial role of class, gender, national, and kinship ideologies is demonstrated by the perpetuation of power and culture in a variety of human life spaces (Franklin & Ragoné, 1998). This viewpoint posits that the authority of actors is essential in the endeavor to maintain the status quo in the present. It is imperative to reproduce authority and maintain the socio-cultural status quo. The significant involvement of the education system(Siswadi et al., 2024; Irawati, Warsana, 2024; Wilson and Urick, 2024) and politics (Barelly et al., 2022) as a medium for the reproduction of power has been demonstrated in numerous studies (Barelly et al., 2022; Wilson and Urick, 2024). This research investigates an additional medium that society employs to preserve tradition: the melodies that are sung during the recitation of *zikir*, which is more

commonly referred to as the recitation of *Barzanji*. Actors with varying degrees of capital power are also involved in songs that are classified as old and new. This divide is the focal point of the reproduction of power in this article, specifically the relationship between the actors who perform both old and new songs.

2.2 Cultural Authority

Weber, as cited by George Ritzer (2014:140), defines authority as the capacity of one individual to command compliance from a collective. Authority is the legal exercise of power by an individual or group over others. Power and legitimacy are essential elements in the conceptualization of authority. Cultural authority is possessed by individuals, groups, or institutions that can influence, interpret, and spread local knowledge, values, or practices. Paul Starr (1982) posits that cultural authority entails the reality through distinctive facts and values. This confirms that the interpretation of reality becomes crucial for individuals, communities, or organizations possessing cultural authority. This interpretation pertains to the significance or worth assigned to a reality.

Research on cultural authority reveals a variety of interpretations concerning the possessors of authority. Jenkins (2001) identifies scientists and professionals as the bearers of cultural authority in museum management. Shahab (2001) states that the Jakarta Arts Council serves as the cultural authority in the revitalization of Betawi traditions. Aristy et al. (2021) identify religious figures, specifically Tuan Imam, as the primary focal point in establishing traditional communalism in Langkat Regency, North Sumatra. This position pertains to Tuan Imam's endeavors to sustain his presence in society. Zilberstein (2024) underscores the significance of digital technology and the influence of culturally authoritative people or organizations in shaping reality. In the context of *zikir*, Shadiqin and Ikramatoun (2022) note that the execution of the maulid *zikir* in Aceh functions as a means to exhibit the authority of the local administration within cultural, religious, and political spheres. Research indicates that cultural authority is associated with several societal activities. Cultural authority has a significant role in the preservation of culture, as evidenced by previous studies.

2.3 Song Dichotomy

Dichotomy denotes a binary division or distinction within society, typically marked by contradictory elements, categories, or groups. Bordeianu and Băişanu (2022) assert that a fundamental characteristic of dichotomy theory is the inclination to categorize the entirety of cultural phenomena across nations into two discrete and interrelated

classes. This separation can emerge in multiple facets of social life, including gender roles (Jay, 1981; Bancroft, 2001) and communication (Makalingkang, 2024). The dichotomy in a social environment fosters dualistic ideas, hence reinforcing distinctions among different societal sectors. This separation may result in the establishment of hierarchies and imbalanced power dynamics, influencing social interactions, norms, and structures within a certain group or culture. Surján (2008) asserts that, while not universally optimal, dichotomous transformations can elucidate significant elements of a categorization system. These differing viewpoints affirm that the dichotomy separates the class into two mutually distinct divisions.

In the realm of performing arts, duality is examined throughout several artistic genres, with dance being the foremost (Cecchi, 2021). Brandão (2017) differentiates dance as an art of affirmation and convergence, whereas performance art is defined by relationships and divergence. Folkestad (2015) and Mazzola (2002) examined the dichotomy of intervals in music, specifically the division of consonance and dissonance in contrapuntal composition, utilizing a mathematical approach. Jaunslaviete (2024) analyzes stylistic elements in 20th-century harmony, emphasizing the convergence of many expressive domains. Min '(2020) examines the contrast between art and life as represented in artworks, highlighting the contradicting perspectives of reviewers. In the context of *barzanji*, the dichotomy pertains primarily to the classifications of *bid'ah* and sunnah (Jubaidi & Khoirunnisa, 2024), as well as the distinction between religious and cultural (Kresse, 2023). The variety of media that constitute the subjects of dichotomous analysis often focuses on examining the dichotomy itself, thereby positioning it as the culmination of a social process. This creates an opportunity to examine dichotomies by framing them as a means to elucidate the process of social reproduction within society. Ansari (2024) has noted the contrast between new and ancient songs in the context of *zikir*, emphasizing the continuous interplay between aesthetic aspects and social behaviors during the recitation of *zikir*.

