



## **Full Length Research Article**

### **BAKUMPAI PEOPLE, RELIGION AND IDENTITY AN REGIONAL AUTONOMY STUDY OF COMMUNAL IDENTITY IN SOUTH KALIMANTAN**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The regional autonomy study in Indonesia, more or less, has affected the communal identities in South, Central, and East Kalimantan. The understanding of the relationship between ethnic groups, beliefs, and languages holds an important role, which, become the object of ethnographic study. Schwaner (1963) categorized the group of Dayak Barito as Ngaju. The term Ngaju in the local language means "upriver." Besides that the term "Oloh Ngajus" is also used to identify the group which is different from the other group called "Oloh Tumbang", the Dayak community who live in the estuary. This study has found how the religion identity of Bakumpai in the context as Dayak and Moslem in Kalimantan, live in the estuary of Barito River refer to Orang Bakumpai. The data are collected with 15 informan, the period of August 2015 to June 2016 using the ethnographic approach in the area of Barito River, Samba, and Long Iram. The narration of the lives and identity of Bakumpai People in South and Central Kalimantan. Bakumpai People who make the conversion to Moslem do not automatically omit their Dayak; they do not change their custom and culture like what has been found in another Dayak in Kalimantan to become Melayu (Tame Melayo, Basalam). The structure of the former community does not automatically change Dayak into Melayu. Some researchers have touched the identity issue. Therefore the term "Dayak" is not inclusive of Islam; however, Bakumpai People, as Moslem Dayak, say proudly that the are part of Melayu as ancestor and Ngaju.

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#### **INTRODUCTION**

Bakumpai people in some areas of Long Iram in East Kalimantan and Tumbang Samba in Central Kalimantan and also in Kampung Ulu Benteng South Kalimantan ar communities which have developed up to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, bring up opinions about societis and their ability to live and the development of ethnics across ethnics and religions. It can be easily understood that in the development Bakumpai People (Orang Bakumpai) there has been strong process of adaptation in the area where they live. There is an opinion which concluded that Bakumpai people come have come in waves from Central Kalimantan, from Barito Hulu. This opinion has strengthen the assumption that the situation of Barito War in 1869 caused Bakumpai people to look for safer areas. They went across the area to the east then keep on going to the area of Mahakam River and some went along to the west to Katingan River, Tumbang Samba. Who are Bakumpai people actually? This is an the main and interesting discussion that need to be explained following so many opinions of

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researchers which there are even different opinions and diferent view about the origin of Bakumpai People. There are three different evidence about the origin of akumpai people. The difference is seen among others from the history of their movement to another area in Kalimantan such as in Kampung Long Iram Sungai Mahakam East, Central and South Kalimantan. The first opinion states that Bakumpai people originally comes from the tribe of Dayak which is called *mountain people* and the second opinion states that Bakumpai people came from the coastal area and is called *coastal people* more to the term Bakumpai. Naturally, the cultural globalisation and identity is translocally identifiedl (Pieterse 1995). Cukture and identity are not enough related to the place terms, but it is better being conceptualized in the term of travelling. In this concept it includes the culture of people who are always travell from one place to the other, also culture as the sites of criss-crossing travellers Clifford (1992). The idea about the instaility of culture and identity in globalization brings us to the understanding that culture and identity are always the meeting and mixture of different cultures and identities. This is what is called the cultural and identity hybridity. The boundary of the established culture is blurred and made unstable by hybridation. In this phase, it is important

