



Looking-Glass Self: The Construction of Dayak Identity among Dayak Student Artists at Santo Paulus Pontianak High School

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A B S T R A C T

This research aims to explain the construction of Dayak identity of Santo Paulus Pontianak high school students, who are active as ethnic Dayak artists, when they conduct looking-glass self or dialogue with themselves. Learners are faced with the politicisation of ethnic identity that often occurs in West Kalimantan. The politicisation of ethnic identity is due to the construction of in group and out group identities. Learners who are active as ethnic artists are considered to have an understanding of their identity, so they can explain the construction of identity. This research is qualitative. The research subjects were 10 Dayak ethnic artist learners. Data collection was conducted in January - March 2024. The results of the looking-glass self construction of Dayak identity are influenced by (1) practical politics; (2) mystical stories; (3) history of ethnic conflict; (4) life that depends on nature; and (5) customary law or customs. The construction of this identity contains problems, namely (1) it does not utilise cultural views; (2) it lacks historical breadth; and (3) it closes many of the riches of Dayak identity. This research is important because the politicisation of identity still occurs frequently. There needs to be an effort to understand these various identities so that identity construction is not easily trapped in practical political interests.

A. INTRODUCTION

Archaeology unearths the story of Homo Sapiens who started the politicisation of identity by making Homo Neanderthals as opponents, one hundred thousand years ago. History writes of identity politicisation as the reason for the infighting in the fertile region of Mesopotamia three thousand years ago. Inland Borneo groups with hundreds of complex identities fighting each other managed to stop the politicisation of identity between them, 120 years ago (1894), through the Tumbang Anoi agreement. However, 80 years ago (1945), the "Dayak Union" was again wallowing in identity politicisation.

Mitchel Vinco, Nana Supriatna, and Agus Mulyana found that the politicisation of identity, especially ethnic identity, still occurs in everyday life in West Kalimantan and even in education. (Vinco et al., 2019). The discovery confirms Syarif Ibrahim Alqadrie's working hypothesis that West Kalimantan is a laboratory of ethnic conflict. In a 30-year cycle, there is always a large-scale ethnic conflict in the area. (Alqadrie, 2011; Zakiyah, 2017).

In the Indonesian context, identity politicisation is readily observed during general elections, regional elections (*pilkada*), and even village head elections. The General Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu), in its publications of the Electoral Vulnerability Index (Indeks Kerawanan Pemilu/IKP) for 2019 and 2024, continues to include socio-cultural vulnerability as one of its core indicators (Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum, 2018, 2023).

This concern became evident during the 2019 presidential race between Joko Widodo–Ma’ruf Amin and Prabowo Subianto–Sandiaga Uno, which significantly intensified identity-based political tensions in Indonesia (Abadi et al., 2023; Ardipandanto, 2020; Puskapol UI, 2019).

In a more localised context, West Kalimantan Province ranked third in the 2018 Election Vulnerability Index (IKP) behind Papua and Maluku (Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum, 2017). However, the level of political contestation vulnerability is the highest with an index of 3.48, compared to Maluku 3.15 and Papua 3.12. In this dimension of contestation, there are indicators of identity politicisation, namely ethnic and religious politicisation. This was evident on 29 June 2018 when there were protests against the quick count results of the Governor and Deputy Governor elections, causing hundreds of people to flee from Landak Regency (Eddy, 2018; KumparanNews, 2018). In the 2019 Presidential and Vice Presidential Elections, there were also protests against the quick count results which resulted in two police posts in Pontianak City being burned by the masses (CNN Indonesia, 2019; Wismabrata & Khairina, 2019). Although in the IKP 2024 report West Kalimantan is not included as a high vulnerability area, the socio-cultural vulnerability factor, namely identity politicisation, still colours Bawaslu's measurements.

To a lesser extent, student and youth brawls often have a background of group fanaticism or identity. Data on

child violence, including victims of brawls, is still in the hundreds based on data from the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia, 2023), and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak, 2024), cases of child violence, including those resulting from such brawls, still number in the hundreds. Although no cases of identity politicisation were found among West Kalimantan teenagers, the issue of identity politicisation has become a discussion among teenagers. (Vinco et al., 2019).

Indications of rampant identity politicisation in West Kalimantan can be seen based on data from the National Unity and Political Unity Agency (Kesbangpol), there are mass organisations with the following ethnic identities: Dayak 13 organisations, Malay 9, Chinese 4, Madurese 4, Bugis 3, Batak 3, Javanese 1, and NTT 1 (Badan Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik Provinsi Kalimantan Barat, 2023). Meanwhile, religious identity is as follows: Islam 19 organisations, Protestant Christian 10 (5 churches and 5 organisations), and Catholic Christian 5. This research will focus on the construction of Dayak ethnic identity. Table 1 shows several community organisations that use Dayak identity. Some organisations can be suspected of being affiliated with Dayak identity.