3. Method

This study on the reproduction of cultural authority employs a qualitative research method, focusing on the complex relationships inherent in the practice of communal *dhikir*, as manifested in dichotomous forms. The interaction between *dhikir* practices and their various components warrants investigation, including the correlation between *dhikir* recitation and aesthetic structures, metaphorical frameworks, and the relationship between the *dhikir* practice and its participants, along with the forms of capital they bring. The data collected are narrative in nature and encompass visual, audio, and interview materials. These three categories of data collectively articulate

the narrative of an event.

The principal data source for this research is derived from *zikir* performances, encompassing rituals, festivals, and *zikir* recitation practice sessions conducted between July and November 2023. The two phases involved in the *zikir* performance are observation and participation in the *zikir* practice. The observation concentrated on three aspects: first, the text utilized by the village-based *zikir* group; second, the songs employed by the *zikir* group, which asserted the usage of either new or traditional melodies; and third, the participants in the *zikir* practice and their correlation to the capital they held. Participant observation was executed by engaging as a reader of *zikir* during *zikir* assemblies or while performing rituals. Interviews were performed with many informants chosen from both the traditional and contemporary song *zikir* groups. The informants were categorized into key informants, who comprehended the phenomenon under investigation and acted as the principal source of information for this research, namely community leaders and village chiefs, who were actively engaged in *zikir* practices. The second group comprised primary informants, specifically *zikir* practitioners with technical expertise and cultural knowledge of *zikir* activities in Sambas. Consequently, secondary data was acquired through the examination of pertinent literature and articles, as well as viewing *zikir* performances on YouTube.

The data analysis was conducted using three analytical techniques as outlined by Miles & Huberman (1992). The data reduction procedure is conducted to systematically organize the data according to the shape, factors, and consequences of the study concerns. Secondly, the data presentation procedure is executed to thematically organize the condensed data and display it in tables that include graphics, textual quotations, and dialogue snippets. Third, the data verification procedure is conducted to derive inferences from the current data based on observed trends in the acquired information. The three processes were subsequently analyzed by inductive data interpretation. Interpretation involves rephrasing and contemplating the data in accordance with the prevailing socio-cultural environment. These poses and stages of interpretation facilitate the derivation of a conclusion on the event or subject under research.

4. Results

4.1. Classification of Old and New songs

The Sambas Malays present the recitation of *zikir* in two categories of songs: traditional and contemporary. This classification, as it is perceived by those who practice *zikir*, suggests the existence of a constant and a changing entity. Old-song *zikir* practitioners

contend that the melodies they sing today are the same ones that were sung when the practice of *zikir* first emerged. The new song is a reference to a phenomenon that evolves in accordance with the progression of modern song melodies. This classification also demonstrates specific differences in the song patterns that are performed, as illustrated in the table below.
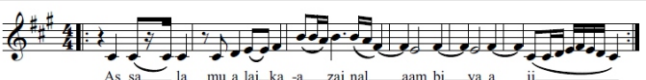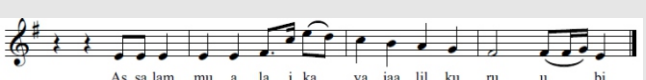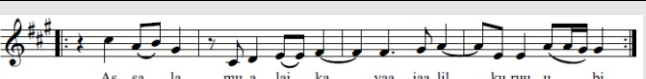
Table 1: Patterns of Old and New Songs
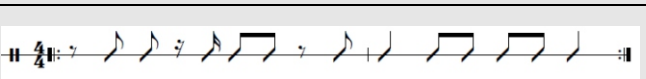
No	Song Type	Transcription Notation
1	Old Song - Pattern I	
2	New Song - Pattern I	
3	Old Song - Pattern II	
4	New Song - Pattern II	
5	Accompaniment of *Rebana* Music	

Table 1 exemplifies the pattern of the *zikir* song. This study presents only two examples of the ten song patterns seen in both old and new songs. Two musical patterns, as illustrated in Table 1, demonstrate three aesthetic dichotomous tendencies between contemporary and traditional songs. Despite performing the same song in a show, each exhibit distinct musical interpretations that can be directly perceived by the reciters of *zikir* or the audience. This is particularly apparent in the configuration of the song's melodic contour progression. Initially, concerning the accord on the vocal key. The fundamental pitch of vocal melodies in old songs typically resides in the key of C=G, although in contemporary songs, it generally aligns with the key of C=A. The new song possesses a greater fundamental frequency relative to the vocal note frequency of the old song.