to talk about creolization. Ben Anderson (1983) in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, states that a nation is an imaginary community and national identity is a construction created through symbols and rituals related to the administration and territorial category. According to him national language, time awareness and space awareness are constructions created through communication facilities. He explained that the production of newspapers and books, for example, apply standard of language which then prepare conditions in order to form national condition. Critics that can be put forward on Anderson's thought is that he considers language as stable. Anderson emphasized too much on the aspects of homogeneity, unity and the nationalism motion which may overcome class, gender, ethnical differences etc., and does not see that differences in contexts and areas of interactions in fact creates special and different identities. Instability of languages, according to Homi Bhabha (1994), forces us not to think that culture and identity as permanent, but always change. Anderson opinion is also not suitable to see how culture and identity are formed in globalization. Globalization prepares a spacy place for the construction of identity; the exchange of things/symbols and easier movement of places combined with the development of communication technology. These makes mixture and meetings of cultures easier. Mimicry is a concept to describe the process of imitating/borrowing of cultural elements. Mimicry does not show the dependence of the colonized to the colonizer, the dependence of the coloured skin to the white skin people, but imitator with ambivalence which happened during the process of imitation. It happens because mimicry always indicate incorrect meaning and misplaced, imitation as well as subversion. So, imitation can be seen as a strategy to face domination. As a disguise, it is ambivalent, to preserve as well as to assert domination. And this is the basic of hybrid identity.

## MATERIALS AND METHODS

This is a qualitative research using some interpretations about religious and identification experience of Bakumpai People. This research spent enough time to describe on one of the ethnographic part of Bakumpai People. The methods of collecting information from the people deeply as well as informally can not be done structurally by interviewing some informants. Interviews began by family relationship, then continued to talk about specific things like custom and ceremonies. The interviews were recorded in the form of narration of experience and contexts of Bakumpai people's interpretation in the research site. Then narration from past experience was used to help understand the dynamic of this ethnics and the impact in time and space. Observation helped in contextualizing cases and general information collected about the research problem. Observation also included visiting custom ceremonies and religious activities in mosques and prayer houses/smaller mosques which could help to understand the practices of their customs and cultural activities. To explain the broader research questions, a tentative guide was used to assure that the relevant issues can be answered. However, during the site research, some different new lines of investigation occur and must be included in the interview. Besides primary data which are collected from the field research, secondary information was also collected from different sources such as: archives, and newspaper reports. Ethnical identity reconstructions such as age, education, social-economy status, gender and the limits of trust. Keeping

the dimensions of informants is the key of the research that should be identified. The objective of taking the key informants is to maximize the differences in responses to get uniformity of data. The data analysis began by transcribing the recorded data. The interviews have been recorded in Bakumpai language, kept in a flashdisc and the information in Bakumpai language is translated to Bahasa Indonesia. The data were analyzed in qualitative narration. The analysis gets the 15 information to build reality as it is, through their opinions about the social world where they live, and with themes and concepts which seems to be correlated to the world of Bakumpai people.

### **Bakumpai people in Ulu Benteng, Samba and Long Iram : at the Bank of the River**

Kampung Ulu Benteng is located along the bank of River Barito. All houses in this *kampung* are made of wood and the roof is *sirap*, roof made of *ulin* tree. During the field research, new houses were mostly built in the south part of the kampung. This proved that the building site of the area where people lived in Kampung Ulu Benteng changed very slowly and this also means the location of the kampung has not changed much in five years. That people settlement is always located next to the bank of River Barito follows the culture of founding household practically, next to the river to be able to find everyday needs easily. Because the kampung is located at the bank of Sungai Barito, it brings other concept that Bakumpai people is Barito people. Ulu Benteng, as a term referring to Ulu or Hulu and Benteng. Benteng is a place or building founded during the colonialism time in Indonesia as a place for protection. So Ulu Benteng is people's settlement located at the upper part of Benteng Kampung Ulu Benteng is located at the lowland which is used as a farmland. That's why people there depend much on Sungai Barito for their agricultural system. When we talk about the condition of the land at the bank of Sungai Barito, the maximum height is 5 meters from the surface of the sea. (Truman 2001). The ecology of Kampung Ulu Benteng can be stated as follows: high rainfall, especially in November until June, whereas dry season is from July until October (Truman 2001). The average temperature is between 25°C to 27°C. The maximum temperature is 27.5°C (in October) and the minimum temperature is 26.5°C. The average rainfall in a year is 2.665 mm (Pemerintah Kabupaten Barito Kuala 2010).

