

Pangaroh - Ketua Adat: The Dynamics of Local Leadership of the Dayak Salako Community in Cultural Perspective

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Abstract: *The phenomenon of the development of the local leadership system in the Dayak Salako community in Nyarumkop village, Singkawang, West Kalimantan, cannot be separated from the development of the current era; of which the leadership system in the community requires dynamic aspects to make the customary leadership system able to adjust its function and role in the society that continues to develop. This article will analyze and explain how local leadership formed when the community group of Dayak Salako still lives as a Bantang community until now, which has become a village community that already has its formal and bureaucratic government leadership. Through a qualitative method with an ethnographic approach, key informants from the customary leader and other stakeholders within the community, it turns out that the leadership of the customary leader has undergone several changes following the form of life of the community. Even though global modern development impacts the community's way of life, the importance and influence of the customary leader are still appropriate..*

Keywords: *customary leader; Dayak; leadership; local culture.*

Introduction

The phenomenon of the development of the system of leadership patterns in the Salako Dayak community is a social phenomenon that occurs due to the need for the traditional leader's role. Even today, in modern times, the development of this leadership pattern system occurs because the Sakalo Dayak community has developed into a more modern society. Because of this, adjustments are also needed for the traditional leadership system that used to exist in the community, one of which is the function and role of the Customary Chief. The customary leader is a leader who manages his village area according to applicable customary rules.

The existence of the leadership role of indigenous peoples is also needed by other parties, such as the government, which can make the Indigenous Leaders a medium for delivering public policies. As stated in Hendri that *Damang*, one of the types of Traditional Leaders, is an important partner for the government for proper development.¹ Indigenous leaders have an important position to provide input and advice on the government's inappropriate development. In addition to providing suggestions and input, the role and contribution of the traditional village leader are able to succeed in the government's mission of implementing noble religious and cultural values to create an orderly and safe environment and social relations.²

However, there are also facts that local leadership can be a source of conflict problems for the direction of development of the central government. For example, there are arrests or criminalization of traditional leaders because they are considered uncooperative in realizing the state's vision and mission.³ This shows that the role of local leaders of a community can also be a problem in several state policies, especially those related to customary lands and industrial plantations.⁴ From a historical perspective, the position of local leaders is very important in terms of the social construction of the times, especially those that come into contact with the presence of new groups. This can be seen, for example, in the dynamics of the Samin community in terms of resistance to Dutch colonialism or the Javanese tribal community against the modernity brought by the colonial community.⁵ From a perspective, the local leadership position can be considered an obstacle in the development policy program.

¹ Hendri, "Damang Kepala Adat Mitra Pemerintah Dalam Pembangunan," *borneonews.co.id*, 2020, <https://www.borneonews.co.id/berita/180746-damang-kepala-adat-mitra-pemerintah-dalam-pembangunan>.

² Kominfokubar, "Pentingnya Peran Kepala Adat Dan Jajarannya Sebagai Mitra Kerja Pemerintah Kabupaten," *kutaibaratkab.go.id*, 2019, <https://kutaibaratkab.go.id/2019/06/pentingnya-peran-kepala-adat-dan-jajarannya-sebagai-mitra-kerja-pemerintah-kabupaten-selasa-25062019/>.

³ Raja Eben Lumbanrau, "Masyarakat Adat: Penangkapan Ketua Adat Kinipan Dan 'Pelegalan Negara Atas Perampokan Di Tanah Adat Di Era Jokowi', Tudingan Aktivis Lingkungan," *bbc.com*, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-53890151>.

⁴ Ayat S Karokaro, "Konflik Lahan Dan Kerusakan Lingkungan Terus Terjadi Dalam Operasi PT TPL," *mongabay.co.id*, 2021, <https://www.mongabay.co.id/2021/04/07/konflik-lahan-dan-kerusakan-lingkungan-terus-terjadi-dalam-operasi-tpl/>.

⁵ Moh Durrul Ainun Nafis, "Harmonisasi Tradisi Di Tengah Modernitas Umat: Kajian Fenomenologi Terhadap Akad Nikah Samin Kudus," *Al-Adabiya: Jurnal Kebudayaan Dan Keagamaan* 16, no. 2 (December 13, 2021): 141–56, <https://doi.org/10.37680/ADABIYA.V16I2.962>; Muhammad Misbahuddin et al., "Toilet Dan Proses Inkulturasi Masyarakat Jawa Menjadi Masyarakat Kolonial Di Surakarta Abad XX," *JUSPI (Jurnal Sejarah Peradaban Islam)* 4, no. 2 (February 20, 2021): 133–48, <https://doi.org/10.30829/JUSPI.V4I2.8781>.

The problem of customs in certain tribes with various kinds of unique habits within a tribe itself makes the Customary Leader or Traditional Leader still needed even in modern society.⁶ This fact shows that there is still a role for local leadership in the community as a form of traditional organizational system to this day. These roles have undergone various developments following the turmoil of social conditions in their respective regions. On the one hand, it can support central government policies, but on the other hand, it can be a source of conflict problems due to the rise of local culture and politics. For example, the Dayak people of West Kalimantan, who have long been marginalized and gave birth to a self-empowerment movement and caused mass violence against migrants in the province of West Kalimantan.⁷ Another example is the tragedy in Sambas in 2001⁸ where this conflict became a serious inter-ethnic national problem at that time. This customary leadership can also be used as a political tool in the government, in directing the voice of the community based on empathy for fellow tribes or certain ethnic groups, this happens in Indonesia as described previously.⁹ This shows that ethnic politics in Indonesia still exists, although ethnic political mobility is rarely found in the public sphere, ethnic identity in politics is still very clearly visible in Indonesian society. These things are interesting points so this phenomenon is very feasible to be reviewed in-depth, especially using qualitative methods to approach the facts that occur in the field.

