

Title : **"URANG DIRI" AND THE NARRATIVE OF
BROTHERHOOD AMONG THE ULU KAPUAS
MALAYS**

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Abstract : *Malay-Dayak or Islam-Non Islam in West Kalimantan, often placed in binary positions, shows latent rivalry and upheaval. In almost all lines, battles and struggles for discourse and influence between the elites of these two groups. In fact, some early publications mentioned that actually riots between ethnic groups in West Kalimantan some time ago were still related to the position of the binaries. This paper presents the other side or situation of the people. Data obtained from interviews and observations in the field and from publication materials in books, news and social media from malay hinterland in Kapuas Hulu. The conclusions is, in binary situations there is still shading that bridges relations between groups Malay-Dayak. Malays people in hinterland Kapuas Hulu have the concept of "urangdiri" or "our-people" which is a view that places someone outside the community member as part of the community members. They identify similarities that can be used as a shared identity and part of group members. For Malays in Ulu Kapuas this "our-people" is used as an identification to make other people a part of them. People who have been categorized as "our-people" will get views, awards, better services and special treatment as members of the community and family. So, behind the narrative of Dayak-Malay binary opposition in West Kalimantan, there is a narration about brotherhood among the Malays in the interior. For the sake of building strong relationships between communities, this narrative should be disseminated.*

Keywords : *Urang Diri', Malay and Dayak, Ulu Kapuas*

INTRODUCTION

The opposition of the Dayak Malay binaries in West Kalimantan became an interesting and important theme to be discussed, and even considered in scientific and political discourse. Both Dayak-Malay, its very important, so the assumption arises that scientific and political analysis of society and West Kalimantan, without including Dayak-Malay, is superficial, and could even be mistaken.

Dayaks on the one hand are given the attributes of identity as natives not Islam, while Malays on the other hand are given the attributes of identity as immigrants-natives of Islam. The rigid position of Islam (religion) makes the boundaries look very firm and strong.

Islam is an attribute that distinguishes the two communities. Starting from the choice of Arabic names, Middle Eastern arts, social, political, especially food, Islam has become a

clear divider between Dayak and Malay. Islamic attribution is part of the ups and downs in relations between the two communities, in general.

Theoretically, identity traits are used to place other people in the desired place, whether to be positioned in their own group (in group) or placed outside the group (other). (Shamsul, 2001; Embong, 1999; Yusriadi, 2005). Therefore, it becomes liquid and changes according to pragmatic interests.

However, in the situation of binary opposition in West Kalimantan, identity fraud is often seen as frozen, and the user's pragmatic interests are often forgotten. As a result, tension arises because of the freeze.

This paper is written starting from attention to this binary opposition problem. Does the opposition of Dayak-Malay binaries and the rivalry that has been occurring so far affect the lives of rural communities that have been known to be harmonious and peaceful? How do these inland Malays view and treat non-Malays - especially Dayaks?

This writing data is taken from the author's experience and observations on several trips to the locations of Malay settlement centers in Kapuas Hulu. Also, from several interviews conducted with Malay figures found there.

Binary Opposition on Dayak-Malay

Dayak-Malay rivalry has already been stated in Djayadi (2004), Yusriadi (2007), and others. The relationship between the two main groups in West Kalimantan is considered unique; ups and downs, and hard to explain. Dayak-Malay is limited by religion, culture and political choices.

Dayaks are generally native or indigenous Catholics, some are Protestants, while Malays are indigenous and migrants who mingle with native and Muslim groups. Dayak people have distinctive Dayak culture such as traditional clothing, rituals in the life cycle, art - which is generally a cultural heritage. While Malays have a distinctive Malay culture which is generally strongly influenced by elements of Islam and regional Malays especially Sumatra and the Malay Land Peninsula. In terms of political choice - and this is the most powerful push for rivalry, the Malays and Dayaks have a different position, and fight in the election.

What happened at the provincial level in West Kalimantan was duplicated in politics in Kapuas Hulu. Local elite battles are conditioned by differences even with a few modifications.

In 2020 Kapuas Hulu is one of the regencies in Indonesia that will hold regional head elections in the simultaneous localelection. Ahead of the election, since 2019, the scent of Dayak Malay competition in the Kapuas Hulu regional election has strengthened, and candidates who will fight have narrowed down to a few names. Brokers, party elitists, political leaders who are concerned about politics, have been seen in intensive discussions about the next Kapuas Hulu leader. In the discussion, the simulation of the candidate pair was always based on Dayak-Malay.