Tumbang Samba is the important economic center especially for people of upper Katingan. Actually, administratively, this place is part of the Subdistrict of Katingan Tengah with four village, namely: Samba Danum, Samba Bakumpai, Samba Katung and Samba Kahayan. The Board Statistic District of Katingan Tahun 2016, people of Tumbang Samba is more than 13.000 people or almost half of the total number of people of the District of Katingan Tengah. This district is the center of economy for the upper Katingan is going on everyday. Tumbang Samba Market as the center of economy, does not only supply vegetables and everyday needs, but all different other needs like agricultural, sailor, gold miner equipments, household needs. Part of the upper area, on the way to Tumbang Samba, can be passed through on land using two wheels or four wheels vehicles. Other areas can only be passed through by water transportation, a small boat with motor, which they call *Kelotok*. The first Bakumpai person in Tumbang Samba in the 1900 is Datu Hujan and his wife Datu Munah from Marabahan. Their work is to get rattan, rubber

and make raft. The raft is made of log wood. A house is then made on the wood, which is called *lanting*. That is their floating home at the bank of Samba river. The second migration came in stages continuing the Bakumpai people expertise in agricultural work and fishing. 90 % of Tumbang Samba population are moslem Bakumpai, they also brought the custom and culture of their origin like the medication called *Batatamba*, *Badewa* and *Batatenga Ceremony*. Besides trading Bakumpai people also doing proselytizing.

Long Iram was on an important economical phase in Mahakam River in East Kalimantan when the forest product was on the peak in 1960, Bakumpai people were in Long Iram. The land cultivation in Long Iram is dominated by food agricultural activity, growing *palawija*: rice, chocolate, maize using rainfall for irrigation. Kampung Long Iram is one of the strategic kammepungs. Geographically, Kampung Long Iram at River Mahakam site, is on the water transportation line for boats and *ketinting* for passengers and goods. The land is relatively flat and fertile very supportive for agricultural productivity. Local transportation is also quite swift because Long Iram connects other kampungs. Kampung Long Iram has access which connects the district of Tering and Long Bagun. Haji Anjang was the third generation coming to Long Iram, people said that Bakumpai people migrated because they tried to avoid war happening at the upper area of Barito River. The wave of this migration went through North Barito and South to the east and headed to Long Pahangai and Long Bagun. The second factor was the initial development of logging company in Hulu Mahakam, the Upper Mahakam, which caused them to work with the company. Ni Galuh in Long Iram said that why they were in Long Iram formerlay because they traded as well as looking for rattan and collecting resin. Then they stay permanently in Long Iram working as farmers and collecting rubber.

Ulu Benteng, Samba and Long Iram follow the rotation/revolution ecology condition. The kinds of plants which usually grow in the area of the river which goes ups and downs includes forest plantations such as *ficus benjamina* / Waringin Tree, *gluta renghas* / Jingah, *durio zibetinus* / Durian, *antocarpus integra merr* / Cempedak, *antocarpus heterophyllos* / Nangka, Coconat Tree / *cocos nucifera*, *cystostachys ronda* / Pinang and *mangifera caesia* / Binjai. The swamp plants like vegetables especially related to the use to worship such as: various grains, pandanus and many kinds of flowers and bananas. Kinds of vegetables plants which often be used and very much available on the site: paku / lambiding (Tracheophyta), katuk / *Sauropus androgynus merr*, kangkung / *Ipomoea aquatica forsk*, keladi / *Caladium bicolor wait.vent*, ubi kayu / cassava, genjer, papaya, labu or waluh / *Averrhoa biLimbi L*, sirih, daun pandan, serai, lombok, daun salam, ubi jalar dan sulur ubi. Bayam / *Alternanthera amoena voss*, terong, terong pipit, kacang panjang / *Macroptilium lathyroides*. Bakumpai People in Ulu Benteng get more plants as traditional material for medication by self cultivating them in their agricultural place, especially Jahe / ginger and Kunyit / turmeric; they are always very important plants for the farmers. Bakumpai people who develop agricultural homes always plant Jahe and Kunyit at the side of their houses which are newly built. Besides the use for medication, Jahe and Kunyit are also used for cooking. Seven kinds of plants in the family of *Zingiberaceae* that are used for medication in Kampung Ulu Benteng are ialah lengkuas (*Alpinia galanga*), kunyit (*Curcuma longa* L atau *C. domestica*