Table 1.
Ethnic Dayak Community Organisations

No	Name of Dayak Organisation	Field	Manager
1.	Ikatan Pelajar dan Mahasiswa Dayak U'ud Danum Kalimantan Barat	Non-Governmental Organisations	Yakob Udu, Margareta Heri, Yulia Sentosa.
2.	Lembaga Pembangunan Rumah Adat Dayak Kalimantan Barat	Non-Governmental Organisations	Herman Ivo, Laurensius Salem, Eusabinus Bunau.
3.	Dewan Adat Dayak Kalimantan Barat	Activity Similarity	Cornelis, Ibrahim Banson, Michael Jenö.
4.	Majelis Adat Dayak Nasional Kalimantan Barat	Activity Similarity	Jakius Sinyor, Keping, Frans Nazarius.
5.	Lembaga Persatuan Pemuda Dayak Kalimantan Barat	Activity Similarity	Erwin, Asian Maiki Green, Noven Suroto.
6.	Forum Komunikasi Mahasiswa Pemuda dan Pelajar Dayak Ketapang	Activity Similarity	Laurensius Yadin, Polonius, Alescandra.
7.	Ikatan Pemuda Dayak Kapuas Hulu	Youth	Oktavianus Shelin Panaloan, Hoya Lorg Alexander, Meinardus Bosco.
8.	Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat Dayak Palnters	Yayasan/ Perkumpulan	Hendri Kakenang Saad, Jinto, Veronika.
9.	Pemuda Dayak Kalimantan Barat	Youth	Stevanus Febyan Babaro, Febrianus Kori, Srilinus Lino.
10.	Ikatan Cendekiawan Dayak Nasional Kalimantan Barat	Activity Similarity	Hamid Darmadi, Yulius Yohanes, Regina.
11.	Tariu Borneo Bangkule Rajakng	Foundation/ Association	Agustinus, Amandus Yonatan, Arsoni Andana Sitio.
12.	Garda Borneo	Foundation/ Association	David Owen Downen, Antonius, Iyen.

13.	Satria Borneo Raya	Social	Agustinus, Ambong, Indrianus.	Lorensius
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Sources: (Badan Kesatuan Bangsa dan Politik Provinsi Kalimantan Barat, 2023)

The existence of identity politicisation requires identity consciousness. A person then realises their identity is different from other identities, there is an in-group and out-group (Soekanto, 2010; Sunarto, 2004). So without the identity of a person and group, there is no politicisation of identity. At this time, there are more social identities scattered. The worst case scenario is that the various social identities will experience violent conflict. However, the best hope is that the various social identities will synergize and complement each other.

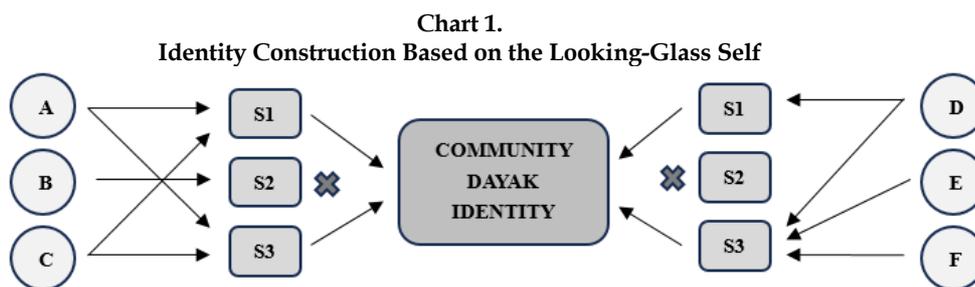
Since the 1980s, the discussion of social identity has been synonymous with Henri Tajfel and John Turner's *Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior* (McKeown et al., 2016; Tajfel & Turner, 2004; Trepte & Loy, 2017). In summary, their opinions are: 1) social categorisation i.e. a person is exposed to various social groups; 2) social identification i.e. a person adopts the values of the group; 3) social comparison i.e. a person compares himself with other groups; 4) in-group (us) and out-group (them) are formed; 5) positive characteristics are formed i.e. a person builds characteristics to be different from other groups. Charles Horton Cooley's opinion to pay attention to a person's subjective awareness or free will in giving creative reactions to group values (Ritzer, 2021; Ritzer & Smart, 2018). Clifford Geertz in *The Interpretation of Culture* says the task of cultural scientists is to interpret the meaning behind social action (Geertz, 1992; Mirza, 2016). Humans live in a culture that is intertwined with webs of meaning. A personalised and in-depth approach is the way to understand cultural meaning. This research considers most of the opinions of the social definition paradigm (Poloma, 2013; Ritzer, 2021) and/or cultural interpretation theory (Geertz, 1992; Koentjaraningrat, 2014a, 2014b).

According to Mead, to study a person's social action, in this research is the construction of Dayak identity, the researcher is obliged to understand the background of

the meaning that a person considers (Coleman, 2019; Ritzer & Smart, 2018). These meanings are qualified by symbols (Soekanto, 2010; Sunarto, 2004; Umiarso & Elbadiansyah, 2014). Mead argues that a person is born free to face various identity symbols. A person can choose to be part of the Dayak ethnic identity because they agree with the Dayak symbol. However, that person remains a free creative subject. He can reject, get angry, be rude, convince himself, and compromise on identity. In the last stage, a person will think, or rather dialogue with himself, to perform social actions in the future.

This process of dialogue with oneself is what Cooley calls the looking-glass self or the process of reflecting on oneself (Poloma, 2013; Ritzer, 2021; Umiarso & Elbadiansyah, 2014). When looking in the mirror, a person realises that he can see himself, but also realises he can be seen by others. At this stage, there is an imaginative dialogue with the self that is full of meaning.

Up to this point, symbolic interactionism theory has not been able to explain Dayak ethnic identity, because it still focuses on a person. Blumer in his work *Mind, Self, and Society* emphasises the last step after the looking-glass self process, namely society (Poloma, 2013; Ritzer, 2021; Umiarso & Elbadiansyah, 2014). According to him, society is a complex social interaction of various symbols full of meaning (Coleman, 2019; Sunarto, 2004). This view is very much in line with Geertz's view of cultural interpretation. In his opinion, culture is not a material product, social system, or social fact but a meaning system full of symbols (Geertz, 1992; Koentjaraningrat, 2014b). Society can only exist when social interactions exchange appropriate symbols. Conversely, when the symbols conflict, chaos will be created. In chart 1 each person A-F has various symbolic views, namely S1, S2, S3. Society is formed from the fusion of various views that are in harmony, namely S1 and S3.



