
IDENTITAS DAYAK DAN MELAYU DI KALIMANTAN BARAT

IDENTITY OF DAYAK AND MELAYU IN WEST KALIMANTAN

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ABSTRACT

Competition and conflict, as well as the harmony and fraternity between Dayaks and Malays colored the public spaces in West Kalimantan. The two main groups (the majority) in West Kalimantan underwent tidal and low tide. It is always interesting to observe, especially in the context of identity. I want to see how the identity is related to the DayakMalay bipolarity issue. The data were obtained from various sources of documentation and books, indicating that behind the identity divergences between Dayak and Malays, there is an element of equality. Both live in the same room and some source or origin. The next process shows the acceptance and use of cultural identity to be the material for constructing a group identity building. In the beginning, Dayak identity was used in a forced way, while Malay identity was initially accepted openly. Over time, both identities were used by and for two different groups. Each reinforces (maintains) identity with certain changes to existing cultural elements. The identity of Dayak and Malay culture remains fluid but the movement of change tends to opposite direction, and widens the distance between those two. It is precisely affecting of sustained rivalry, so this can become major issues.

Keywords: identity, cuture identity, ethnic identity, Dayak culture, and Malay culture.

A. PREFACE

The theme of identity and local culture has always attracted the attention of the people of West Kalimantan. Recently, the public in this area was made fascinated by the opposite-opinion about the Draft Regional Regulation on Indigenous Peoples which was discussed by members of the Regional

Representative Council of West Kalimantan Province. Pros and cons about the draft regulation were drawn in the area of 'ethnic identity' and caused extraordinary attraction. Both sides are trapped in two poles: Dayak and not Dayak (Suara Pimred, 2016: 1). The Dayaks as supporting parties and not Dayaks as those who reject.

Discourses on identity and ethnicity are often appeared in public spaces in this area because of following tensions between ethnic groups. Ethnic rivalry always appears in certain situations, such as the elections and regional head elections (Djajadi, 2016: 1-6). The conflicts over ethnic names often occur by involving community groups. Therefore, a sociologist comes from West Kalimantan said that if the situation does not change and certain conditions as preconditions for conflict are fulfilled, then the conflict will continue to repeat itself in a 30-year cycle (Alqadrie, 2012: 203-204).

It is intended to enrich the discourse about the formation and meaning of ethnic and cultural identity. We will discuss how identity construction is organized so that it can be a unifying group, or can also distance one group from another group.

The data used in writing in the form of the results of this thought are obtained from library materials. These materials are obtained from writing which is the result of research and travel notes, and also news in the mass media, both print and electronic.

The identity is often a hot topic of conversation. This discourse is presented in public spaces on almost every occasion, especially when news or problems arise between inter-group tensions.

Generally, identity is another name for the character. From the lexical aspect, the concept of identity can be understood through *The Great*

Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia), namely: 1) the characteristics, features, or special circumstances of a person or object; identity; 2) the core, soul, spirit, and power of movement from within; spirituality (<https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id>) accessed in August 2017).

In the academic field, the term identity is more often used. The identity is an English word derived from *Latin Identidem* or *Idem* which means equality or continuity (Shamsul, 2001: 13-14). Mesthrie and Tabouret-Keller (2001: 165-168) mentioned that identity is the traits (characteristics and so on) contained in someone or something as a whole introduces them or alienates them than others.

At least there are two opinions that arise related to the identity. First, identity is a feature that is stable (permanent) that does not change. If a group of people is known by that identity, then forever the identity must be attached to them, cannot be discarded, and cannot be replaced. Second, identity is a fluid characteristic that can change according to interests. A person's identity can be chosen according to their interests and desire. From these two opinions, the second opinion that considers identity as something flexible is more often used among scientists (Shamsul, 1996: 476-499).

Now everyone who carries out an identity study agrees that the identity is regarded as something flexible, which can be formed, maintained, and can be

changed. The consideration lies in pragmatic needs (Shamsul, 2001: 13); Mesthrie and Tabouret-Keller, 2001: 167; Yusriadi, 2005: 41-60).