Val.), temulawak (*Curcuma xanthorrhiza* Roxb.), Temu Ireng (*Curcuma aeruginosa*), kencur (*Kaempferia galanga* L), temu kunci (*Kaempferia. pandurata* Roxb.), jahe (*Zingiber officinale* Rosc.). The use of plants and the relationship with traditional medication as well as for spices for foods are kinds of plants of *Zingiberaceae* such as Kunyit (*Curcuma longa* L or *Curcuma domestica* Val.), and Jahe (*Zingiber officinale* Rosc.), besides the following kinds which also have much use are the family of *Zingiberaceae* temulawak (*Curcuma xanthorrhiza* Roxb.), Kancur (*Kaempferia galanga* L), Temu Kunci (*Kaempferia. pandurata* Roxb.). Kancur (*Kaempferia galanga* L) is used to cure breathing problems while *Lengkuas* is used for skin problems. *Temulawak* is used for two kinds of problems for internal disease and purify blood Kancur for breth problems, jahe for fever and temulawak is for internal disease and for blood neutralization/purification.

### The ecological condition of the research site

The research site ecologically is a lowland and this is suitable for the lives of Bakumpai people in kampung Ulu Benteng. What is important here is that Bakumpai people have strong relationship with the ecology of their settlement and the surroundings, especially with the situation of Barito River in their belief and everyday lives. In this context Nasrullah (2007) found that the ecological understanding of Bakumpai people can be studied from their view about the circle of seasons. Bakumpai People name the rainy season as *wayah danum* and dry season as *wayah pandang*. In the view of Bakumpai people, the rotation of seasons happens in four parts, namely 1) *bulan kapat*, 2) *danum suhu*, 3) *danum bangai* dan 4) *tayap*. The term *bulan kapat* refers to exchange of dry season to rainy season, whereas the term *danum suhu* also means there is rainy season in the upper part of Barito River which causes flood in the mouth of the river. In this kind of natural condition, Bakumpai people believe that many kinds of disease may happen and the spread of the disease is believed to be from the upper part of Barito River flow with the waves of the river to the estuary. The exchange condition also influences the ecology of Barito river. That's why it often happens what is called *danum bangai*, when the river very bad smell of the water, marked by the color of the river water which is very muddy and salty water which is called *tayap*. *Tayap* is grass, leaves or small branches falling from trees and remain in the river for a long time in the river, decay and this condition is called *danum bangai* and *tayap* and causes the fish in Barito River dead poisoned by *tayap* water. Bakumpai people believe that if the condition of Barito River is like that, it is not safe to be used by people in the surrounding. Until now, it is believed that the exchange from hot to cold is seen from the impression of the nature of the surrounding. That ecological condition of Barito river is related to what people do during what is called *Safar* month related to what is done by people in the upper of Barito River when they are said to release poison or *umpan* in the river area as the ceremony to release black magk *orilmu hitam*.