The vocal melody of the new song exhibits a high density of notes, signifying a sophisticated level of vocal ornamentation skill. The quantity of notes influences breathing strategies, resulting in a consistent sound during *zikir* chanting without pitch deviation. Moreover, the density of notes might provide a compelling sense of vocal

technique in the recitation of *zikir*. This contrasts with earlier songs, which emphasized the performance of prolonged, robust, constant, and stable notes. Consequently, in some sections of the traditional song, the sound "*waa*" or "*awwa*" is incorporated, exemplified by the line "*assalamu'alaika tho haa yaa habiibii.*" When performed vocally, it is articulated as "*Assalamu'alaika (awwa) tho haa yaa habiibii.*" Ngah Dedi, a *zikir* activist from Pasar Melayu Village, asserts that the incorporation of the sounds "*waa*" and "*awwa*" aims to enhance aesthetic appeal, particularly concerning the vocal inflections employed in the rendition of traditional songs, rendering them highly distinctive.

Concerning the tempo, the final entry in Table 1 illustrates the musical accompaniment notation performed by the tambourine. The *rebana* pattern maintains a consistent rhythm regardless of whether it accompanies traditional or contemporary melodies. The distinction between the two resides in the tempo of their performance. Old songs are typically performed at a marginally accelerated speed compared to newer tunes. This speed establishes a melodic connection with the vocal melody's progression, which typically has elongated notes. This results in the interconnected harmony between musical instruments and vocal melodies. The characteristics of each song demonstrate an artistic distinction between traditional and contemporary compositions intended to enhance the auditory attractiveness of *zikir* performance.

In addition to the variations in song rhythms employed during *zikir*, distinctions between traditional and contemporary songs are also evident in the words, as illustrated in the following table.

Table 2: Differences between the lyrics of old and new zikir songs

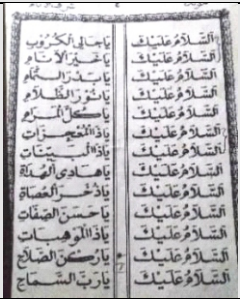| Dichotomous Element	Figure	Description
The *zikir* text of the old song		- Copy the *zikir* text from the book *Majmuah wa Adh'iyah wal Mawalid* for reference in recitation. - Use the song pattern change indicators inscribed in the upper right corner of the *zikir* text.

| The *zikir* text of the new song | | - Do not copy text, use text from the book *Majmu'ah wa Adh'iyah wal Mawalid* instead.
- Use a wider variety of song change markers. |

Table 2 shows differences in the text used, while both being derived from the same book, specifically *Majmuah wa Adh'iyah wal Mawalid*. Old songs contain lyrics that have been replicated and modified to suit the requirements of the performance. The lyrics of the old song feature Latin type beneath the Arabic language, designed for individuals unable to read Arabic. The text offers indications of a shift in the song's pattern. The lyrics of the new song continue to utilize the book of *zikir* or the compilation of *Majmuah wa Adh'iyah wal Mawalid*. The indicators for song transitions are more varied, occasionally using lines, asterisks, or numerals. The difference in the use of text and symbols indicates that old songs preserved their structure through the *zikir* reading text, while contemporary songs utilized the text merely as a reference for *zikir* recitation.

4.2 Metaphorical Classification

From the viewpoint of the local community, especially among practitioners of *zikir*, a metaphorical analogy can be drawn in categorizing songs as "cities" and "villages." This analogy is classified as metaphorical due to its absence of formal referential classification within the administrative framework, where all areas under a subdistrict are conventionally referred to as villages. Practitioners of *zikir* utilize this categorization as a specific term to differentiate between musical traditions. The designation "city" refers to traditional songs performed by communities near the Sambas Palace, whereas "village" pertains to contemporary songs performed by communities farther from the palace. This classification underscores the cultural and geographical influences inherent in these musical expressions, demonstrating the community's nuanced comprehension of heritage and tradition. The distinctions highlight the cultural dynamics and evolution within the region's musical heritage, reflecting spatial and temporal dimensions in folk practices.