Meanwhile, in terms of formation and choice, identity can be formed and chosen by the owner or user. Its nature can be derived from self-define, but can also be from the outside (authority define) that is formed and used by other people¹. Both forms of identity can be accepted, can also be rejected, and can also be initially rejected and then accepted.

There are various kinds of materials that are used to form an identity. There are those who associated identity with social, geographical, ethnic, gender and national conditions (Abdurrahman, 2009: i-ix; Shamsul, 2001: 13-34). For example, there is an identity that is used in connection with a social class that brings up in to elite class identity and ordinary class; related to the religion adopted, then the identity emerged as Muslim-Kafir, Christian, Confucian, Jewish; some are used in relation to geographical origin, then appear Sambas people, Pontianak people, Ulu people, Sea people, Land people; and some are used in relation to nationality/nationalism, such as Indonesia, Malaysia, and the United States emerge.

Whereas in terms of numbers, the identity is usually not single or one. There are many identities and are arranged in a set of knowledge, can be chosen according to the desired context². For example, a person named Fulan, he can have his identity as a Muslim, sometimes a Malay person, an Islamic Dayak, a Muslim convert, an Indonesian, a Pontianak person, Ulu person, a civil servant, a Ministry of Religion, and others.

Generally, studies of cultural identity have been widely carried out. The scientists study it from the various sides. For example, in terms of language identity, clothing identity, food identity, physical identity, custom identity, etc. (Yusriadi, 2005: 1-45). Meanwhile, a study of community and cultural identities in West Kalimantan, especially about Dayaks and Malays in West Kalimantan, will be presented in the discussion below.

B. RESULT AND DISSCUSSION

1. Dayak Identity and The Culture

Dayak is a large community group in West Kalimantan. It is large in terms of number, distribution, and role. In terms of numbers, even though there are no official figures, this community number reaches 30-40 percent of the total

¹ In the communities in west Kalimantan, identities formed by the outsiders can be seen in the example below. Someone named Udin because of his naughty and stubborn nature and he called Udin Kera (Naughty Monkey). Ahmad, because of his tall body shape, so he called *Ahmat Jangkung* (Slanderman)

² Related to this, it can be seen in Yusriadi (2009: 1-3). In this paper an example is shown of someone who can claim to be a Pontianak person, an Islamic person, a Malay person, a man, and others. Everyone has multiple identities.

population of West Kalimantan³ and has 151 subsections and 100 subscriptions (Yusriadi, 2008: 23-30). While in terms of distribution, Dayaks are spread in all districts, on the coast and inland. The biggest concentration is in *Landak*, *Sanggau*, and *Bengkayang* districts. In terms of roles, especially political roles, Dayak figures play an important role. Aside from being a governor, some of them became regional heads in the district, both as regents or deputy regents. There are also those who hold positions as heads of offices, as well as chairpersons and members of DPRD in provinces and districts. They are as policy makers in their respective working areas.

The Dayak term was not initially accepted by the concerned native people. They know other people use the term for those with negative connotations⁴. Moreover, later along with the Dayak concept also implied the meaning of infidel. Van Hulten (1992: 133) recounted his experiences when negotiating with Dayaks in a village. The villagers allowed the pastor to enter

on condition that they do not offend the villagers as infidels. In the past, Dayak identity was regarded as something that was insulting and shameful. They consider the term to be used by people to refer to them in negative connotations⁵.

Although they are refusing to use Dayak identity, certain groups of people called Dayaks see an emotional bond that can be used to unite indigenous political power rather than Islam. This is interesting to examine and explain in more depth. Especially at that time the party that had the authority (government) “forced” the use of the Dayak term for all their policies, for example in social grouping, the term Dayak was always used (Veth, 1854: 4; 13⁶; Enthoven, 1903: 100; 123; 143) Conditions like this make indigenous people like it or not and slowly but surely must accept it. Widespread use makes them have no other choice.