### The Origin of Bakumpai People

Riwut (1993) said that Bakumpai people is part of the 7 group of the ig group of Dayak tribe or Suku Dayak, namely: (1) Dayak Ngaju, (2) Dayak Apu Kayan, (3) Dayak Iban dan Heban atau Dayak Laut, (4) Dayak Klemantan atau Dayak Darat, (5) Dayak Murut, (6) Dayak Punan, dan (7) Dayak Ot Danum. The Dayak Ngaju tribe is divided to four big tribes,

namely: Ngaju, Ma'anyan, Lawangan dan Dusun. According to Riwut, Bakumpai people is included to the group of Dayak Ot Danum which divided more to 68 small tribes, one of them is Ngaju, Kapuas, Kahayan, Katingan, Sampit, and Seruyan. However, there is basic information whether Bakumpai people is part of Dayak Ngaju or Dayak Ot Danum. It refers to the term Ot Danum and *Ngaju* which seem to have similar meanings. *Ot* means upper part or *hulu*; *Danum* means water. So Ot Danum means the upper part of water or *hulu air* or the upper part of the river or *hulu sungai* which refer to people who live in the upper part of the river or *udik*, whereas *Ngaju* comes from the word *Bi-aju*. *Bi-aju* means *udik* so Bi-aju means from *Udik*. Ngaju has the meaning of *Udik*. That's why Ot Danum and Ngaju have the same meaning, at the upper part of the river. Riwut also stated that based on the surrounded area resided by Bakumpai people, they come from Dayak tribes, namely from the group of Dayak Ngaju and Ot Danum.

A study about the history of *Tumenggung Dayak* in the area of Barito River done by (2001) mention about the Islamization of Dayak tribe in Central Kalimantan in the 17th and 18th century. In this study Dayak Bakumpai is placed to have activities to do religious proselytizing or Islamic dissemination to the inner part of Kalimantan. Sjamsuddin categorizes Bakumpai people as the Dayak people who functions as mediator between two cultures, namely Melayu and Dayak. He concludes that Bakumpai people come from the Dayak Ngaju tribe who have relationship with Melayu people in the coast part of South Kalimantan. In Maulani's view (2000) Bakumpai people include in the Dayak ethnics of one of the sub Kahayan who is believed to come from a village which used the term Bakumpai in the upper of Barito river. They migrated to the south to the areas of Kahayan River and Mentaya River, Sampit to the area of Tumbang Samba Kasongan river in Central Kalimantan. Following the opinion of Sellato (2000) too, the language used by people in the inner part of Central Kalimantan is similar to the language used by Dayak Ngaju people, especially in the area of Barito river which is called "*Biaju*". The words *Ngaju* and *Biaju* are used to name tribes who live in the upper river, the same for those who live in the upper of Sungai Kahayan river or the upper of Barito river. *Biaju* people are actually *Ngaju people* and one of the family of the tribe is called Bakumpai people. Sellato sees the dialect of *Ngaju* which is used in the areas of Kahayan, Katingan and Barito as the lingua franca of people in Central Kalimantan and South Kalimantan which is also used by this Bakumpai people. It means that Bakumpai people comes from Dayak Ngaju.

On the other part of his writing, Sellato (2000) has a view that Bakumpai people is assumed to come from Central Kalimantan and lived for a long time in Ratah River, a river in the area of Mahakam River East Kalimantan. Sellato says that Bakumpai people is a Dayak community which are muslim. This opinion gives understanding that the origin of Bakumpai people is the tribe of Dayak Ngaju who have become muslims or in other words Bakumpai people are Dayak people who are muslims. One way to understand the origin of Bakumpai people who have relationship with Dayak Ngaju tribe can be done by looking at their belief, especially which has relationship with the many kinds of regular practice of medication. One of the form of traditional medication is known as the *badewa mananamba ceremony*, a process of medication which involves the belief to mysterious being. That's why Kloke (1988) which studied the practice of

Dayak's medication stated that *badewa* ceremony which use tribute ritual offerings is almost similar to what is done by Dayak Ngaju tribe, called *balian* medication in Central Kalimantan. That practice of traditional medication done by Bakumpai people is believed as the proof that the origin of Bakumpai people is Dayak Ngaju and Ot Danum who live in Central Kalimantan. The information and understanding about the origin of Bakumpai people is to make sure how and where the background and origin of Bakumpai people are and this will give the closest interpretation about the origin, custom and culture. As the result of adventures and documents study that have been done it was found that the experts views about Bakumpai People are similar to their origin which is Dayak Ngaju.