Table 3: The Metaphorical Classification of City-Village Historical housing categories Preservers of the Sambas Palace culture

Classification Elements	Metaphors	
	City (Old Song)	**Village (New Song)**
Historical Housing Categories	It is classified as insiders and tributaries. Four villages belong to this category, namely Dalam Kaum Village, Tumok Manggis Village, Lubuk Dagang Village, and Pasar Melayu Village	They fall into the category of friends, meaning those who live far from the Sambas palace. Currently, villages outside Sambas District fall into this category.
Preservers of the Sambas Palace Culture	It is worth of following the culture of the Sambas palace.	It is unworthy of following the culture of the Samabas Palace.
Local Government Facilitation	– Facilitate the construction of the *zikir* practice venue. – The hamlet head's participation as the coordinator of the *zikir* group. – Operational payments for the *zikir* group.	There is no involvement for the village government. The *zikir* gathering is held in residents' homes.
Supporting Cultural Institutions	Sambas Palace and the Malay Traditional and Cultural Council (MABM) of Sambas Regency	*Thariqah Qadiriyyah waa Naqsabandiyyah* (TQN). The women's *zikir* gathering group and Quran study group.

Table 3 presents the definitions and metaphorical constraints of the city-village dichotomy within the classifications of old and new songs. This dichotomy is not focused on cultural and sociological aspects, as typically seen in the city-village dichotomy; instead, it is performative, originating from the musical dimension. The table contains the three elements that characterize cities and villages, highlighting the distinctions between the two metaphors.

The definition of the city and village metaphor pertains to the distinct locations of *zikir* practitioners, emphasizing the communal aspect of *zikir* performed during rituals rather than personal references. The location of these *zikir* practitioners corresponds to the classification established during the Sambas Sultanate's reign. Table 3 illustrates that the definition of a city pertains to an area that upholds traditional customs, specifically villages situated around the Sambas Palace. These areas are historically classified as "insiders" (regions surrounding the palace and governed by the Sultan) and tributaries (regions overseen by high-ranking officials of the Sultan). Villages are defined as regions situated along the coast of Sambas Regency and adjacent to other regencies. Historically, these regions are classified as "friends," indicating areas governed by the Sultan and operating in service to the Sultan, whose requirements are met by the Sultan.

The second consideration is the feasibility of preserving the culture of the Sambas Palace. Traditional songs emerged in the Sambas Palace vicinity, particularly within the villages called Dalam Kaum (DK), Tumok Manggis, Pasar Melayu, and Lubuk Dagang, prompting these communities to identify as the cultural successors of the Sambas Palace. The utilization of traditional songs exemplifies this assertion, as articulated by Ngah Dedi Rahammudi, the Head of the Hamlet and the *zikir* motivator of Pasar Melayu village.

> *Lagu yang kame' bawakan, ito' lagu Keraton. Ade tangung jawab kame melestarikannye, inda'an cuma lagunye. Tradisinye pun kite pelajare', terutama dalam bejiker lah. Sebab kame' ni tinggal dekat dengan Keraton jadi kame'kame ni lah yang mewarisi' nye* (An interview with Dedi Rahammudi, 12-10-2021).

> (The song we are performing is a palace song. It is our responsibility to preserve it; not only its songs, but we also learn its traditions, particularly in *zikir*. Because we live close to the palace, we are the ones who inherited it.)

Ngah Dedi's statement suggests that their geographical closeness to the Sambas Palace, in addition to their status as insiders and tributaries, contributes to the preservation of the traditional songs and cultural practices associated with it. Sahar, a resident of Jawai Village, expressed a contrasting viewpoint regarding the new song. She stated, "If we are here, it is not appropriate for us to follow the palace; the important thing is that the tradition remains Malay. Speaking Malay will not deviate from the teachings of Islam" (Interview with Sahar, conducted on October 8, 2021). Sahar's statement underscores their inappropriateness for representing the Sambas Palace, instead emphasizing the adherence to Islamic teachings.

The third factor is the participation of additional agents in facilitating the song's ongoing presence. Traditional songs receive backing from formal institutions, specifically the local government and the Malay Traditional and Cultural Council (MABM) of the Sambas Regency. The new song receives support from cultural institutions, specifically the *Thariqah Qadriyyah wa Naqsabandiyyah* (TQN) group, *zikir* gathering groups, and recitation groups. The village government plays a direct role in funding training for traditional songs, with the hamlet head and village head acting as key facilitators and instructors in regular training sessions. Notable figures include Ngah Dedi, the Hamlet Head of Pasar Melayu, and Mr. Najamuddin, the Village Head of Tumok Manggis. All contributions for the new song were made voluntarily by the *zikir* practitioners.