Some sources said that at the beginning of the acceptance of the use of identity, the indigenous people received half-heartedly, if not forced. They can accept Dayak identity but in

³ The Central Bureau of Statistics in 2000 had conducted a population census which included ethnic-based on population numbers. But when the results of this statistic were published there was a big problem, so the publication was withdrawn and the data was deemed never to exist

⁴ Aloy, et al. (2008: 10) wrote: “In the past, they did not recognize the term power, dyak, daya or dayak to refer to their identities. In fact, they were aware that the mention of dayak from outsiders indicated to them meant dirty, dirty, backward stupid, and so on.”

⁵ Colongon, Jr. wrote: “the word dayak was used for an insulting term. Now this Dayak is a cultural, social and ethnic identity of indigenous peoples on the Borneo island (2013: xxxix).

⁶ When describing inland communities Veth that cites from Tobias, Hartmann, Francis, and V. Lijnden classifies them into three groups, namely Maleijers (Malay), Chinezen (China), Dajaks (Dayak 854: 13).

the form of *Daja* or *Daya*. The *Daja* or power is considered more suitable to describe the rising power and describe the spirit (Alloy, et al., 2008: 9; Pasti, 2003: 105-142). The meaning received and used by them or self-identification is different compared to the meaning used and that used by outsiders.

In the early days of independence Indonesia, around 1946, the term *Daja* or *Daya* was used by *Oevang Oeray* and his friends⁷ to unite political forces by giving birth to *Daja* in Action (DIA), which later changed to the Power Unity Party (Partai Persatuan Daya) in 1945. PPD received 12 seats in West Kalimantan in The Election (Pemilu) in 1955; *Oevang Oeray* became governor in 1960. Several years later the political power of PPD faded and the use of the term *Daya* was rarely used anymore (Aju and Zainuddin, 2013: 28-30). In this phase, Dayak identity tends to be regarded as something negative (See Yusriadi, 2008a: 21).

Until then, in the 1980s, the identity of Dayak began to be frequently used by indigenous people, especially activists, intellectuals, with positive meanings. At that time the term Dayak became a binder to rise from a condition called marginalized. The use of this meaning was widely accepted, especially at that time political office

was not held by Dayaks. Even though there is a general assumption that Dayaks are native of West Kalimantan. The identity becomes a unifier of cultural aspects so that it forms a new entity in the community of West Kalimantan. Even in the 1990s, the term Dayak in West Kalimantan began to be used also by indigenous people who embraced Islam, which was previously more known as Malay identity, Senganan, or the Sea. Since then the term Islamic Dayak was introduced (Yusriadi and Haitami (ed.), 2001: 112; Yusriadi and Fahmi (ed.), 2007: vxiii)⁸

The things that happen to the Dayak people did not appear by themselves. There is an 'agent' who is a strong driver of this emergency. The presence of *Ovang Oeray* in the years 1940-1950 was the first phase of that drive⁹. Although after the *Oevang Oeray* leadership era the term Dayak as an ethnic identity was lost (faded) and the word Dayak itself remained negative,

⁸ In fact in 1980-1990 people who came from West Kalimantan while on Java was often given Dayak identities by outsiders. On the other hand, there are also West Kalimantan Bugis people who migrated to Java claiming to be Kalimantan Dayaks.

⁹ Aju and Zainuddin (2013: 27-29) recorded the developments before the *Oevang Oeray* leadership era, namely when there were several Dayak intellectuals, especially those from *Kapuas Hulu* who studied in Dutch schools in Pontianak. They established a group of Dayaks and later became the pioneers of the resurrection movement. The figures in this era include Palaunsoeka and Kapat.

⁷ Aju and Syafaruddin (2012: 51) mentioned the names of the people involved in this movement, including A.F. KOrak, Pius Ungkang, A. Djelani, F.C. Palaoenseoka, M. Andjioe, Rafael Serang, Jeromeus Liwah, W.J. Pilang, F.H. Aboe, and S.P Boega.

but in the 1980s a new driving agent emerged involving many parties. For example, Dayak Adat Council (DAD) Pontianak District in 1985, The Karya Sosial Pancur Kasih Foundation in 1987, and Institute of Dayakology Research and Development (IDRD) in 1990. These institutions are the beacon of that change. The IDRD as advocacy (empowerment) institution whose members consist of intellectuals has listed itself as the most important institution in revitalizing Dayak culture in West Kalimantan¹⁰ (Wahono, et al., 2013: 18-25).