The information began with approach to the term Bakumpai and then the elaboration of the point of view of the origin of Bakumpai people. The main informant explained that in general the term *Bakumpai* refers to three opinions. First, *Bakumpai* is a term comes from the name of plant *Kumpai* which grow along Barito River. Second, comes from the name of the ancestor of *Bakumpai* people whose name is *Datu Pandung Kumpai Duhung*. Third, comes from the name a *datuk* whose name is *DatuBi-Yatu* and *Bi-Yulu*. These three opinions are always interesting until now. However, some opinions from the perspective writing works about the origin of Bakumpai people, it seems to refer to the context of Bakumpai People as a community who live and has origin in the area of the upper Barito River who is named Oloh Ngaju. Schwaner (1853) who did geology expedition in Barito River said that the tributary/ water course of Marabahan or Muara Bahan was a busy trade center for the areas of Nagara River, Kapuas River and Kahayan River at that time. Therefore, the place where the Bakumpai people lived in Marabahan tributary became the important center of trade for the Dayak people in the inner part and Melayu people in the coastland. Marabahan tributary is a place for *transshipment* for the trade boats. Schwaner said that Bakumpai people had spreaded Islam since 1688. Although Schwaner does not know Bakumpai language, indeed the language is different from Melayu Banjar language. In Bakumpai language there are a lot of Dayak vocabulary which show the origin of Bakumpai people which is Dayak Ngaju.

Schwaner's biased view about Bakumpai people as he said that they have unstable character, which then be the character of almost all people who live on the coastal area who are muslims in Borneo (Kalimantan) occurred from the mix of the origin and the colonies from outside who have lost their national identity. He said they don't have a stand, clumsy, tend to lie, and steal are their main characters, and from they do everyday, it can be proved that they don't have enough intelligence. It is assumed then that by careful exercise and stronger control they may become good and useful citizens, not make problems and danger through their roughness and rudeness. Something like the spirit to be enemy and disobedience, not only to dayak people, who if viewed from the custom having lower intelligence, but also to their master, Sultan Banjarmasin; it seems that it is been their nature from old times. history has shown many evidence of this. We know that they have lived as blooded enemies with their neighbours: Dayaks Ngaju from Mentagi, Batang Murung (Sungai Kapuas Murung), Kuala Lupak etc., while we also have many different notes about rebellions to their king's family (Banjarmasin) and to the Dutch (Schwaner dalam Syamsudin, 2014:51).

Schwane (1963) categorized the group of Dayak Barito as *Ngaju*. The term *Ngaju* in the local language has the meaning of “*ke hulu*”. Beside that there are also those who use the term “*Ngajus*” to identify their group as “*Oloh Tumbang*” which refers to the community of Dayak who live in the river estuary. *Oloh Tumbang* who live in the estuary of Barito River refers to the community of Bakumpai people. Based on a study about Bakumpai people from the aspect of *ethno linguistic*, Ibrahim (1978) concluded that Bakumpai language is used by people in Central Kalimantan especially in the area of Barito River. The language used in this area is “*Barito Isolec*”, part of which is spoken by almost 350,000 Bakumpai people in the area of Barito River.

### Reconstruction of Union Society

The union society is often understood as people cultural institution where the individual members are supporting to each other, trust each other and work together voluntarily. Union society can be people non-economical capital to develop strong community to face horizontal conflict, criminalities and able to maintain surroundings continuously. This union society is inclusive, able to overcome narrow individual and group interests. Inclusive union society tends to grow in the village area, where the community is still homogen as religious technical community and keep the social voluntarily value, like the equal principal cooperatively among the community members. Rural people has inclusive union society because the homogen character of the members which based on the system of family expansion. Therefore, in the village community, we still find family who have the same blood or marriages among members of the family. This basic union society is what is owned by the village community. Basically village community is more homogen in their ethnical religious identity and comprises families which have relations one another. Bakumpai people in Ulu Benteng comprises of almost all families who come from the same ethnics. This model of union society in a circle of neighborhood is based on traditional value and togetherness in a community. This union is more emotional in nature, practiced in the basis of custom principles and their beliefs. This communal family entities seems to do self reconstruction on the roots of custom and belief, religious ethnical community.