The Salako Dayak community in Nyarumkop Village, East Singkawang sub-district, West Kalimantan, is one form of indigenous people in the area. In the traditional context, especially using the view of anthropological studies, society is an association of a number of people who live and settle in an area with clear boundaries and have their own language and culture.¹⁰ In assessing traditional community groups, it is necessary to at least rely on indicators, including community, locality, customs, and mother tongue.¹¹ Because these indicators can show characteristics that only a group has. And the tendency is different from other groups, although they still come from the same large sub-ethnic group.

Until now, the Salako Dayak people still carry out their local traditions. This is because the natural ecology of Nyarumkop Village still persists, so the life habits of the Salako Dayak who still use the forest as a source can still be carried out. Some of the traditions of the Salako Dayak community in Nyarumkop Village that have survived to this day are the tradition of rejecting reinforcements and basaru spirit. This tradition is a ceremony to call the soul related to life to return to calm and peace, in this case also as a thank you to Jubata who has provided sustenance. In doing something traditional, there will be several mantras that are recited and addressed to Jubata. This tradition can be carried out from the decision of the Customary Chief based on the results of a meeting with other Salako Dayak community members.

⁶ Modimowabarwa Kanyane, "Interfacing Interplay of Local Government, Traditional Leaders and Society," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 35, no. 2 (April 2017): 212–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2017.1310373>.

⁷ David Henley and Jamie S. Davidson, "In the Name of Adat: Regional Perspectives on Reform, Tradition, and Democracy in Indonesia," *Modern Asian Studies* 42, no. 4 (July 2008): 815–52, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X07003083>.

⁸ Jamie S. Davidson, "The Politics of Violence on an Indonesian Periphery," *South East Asia Research* 11, no. 1 (2003): 59–89, <https://doi.org/10.5367/000000003101297142>.

⁹ Edward Aspinall, "Democratization and Ethnic Politics in Indonesia: Nine Theses," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 11, no. 2 (August 2011): 289–319, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1598240800007190>.

¹⁰ Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi*, ke-10 (Jakarta: PT Rineka Cipta, 2015).

¹¹ Ahmad Fedyani Saifuddin, *Antropologi Sosial Budaya* (Jakarta: Institut Antropologi Indonesia, 2011).

Of course, in carrying out some traditions there is an irreplaceable role of the traditional leader. Especially in the recitation of mantras that are trusted by the Salako Dayak community which can only be done by the traditional leader. Because the spell is passed down in knowledge, not in writing. The importance of the figure of the traditional leader has been around for a long time when the Salako Dayak community still lived together in the form of the Bentang House group. The Bentang House is a Salako Dayak traditional house in the form of a tall and elongated house on stilts. In general, the Bantang House is not too different from the Bentang House which is generally identified as a traditional house for the Dayak community, but in the Salako Dayak community, they prefer to use the term Bantang instead of Betang which is commonly known by the public. Generally, the Batang House can be inhabited by several heads of families.

From this background, the purpose of this paper is to narrate the development of local leadership patterns from the time of the Salako Dayak community in the past to the current modern era. In addition, it explains the reasons why local leadership patterns in the Salako Dayak community have changed using ethnographic methods. The advantage of this method is that it allows researchers to investigate deeply how things are in the real-world environment where the research is conducted¹² so that it is hoped that there will be an explanation of whether the role of traditional leaders is still needed at this time, and whether their existence does not interfere with other regional leaders as part of state institutions.

The Leadership of Dayak Salako in the Bantang Group Community

Nowadays, the term "Dayak" and references to certain "sub-tribes" are used more widely than in the past. The West Kalimantan Solidarity Forum captured this change in its 2000 declaration.¹³ Duile said that in understanding Western and Indonesian people, the word Dayak evokes images of indigenous people close to nature, living in a mysterious world of large trees, dense vegetation, ancient longhouses, and exotic rituals.¹⁴

Throughout history, the Dayaks have also been dependent on forest resources. Forests are where they live and the environment that has shaped their culture and way of life. The Dayak tribe seems close to living with the surrounding nature; this understanding still exists in society, the view that the life of the Dayak community is still traditional, changes in people's lives also make the lifestyle of social institutions in the community itself experience changes, including the Salako Dayak community.

Based on field notes, the traditional form of the social organization of the Salako Dayak community has various versions. The version of the Salako Dayak community with a badameo-jare dialect, their organizational structure consists of Pangaroh, Panyanokng Kaanngkong, and Pangaangok.¹⁵ The three positions can be said to be equal leaders, like a trinity. The three

¹² Jane B. Singer, "Ethnography," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 86, no. 1 (March 2009): 191–98, <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900908600112>.

¹³ Anne Schiller, "Activism and Identities in an East Kalimantan Dayak Organization," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 66, no. 1 (February 2007): 63–95, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002191180700006X>.