Although at first the Dayak identity was used in a political context, later at least in the 1990s this identity entered the wider cultural space formally¹¹.

When in 1999 there were tensions between Dayaks and Malays relating to

the election of members of the MPR in West Kalimantan, this causes of stood the organization of the Islamic Dayak Family Association (IKDI). The organization was founded by Dayaks who are Muslim with their characters, including H. Alamsyah (academics) and Rudy Alamsyahrum (politicians). The presence of this organization shows the acceptance of the term Dayak formally and broadly in this area beyond the boundaries that have been used so far, namely indigenous-not Islam. Previously, every native who embraced Islam tended to be called Malay. People who enter Islam are referred to as “entering the Malay” (Yusriadi dan Fahmi (ed.), 2007: vi).

Alqadrie (2012: 12) saw this as ethnic consciousness. According to him, this is a consequence of the rise of ethnic groups from the marginalized process.

That awareness encourages them to be creative to make various cultural materials that are displayed and presented as ethnic group identities. That culture is explored, developed and promoted to the wider community. Today, when discussing the Dayak, people’s mindset will not only be imagined to natives not Islam, but also in the culture of *Gawai*, *Naik Dango*, typical tattoos, war dances, ethnic music, as well as certain languages¹²,

¹⁰ The important moment of the Dayak revival in West Kalimantan was marked by the holding of the 1998 Dayak cultural expo in Pontianak. This meeting involved the intellectuals and Dayak leaders from various regions, along with speakers from within and outside the country. This forum was called the second largest meeting after the *Tumbang Anoi* meeting in Central Kalimantan in 1894. One of the important results worth noting is the standardization of Dayak writing from previously written Daya ‘, Dyak or Daya (Alloy, et al., 1998: 10).

¹¹ It is also important to emphasize here that the empowerment movement in various fields, such as cultural, economic and social, also remains intertwined with the political sector. This situation is inseparable from one another.

¹² The concept of “Dayak language” does not refer to certain language forms. In the Dayak community there are many languages used, between one another in different branches

customary law, clothing from bark and beads, hats from bird feathers, longhouses (*betang, lamin*), maybe also long ears. Although in some circumstances, not all images are appropriate, within certain limits can be accepted as part of Dayak identity. The shadow is a symbol for this community.

The presence of *Cultural Sanggar*, *the Sekretariat Bersama Kesenian Dayak (Sekberkesda)*, and the holding of the *Gawai Dayak* event in West Kalimantan are regularly part of the efforts to preserve, or perhaps more precisely the identity of Dayak in this area. In addition, lately more organizations or groups have used the Dayak name, including *Bala Adat Dayak*, the Dayak Youth Association, *Bakor K2 MAD*, and *Fopad*. The presence of these institutions shows that the identity of Dayak has been widely accepted and supported by many people. Their movements are often political, but symbolically they use cultural symbols in their actions.

2. Malay Identity and The Culture

As through Dayaks, Malays are the dominant group in West Kalimantan Province. They are not known for their exact number but a rough estimate is

around 40-50 percent of the total population of West Kalimantan (Yusriadi, 2008a: 2-3; Purba, et al., 2011: 160).

The formation of Malay identity in the context of West Kalimantan began since Islam entered this region¹³. However, the results of the study have not yet been found which can indicate when exactly the beginning of the use of the term Malay as ethnic identity in West Kalimantan.

As mentioned above, this identity is used as part of the indigenous polarization in West Kalimantan (Yusriadi and Haitami, 2001: 1-12, Yusriadi, 2008: 215). Malay is used to referring to the identity of West Kalimantan residents who are Muslim. It is almost in all regions in the center of Malay culture (for example the capital of the sub-district) recognize the concept of “being Malay” or “entering Malay”. This term refers to people who embrace Islam (Purba, et al., 2011: 7-10; Yusriadi, 2002: 1-10).