Reconstruction of the root of inclusive union society is a response to village live dynamics, the essence of which are harmonious lives and no conflict. The ethnical-religious inclusive union societies which grow are the sociocultural and family instruments to reach an objective. In this inclusive union society, the individuals are able to give position to other individuals, neighbours who have the same root of ethnical-religious community as “a family”. Everyday’s greeting, for example, may be done to show emotional union. Individuals are then bound to participate in working cooperatively because they think that this is the way they meet the way of living in a village. Different from Diane E Davis view in *Cities and Sovereignty: Identity Politics in Urban Spaces* (2011) reminds the city community which begins from the construction of exclusive union society, based on religious-ethnics, actually is a fertile area for the growth of identity politics. They are composed of relations who are politicized by exclusive union societies. Every relation which grows in a social circle is not “honest”, even capable of creating exclusive violence and criminality in the corners of the city. Bakumpai People in Kampung Ulu Benteng, take the position of honesty and

family atmosphere in doing their sociocultural activities and customs. Having been socially transformed, the community union society are able to work cooperatively and care about their homogen surroundings caused by similar composition of religious ethnics. Leadership in every level of the community structures must move. The union societies make it possible for the growth of inclusive union societies with family categories as follows:

### Hakula

*Hakula* comes from the word kata *Kula*. *Ha* as an adjective and *Kula* means family. This is the social construction of Bakumpai people which makes it possible that family relationship is kept emphasize the principal of genealogical union of Bakumpai people which is transferred to the cultural context. Based on the spirit of ‘*Hakula*’ which makes it possible for Bakumpai people to be accepted everywhere by any tribes and religions. Bakumpai people leave their native-village to other places because they think in that place they will meet with other people and they can identify the other people as *Kula*. *Hakula* in its plural form and larger is called *Kula Biti*. *Kula Biti* refers to the relationship of larger family relationship. According to Anjang Hasan in Long Iram Sungai Mahakam River, East Kalimantan, “formerly I lived with my parents who worked as ‘*mengguling batang*’ (roll trunks), in Mahakam which was a big forest at that time, so many families came to this place to work in the forest. In we could work *marengge*, *marawai* and *mauntang-untang* like we did the work in my home village Basahab, Barito Kuala formerly. Here I feel like in my home, *Handep* has the meaning of a form of active participation every individual to involve and give positive value to the problems or needs of many people in the surroundings. This active participation can be in the forms of supporting materials or money, physical energy, skills, constructive thoughts about the function of people lives together. Conceptually *handep* may be meant by a model of cooperation which is agreed by all. In the sociocultural perspective, the value of *Handep* is a spirit which occurs in the form of individual attitude and action without expecting reward in doing works together for the sake of collective or certain individual interests. There is usually an activity of helping together in the form of *Handep* in agricultural field as well as in unirrigated field. *Hakula* and *Handep* are constructions of wisdom often called as local wisdom, *local knowledge or local genius*. Local wisdom may mean as philosophy of life and knowledge and life strategies in the form of activities done by the local community in responding to various problems in fulfilling their needs. Their system of fulfilling their needs comprises all aspects of lives, religion, knowledge, technology, social organization, language and communication and art, can be in the forms of tradition, proverb or motto of life. Those system then become part of Bakumpai people way of life.