¹⁴ Timo Duile, "Being Dayak in West Kalimantan: Constructing Indigenous Identity as a Political and Cultural Resource," in *Continuity under Change in Dayak Societies* (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2017), 123–40, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-18295-3_5.

¹⁵ Simon Takdir, *Austronesia Dayaka Tentang Kelompok Suku Salako Dayaka Borneo* (Pontianak: Top Indonesia, 2017).

cooperate with each other in carrying out the customs and wheels of their territory's life. Although in the social order, all three are in the upper status, what these three leaders do is a form of social work. They are community services that do not get rewarded as long as they lead and control the pattern of people's lives. But there is a social reward that will be obtained, namely free labor assistance in the early days of the field and harvest. Retribution services are provided by community members as a form of gratitude for the social services offered by the triune leaders in the Salako Dayak community.

In the past, the people of Dalak Salako still lived in Bentang, they lived in one group. The Bantang house is long in shape and has many compartments, rooms, or cubicles separated by walls. Each booth is owned by one family, which may consist of parents, children, and grandparents.¹⁶ Community administrators will carry out the election pattern. After a long discussion, the results of the agreement of community administrators to fill the positions of *Pangaroh*, *Panyanokng Kaanngkong*, and *Pangaangok* were conveyed door to door, a kind of community form that is still non-literate. It is natural that if other community members reject an agreement to the point of disobedience, then there will be a man who has physical and superhuman strength to force members who reject the board's decision to accept the decision.

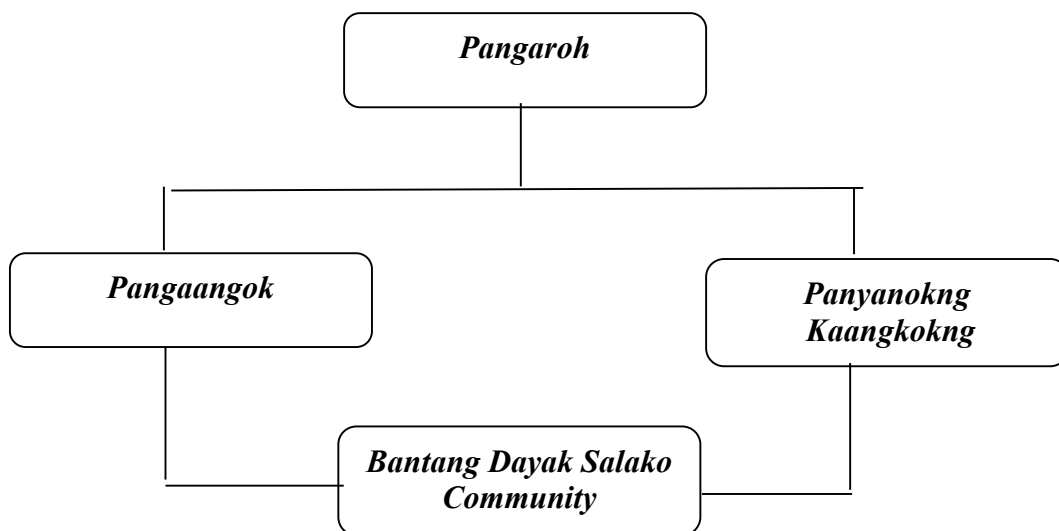


Figure 1. The schema of the social organization structure of Bantang before getting to know the elements of the external organization

As shown in Figure 1, Pangaroh's position can be said to be the top leader of the three leadership social organizations of the Salako Dayak community. Although this position is said to be high, in everyday life the social status that occupies the role of Pangaroh is still said to be the same as other members of the community. Pangaroh still has to meet the needs of life on their own, either for household needs, farming, or foraging for food. There will be no gifts or services from other community members of a tribute-like nature.

The important function of Pangaroh will appear when there is a traditional meeting or association of community administrators. The role of Pangaroh in the traditional meeting is to

¹⁶ Clarry Sada, Yabit Alas, and Muhammad Anshari, "Indigenous People of Borneo (Dayak): Development, Social Cultural Perspective and Its Challenges," *Cogent Arts and Humanities* 6, no. 1 (2019): 1665936, <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2019.1665936>.

regulate, provide direction and instructions to Panyanokng and Pangaangok. To make a traditional decision or solve problems. As a result of this decision, Pangaroh will be responsible.

Like Pangaroh will ask Pangaangok about when they can start farming. The decision on when to farm will be seen from the position of the rising moon and the position of the stars at night which can only be read by Pangaangok. Based on the results of this Pangaangok vision, Pangaroh will decide when to farm. The results of the decision will be disseminated to other community members through Panyanokng Kaangkong and Pangaangok. If you look at the decision-making flow of the Salako Dayak traditional administrators in the past, the three positions are likened to the relationship between a director and the head of a company. If you look at the hierarchy, it can be said that Pangaroh is above Pangaangok and Panyanokng Kaangkong. This was certainly realized in the past in the Bntang community, Pangaroh was the same as the highest leader and was nicknamed Tuho Tumpuk or Tuho Kampokng (Chairman of the Village).