Government support has been provided for the establishment of *zikir* practice facilities for traditional songs, as illustrated in the following figure.

Resital

Figure 1: Old song practice venue in the city-village village hall
Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cR7lZyuNpGU

Figure 2: New song practice venue at a resident's home

Source: Isa Ansari (2023)

Figure1 highlights the regular practice location for the residents of Dalam Kaum Village, conducted at the Dalam Kaum Village Hall. In Pasar Melayu Village, regular sessions occur at the Village Meeting Hall. The new songs, illustrated in Figure 2, are performed during the regular practice known as "*arisan zikir*" (*zikir* gathering), which takes place at locals' houses and is contingent upon the location of the meeting.

Resital

4.3 The Actor and Symbolic Capital of the Old Song

The variations in songs, both in aesthetic and metaphorical dimensions, are associated with the individuals who perform or endorse the *zikir* practice. This classification is particularly observed in the cultivation of *zikir* practices, utilizing training media for old songs and gathering media for new songs. The participants in both media possess distinct sources of capital due to the disparate economic origins from which the resources are derived. The following table presents an overview of the symbolic capital held by the participants in the traditional song.

Table 4: The actor and symbolic capital of the old song

Role (1)	Actor (2)	Symbolic Capital (3)
Activator in Pasar Melayu Village	Ngah Dedi Rahammudi	Head of Melayu Village
Old song coach/instructor in Tumuk Manggis Village	Haji Mujahidin	Head of the Tumok Manggis Village Consultative Body
Old song coach/instructor in Tumuk Manggis Village	Mr. Najamuddin	Head of Tumok Manggis Village
Activator in Pasar Melayu Village	Haji Wahyu	Local Bank Employee/Community Leader of Pasar Melayu Village
Old song *zikir* figure	Haji Daeng Abu Bakar	Retired Civil Servant and Grand Imam of Babul Jannah Mosque/Community Leader of Pasar Melayu
zikir coach	Haji Herawadi	Retired Civil Servant of Sambas District Government/Community Leader of Tumok Manggis
Old song coach and figure	Abdullah Munzir	Head of Culture Department of MABM
Old song coach and figure	Mr. Long Astaman	Head of Customs and Traditions Department of MABM
Performer and figure of Old Song *zikir*	Urai Reza Fahmi	Secretary of Sambas Palace and Head of Culture Department of Sambas Education and Culture Office

Table 4 demonstrates that traditional songs, which have developed into urban music, symbolically engage participants through their inherent cultural significance. The relationship between these individuals and the symbolic assets they possess yields three discernible patterns. The distinctive status of traditional *zikir* song performers is evident within the local governance structure. These performers frequently occupy roles of cultural significance within village administration or maintain affiliations with government-related organizations such as MABM. This affiliation enhances access to municipal resources, supporting the continuation and promotion of traditional *zikir* songs.

Furthermore, a distinct separation of roles is apparent. Certain practitioners assume the roles of facilitators and instructors, aiding in the establishment of

aesthetic standards through structured training. The coaching is systematically administered by Tumok Manggis Village through regular monthly sessions facilitated by mentors such as Haji Herawadi. Supplementary practice sessions take place every Sunday evening, facilitated by appointed motivators. In Pasar Melayu Village, Ngah Dedi Rahammudi occupies this position, whereas in Dalam Kaum Village, Mr. Agustian assumes this role. Although they function effectively as trainers, these individuals favor the designation of motivators. The image illustrates the function of a driver or guide in traditional music.

Figure 3: Forms of male zikir practice in Pasar Melayu Village

Source: Isa Ansari (2023)

Figure 3 illustrates an individual acting as the *zikir* facilitator (trainer) within the *zikir* training framework. The facilitator serves as the Head of Pasar Melayu Village Hamlet and consistently participates in the *zikir* training process. This signifies a division in the aesthetic establishment pattern, demonstrating that various roles are assumed by the performers of traditional *zikir* songs.

The third pertains to the symbolic capital possessed by each actor. The association between column (1) and column (3) indicates the presence of three categories of symbolic capital intrinsic to the actors. The initial form is symbolic capital associated with formal authority, exemplified by roles such as village head or hamlet head, as demonstrated by Ngah Dedi Rahammudi, Haji Mujahiddin, and Mr. Najamuddin. All three entities are components of the government in Sambas Regency.