In contrast with Dayak, since the beginning, Malay identity in West Kalimantan was used in a positive context and more easily accepted and used by the community in a wider manner. The outsiders call them Malays

of language. For example, the language of *Ahe (Kanyatn)* is a different branch of language with *Bekatik* and *Jangkang (Bidayuh)* languages. This language is also different than the language of *Taman and Kayan*. Furthermore, a description of language grouping in West Kalimantan can refer to Collins (1999: 1-16).

¹³ Talking about Malay in West Kalimantan cannot be separated from the concept of Malay in general in the archipelago. Generally, the Malay understood as a community entity, namely the local community that adheres to Islam, is cultural “Malay”, and is Malay (Shamsul, 2001: 4-5).

and they have also used that name. In fact, in the socio-religious context in West Kalimantan, people who enter Islam will be referred to as Malays people. In the term of “entering Malay” which is known in several places in West Kalimantan is a reinforcement of this picture. The identity of “entering Malay” not only applies to indigenous non-Muslims who later converted to Islam but also used by non-indigenous that non-Muslims who later converted to Islam¹⁴.

Malay as a political and cultural identity in West Kalimantan comes in various forms. As a political identity, Malays are associated with sultanates and power, especially the powers in the past. In West Kalimantan, at least there are 13 Malay kingdoms or *pertuanans* were identified, ranging from *Pontianak, Sambas, Mempawah, Ketapang, Sukadana, Landak and Sintang* (Purba, et al., 2011: 48-74). The power in the past is often a reflection to see the current situation. Therefore, Malays are often associated with positions and powers in government territories¹⁵.

¹⁴ The description of this can be seen in the writings of Yusriadi (2002: 1-13). In the article revealed about a Javanese man who was a Christian, after he converted to Islam, he was called by the name “New Malay”. The use of this name is so widespread that many people do not know what his name really is. In the 1990s this pattern began to change. The indigenous people (Dayaks) who embrace Islam use Islamic Dayak identity (Yusriadi and Haitami, 2001: 1-12).

¹⁵ This is explained in detail and critically within in Iqbal Djayadi (2016: 1-10). The

In the cultural aspect, the general form of Malay cultural identity refers to the Malays as a whole. For examples, the culture of *silat, jepin, barzanji, tepung tawar, and juadah* which are considered as common Malay culture. While the form of cultural identity whose nature specifically refers to the sub-Malays. For examples, the identity of *Bubur Paddas* (the paddas porridge), *Kue Lapis* (Layer Cake), *saprahan*, and *balale'* for the Sambas Malay community; *Asam Pedas* and *Meriam Karbit* (Karbit cannon) for Pontianak and around it; *ale-ale* for Ketapang Malay traditional dishes, *temet (kerupuk basah)* and *lamoy* for Malay people in Kapuas Hulu. Another example of a special Malay cultural identity is *batik pucuk rebung* as Pontianak's Malay identity, *syair gulung* as Ketapang's Malay identity, *tumpang negeri* as Ngabang Malay identity. Generally, cultural identities such as this are still maintained until now and are displayed in various activities.

In addition, besides the traditional ceremonies, arts, and culinary, there are also other identities that can show a special Malay cultural identity, namely the dialect. For examples, the Sambas dialect for Sambas Malay (and Singkawang), Pontianak Malay dialect for Pontianak Malays, Ketapang Malay dialect for Malays in Ketapang, Sanggau dialect for Malays in Sanggau

clearer explanation of Malay and politics can be listened to in Mahathir Mohammad (1997: 1-18, 39-137, 206-222) or in Purba, et al. (2011: 1-9).

and Sekadau, Malay Sintang dialect for Sintang Malay, Malay Pinoh dialect for Malays at the start of Sungai Melawi, Putussibau Malay for Malays in Putussibau and Semitau, Embau Malay dialect for Malays along the Embau River, Selimbau Malay dialect, for Malays in Selimbau, and many other dialects. (Yusriadi, 2006: 137).