Various studies have been conducted to explain Dayak ethnic identity. Kristianus concluded that the formation of Dayak ethnic identity in West Kalimantan was strongly influenced by the spread of Catholicism (Kristianus, 2022). The names of the population with Christian characteristics, the preservation of arts, especially music and dance, and the use of local languages in worship are evidence of this. Zaenuddin Hudi Prasajo concluded that the Dayak Katab Kebahan, in West Kalimantan, chose to maintain their Dayak identity even though they are predominantly Muslim (Prasajo, 2011). Pride in their Dayak identity makes them refuse to identify themselves as Malay. Similar conclusions were made by Abdul Halim,

Abdul Basyid, and Prihananto, who found that the Dayak ethnic group refused to leave their identity as Dayak because they converted to Islam (Halim et al., 2021). Fatmawati saw that the Bidayuh Dayak in West Kalimantan experienced a symbiotic relationship of mutualism with Malaysian citizens in the Indonesia-Malaysia border area (Fatmawati, 2018). Herwin Sutrisno et al. found cultural acculturation between Dayak Ngaju and Balinese transmigrants in Basarang Jaya Village, Central Kalimantan. This was due to the compatibility of the Dayak Kaharingan religion with Balinese Hinduism (Sutrisno et al., 2019). Lena Selvia and Sunarso look at the differences and similarities between the Dayak and Banjar tribes in South Kalimantan, according to them the ancestors

of the two tribes are the same but Banjar is synonymous with Islam (Selvia & Sunarso, 2020). Didi Susanto et al. explained that the negative view of Dayaks towards Madurese in the 2001 Sampit conflict was due to cultural differences and economic disparities (Susanto et al., 2017). Anyualatha Haridison et al. identified changes in modern Dayak ethnic identity driven by political competition. The desire to outperform other ethnicities has made the sporadic Dayak identity movement turn into an organised one (Haridison et al., 2024). Zaenuddin Hudi Prasajo sees dynamic identity change in West Kalimantan, mainly due to the current identity consciousness of the Tidayu group, namely Chinese, Dayak, Malay, and Malay (Prasajo, 2017). Clarry Sada et al. argue that Dayak people are still less competitive in accessing technology, education, employment, business opportunities, and political activities (Sada et al., 2019). Niko et al. examined the activities of Dayak Benawan women who in their daily lives can maintain the wisdom of local traditions in managing the environment (Niko et al., 2024). Irmalini Syafrita and Mukhamad Murdiono argue that the Dayak tribe has strong solidarity ties, one of which is characterized by the existence of the Gawai tradition in West Kalimantan (Syafrita & Murdiono, 2020).

This research considers the paradigm of social definition or cultural interpretation as lacking in the attempt to understand Dayak ethnic identity. The social facts about the existence of identity-minded mass organisations and the strong politicisation of identity in West Kalimantan seem to indicate the stability of identity. However, at the personal level, identity construction is still in motion. Some of the findings in this study show that the construction of Dayak identity is still not established. Personal considerations facilitated by the paradigm of social definition and social interpretation become the original voice of humanity. It crosses the great boundaries of the fact that Dayak identity is used in practical politics. The purpose of this research is through the looking-glass self approach or dialogue with oneself, students of SMA Santo Paulus Pontianak, who are active as ethnic artists, can explain the construction of Dayak identity.

This research is important to do because the politicisation of identity still occurs frequently. There needs to be an effort to understand these various identities so that the construction of identity is not easily trapped in pragmatic and opportunistic interests. The selection of the younger generation is because Generation Z (Gen Z) is known as the absorber of popular information. So that this research can be an alternative picture of the future of Dayak identity. Thus, this research poses the problem: "How is the construction of Dayak identity through the looking-glass self on ethnic artists at Santo Paulus Pontianak High School?"

B. METHOD

This research is a qualitative study with a phenomenological design (Creswell, 2015; Moleong, 2019). Phenomenology focuses on the subjective experience, meaning, and interpretation of social phenomena, namely Dayak identity. The in-depth meaning of the research subject's self according to the purpose of the social definition paradigm and or cultural interpretation. A unique step of phenomenological design is bracketing or debunking. In this study, it was done with a very open main question, namely "What is Dayak?"

The research was conducted from January to March 2024 at SMA Santo Paulus Pontianak, West Kalimantan. This school was selected because it is known as a leading school in local art activities. The research subjects were ten students of SMA Santo Paulus Pontianak who were purposively selected. The selection was based on: 1) having one or both parents claiming Dayak ethnicity; 2) being active as Dayak art activists. The selection of Dayak arts activists was based on the consideration that they often interact with Dayak identity.

Data collection was based on an open-ended main question, 'What is Dayak?' The researcher kept the subject's attention with several question scenarios. The questions were: 1) If you went to university outside Kalimantan, and your new friend asked you 'What is Dayak?', what would you answer? 2) What are the characteristics of Dayak people that distinguish them from other ethnicities? 3) What do you think are the advantages, strengths or positives of the Dayak people? 4) What do you think are the disadvantages, disadvantages, or negatives of the Dayak people? 5) Do you think the natural environment of Kalimantan where the Dayak people live has been damaged? 6) Tell me about any important history/events in the past involving the Dayak ethnicity? 7) Name a famous figure or person from Dayak ethnicity?

Data reduction was carried out by grouping subjects' answers based on recurring categories. If the subject's answer repeats more than once, it will be accepted as meaningful data. However, there are some data that only came out once that are still considered meaningful. It was categorised as a unique finding because it became a theme in the discussion (tables 6-9).

Data presentation and conclusion drawing were conducted by comparing the findings in the tables with the support of quantitative scoring. Several interview excerpts were selected to reinforce the meanings found in the tables. The findings were then interpreted based on theoretical literature.