The second type is symbolic capital manifested as charisma, exemplified by H. Wahyu, H. Daeng Abu Bakar, and H. Herawadi. The local community holds these figures in high regard due to their expertise in religious science, which is further validated by their hajj titles. This establishes them as respected and charismatic figures among practitioners of *zikir*. The third form of symbolic capital is the image associated with the Sambas Palace or that of an individual possessing cultural authority, specifically MABM. The Sambas Palace, while not institutionally significant in the socio-cultural dynamics of the Sambas community, represents the highest social structure within this community through the familial image of the Sambas Sultanate, denoted by the title Urai. This represents symbolic capital, as this social status facilitates the establishment of relationships with the government and enhances respect within the community.

The three tendencies suggest a correlation between the actors and the symbolic capital held by practitioners of traditional *zikir* songs. The actors associated with this symbolic capital significantly contribute to the culturalization of traditional *zikir* song practices. The symbolic capital of this actor is intricately linked to the aesthetic practices and training patterns, as it reflects hierarchical formal structures. This is implemented through the pattern of aesthetic establishment, which refers to the relationship between the instructor and the participants, or between the coach and the individuals being coached.

4.4 Actors and the Accumulation of the New Song Capital

New song actors possess both symbolic and economic capital within the context of a farming community. The roles of the actors are less defined compared to those of traditional song actors. This following table provides an analysis of the participants and the capital accumulation associated with new song performers.

Table 5: Actors and symbolic capital of the new song.
Source: Isa Ansari (2023)

Role	Actor	Capital
zikir performers and figures in Galing village	Mr. Usu Hamidi	Quran teachers and palm oil and rubber plantation farmers
zikir performers and figures in Sempadan village	Mr. Usu Muazzin	Quran teachers and rubber and palm oil farmers
zikir group performers and coordinators in Tamangsagang village	Mr. Ismanto	TQN members and farmers who own rubber and palm oil plantations
zikir group performers and coordinators in Tamangsagang village	Mr. Ismet	TQN members and farmers who own rubber and palm oil plantations
zikir performers and figures in Telok Kramat village	Mr. Hilmi	Elementary school teachers and grocery store owners
zikir performers and community leaders in Mr. Rebung village	Haji Habiri	Local religious figures and palm oil plantation farmers

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The relationship between actors and symbolic capital in old songs exhibits a hierarchical structure, whereas in newer songs, the relationship among *zikir* performers tends to be more linear. Table 5 illustrates that the roles of *zikir* performers in traditional songs exhibit consistency. Table 5 illustrates three trends in the relationship between actors and symbolic capital. The relationship among the actors in the new song involves individuals culturally recognized as Quran teachers, members of the TQN, and religious leaders. Mr. Hilmi, an elementary school teacher, lacks any connection to power, particularly governmental authority, as he is an ordinary educator who teaches religion and operates a grocery store from his residence. His relationship with Mr. Pung, the village head, is similar to that of other community members. New songs do not receive the same level of governmental support as old songs.

The second pertains to the allocation of roles among the participants, particularly in the context of aesthetic establishment. The aesthetic establishment for the new song was achieved through a method referred to as the "*zikir* lottery." All participants in the *zikir* reading occupied the same position, with no designated instructors, trainers, or *zikir* leaders present. The role distribution observed resembled that of rituals, featuring a *kalipah* (a local term for a leader or representative) or letter introducer responsible for managing the flow of the *zikir* reading, as illustrated in Figure 5. The *zikir* imam, depicted in Figure 5 wearing a white cap, led the session. The *makmum* (an individual who adheres to the imam during congregational prayers) comprised all *zikir* participants excluding the *kalipah* and imam. Additionally, musicians are represented in Figure 4, while responders specifically "answered" the imam's recitation alongside the other *makmum*. This allocation of roles aligns with the role distribution observed during the ritual. The allocation of roles is determined not by the capital held, but by individual awareness. Consequently, if an individual sings a song inaccurately, particularly at elevated pitches, all participants in the *zikir* will collectively assist in rectifying the performance.