The theme of the possibility of head to head battles, candidates one on one or two against one, representing Dayak and Malay groups, became the main theme. The regional head election in Kapuas Hulu was then seen as a stage for fighting between Dayak and Malay ethnic groups. At present two candidates are drawing attention: Baiduri, a Malay figure born in Jongkong area, Kapuas Hulu, --Jongkong is a core area of the Malays - Islam

in Kapuas Hulu, and FransiskusDiaan or Sis, a politician from the Dayaks, who was born in the Taman area, Kapuas Hulu. Sis, mainly associated with West Kalimantan Dayak figures who had been the governor of West Kalimantan, Cornelis.

Actually, what happened in 2019, happened also in previous years. In 2015, the regional head battle in Kapuas Hulu involved two couples: AM Nasir and Sis also. AM Nasir is a politician who is a Malay representation, originating from the Bunut area, the Kapuas flow area bordering Jongkong.

In this one-on-one political battle, all resources, etc., are mobilized, including the politicization of ethnicity and religion, the use of ethnic institutions, religious institutions, etc ... Prospective voters in Kapuas Hulu are drawn into two opposing poles. As a result, in the Malay enclave, Nasir received a large support, while in the Dayak enclave, Sis received a large support. Votes in all electoral districts are seen and linked based on these parts. Each division shows solidity and viscosity or hardening of ethnic-religious sentiments.

Indeed these situations were born from political interests. This thesis emerges based on the findings that before the tension phase of the 2015 elections, parts of society based on religion did not harden. Shades among the Dayak-Malay groups are still felt. (See Isman, 2000), Hermansyah (2010), Yusriadi (2005), Yusriadi, Collins & Hermansyah (2003).

There are indeed terms of the MelayuBaru (became Malay) and Senganan or returning Dayak, to give a label to groups that change their identity, however, there is also a term for returning Dayaks to the opposite situation. (Yusriadi, 2014). This shows the existence of shading between Dayak and Malay groups in this interior. In this section, conditions in the interior of Kapuas Hulu look unique compared to what generally happens in West Kalimantan.

Urang Diri' 'from the original family

Orang Ulu know the term UrangDiri 'to refer to others who have something in common with them. The similarity can be identified in the form of similarities in origin, similarity in religion, similarity in language.

UrangDiri' 'has several levels or layers. First, for the first level, close, which includes people who have a common origin. Variations of menyadi' (brother) at this level in society are known as 'cheating', to refer to similarities in a family stalk with the same father and mother.

At the branch level above, there is the term "Sanak Tua"" (orang tua), to indicate the relationship at the level of brotherhood between parents. At this level, the person has the same grandmother or grandfather.

Above the level of "Sanak Tua" there is "Sanak Ini"" referred to the similarity or level of fraternity of grandmothers. At this level the two people compared have the same ancestors.

Furthermore, there are "Sanak Puyang" referred to the similarity or level of ancestral brotherhood. At this level the two people compared have the same umuh (above ancestors). Then, there is the term "Sanak Umuh" referred to the similarity or level of brotherhood of the same parents. (See Figure 2, below).

All of these family ties are referred to as urang diri' in the Kapuas Hulu community. This bond carries psychological meaning, as part of the self or person who states that selfhood. They deserve to be treated by someone as someone treats themselves; in all

aspects. Both the material-physical aspects, such as feeding and to mental-non-physical problems, such as attention, protection and assistance.

Also in the concept of "urangdiri" there is the term "kaban" or sometimes referred to as "kabanmenyadi". The word "kaban" is in some ways related to the word "friend". Both of these words originate from the same source or at least have the same sound and field of meaning before separating understanding as happened in the Ulu Malay community.

Figure 1: Diffrence Kawan and Kaban

<p>[kawan] (KBBI, 2001: 518) ~ orang yang sudah lama dikenal dan sering berhubungan dalam hal tertentu (dl bermain, belajar, bekerja, dll) Kaban</p>	<p>(DUK) ~kelompok atau kawanan yang memiliki kesamaan tertentu</p>
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Example:

+Sida' ya' kaban kami

=They are our family

+Sida' ya' kawan kami

=They are our friend

In Ulu Malays, the term kaban refers to the similarity between one person and another, in terms of kinship, close family, family ties or it can also be tribal ties. This Kaban does not show psychological ties. Therefore, the Malays here do not have to treat someone from their society as he does.

Kaban refers to the similarity of social ties. Someone who is considered or included in the Kaban category, is considered only part of the group. Therefore, the bond given is still general.