The identity of Malay from cultural material was strengthened by the establishment of Malay Customary and Cultural Council (*Majelis Adat dan Budaya Melayu*) institutions in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, in 1997 and the construction of West Kalimantan Malay houses in Pontianak in 2003. The MABM confirmed Malay identity through the performance of the Malay Cultural Arts Festival (FSBM). There are several activities that are held, such as dance performance, traditional clothing displays, the introduction of special traditions (such as *saprahan* are eating together in groups in one assembly), and so forth. In addition, other organizations emerged in the name of Malay, for example, *Arus Bawah Malay*, *Laskar Malay*, *Permak*, The Association of Malay Youth Communication Forum (PFKPM), Malay Youth, and Malay People's Association (POM). Even though these institutions are more engaged in field related to political movements, as the main focus they choose the symbol of Malay culture. So, in Pontianak, there were art performances, *saprahan*, and marches or *kirab of Malay culture*.

3. Strengthening Inter-group Identity and Relations

The identity is a pragmatic choice. Someone used a certain identity because of their choice and there are always special considerations behind that choice. This concept proposed by Shamsul (2001: 13-31) can help us understand what is happening to Dayaks and Malays in West Kalimantan.

There are two communities that live in the same geographical space, even some of them have the same origin (Yusriadi, 2008: 1-16) have long time shown a kind of "rivalry" or ethnic rivalry in terms of politics and culture. In terms of politics, the battle of regional head candidates is almost always seen in two poles: DayakMelayu. During the 2007 Governor Election, Cornelis' governor candidate was then seen as a Dayak, who opposed Usman Dja'far, Akil Mochtar, and Osman Sapta as Malays. Likewise in the 2012 governor election, the candidates for governor (Cornelis) were seen as Dayaks, and their opponents were Morkes Effendi, Armyan Ali Anyang, and Tambul Husin seen as Malays. This situation is also seen in the election of regents and officials or other strategic office holders in the regional structure.

There is a kind of competition in shaping and strengthening cultural identity. On a certain side, this has a positive impact on the inheritance of values chosen and maintained an identity. The Dayak people received the inheritance of traditional ceremonies,

dance, musical arts, carving, regional languages, culinary, and others that are known in their culture. They develop it in cultural activities as their characteristic. Likewise the Malays, they also inherit various handicrafts, various culinary and certain traditional ceremonies. Then, these cultural works and activities become their characteristic.

The Dayaks and Malays develop their culture to strengthen their characteristics. The characteristics make them look different than others. The difference is getting bigger and clearer through the reinforcement given by each group. The creativity grows from the subjective spaces owned by each member of the group, with different ideologies and tastes, even though the existing cultural roots are the same (Yusriadi, 2017: 63-66).

In terms of identity theory, has happened can be understood as part of a pragmatic choice. Everyone as a perpetrator and cultural stakeholder, both from Dayak and Malay people, is trying to strengthen their existing identity. They use existing materials, which they obtain from previous inheritance, then add the materials to their creativity. The imagination of the creator, their image of themselves and other groups gave birth to forms as seen today in the midst of Dayak and Malay culture in West Kalimantan.

There are positive and negative impacts of that dynamic. The positive impact is that the competition produces diverse and beautiful cultural works.

The love of culture and the desire to explore the old culture that can be used as an ingredient to defense the identity became stronger. The West Kalimantan which is seen today becomes more colorful and its cultural appearance becomes more vibrant. On the other hand, the negative impact that arises is the occurrence of “competitions” and increasingly ethnic rivalries. Even the worse, when this situation is used as an excuse in political competition to arouse emotions and solidity of their supporters.

The identity of Dayak and Malay are seen as characteristics that make the two communities increasingly distinct. This difference has the potential to lead to conflict. Even though the conflict has not been too open, but the heat generated from the situation has already been felt. The heat almost burned the emotions of everyone and sharpened the two groups. The small conflicts can easily become big because they actually trigger that already exist before. The longer it will get stronger and increases. A political event that took place in Jakarta could eventually become a social affair in West Kalimantan.