The position of Pangaangok is sometimes called Oraroh. The function of Pangaangok is as a companion for Pangaroh in deciding something. Information and decisions from Pangaroh will be disseminated directly by Pangaangok door-to-door in the Bntang community. In addition to conveying information, Pangaangok has a duty to ensure that community members accept any results from Pangaroh and who will deal with community members who refuse or even disobey. Therefore, being physically strong is very important in Pangaangok's position because he must be ready to deal with social problems to conflicts both internally and conflicts from other groups. In the decision to farm, Pangaangok who is willing to decide the time even though it will be conveyed first to Pangaroh. Because Pangaangok has knowledge in reading the nature around his environment.

In addition to determining when the farming season is, Pangaangok also decides what collective rituals must be prepared to welcome the farming season. In the old Salako Dayak community, the determination of the field period was determined by Pangaangok who could find the *pate' rookng* star that could be seen from the top of the *pante* (a kind of hallway or open stage in the Bntang House). In addition to the expertise in reading stars, there is also expertise in reading the moon which determines what activities need to be done in the fields later. Like the moon *buotn rayo'* (full moon in the knowledge of the Salako Dayak community) as a marker that the next morning is a good day for activities in the fields.

The position of Pangaangok, who has expertise in reading nature, is called Tuho Tahutn, which is the position of the head of the community who handles the *fracture* (calendar of the period in the farming system or the community agrarian calendar) which is the benchmark for the Salako Dayak community in carrying out cycles in the farming system. There is also the most important role of Pangaangok in Bantang management meetings, namely as the party facilitating the meeting place. Characteristic when a meeting will be held or a new Kupm Bastumian, Pangaangok will prepare *bide-bide*¹⁷ at where he lives, so that in general the only person who has a *bide* in the Salako Dayak community is only the Pangaangok position and that position is often dubbed the Tuho Bide.

¹⁷ This Dayak rug is a sitting mat woven from rattan that is split and finely sharpened and then knitted using tarap bark. Sometimes it is also used for the drying process of rice.

Another function of Pangaangok is to ensure that community activities, especially at ba' ae' events (gotong royong or community service in the fields) can run smoothly and be completed quickly. Also trying to keep the cohesiveness and sense of togetherness among members of the Salako Dayak community well established so that the expenditure of costs and energy that comes out of the community is not too large which can maintain stability in the community. From this role, Pangaangok also has another term as Tuho Ae'otn because it has strength that exceeds the average member of its community or is termed superhuman strength. And also the most important thing is the physical strength of Pangaangok in maintaining or protecting community groups from threats or harassment from outsiders, it is also called Pangalimo or panglima.

The position of Panyanokng Kaangkokng is the position that is considered the most understanding of customs in the Salako Dayak community. This position in addition to understanding how to regulate customs, also knows how to give sanctions based on the type of custom that is violated by the perpetrator. It can be said that Panyanokng Kaangkokng is a spiritual figure with the term priest or Panyangohotn in the Salako Dayak community. If there is a customary violation, it is Panyanokng Kaangkokng who gives or determines sanctions to the perpetrator. Of course, the sanctions will be carried out jointly with Pangaroh and Pangaangok. Violation of adat is a very important issue because it is believed to have an impact on all members of the community group. This affects the balance and harmony between human relationships, humans and nature or humans and spirits, Awo Pamo and Jubata. Therefore, if there is an abnormal situation, it is necessary to adapt it to prevent spiritual sanctions that are considered to be in the form of the disease, crop failure, or natural disasters.

Prudence and fairness are the main assets owned by Panyanokng Kaangkokng because determining customary sanctions or ngadati' must be in accordance with custom. Sanctions may not be excessive or deductible from the prevailing custom. Because Panyanokng Kaangkokng's decision in deciding adat was also judged by other community members. If there is a case that the sanctions given are considered excessive, then the habits of community members will reject it by cursing from within their hearts and believing that the traditional administrators who play the custom will be eaten by the custom itself.¹⁸ According to this belief, it can be in the form of illness, sudden death, difficult fortune, family members, administrators who get misfortune, and other bad luck. Community members do not need to protest or protest against wrongful customary administrators because they believe that unfair sanctions decisions will turn to eat the decision maker, including Panyanokng Kaangkong the traditional judge in the Salako Dayak community in ancient times.

The Leadership of Dayak Salako in the Colonial Period

In 1815, the arrival of the Dutch colonial government brought changes in the social order in all community groups, especially in the West Kalimantan region. Starting from the changes in the sultanate environment that made administrative rules to the new government in regulating the interests of the government to the community. Like starting the categorization of the Dutch colonial government into indigenous groups and foreign groups for communities of Indian and Chinese descent. Each group created, will be led by one person with terms determined by the

¹⁸ Takdir, *Austronesia Dayaka Tentang Kelompok Suku Salako Dayaka Borneo*.

Dutch colonial government itself. Such as the descendants of the Indians led by Tambi, the Chinese led by Lo Thai, the Malays led by Petinggi, and the Dayaks led by the term Head Binuo.¹⁹ This new leadership term also received another term as the Rich People. The term was given from the Malay community to representatives of the Salako Dayak community.

This historical record shows that during the Dutch colonial government there had been a change in a new and foreign social organization with the emergence of the term head of the Binuo leader. The appearance of the head of Binuo shows the changes in social life in the Salako Dayak community. From the form of the Rumah Bantang social organization to the Binuo social organization. In spreading to other Dayak community groups, new leadership terms also emerged such as Binuo Garantukng Sakawokng, Binuo Sango Sakawokng, Binuo Sawak, Binuo Gajekng, Binuo Kayanotn, Binuo Samalagi, Binuo Salako and so on.²⁰ The emergence of the reality of leadership was the result of the formation of the Malay Sultanate which was supported by the Dutch colonial government.