This use can also be understood by looking at the comparison in fish. Similar fishes that colonize - for example *bau' fish* ', *biarwan*, *seluang*, are referred to as "kabanikan". Indonesian has more or less the same word for this understanding, which is herd: "A group of people (animals) who are friends; a group (similar animals); a group of (humans). (KBBI, 2001: 518)

Still related to "urangdiri", inland Malay society also has the term "menyadi" 'as a reference that has been mentioned above. However, "menyadi" can also be used as a call to indicate the position of the person who is called as a person who is considered urang diri'. In this case, being 'same as the "saudara" (brother) in Indonesian.

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Saudara. N 1. Orang yang seibu seayah (atau hanya seibu atau seayah saja); adik atau kakak. 2. Orang yg bertalian keluarga; sanak...4 sapaan kepada orang yang diajak berbicara (pengganti orang kedua). (KBBI, 2001: 1003).

The origin of the word 'is / adi' /, given the morphology of the word {meny-}, to be / incarnate' / which means you. Example,

+ Ia idup dengan umak, nesik menyadi'
= He lives with his mother, no brother

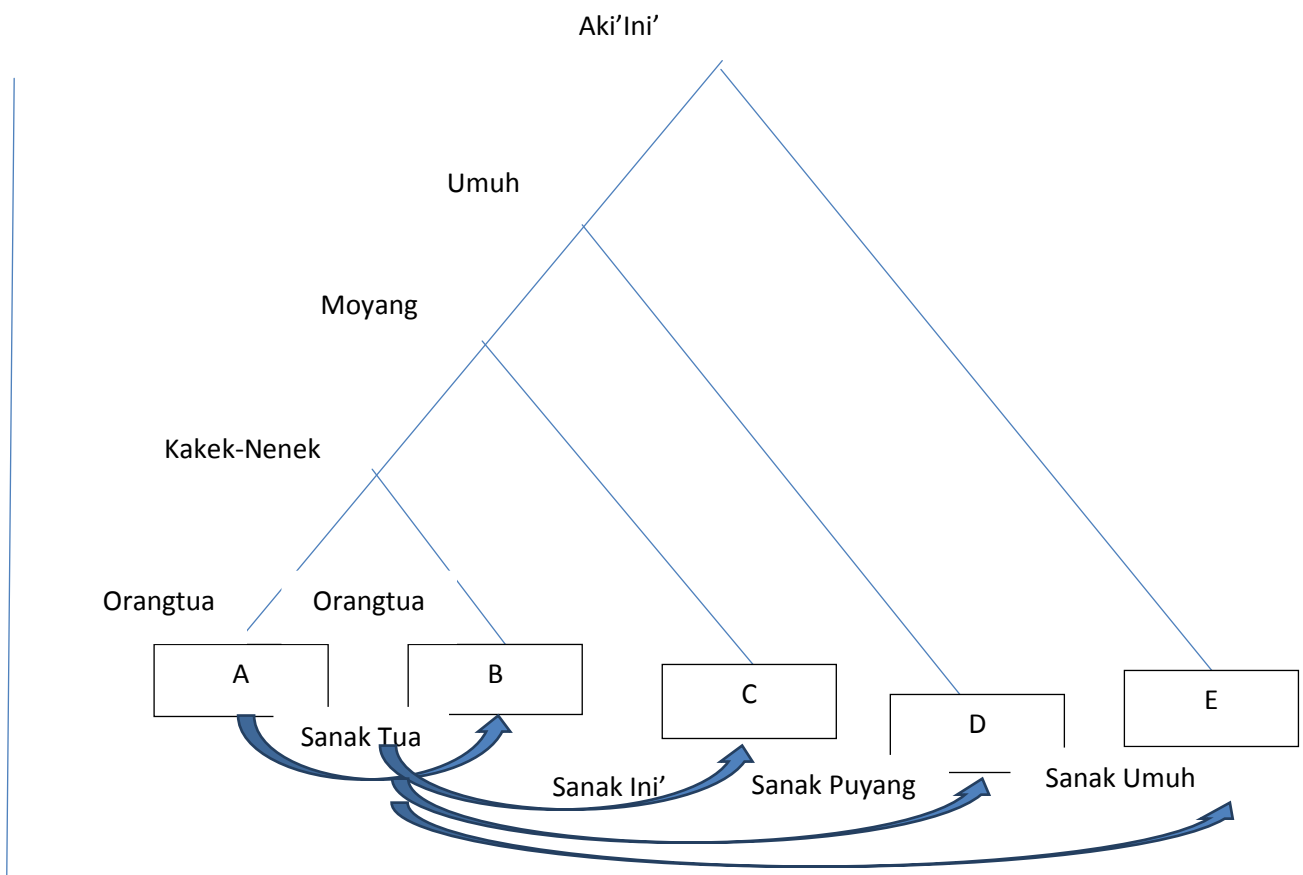
As a greeting, denote 'appears in the form of the following example:

+ O.. menyadi', apa kroja tuk?
= Brother, what are you doing?