### The Melayu and Dayak Negotiation

Religion gives meaning, identity and property. The classical work of Durkheim. The basic religious life for the more contemporary study of the religious community keep on showing the direction of case study. Peter Berger has opinion that facing the critical situation of social world, every community is involved in developing significant world and religion which have important role in the business of developing meaningful business. Religion has strategic part in

people's effort in developing the world. Ideas that ethnics is a primordialist is still being argued, but there has been a consensus ethnics gives social facts about its meaning, identity and community. Even important ethnics, in its definition is based on the group ideas with shared cultural identity, language and their origin. Therefore, an ethnical group who are usually related to shared inheritance is the identity of the community. In this context, the majority of Bakumpai People are Muslims, and although they don't change their identity as Dayak (they keep on being Dayak), they are still mortally being Dayak Muslim. It seems that there is a fundamental negotiation of Bakumpai People in their religious and identity. *Benedict Anderson (1983) says that ethnicity is imagined because the members of the collectivity may never know most of their fellow members or share with them interpersonal relations and may not even hear of them, but the image of their close association lives in the mind of every member. This image of close association may be created through media messages, which try to convince people by explaining them about the community sharing origins, traditions, and common goals.*

Bakumpai People seem to place the function of ethnics and religion together, the second group, ethnics and religion can have strong basic for construction-meaning and cohesion. The stronger social glue, ethnical religious organization makes it possible for the individuals to find the community and develop together and ethnical identity. At first glance, ethnicity is a straightforward concept. However, on closer examination, it is subject to different interpretations. Ethnicity, in essence, is a sense of identity. It can incorporate several forms of collective identities, including linguistic, religious, caste, and regional forms. According to Philip Q. Yang, "ethnicity may be defined as an affiliation or identification with an ethnic group. Other synonyms of ethnicity include ethnic group membership, ethnic affiliation and ethnic identity" (2000: 40). That is, ethnicity is a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic group and that belongingness may be based on characteristics such as physical attributes, presumed ancestry, culture, or national origin. Ethnicity focuses on cultural differences, and it covers and accommodates religious groups, regional demarcations, and linguistic segregations.

Parallel to this context, this research supports Barth's view in *Ethnic Group and Boundaries* (1969). The first decisive text in anthropology on ethnicity is Fredrik Barth's *Ethnic Group and Boundaries* (1969b as in Jenkins 1997). Barth began with the thought that an actor believes in ascription and self-ascription. He focused not upon the cultural characteristics of ethnic groups but upon relationships of cultural differentiation and contact between the collectivities, which differentiated „us“ from „them“ (Eriksen in Jenkins 1997). The point is that identity is generated, established, or changed in the course of interaction (Jenkins 1997). Richard Jenkins (1997: 40) has set out a basic anthropological model of ethnicity. The negotiation of Islam and the Dayak Muslim of Bakumpai people can be seen the narration of one model which consists of four propositions: 1. Ethnicity emphasises cultural differentiation (although identity is always dialectic between similarity and differences); 2. Ethnicity is cultural – based in shared meanings – but it is produced and reproduced in social interaction; 3. Ethnicity is to some extent variable and manipulable, not definitively fixed or unchanging; and 4. Ethnicity as a social identity is both collective and individual, externalized and internalized.

## Closure

Bakumpai People are Dayak tribe, most of whom live along the bank of Barito River, Long Iram and Samba, Katingan River, they are Muslims. With their strategic place on the geography of South Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan and Mahakam River in East Kalimantan, Bakumpai People have important roles in the colonialism period, business as well as the spread of Islam in that area. The Bakumpai People kinship is one between a unique culture that is the firm merger in the community collection and their ability to integrate with the ethnical collection or other religions. This merger is in accordance with the efforts of Bakumpai people who put balance in life. That's why it is difficult to find Bakumpai people have conflicts with other ethnics from the past time until now. This is part of Bakumpai people way to negotiate with various ethnics to defend their lives in the middle of development process. Although Bakumpai People have connection with Kesultanan Melayu Banjar Islam, but they also develop merger with the Dayak community in the inner part of Central Kalimantan, East Kalimantan and South Kalimantan. Muslim Bakumpai People absorb elements of culture Melayu Banjar in the implementation of social tradition and culture as well as their custom, but in reality they still maintain their old custom and beliefs.

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