The community is understood and applied the view of the concept of identity as something flexible, so there is no need to be a big concern about strengthening cultural identity. Over time, the identity will change. The Geniuses from each group will incorporate their creativity in the development of their culture. Later, the results of the creativity of the geniuses

can be an alternative choice in the formation of new elements for an identity. Even if the geniuses want to develop and exploit identity differences positively, then the direction of creativity can be encouraged towards building togetherness in the cultural field between Dayaks and Malays.

It might be true if the role of shared awareness to live side by side safely and peacefully can be chosen. The wisdom of each party will make the positive impact of the differences more enduring and developing. On the contrary, the negative effects are abandoned, forgotten, and increasingly disappear.

Another option is to build a collective awareness to find an identity among the differences that exist. The Identities that can be distanced from each other and not psychologically liked by other people or groups can be ignored. Instead, the identity chosen and used is only a certain identity. However, something that is no longer collectively accepted will be abandoned and will eventually disappear because it is not used.

The last, the author wants to explain an interesting fact that needs to be examined together in the context of this ethnic identity. In the activities of the Malay Culture Arts Festival (FSBM) held by MABM West Kalimantan in Singkawang in 2016, the committee provided Malay clothes for themselves and the administrators. The color of the Malay dress is red and known as *the telok belanga dress*. The choice of red shirts raises several questions from

people because so far the Malays were identical to the color yellow, which became the color of their greatness. While in West Kalimantan, the color red is often regarded as the color that is characteristic of the Dayak, although red is often used by Madurese and Chinese.

The choice of the committee to use the red color actually reflects the flexible side of identity. The red color as a symbol that had been attached according to the concept of identity in certain communities and cultures it turned out to have been disbursed. The disbursement has a positive impact on other communities because it will show the similarities in terms of color materials. It might be if someday the equation will be seen in terms of certain patterns or attributes that can be chosen to bring these two groups to become closer.

If it still happened in the FSBM, both in MABM itself and by DAD, then the concern about the emergence of inter-group conflicts due to differences in identity which causes in the distance that is increasingly farther between these groups can be reduced very well. It can be predicted if the conflicts may occur in certain cycles because the situation is the same or accumulative (Alqadrie, 2012: 203) can be avoided. Now it depends on the elites or geniuses who are agents of change in each group. The choice is for them to encourage and create change in a positive direction.

C. CONCLUSION

The Dayaks and Malays are the two major groups in West Kalimantan. At first, the difference in identity was marked by religious differences, with the principle being Islam. Muslims, especially natives, in West Kalimantan are categorized as Malays, while indigenous non-Muslims are called Dayaks. The Malay identity has been used earlier and received widely since its inception. While the Dayak identity is used and received later.

Both groups live in the same geographic and social space. They are involved in interactions with one another in almost all areas of life such as administrative matters, economy, education, etc., are almost impossible to happen without the existence of cross-ethnic relations. But in certain situations, their relationships are colored by competition, tension, and conflict.

In the middle of that situation, each identity is strengthened and maintained. One of the basic ingredients of forming and strengthening identity is culture. The cultural material was developed into a symbolic marker that distinguishes between one another. The process of strengthening and maintaining this identity actually made the two groups more separated by thick and clear boundaries.

Hatta, The Dayak, and Malay identities were indeed still liquid and constantly changing. But the identity change movement brings the two groups in the opposite direction, thus

further widening the distance between them. On the contrary, the liquidity of identity that can continually change in the context of bringing the relations between Dayak and Malays have only been carried out in a context that is limited and has not made a significant impression.

This situation raised many concerns. Therefore, in order for the rivalry to move in a more positive direction, the formation of identity from cultural material must be carried out in the context of bringing these two main groups to become closer. The concept of culture as the unifying of the nation or the concept of multicultural life must be manifested in reality and actualized in the life of a pluralistic society.

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