There are two things that can be noted about making the examination. First, observing shows that the person who is calling considers that the person who is calling is his brother. This form is an expression of brotherhood, hospitality, affection.

Secondly, making rituals as a form of greeting and referral is also used by other communities, for example in the Iban community. Actually this is not surprising because the Malays in Kapuas Hulu and Iban have a so close relationship. (ZainalAripin, 2015; Yusriadi, 2007).

Figure 2: Kin Relationship



Source: processed from field data

Urang Diri' and the through marriage family

Urang Diri' also applies to host families. The term family refers to family but the relationship is not related to blood relations or family not blood. This non-blooded family arose because of the bond of marriage and adopted children. All forms of marriage outside the group (exogamy) know this term. (Yusriadi, 2005).

Exogamy marriages do often occur later; both men and women. This is different than before, this model of marriage is more common in men than women. Women are almost always bound by arranged marriages arranged by powerful people or influential family members: grandmother, parents.

For this reason, in Riam Panjang and Nanga Jajang, as well as in other villages, many families have accommodated families.

Paman Mus, for example, is married to Bi 'Un, who is from the upper reaches of the river Embau. Bi 'Un and the Malay family too but more specifically different from Paman Mus. He is known as the Mawu, or Embau. There is no kinship at all between the two. The Bi 'Un family then becomes or is seen as a family by the whole Paman Mus family.

Likewise with Pak Itam, who is married to Bi 'Ri, who is from Ulu Kapuas. Bi 'Ri is a Taman person (in West Kalimantan they are called Dayaks) whose culture is different from Pak Itam, also different in language and religion. But despite being different, the Bi 'Ri family is recognized as a family by the whole family of Pak Itam.

The same is for Pak Anjang, who is married to Bi 'Mar. Bik Mar originates from the headwaters of the Mayan River, in the south, known as the Mmayan people, the Kantuk group.

At some point, the families of both parties visited each other, and they were treated the same as family. Brother Bi 'Mar, for example, attended school at Riam Panjang Elementary School for several years. He lives in Pak Anjang's family in Riam Panjang, and interacts with other family of Pak Anjang without any cultural, language and religious barriers. Even once when the Bi 'Mar family followed Pak Anjang's family to go to the mosque, fast, and cultural events.

On the contrary, Mr. Anjang's family who came to Bi 'Mar's hometown was needed as well as family. They stay and eat in Mmayan village (which is known as Dayak in West Kalimantan). It's just that there are choices here when it comes to eating. Pak Anjang's family who wants to cook on their own, separated from the host, can use new cooking utensils (which are rarely used and stored). This equipment is indeed provided as a backup if at any time needed.

Cooked items or ingredients are also provided by the family here. For example, native chicken. If the Malay family wants to eat native chicken meat, they can get it from the family here alive, and slaughter themselves Islamically.

However, Pak Anjang's family does not worry about the "used" - refers to the former container of cooking and eating pork, dogs, snakes, etc ... usually eat as usual. There are no psychological barriers - specifically barriers to religious belief, in this matter.

Moreover, the matter of food that is forbidden for Islam - the religion of Malays, is not daily food. Daily foods are generally vegetables, fish, eggs and chicken. While the traces used for cooking are cleaned with soapy water every day after use. So, according to their way of thinking, "used" is no longer in the containers used.

As for the alcoholic drinks, some Malays are quite accustomed to drinking bram and tuak water - fragmented drinks from tapai and nira water, which are distilled by most people in this village. This liquor which is categorized as liquor is often even sought by Malay people who are accustomed to "drinking". About this habit can also be seen in Enthoven (1905).

UrangDiri' Identity and Narrative Moderation

UrangDiri 'in the view of Malays in the interior has several characteristics shared together in the family. First, speak the same language, namely the Ulu Kapuas Malay with their respective variants, such as Pengkadan, Embau, Buyan, Kapuas, Putussibau. (Yusriadi, 2007). People themselves 'envision using the same language that is the Malay language of Ulu Kapuas. Hence, the form of Malay-speaking pleasantries here to others is: "Ka' kemono?" (Where are you going?) if crossing the road. This is the first conversation that is commonly used.