Binuo itself is a form of coordinating body for each Bentang House or village from its territory which functions as a liaison for the administrative needs of the Dutch Colonial government with the Rumah Bentang community in the form of assets, population, and so on. At this moment the leadership pattern which refers to the lifestyle of the Bentang House and farming becomes the leadership that takes care of the administration. The qualities of leaders who can read nature have superhuman traits and spiritual levels and become leaders because of the status given without any specific characteristics attached, only limited to media to connect the main rulers to the groups they control.

In practice, Chief Binuo will be replaced by Singo, who can be said to be the deputy Head of Binuo. Singo itself was also decided by the Malay Sultanate which was already held by the Dutch Colonial government. Singo's role is the person who will directly handle the affairs of the government's interests with the Bentang community. The term Singo also received a special nickname from the Salako Dayak community, namely Tuho Laut. Tuho Laut means Chief of the Sea. Because in the understanding of the Dayak people, Malays can be interpreted as sea people. Because Singo's job was to often meet with government officials, and at that time the majority of those who filled government positions were Malays.

Due to the effect of the emergence of the administrative leadership system, Pangaroh's position was also replaced by Singo's representative. Because Singo serves as a medium between the government and the Rumah Bentang community, Pangaroh is in charge of handling all activities that occur at Rumah Bantang with Pangaangok and Panyanokng Kaangkokng such as customary issues, determining farming times, resolving disputes and all social life. And also ensure that customary issues are not mixed with problems with the government. However, Singo will also be summoned in certain social problems, so that at that time the highest leader in the Salako Dayak community in Rumah Bentang is no longer Pangaroh, but Singo or Tuho Laut.

Chief Binuo himself with his latest title of Rich Man had a double duty in those days. First to help all the interests of the Dutch colonial government in all Bantang communities in its territory and secondly to bring social problems that can be solved by custom. For the Dutch

¹⁹ Marcus Effendy, *Penghancuran PGRS - PARAKU Dan PKI Di Kalimantan Barat*. (Jakarta: PT. Dian Kemilau, 1995).

²⁰ Takdir, *Austronesia Dayaka Tentang Kelompok Suku Salako Dayaka Borneo*.

colonial government itself, the function of the Head of Binuo was considered as a coordinator for the Singos to collect taxes (belasting or ballast) at that time. When viewed by custom, the Head of Binuo is a place to “appeal” in resolving the social problems of the Bntang group which cannot be resolved by custom. The head of Binuo is also a media that can deal directly with other tribal leaders if there is a dispute between different tribes. The organizational structure of the Salako Dayak Leadership during the colonial period can be seen in Figure 2.

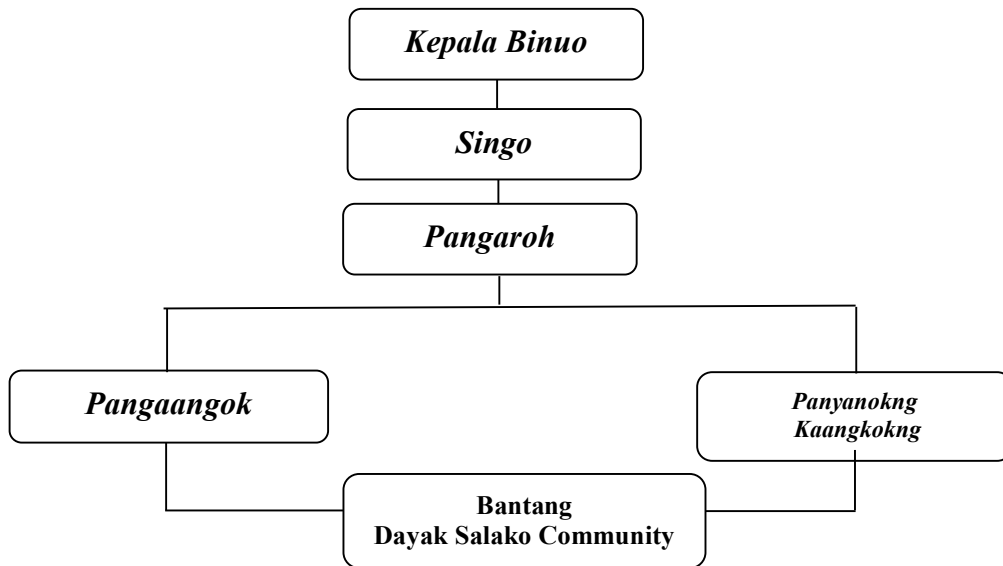


Figure 2. The Salako Dayak leadership organizational structure during the colonial period

The Leadership of Dayak Salako in Modern Era

At present, the needs of the Salako Dayak community in Nyarumkop Village, which are increasingly administrative and require administrative solutions as well, do not necessarily eliminate the roles of local leaders that characterize these community groups. Although the pattern of local leadership that still exists is not as powerful as state leaders and not as high as theirs, there are still selected people who understand customary issues and at least it can provide a sense of security for village community members.