Figure 4: Music players during a zikir gathering.
Source: Isa Ansari (2023)

Figure 5: The person wearing white clothes is the kalipah..
Source: Isa Ansari (2023)

The third aspect is capital accumulation, which pertains to new song actors who typically exhibit varied capital accumulation. Table 6 illustrates the types of economic and symbolic capital possessed by *zikir* practitioners. Uncle Hamidi and Uncle Muazzin possess symbolic capital through their positions as Quran instructors, but their economic capital derives from their occupations as rubber and field farmers. The symbolic capital of Mr. Ismanto and Mr. Ismet is their affiliation with the TQN, which possesses a considerable network in Sambas Regency and extends to other regions in West Kalimantan. Their economic capital derives from their roles as farmers and proprietors of rubber and oil palm plantations. The data indicates that the relational dynamics of actors and the capital accumulation of contemporary song performers are generally more varied than those of traditional song artists. This reinforces the egalitarian stance among *zikir* practitioners in contemporary songs, as it enables those following the *zikir* arisan model to attain equal standing.

The artists of the new song, despite varying levels of capital accumulation, did not exhibit superiority over other *zikir* performers, as the latter generally possessed comparable economic capital, specifically as farmers and simultaneous proprietors of rubber or oil palm plantations. Economic capital does not ensure the enhancement of social standing, given the volatility and tendency for low prices of palm oil and rubber, alongside suboptimal land productivity. Consequently, the command of symbolic capital is strategically significant in determining the social hierarchy of *zikir* practitioners within the *zikir* assembly, as opposed to the command of economic capital.

5. Discussions

The discussion explores the intricate distinction between traditional and contemporary songs within the Malay Sambas community, highlighting how this classification reflects deeper cultural constructs. The artistic differences among the songs constitute the foundation of their uniqueness, as the newer songs display denser notes and higher intonation compared to the old ones, resulting in more dynamic vocal techniques. The variation observed in new songs arises from their flexible structure, which has evolved from communal practices. In contrast, old songs are characterized by melodic, elongated notes, which were established during the tenure of Sultan Syafiuddin in Sambas . This variation is metaphorically represented as "village" and "city" within the community's historical consciousness, signifying social categories such as insiders and their counterparts (Ismail, 1985). Village metaphors include cultural actors, such as local *zikir* practitioners, whereas city metaphors involve structural actors, including government representatives and the Malay Traditional and Cultural Council (MABM). This notion highlights the differences in symbolic capital among the actors and reinforces the existing dichotomy within *zikir* recitation.

The reproduction of cultural authority is enabled by the relationship between old and new songs, which reflects the connections among actors and their capital. This distinction serves as a mechanism for the reproduction of cultural authority, which is linked to power, legitimacy, and domination. The distinction concerning social structures and accessible capital indicates the presence of an authoritative role. This is evidenced by the dual tendencies that emerge from this practice: the reinforcement of traditional elements and the inversion of hierarchical analogies. The state involvement through local government resources, such as funding and the direct participation of village heads in coaching *zikir* practitioners, reinforces existing elements within power relations. In addition, the Sambas Palace and the Malay Traditional and Cultural Council (MABM) validate the status of traditional songs by serving as instructors or by highlighting the relationship between the esteemed culture of the Sambas Palace and these old musical forms. The enhancement of traditional songs associated with the Sambas Palace is further strengthened by the inclusion of new songs that integrate elements beyond Sambas culture. The ongoing development of cultural authority is highlighted.

Moreover, inversion is facilitated by the hierarchical relationships shown by the use of the terms "city" and "village." The village, linked to new songs, maintains a power relationship with the city, as indicated by its connection to old songs. Cities represent the dominance of political and economic power (Goodfellow & Jackman, 2020; Hinfelaar et al., 2020), paralleling the "old" and signifying the foundational

authority of the Sambas Palace. The term "new" implies instability and change, while villages represent political subordination. The city metaphor in the performative practice of *zikir* highlights a sense of closeness to the concept of "old," contrasting sharply with the common expectation of openness in urban settings. This reflects the considerable impact of traditional power on the *zikir* tradition in Sambas, leading to a convergence of historical authority and urban dominance. Conversely, Villages typically perceived as closed and traditional display an openness to varied new songs in *zikir* rituals, underscoring the fluid and dynamic character of the "new" ones. This inversion highlights the continuation of cultural authority in *zikir* practices in Sambas.