This question requires answers to the direction to be headed or the destination of the trip, if understood directly. If it is addressed to someone who is already known, the neighbor, indeed intends to be curious and sometimes actually just wants to say hello, because these remote Malays rarely ask for news for the first conversation on the road. The question, "How are you?" only asked if each has interacted before, and only meet again in a long time.

The question "Ka' kemono? " for new people, or strangers, has another implication: who and where this person will be positioned. Does this person belong to urang diri?' If the person being asked answers in the same language, Ulu Malay, it is certain that the person will be positioned as urang diri'.

As urang diri', the person is usually passed away, will not attract attention - including, will not bring suspicion about what is done in the village environment. The person asking the question is satisfied to hear the new person's answer.

Meanwhile, if the person being asked answers or responds using another language, (usually Indonesian), or does not understand Ulu Malay, the questioner will usually be curious and pay attention. The question "ka" kemono? " it becomes no longer a question of pleasantries.

Malays, in general, consider a person needs to be or not helped. People who are considered good will be accepted and brought to the house or directed and shown to the home of the ward leader.

After arriving home, they are served, at least given coffee or tea drinks. This is a form of minimum standard service for inland Malays to care for themselves'.

It is this concept of service that makes the Malays here, and almost all known Malays, know the term "kempunan". Kempunan is an unfortunate event that happens to someone when the person does not eat or taste what is served by the host. The narrative about this gathering in the context of service to guests is a response to the reception of the host that must be given in return for the kindness offered, known to this day.

In addition, the identity of the inland Malays as friendly people, open to others is conveyed through the phrase, "jangan nsia, ucinasuknaitrumahdiborikmakan".(Not only humans, cats and dogs come home given food).

What can be noted in the experience of the Malays in the interior shows another side that is different than the previous picture of the Dayak-Malay binary opposition in West Kalimantan. In fact, the relationship between Malays and their Dayaks is still very open, kind, and friendly. Ethnicity and religion are not obstacles in their interactions.

When religion imposes limits - in the example of families who cook for themselves in the homes of non-Muslims, they provide an alternative space to keep the relationship established. The limits of belief do not limit them to respect others who are considered as their siblings.

Indeed, what happens here is not like what happened in Melawi (Yusriadi, Ruslan and Hariansyah, 2018), because there they can build mutual awareness over different religions, but the situation shows how they maintain an open relationship with people other. At least they show that there is nothing to contradict between religion and life. Islam in particular, teaches human relations (*hablumminannas*), and the prophet Muhammad also gave examples of how to respect other people who are different. (Fauzi, 2018).

When outsiders come to their community, outsiders can still be considered self-absorbed if they can speak the same language and follow the same religion.

CONCLUSION

When religious and ethnic issues are "fried" in inter-ethnic relations in West Kalimantan and when tensions mount in several regions, Kapuas Hulu does share, but in a different context. Rivalry between tribes and relates also to religion, which appears to be considered far away, is judged the same as rivalry between Russia and Cechnya, or between Israel and Palestine.

Even if they were tense after being invited to the binary opposition, what they really thought was about relatives who might be trapped in the situation. Interior Malays do not feel part of hostility. Meanwhile, when the situation was created tense following the struggle for votes between supporters or the Nasir and Sis team in 2015, some people, if not even mentioning many people, were still relaxed and considered the attraction as part of political dynamics, which actually gave the impression of playing with the situation.

The values of brotherhood that have been inherited among the Malays in the interior are held tightly. They see brotherhood as part of daily life, and a necessity in their fellow interactions. They have their own concept of brotherhood with the term "self-pity", which shows psychological closeness. Narration about other people as oneself that must be treated as a self-treatment, is a form of the heart's richness of the interior community, which should be maintained.

So, between binary positions and even rivalry between Dayaks and Malays in West Kalimantan, in the interior there is a community that places anyone as their own person, as a brother (*menyadi* ') and close family (*kaban*). Because of this view they do not make the differences between the Dayak and Malay ethnic groups, or the differences between Islam and Christianity, the boundaries that hinder relations.

This moderation model of life and religion, presumably is something that must be promoted and inherited. Do not let the good that already exists in society be destroyed because the views of certain radical and anti-cultural groups, moreover they are known to carry certain agendas, which are supervised for the benefit of individuals and crimes against humanity.

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