At present, the Salako Dayak community in Nyarumkop Village is more familiar with their traditional administrators with the terms Customary Leaders and Customary Advisors. Both positions still survive as people who have an understanding and responsibility regarding their customary issues. Traditional Leaders and Customary Advisors are not the only terms that are often used by local communities. There is also a term called Temenggung or Katuo Adat or Customary Leaders. The customary leader is an impartial community leader when he mediates in solving a problem and is not impartial in making decisions, the position of the adat leader is very strategic because the adat leader exercises the rights, authority, and customs in carrying out his responsibilities in community development.²¹ According to the researcher's analysis, although the language is still local, there are already mixed elements from outside cultures. At least for the

²¹ Dedy Irawan, “Kepemimpinan Kepala Adat Dalam Mempertahankan Gotong Royong Masyarakat Adat Dayak Wehea Di Desa Nehes Liah Bing Kecamatan Muara Wahau,” *EJournal Pemerintahan Integratif* 5, no. 4 (2017): 591–600, http://ejournal.pin.or.id/site/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/pin_dedi_11-14-17-09-52-17.

understanding of local language researchers, the head of the Salako Dayak community is Pangaroh, a truly original term from local knowledge that has not been mixed with knowledge from outside the Salako Dayak culture.

The task of the Salako Dayak Customary Leader in Nyarumkop Village at this time must be shared with other heads such as the Village Head. Indigenous leaders derive their authority and legitimacy from unwritten local customary laws and practices.²² The role of the traditional leader is still the same as that of the Pangaroh leader as before, as a social role in charge of carrying out his social tasks without any wages. The information was conveyed by the Customary Chief of Nyarumkop Village, Mr. Markilanus Madu Kusuma. According to information, the current function of the Customary Chief is to maintain the situation and conditions in the village community, so they are required to have a deep understanding of customary issues. Besides being able to be a leader during traditional rituals. The traditional leader is a form of informal leader pattern that has objective and subjective qualities that allow him to become a leader who reaches a position by influencing the behavior and actions of a community group, even though he does not get a formal appointment as a leader.²³

In carrying out the process, the Customary Chief will be accompanied by a Customary Advisor. The Customary Advisor is tasked with ensuring that what the Customary Chief does is in accordance with the Salako Dayak customary basis and also provides input so that the Customary Chief can wisely make decisions and even determine customary sanctions. Judging from this information, the role of the traditional leader who must be accompanied by a customary advisor is similar to the relationship between Pangaroh, Panyanokng Kaanngkong and Pangaangok. The role of local leaders generally cannot be taken for granted in determining a decision. The customary leader has a position that can influence the community, regulate the order of community life, and is able to accept and realize the aspirations of the community which will greatly help in the administration of a village gove.²⁴

Especially in this modern era because the people who live in Nyarumkop Village are not all Salako Dayaks. There are residents from outside the Salako Dayak who also live and live together. The Customary Leaders and Customary Advisors also understand that not all residents living in their villages can be adat. Mr. Markilanus Madu Kusuma is aware that there are customs that can be passed on to people outside the Salako Dayak. It was given if the problem was related to one of the residents of Nyarumkop Village who came from the Salako Dayak. But if there is a problem in Nyarumkop Village and it is not related to the Salako Dayak people, then the problem needs to be formally resolved or a state institution will take care of it, such as the Village Head or Kelurahan.

In traditional ceremonies and original rituals of the Salako Dayak, the role of the traditional leader becomes very important, because he is the person who knows best how the process of a ritual event is carried out and who knows the mantra. In this task, the figure of the Customary Chief is not only a social leader but also a spiritual leader. There is a different change from the

²² Tinashe Chigwata, "The Role of Traditional Leaders in Zimbabwe: Are They Still Relevant?," *Law, Democracy & Development* 20, no. 1 (August 2016): 69, <https://doi.org/10.4314/ldd.v20i1.4>.

²³ Nur Aedah, "Peran Dan Fungsi Kepemimpinan Informal Dalam Pemerintahan Kampung Di Kampung Waena Kota Jayapura," *Jurnal Ekologi Birokrasi* 5, no. 3 (2017): 1–10.

²⁴ Aprilia Umbase, "Peran Lembaga Adat Ratumbanua Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemerintahan Di Desa Taturan Kecamatan Gemeh Kabupaten Kepulauan Talaud," *Jurnal Eksekutif* 1, no. 1 (2017).

local leadership of the Salako Dayak in the past, where the ritual leader is attached to the role of Panyanokng Kaanngkong.

Because of the function of the traditional leader as a ritual leader, the election of the adat leader cannot be arbitrary. Candidates who will carry out this position must look at it from a social and spiritual perspective. Even though it was the Head of Binuo who chose the Customary Chief, the names of the candidates to be chosen had gone through a long deliberation. The people of Nyarumkop Village see that a candidate for a traditional leader must look at his lineage. The community believes that although all Salako Dayak people in Nyarumkop Village have the right to submit their names to the Binuo Head to be elected to Adat, the candidate must be descended from the previous Customary Chief.

In the knowledge of the community, the characteristics of traditional leaders are believed to be passed on to their children, so that the people who fill these positions should not be arbitrary and must come from the descendants of a traditional leader as well. This shows that there is knowledge of hierarchical descent in Salako Dayak society today. Knowledge that is not described in the form of life of the Salako Dayak community in the past, which is still characterized by the Bntang community. This is because the Dayak community does not recognize the concept of special descent, because everyone has the opportunity to have the same rights and obligations. But now the modern Salako Dayak community has embraced the knowledge that there are special breeds that can fill important roles in their area.