Bourdieu's analysis of the preservation of cultural power frequently encompasses diverse media and institutions, such as education (Tandiangga & Allolayu, 2022), literature (Nur, 2021), religious traditions (Harnadi et al., 2021), and politics (Burchanuddin, 2021). In Aceh, *zikir* serves as a political medium (Shadiqin & Ikramatoun, 2022). Cultural reproduction may advance autonomously from external media or institutions, enabling the explicit manifestation of domination. The reproduction of cultural authority in the Malay Sambas community is marked by distinctive characteristics. The songs used in *zikir* recitations function as a medium and are considered beautiful expressions by a few people. The distinct nature of songs in this context illustrates wider cultural disparities among fans, signifying a reliance on both modern and traditional songs (Bordeianu & Băişanu, 2022). Furthermore, the reproduction process involves creating aesthetic and metaphorical differences by incorporating an external counterpart for contrast. Previous cultural reproduction processes did not possess such features.

The Malay identity is reinforced ideologically through the reproduction of cultural authority via song dichotomy, which is closely linked to Islam (Sunandar, 2015; Yusriadi, 2015). Practitioners of traditional *zikir* songs maintain stringent oversight of activities deemed inconsistent with Islamic teachings. Cultural power holds, including the Sambas Regency government and MABM, concurrently promote the cultural integration of *zikir* practices through rituals, *zikir* festivals, training sessions, social gatherings, and cultural events showcasing *zikir* performances. The practice of traditional *zikir* song practitioners is characterized by a steadfast dedication to maintaining melody and cadence. The actions highlight that the identity of Malay as Islam is ideologically supported by the cultural authority of traditional *zikir* practitioners. The ideological reinforcement of Malay identity, closely linked to Islamic principles, is demonstrated by the strict regulation of practices deemed non-Islamic, reflecting the cultural authority traditionally held by *zikir* song practitioners.

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6. Conclusions

The major findings of this study align with the extent to which the production of *zikir* recitation melodies is profoundly influenced by a dichotomy in the Malay Sambas community's reproduction of cultural authority. The classification of songs into two distinct categories, the traditional and the contemporary, is the fundamental component of this process. This classification is not arbitrary; it is deeply rooted in the ritualistic practices of the community, which are intricately interwoven into the creation of cultural expression. The substance of a time when the Sambas Palace served as the guardian of authority and tradition is captured in traditional songs, which employ metaphorical representations of the city. This connection to the city emphasizes the palace's function as a cultural epicenter, as well as its connection to historical narratives of prestige and authority.

Conversely, the community is reframed as a unique entity by the new compositions, which distinguish it from the Sambas Palace's long-standing influence. This transition reflects a transition in self-perception and identity, which is indicative of a shift toward decentralized cultural authority. New tunes celebrate the community's evolving role in shaping its cultural narrative, challenging historical dominance. These compositions are indicative of a departure from tradition, underscoring the importance of local relevance and contemporary aspirations. Consequently, this dynamic is instrumental in the transformation of the cultural perception and assertion of authority.

The nuances of cultural authority reproduction are further illuminated by the roles of the individuals involved in these musical traditions. Traditional melodies frequently feature actors who are closely associated with formal power structures, such as government entities, and are imbued with urban metaphor. Their presence serves to bolster the narrative of institutional alignment and historical continuity. Conversely, the actors who are associated with new songs are frequently profoundly involved in the community. These individuals are local figures, including Quran instructors and TQN practitioners, whose connections to the community are essential to the grassroots character of their cultural authenticity. The democratization of cultural participation and the evolving dimensions of authority are underscored by these diverse roles.

The duality inherent in this cultural reproduction process is also illuminated by an examination of the capital employed by performers. The cultural prestige of classic melodies is primarily promoted by long-established artists of traditional songs, who rely on symbolic capital and public showcases such as festivals. This underscores the significance of historical authenticity. In contrast, performers of new compositions

employ both symbolic and economic capital, utilizing a dual approach. This reflects adaptable strategies similar to those in agriculture, which guarantee sustainability through resourcefulness. Their methodology facilitates the integration of contemporary compositions into informal *zikir* gatherings, thereby solidifying their status in the collective consciousness.

In a nutshell, the Malay Sambas community's reproduction and transformation of cultural authority is elucidated by the interplay between song classifications, actor roles, and capital utilization. This research positions ritual activities as performance art, which is dynamic and vibrant, rather than as mere traditional preservation. The study provides a novel perspective on the ways in which cultural practices redefine and sustain authority by emphasizing the ongoing negotiation between tradition and innovation through the examination of their performative aspects. This investigation illuminates the adaptability and enduring strength of cultural traditions in a world that is constantly evolving, thereby fostering a more comprehensive understanding of the ways in which communities maintain their heritage while incorporating modern influences.

7. Acknowledgments

8. References

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