C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The first research subject, Lim Fit Liu (Aliu), 16 years old, dancer. Her father is Chinese. His mother is Dayak Mali and Dayak Tobak, Sanggau Regency. Second, Dominiko Marselo Reybel (Ebel), 16 years old, musician. His father is Chinese and Dayak Tabun, Sekadau Regency. His mother is Dayak Mualang, Sekadau Regency. Third, Reivan Marvelin (Marvel), 15 years old, musician. His father and mother are Dayak Ahe, Landak Regency. Fourth, Gabriella Agiata (Gaby), 15 years old, dancer and musician. Her father and mother are Dayak Ahe, Landak Regency. Fifth, Wily Brodus Marcello (Wily), 16 years old, musician. His father and mother are Dayak Suwawit, Kapuas Hulu Regency. Sixth, Davallyn Adreno (Dava), 16 years old, musician. His father is Dayak Kanayan and Chinese, Landak District. His mother is Dayak Kanayan, Landak Regency. Seventh, Jennifer Christin Olivia (Jeni), 17, dancer. Her father is Dayak Taman, Kapuas Hulu district. Her mother is Dayak Kalis, Kapuas Hulu district. Eighth, Febrianti Arini Kele (Kele), 17 years old, dancer. Her father and mother are Dayak Sekayu, Ketapang Regency. Ninth, Fransiska Okta Oliviana (Okta), 17 years old, dancer. Her father and mother are Dayak Kerambai, Sanggau Regency. Tenth, Vlasida Dhango Christeva (Teva), 17 years old, dancer. Her

father and mother are Dayak Kanayan or Ahe, Landak Regency.

1. What is Dayak?

The research subjects were conditioned to an imagination, namely when they would later study outside

Kalimantan. Then they got questions from new friends about "What is Dayak?". The following are the results obtained:

Table 2.
Data Reduction "What is Dayak?"

No	Looking-Glass Self	Research Subjects (Number)
1.1.	Ethnic Dayak is one of the indigenous tribes of Kalimantan.	Ebel, Marvel, Dava, Jeni, Kele. (5)
1.2.	Dayak ethnicity has many ethnic sub-groups.	Aliu, Marvel, Dava, Jeni, Teva. (5)
1.3.	Dayak people live side by side with nature.	Aliu, Gaby, Wily, Dava, Okta, Kele, Teva. (7)
1.4.	The Dayak people honour the customs of their ancestors.	Gaby, Wily, Okta, Teva. (4)
1.5.	Ethnic Dayaks have been involved in inter-ethnic conflicts.	Okta, Kele. (2)

Some interview results:

"Dayak is not just one but many sub-tribes. Other tribes are Javanese, Javanese only. Dayak has more than a hundred tribes. I remember Bakatik is Bengkayang, Kanayan is me, then Dayak Iban, Dayak Mualang, and many more." (Dava 1)

"Dayak is a tribe that believes in their ancestors. Dayak people like to be in the natural environment, protecting the forest, because the forest is their wealth." (Gaby 1)

"The indigenous tribe of Kalimantan, you could say it's kind of scary, because many people say they often kill

people. Like the red army (stereotype of the Borneo Bangkule Rajakng). Can survive in the forest, survive in the forest, close to nature." (Kele 1)

2. Dayak Distinctive Feature

The research subjects were asked to formulate some characteristics of Dayak ethnicity that distinguish it from other ethnicities. The following are the results obtained:

Table 3.
Data Reduction "Dayak Distinctive Characteristics"

No	Looking-Glass Self	Research Subjects (Number)
2.1.	Dayak ethnicity has many ethnic subgroups: There are hundreds of languages, tribal names, and scattered in various locations of Kalimantan.	Aliu, Ebel, Marvel, Wily, Kele, Okta. (6)
2.2.	Dayak people live side by side with nature: They live simply, utilise nature, and use technology from nature.	Aliu, Ebel, Marvel, Gaby, Wily, Dava, Jeni, Kele, Okta. (9)
2.3.	The Dayak people honour the customs of their ancestors: They enforce customary laws, practice arts (musical instruments, tattoos, plaits, beads, long ears), food/drink (pork, salai, pekasam, arak, tuak), often drink alcohol.	Aliu, Ebel, Marvel, Gaby, Wily, Dava, Jeni, Kele, Okta, Teva. (10)
2.4.	Ethnic Dayaks have been involved in conflicts: He is brave/fierce/assertive, has magic (invulnerability, tariu, flying mandau, skull).	Ebel, Marvel, Gaby, Dava, Jeni, Kele, Teva. (7)
2.5.	The Dayak people are friendly, polite and gentle.	Aliu, Ebel, Teva. (3)
2.6.	The Dayak people have strong group ties: Gotong royong, group fanaticism (protecting each other).	Aliu, Dava, Okta, Teva. (4)

Some interview results:

"Use the local language, there are many languages. The lifestyle is simple, as it is, using the surroundings from

nature. It is still thick with customs, they rarely go to the medical, they go to the shaman and to the ancestors. Predominantly in groups, bathing together in the river, cooking together, watching TV together." (Aliu 1)

"One has to do with hornbills, which are only found in Kalimantan. My uncle had long ears and was given earrings. There is a traditional ceremony of carrying a mandau sword. There is traditional music, red, orange and black clothes. There is a dance, a typical Dayak shout. When dancing and playing music, they often shout danceu (war cry to summon the spirit of the ancestors). (Marvel 1)

"Friendly, almost every street (in the village) there must be someone they call, even if they don't know, they

still smile, excuse me, plus pleasantries. The custom is strong, if you want to go far, you must leave yellow rice with your mum. Tattoos, earrings, (from) former hunters, or have great-grandparents. Brave, assertive, not afraid, maybe his ancestors were brave so that we who are still young must dare to calm ourselves (if disturbed)." (Teva 1)

3. Positive Representations of Dayak Identity

The research subjects were asked to formulate advantages, greatness, or positive things about Dayak. The following are the results obtained

Table 4.