"People used to say that only people who have descendants of a leader can become the leader of this region" (Pak Madu Kusuma).

The current chart of the structure of the social organization in the Salako Dayak community in Nyarumkop Village is the result of information provided by the informant of the Customary Chief, Pak Madu Kusuma (See Figure 3). According to him, it is not customary for people to make pictures showing such a chart and they do not need to make such chart information. Only village offices are sufficient to create this kind of information structure, the status of the Customary Chief is not a high status.

Unlike the Village Head and Lurah, who will definitely get respect from the community and get an economic increase from their monthly salaries during their tenure. The Customary Chief is not a position that can provide a monthly salary. No salary is given to people who hold the position of Customary Chief in Nyarumkop Village. Customary leaders as traditional leaders of Nyarumkop Village have the awareness that they serve as a form of activity to serve their village so that customs can run according to their realm. They must be ready 24 hours to go anywhere if there are problems or customary disputes that occur in Nyarumkop Village. Thus, the customary leader will be respected when there is a traditional event because of his charismatic nature.

According to Kartodirjo, informal leaders tend to be categorized as charismatic leader, where the leader is considered to have extraordinary powers given by his ancestors and certainly not possessed by others.²⁵ Charismatic leadership is a person's ability to lead by gaining respect

²⁵ Tya Sonia and Sarwititi Sarwoprasodjo, "Peran Lembaga Adat Dalam Pelestarian Budaya Masyarakat Adat Kampung Naga, Desa Neglasari, Kecamatan Salawu, Tasikmalaya," *Jurnal Sains Komunikasi Dan Pengembangan Masyarakat [JSKPM]* 4, no. 1 (2020): 113–24, <https://doi.org/10.29244/jskpm.4.1.113-124>.

and obedience from his followers towards him. Kartodirjo also stated that charismatic leaders have the ability to make their followers obey their opinions, this is because their followers believe that a leader is destined to be their leader. Charismatic leaders not only have the ability to lead to power, but also fight for the general welfare, such as upholding justice and maintaining the safety of followers or citizens.

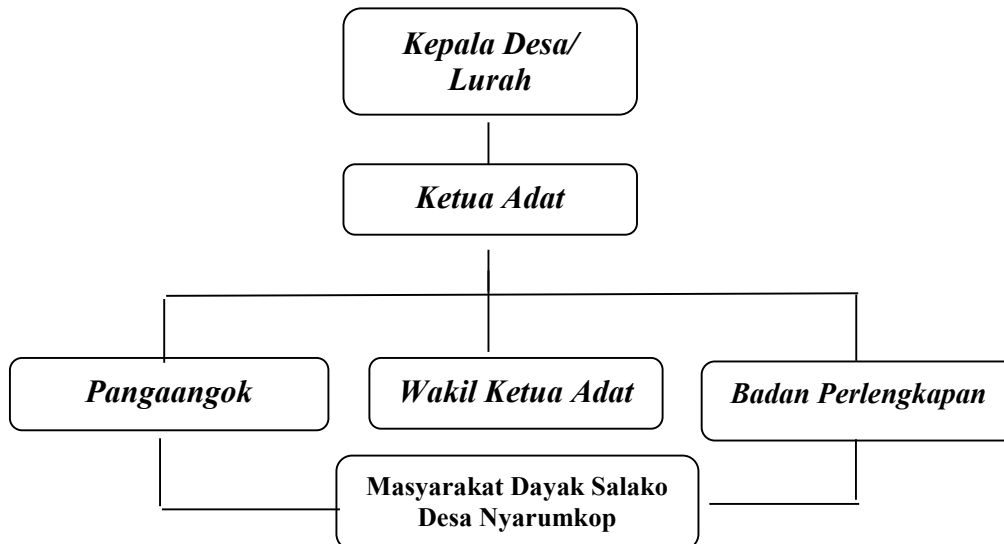


Figure 3. The current Salako Dayak leadership organizational structure

At present (Figure 3), the Salako Dayak social organization system in Nyarumkop Village also has the role of a deputy chairman. But the position of vice chairman in this system is not the same as in formal organizations. Unlike the head of a formal organization when a chairman will be appointed with the vice chairman and they both work together in running their institution. The role of the deputy traditional chief in Nyarumkop Village was originally in a vacant position that could be filled by anyone. And those who fill the role of deputy chief of adat can only be directly elected by the adat chief himself.

This is because the position of vice chairman of adat is to replace the position of the adat leader at certain events if the adat leader is unable to attend. In other words, this position appears at any time when the Customary Leader needs it. If the Customary Chief was able to attend the event that he was invited to, then the position of the Customary Deputy Chief would be vacant and would be considered non-existent. According to the results of Mr. Madu Kusuma's own presentation, the people he tends to choose to take his place are the advisers. Mr. Madu himself is also considering what event to represent. If it is a discussion or problem solving, then Pak Madu will choose an advisor who understands customary issues. But if at a ritual event, the chosen person must also be familiar with the event, so the determination of the deputy chairman who is always empty will depend on the type of event.

In addition to the deputy head of adat, Pak Madu also stated that there was a Equipment Agency in his leadership organization. The function of this equipment body is also the same as the deputy chairman needed by the Customary Chief in carrying out his function as a Customary controller in Nyarumkop Village. The equipment bodies themselves are Village people who can store or still have items used in certain events. Such as musical instruments gongs and tools for

traditional meeting needs. The Customary Leader realizes that not all important equipment is owned by him. The people who own or keep these special items are indeed their ownership rights obtained from the inheritance of previous generations who were also traditional leaders. Not only traditional tools, modern tools that are important are also needed in meetings but are not owned by the Customary Leader such as a sound system. In other words, the Equipment Agency is people who are willing to lend their equipment to be used as equipment at a certain meeting or ritual event.

..... if it's the Binuo Chief's job to appoint, and dismiss the Customary Chief, the condition is that he has to be brave. That's good at reading spells, good at rituals and native to the Salako Dayak. Even if there is a combination of blood from other ethnic groups, such as his mother, he cannot enter into the traditional committee. Because this Dayak adheres to the blood system of patrilial parents. But if the father is a Dayak and can read rituals, yes, you can. Furthermore, he must be able to speak Indonesian, he must be good at reading and must be domiciled locally. For example, if he is from Nyarumkop, he must be from Nyarumkop, if in Panjitan, he must be in Panjintan. This is to make services easier (Pak Marsianus Kodim, Head of Binuo).

There is no change in the election of the Customary Chief at present. The same as in the past when determining Pangaroh, to determine the new Customary Chief based on the results of the community's choice. Each member of the community can determine potential candidates to become candidates for the previous Customary Chief. The main factor to become a candidate must be known close to the community with its charismatic nature. Charismatic leaders not only have the ability to lead to power but also fight for the general welfare, such as upholding justice and maintaining the safety of followers/citizens. In addition, it is also believed to know all traditional affairs and even spells when carrying out traditional rituals.

According to Marsianus Kodim, the election of the Customary Chief is not determined by a majority vote system. There is a traditional ritual process that must be done first, namely Nanur. The candidates for the Adat Chief will be met at a certain place, and the event will be guided by the Head of Binuo as a judge, who decides whether the result of the determination of the Customary Chief is valid or not according to tradition so that the decision of the Head of Binuo decides not from the person, but from the results of the ritual.

..... tanung is seen first and conveyed to Jubata whether this A can be entitled to become the Customary Chief who takes care of the village or not. So, if the result of the tanung determines whether or not it will be 3 times, it means that Jubata doesn't want to. We do the second process, if A Si B gets 3 times, it means he's done. Yes, being the Customary Chief is not like choosing the RT, it's not like choosing the mayor or the village head. So there is a ritual of reading a prayer to Jubata, Jubata chooses through the intermediary of the Head of Binuo (Pak Marsianus Kodim).

Based on the statement of the Head of Binuo, the decision to determine the Customary Leader is not based on the choice of humans to other humans. But the results are left to what happens when the election ritual takes place. Whatever the outcome would be Jubata's decision, and Chief Binuo would decide from the human side. It turns out that both the Head of Binuo and the Indigenous Leader of the Salako Dayak community in Nyarumkop Village have a duration in

their leadership period. It could be for 3 years, 5 years, 7 years and it could be more if community members are satisfied with the services of these leaders. The odd number of years is also due to the sacredness of the Salako Dayak community to odd numbers.

Conclusion

The Salako Dayak community is one of the community groups who have cultural knowledge of social organizations that continue to develop. Starting from when he was still living in the Rumah Bentang group to having their own houses with various land areas and vehicles. Starting from the leadership of Pangaroh, then the position of the Head of Binuo emerged as a result of cultural contact with the Malay and Dutch communities and is now better known as the Customary Chief.

The position of the traditional leader is still maintained because the Salako Dayak people still practice their traditional activities. Salako Dayak traditional events still refer to their traditional form of religion. But that doesn't mean the local belief still exists. People's beliefs have embraced a modern religion recognized by the Government and are also still practicing events that have released religious elements and turned into ordinary events. The legacy of Austronesian knowledge from the Neolithic period is actually still felt in the traditional religious ritual practices of the Salako Dayak, such as offerings that are systematically arranged in worshipping Jubato, Amo Pamo, and other spirits.

Changes in the pattern of leadership in the Salako Dayak community are not only due to the understanding of the people who are familiar with the administrative system. But because there is a change in the way of life of the Salako Dayak community. When the Salako Dayak community still lived with farming systems and lived above the Bentang House, the group was easy to manage by a Pangaroh. Continuing when the Salako Dayak group became acquainted with groups outside the Dayak, the Salako Dayak group also experienced changes. One of them began to recognize the concept of living in a private house, no longer living communally in the Bentang House, making Pangaroh's role even more difficult, plus another task to collect assets. And at this time the Customary Chief, apart from taking care of customary issues in the village, is also a medium in delivering information and policies from local and central governments.

The importance of the role and relevance of the Customary Leaders still persists to this day, namely in the modern era. Some of the roles of the existing traditional leaders are no longer the same as they used to be, but with the development of the times, the structure and roles of the traditional leaders are also trying to be more dynamic and adapt to the development of the community. Changes that exist and occur in society will never disappear and will continue to exist from time to time, but this is also the same as the role and function of the Customary Leader. The existence of changes such as making the Customary Leaders can still survive and remain relevant in the indigenous community until now.

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