"Positive Representations of Dayak Identity" Data Reduction 3.

No	Looking-Glass Self	Research Subjects (Number)
3.1.	Dayak ethnicity has many sub-groups	Wily, Jeni. (2)
3.2.	Dayak people live side by side with nature: They live simply, manage nature sustainably, hunt and gather.	Aliu, Ebel, Wily, Dava, Jeni, Okta, Teva. (7)
3.3.	The Dayak people honour the customs of their ancestors: They are devout in their prayers, customary rituals, customary laws, arts, food and drink.	Aliu, Ebel, Marvel, Gaby, Dava, Okta, Kele, Teva. (8)
3.4.	Ethnic Dayaks have been involved in conflicts: They are brave, resolute, battle-hardened, powerful.	Ebel, Wily, Dava, Jeni, Okta. (5)
3.5.	Dayak people are friendly and light-hearted.	Gaby, Okta, Kele, Teva. (4)
3.6.	The Dayak people have strong group ties: Gotong royong, group fanaticism (protecting each other).	Aliu, Marvel, Jeni, Kele. (4)

Some interview results:

"Compact, if one person is wrong, his friends still defend him, many of them. Working in the village is also compact, planting rice does not need to be paid, later we go to their fields too. Obedient, (if you violate) given adat, this one is a nightmare, once ordered no one can walk. Not stingy, (what is available) is shared, there is no affection (for one's own possessions), (if) he never gives me, (but I never even) think about it" (Kele 2).

"No fear, many brave stories, Dayak people fighting Madurese, brave, good. Strange but unique food, processed from plants, pigs, bamboo cooking, cooking with wood fire." (Jeni 1)

"The musical instruments are diverse, there are rare musical instruments, keledik (the name of the instrument). There's a dance to keep the spirits up. There are various kinds of food, from nature, fermented fish, jukut (name of food)." (Wily 1)

4. Negative Representations of Dayak Identity

The research subjects were asked to formulate shortcomings, ugliness, or negativity about Dayak. The following are the results obtained.

Table 5.

Data Reduction " Negative Representations of Dayak Identity"

No	Looking-Glass Self	Research Subjects (Number)
4.1.	Dayaks have too much faith in nature: They are under-educated, uncompetitive and unimaginative.	Aliu, Ebel, Wily, Dava, Jeni, Okta. (6)
4.2.	The Dayak people hold on too tightly to customs: They rely on the supernatural, witch doctors, blood sacrifices, medical malpractice, and often get drunk.	Aliu, Ebel, Wily, Dava, Jeni, Kele, Teva. (7)
4.3.	Dayak people are easily involved in trouble: They often get into fights, are stubborn, and often get drunk.	Aliu, Ebel, Marvel, Wily, Dava, Jeni, Okta, Teva. (8)
4.4.	The natural conditions around the Dayak people are increasingly damaged:	Gaby, Wily, Dava, Okta, Kele, Teva. (6)

	They found it difficult to get natural products, so they fought over them.	
4.5.	Dayak people are easily influenced by outside cultures: They are often carried away by popular culture from the city, wanting to go to the city.	Wily, Jeni, Kele, Teva. (4)

Some interview results:

"Stubborn, there are often small fights, often arguing. They stick to customs, they say their way is better, my grandparents told me about our time like this, like this, they developed late." (Ebel 1)

"Over time, they forget their culture, influenced by western music, foreign culture. We have adapted, we lack technology, we are often taught that we are still clueless, once we understand, we are immediately influenced. We are proud of our tribe, one is proud of music, one is also (proud of music, don't want to be outdone). (Often fighting over durian), when we are not on guard, someone has already taken it. I still believe in the supernatural, there are nabau (mythical animals), tapa fish, white crocodiles, dragons. I used to be afraid" (Wily 2)

"They believe in their ancestors too much, so they turn to shamans. There are also people who abuse customs, like running into dogs, we don't know if it's our fault for driving or the dog, we immediately blame the driver. Drinking, uncontrolled. Dak has a sense of fear, sometimes there is a sense of selfishness, self-will. (Jeni 2)

5. Dayak Environmental Conditions

The research subjects were asked to make choices about the level of environmental damage around the Dayak ethnic group. The following results were obtained:

Table 6.
Data Reduction On Dayak Environmental Conditions

No	Looking-Glass Self	Research Subjects (Number)
5.1.	Not broken: There are forests that can be used for palm oil and mining, but there is nature that is still natural. Palm oil is natural because it replants.	Gaby. (1)
5.2.	It's a bit damaged: Due to palm oil, forest animals are less, natural products are less, trees are less, it is hotter, rice is less quality.	Aliu, Ebel, Wily, Dava, Teva. (5)
5.3.	Broken: Due to land burning, palm oil, timber companies, and gold mining, trees are cut down, animals are lost, flooding is easier, rivers are dirty.	Marvel, Jeni, Kele, Okta. (4)

Some interview results:

"Animals are getting rarer, but nature is still natural. That's because palm oil and mining are allowed, so we need to get permission from our ancestors first. I've been to the palms, there are ancestral dwellings, there are stones, water, clear water. There was a big python, he used to be human." (Gaby 2)
"Fifty-fifty. Palm oil destroys nature, because animals disappear, there used to be ruai birds, there used to be many animal sounds. There is forest, but it's customary forest. This palm oil opens the road, so (finally in the village) there is a road." (Ebel 2)

"Damage, gold prospecting, dompeng (gold mining). If you want to fish, the water is exposed to diesel, chemicals, mercury, the fish are getting smaller. It can flood." (Okta 1)

"It used to flood once every 10 years, but this year there have been 5-6 major floods. There is a gold mine in the Kalis River, it could be contaminated, so it's no longer suitable for drinking." (Jeni)

6. Historical Memory of Dayak Community

The research subjects were asked to tell the history or major events or famous events in the past about Dayak. The following results were obtained:

Table 7.
Reduction Data of Historical Memory of Dayak Community

No	Looking-Glass Self	Research Subjects (Number)
6.1.	Cessation of mengayau (head hunting): Treaty of Tumbang Anoi 1894	Ebel. (1)
6.2.	Dayak-Chinese clashes: PGRS/PARAKU Incident in 1967	Aliu, Marvel. (2)

6.3.	Dayak-Madurese dispute: Samalantan (1997), Sambas (1999), Sampit (2001).	Aliu, Ebel, Marvel, Gaby, Wily, Dava, Jeni, Kele, Okta, Teva. (10)
6.4.	Dayak - FPI (Front Pembela Islam) clash 2011	Okta. (1)

Some interview results:

"I once heard a meeting of all Dayak tribes to stop ngayau (head hunting), I forget the name (Tumbang Anoi Agreement 1894), it's better for us to unite. The Sampit tragedy, between Dayak and Madura" (Ebel 3).

"Dayak against Madura. There was (also) Dayak against Chinese (PGRS/PARAKU 1967). My grandmother's white skin was mistaken for Chinese, wanted to be killed, my grandmother's grandfather continued to defend her." (Marvel 2)

"There was a Dayak war against Madura. Dayak people (called) ancestors into themselves, so they were like ghosts, they didn't feel pain, they were brave. They called tariu to kill the Madurese." (Teva 2)

"There was also (a clash) near Singkawang (Samalantan incident 1997). I think when we were in elementary school, Dayak people had a conflict with Muslims (Clash with FPI 2011), Dayak stickers were removed from cars, so they wouldn't be stopped." (Okta 2)

7. Cultural Icons and Public Figures in Dayak Identity

The research subjects were asked to name and explain famous Dayak figures. The following results were obtained:

Table 8.
Reduction of Cultural Icons and Public Figures in Dayak Identity Data

No	Looking-Glass Self	Research Subjects (Number)
7.1.	Cornelis: Politician, Former Governor	Ebel, Marvel, Dava, Jeni, Kele, Okta, Teva. (7)
7.2.	Panglima Jilah: Customary Leader	Marvel, Gaby, Wily, Dava, Okta, Teva. (6)
7.3.	Carolyn: Politician, Former House of Representatives, Regent	Marvel, Dava, Kele, Teva. (4)
7.4.	Commander of the Birds: Legends/Myths	Marvel, Gaby, Dava, Kele. (4)
7.5.	Paulus Hadi: Politician, Regent	Aliu, Ebel, Okta. (3)
7.6.	Lasarus: Politician, DPR RI	Ebel, Jeni. (2)
7.7.	Uyau Moris: Artist, Sape Player	Dava, Teva. (2)
7.8.	Aan Baget: Regional Artist, Singer	Aliu. (1)
7.9.	Apang Semangai: Pre-Independence History (deceased)	Wily. (1)
7.10.	Agustinus Agus: Religious Leader, Bishop	Ebel. (1)
7.11.	Daud Jordan: Sportsman, Boxer	Kele. (1)
7.12.	David Sape: Artist, Sape Player	Dava. (1)
7.13.	Ferry Sape: Artist, Sape Player	Dava. (1)
7.14.	Jerry Kamit: Artist, Sape Player	Wily. (1)
7.15.	Hieronimus Bumbun: Religious Leader, Bishop	Ebel. (1)
7.16.	Oevang Oeray: Post-Independence History (deceased)	Ebel. (1)
7.17.	Panglima Macan: Legends/Myths	Gaby. (1)

The research labelled the various Dayak figures that the research subjects had mentioned. Here are the results:

Table 9.
Dayak figures by labelling

No	Labeling Dayak Figures	Total
7.a.	Politicians	16
7.b.	Traditional Leaders	6
7.c.	Ethnic Artists	6
7.d.	Legendary/Mythical Figures	5
7.e.	Historical Figures	2
7.f.	Religious Leaders	2
7.g.	Sportsman	1



8. Constructing Identity through the Kalimantan Imaginary

Firstly, this study discusses the social context in which the research subjects constructed their identities. The majority of research subjects chose political activists (politicians) as ethnic Dayak figures (table 9). This number is far different from historical figures. In table 8 there are only two historical figures, namely Oevaang Oeray and Apang Semangai. Oevaang Oeray was the first governor of West Kalimantan in the Old Order era, from the Kayan Dayak ethnicity in Kapuas Hulu Regency. Apang Semangai was a pre-independence fighter from Sintang and Melawi districts. Meanwhile, the politicians chosen are active, namely Cornelis, Carolin, Paulus Hadi, and Lasarus.

Panglima Jilah, the leader of the mass organisation Tariu Borneo Bangkule Rajakng (TBBR) or the Red Army was chosen by six research subjects. This is the de facto ethnic Dayak organisation with the most members, apart from the National Dayak Customary Council (MADN) and the Dayak Customary Council (DAD). These three organisations are very active in various matters including practical politics (see table 1). Based on this finding, the research subjects were more aware of practical politics than knowledge of Dayak history.

Panglima Burung and Panglima Macan, who were also chosen, are legendary or mythical figures. Dayak warlords are always associated with stories of magic, invulnerability, flying mandau, tariu (mystical screaming), and kayau (headhunting according to colonial sources). If these two commanders are associated with Panglima Jilah, then information about mystical things dominates the research subjects' knowledge. Mystical things in the research subjects' views are almost always the same as the ancestral customs of the Dayak ethnicity.

As ethnic Dayak artists, the research subjects were less likely to choose ethnic artists. Dayak ethnic artists were only selected six times, by only four research subjects, almost all of whom were sape music artists. The sape is a stringed instrument traditionally played by the Dayak Kayan and Iban ethnicities in Kapuas Hulu District, West Kalimantan. It is also played by the Dayak Kenyah in East Kalimantan and North Kalimantan.

Next, the social context can be identified from Dayak History (table 7). All answers discussed ethnic Dayak clashes with Madurese, namely the Samalantan Incident (1997), the Sambas Incident (1999) and the Sampit Incident (2001). Other answers were still related to violent conflicts, namely the Dayak ethnic clash with the Chinese (PGRS/PARAKU 1967), and the one-day clash between the Dayaks and the Islamic Defenders Front (2011). The only non-violent history was revealed by Ebel, which he referred to as the termination of the kayau tradition (Tumbang Anoi Agreement 1894) (Sulang, 2019). However, this event is actually still related to the violent tradition of kayau. The entire history of ethnic conflicts revealed by the research subjects is always associated with mystical matters. The

existence of a powerful Dayak Commander, invulnerability, flying mandau, tariu, and kayau dominated the research subjects' views. In addition, the history of ethnic conflict is always associated with the victory of the Dayak ethnic group.

In this first discussion, considering the paradigms of social definition (Poloma, 2013; Ritzer, 2021) and cultural interpretation (Geertz, 1992; Mirza, 2016; Urbaniak, 2019), the research subjects have free and creative views. The social context can be known based on the analysis of Dayak figures and history (tables 7-9). The looking-glass self principle of seeing external circumstances can be explained through the reflection of the research subjects. It is like a chess player playing the pieces, then the pieces can argue to dismantle the chess player's strategy.

The construction of Dayak identity received a social context in the research subjects' answers, namely the influence of practical politics, mystical stories, and the history of ethnic conflict. Ethnic arts, which should have received great attention, had less influence. Meanwhile, historical figures have no place in the formation of Dayak identity. Meaning formation based on the theory of symbolic interactionism is a result of social interaction, the exchange of symbols, especially with meaningful people (Coleman, 2019; Umiarso & Elbadiansyah, 2014). For the younger generation, ethnic Dayak artists of SMA Santo Paulus Pontianak, politicians have a special place in their thinking. It can be assumed that political races every five years at the national and regional levels influence identity construction (Haridison et al., 2024; Prasojo, 2017). Meanwhile, the history of Dayak ethnic victory in various ethnic disputes, wrapped in mystical stories, continues to be maintained as a form of group pride. Group pride is closely related to the formation of an in-group that differentiates from the out-group.

Second, this study discusses the construction of Dayak identity based on the answers of research subjects conditioned in the looking-glass self. The research subjects were directed to an imagination when they were outside Kalimantan during college, for example on Java Island. At this stage the research subject realises that there are other people's views on him. The research subjects will formulate their views after imagining the reactions of their new friends. Thus, they will formulate several views of identity that are explanatory, differentiating, and tend to be positive. This is because education has traditionally been a conducive area for learning symbols. The second part of this discussion will consider tables 2 and 3.

According to the research subjects, Dayak identity is synonymous with Kalimantan Island. Five research subjects argued that Dayak is the original ethnicity in Kalimantan. This opinion has a problem when the Malay ethnic group is also considered an indigenous group of Kalimantan. However, the research subjects emphasised that the Dayak ethnicity is better able to survive with the natural environment of Kalimantan. Labelling Dayak identity as 'natural' occurs because Dayak people predominantly live in the interior of Kalimantan's tropical forests. This situation is very different from for example in

Pontianak City and Java Island, which are more contemporary in technology. The natural environment characterises Kalimantan Island, so Dayak identity is also always associated with the symbol of 'nature'.

Customary law often came out in the research subjects' answers. Customary law regulates daily customs such as birth cycles, livelihoods, daily activities, illness, marriage, and death. In many cases, Dayak people do not need to use state law, as dispute resolution has been finalised by customary law. This is very different from popular opinion, for example in education, which prioritises the enforcement of positive/state law. The dominance of customary law in the lives of research subjects, which is different from other identities, influences the construction of Dayak identity.

Visual features of Dayak identity such as tattoos (skin art), woven rattan or bark, accessories made from beads or animal remains, 'long ears', natural musical instruments, pork or forest animals, and alcoholic beverages (tuak/arak) were often expressed by research subjects. This is mainly because it is very contrasting, especially in Muslim-majority Indonesia. For research subjects, these visual characteristics are always associated with ancestral customs or customary law. This becomes a kind of normalisation, without the need to look for deep reasons. Thus, these characteristics are easily expressed in social interactions.

This research found two contradictory views. The research subjects several times categorised Dayaks as perpetrators of violent conflict, but also as pacifists. Historical knowledge of conflicts involving ethnic Dayaks was the main knowledge of the research subjects (table 7). However, in situations without conflict, research subjects captured noble symbols such as friendly, gentle, and cooperation. In relationships, research subjects were able to change negative views about violent conflict to be more positive. The symbols of courage and firmness with neutral meaning were repeatedly expressed. As a form of looking-glass self, the research subjects associated violent conflict events with the enforcement of customary law and/or customs that were carried out because they were 'forced'.

In this second discussion, the construction of Dayak identity as a consequence of the looking-glass self always considers the views of others (Ritzer & Smart, 2018; Soekanto, 2010). Inevitably, the world of education influenced the research subjects to be careful in describing themselves. They almost always consider the uniqueness of Kalimantan's natural environment, customary laws, customs, and the packaging of negatives into positives in constructing Dayak identity.

Thirdly, this study discusses the formation of Dayak society. The following discussion considers the research subjects' views on positive and negative things about Dayak (tables 4, 5 and 6). Dayak people's dependence on nature, adherence to customs, and involvement in violent conflict are seen as both positive and negative identities. Some of the research subjects' views are also in line with the facts in other studies. A positive view when Dayak people are able to manage the natural environment sustainably, able to preserve the wisdom of ancestral customs (Niko et al., 2024), and have a brave and decisive nature (Susanto et al., 2017). The negative view that Dayak people are not competitive (not innovative) due to dependence on the natural environment (Sada et al., 2019), relying too much on supernatural/metaphysical customs, and easily getting involved in trouble/disputes. The research subjects'

answers, which seem to pull between positive and negative, indicate that society is shaped by the negotiation of symbols. (Geertz, 1992; Mirza, 2016).

When a person reflects in the looking-glass self, he or she considers threat or rejection, hope or acceptance, and the possibility of symbol exchange or change (Coleman, 2019; Umiarso & Elbadiansyah, 2014). At this stage, there is an opportunity for reflection. Society is formed when it can manage conflicting symbols. Cooley saw this state as an evaluative feeling due to reflective judgement. In popular social interaction, the concepts of competition, modernity, and social stability are held as shared beliefs. Of course, this implies unfair hegemonic power relations. However, the research subjects have set these standards when constructing Dayak identity.

The process of positive and negative attraction resulting in negotiation signifies the existence of an established society. This means that the Dayak identity based on the views of the research subjects is strong because they can see the positive and negative sides. Successful negotiations form a situation of fairness that is mutually accepted (Poloma, 2013; Ritzer, 2021; Umiarso & Elbadiansyah, 2014). This means that the three issues of Dayak identity construction, namely a natural life, the strong influence of customs, and involvement in violent conflict, are identities that are embedded or planted strongly.

The completion of community identity is ultimately the existence of a common goal or ideal. The final stage of looking-glass self after reflecting, a person must go out to present himself or perform social actions (Coleman, 2019; Sunarto, 2004). In this study, research subjects were faced with the current condition of the Dayak community environment. The research subjects predominantly thought that the environment had been damaged. However, some research subjects argued that the damage has not been severe. Gaby even argued that the environment was not damaged, characterised by the presence of ancestral spirits. This decision is influenced by Dayak identity, which is still natural and upholds customs. However, new problems are increasingly occurring. These problems include increasingly rare forest animals, reduced forest products, low-quality agriculture, monoculture plantations and large-scale mining, environmental pollution, and increasingly hot temperatures. In the final stage of Dayak identity construction, namely shared goals, it seems that the research subjects are still confused. This means that although the Dayak identity is strong within the research subjects, they are in a dilemma to take social action in the future. Scientific studies on this can be conducted further.

Fourth Discussion. Based on the previous discussion (1-3), it can be concluded that several factors influence research subjects in constructing Dayak identity through the looking-glass self process, namely: (1) the influence of practical politics; (2) mystical stories; (3) a history of ethnic conflict; (4) a life that depends on nature; and (5) customary law or customs. In a broader perspective, according to the researcher, several problems can be found in the construction of identity in such a style.

Firstly, as an ethnic artist, the research subject gives less portion to art. Whereas art can easily be categorised as civilisation because of its subtle and beautiful nature. However, the understanding of the peaks of beauty of Dayak art is forgotten in the research subject's view. This means that there are things that are more influential than art.

Secondly, practical politics and the history of ethnic disputes greatly influenced the views of the research subjects. These two things actually make Dayak identity always in a state of readiness to fight or conflict. In addition, the dominance of practical politics and ethnic disputes has closed the potential for other Dayak identity constructions, such as art, history and geography. As a recent fact, the colour symbolism of contemporary Dayak identity is red. The colour is synonymous with a symbol of courage but also war. Red is also the colour of the largest political party in West Kalimantan since the 1999 elections, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). The party is the political vehicle of the majority of the Dayak political elite (table 1). The richness of Dayak traditional colours, peace-loving values and the simplicity of the subsistence economy are masked by the dominance of practical politics and the history of ethnic conflict.

Third, the history of the development or change of the Dayak community is unknown to the research subjects. At least two important narratives are missing, namely the fusion of hundreds of Kalimantan's inland identities into one Dayak identity due to Western colonisation in the late 19th century (Sulang, 2019), and the awareness of Dayak identity to fight for social equality by the 1945 Dayak Unity Party (Aloy, 2020). The first narrative can talk about the various details of Dayak culture, which are now increasingly minimalised and distorted. The second narrative could tell the story of educated Dayaks fighting for the voice of Kalimantan's communities, forests and rivers. In addition, the Dayak identity, which for thousands of years has lived simply and side by side with nature, can be used as a common longing. This is considering the massive destruction of nature in Kalimantan.

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D. CONCLUSIONS

The politicisation of ethnic identity that often occurs in West Kalimantan is due to the existence of in group and out group views. The understanding of group identity so far emphasises social facts in society that affect a person. In contrast, this research uses social definitions and or cultural interpretations, through the process of looking-glass self, positioning a person to argue freely about their identity. The approach succeeded in making Santo Paulus Pontianak High School students, who are active as ethnic artists, explain the construction of Dayak identity. As a result, the construction of Dayak identity is influenced by several things, namely (1) the influence of practical politics; (2) mystical stories; (3) the history of ethnic conflict; (4) a life that depends on nature; and (5) customary law or adat. The research produced findings that are quite different from the usual explanations of Dayak identity. This research is important as an alternative way of understanding identity construction, given that identity politicisation is still common in West Kalimantan.

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