Ritual Hinting Pali as Resistance of the Dayak Ngaju Community  
(Case Study of Expansion of Large-Scaled Palm Oil Company to Ecology, Dayak Ngaju Community)

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**Abstract:**

The importance of the ecological and forest conservation of Dayak communities in Central Kalimantan as the support of indigenous communities is not only based on capital and natural resources to meet their needs in the simplest sense, but also in the local philosophy of crisp tree sustainability and balance of God, nature, and human relationships. The global need to meet the market demand for vegetable oil leads to massive expansion of land, environment, and society, especially in developing countries such as Indonesia. This is a debate why these plants can only grow in the tropics, especially in areas passed by the equator. This raises many questions if such expansion attacks in place or region of developed countries like what? how do they handle emerging problems? Regardless of the question, this study only illustrates the contradiction, the idea of the idea of how to protect the environment between local and global values. Hinting pali is a media of Dayak community resistance to ecology and defense disputes related to the existence of the Palm Oil Company [PBS] in Central Kalimantan to the Dayak community. This ritual represents abstinence and prohibition [pali]. This ritual as a message of Dayak community wants to find a win-win solution to conflict and defense dispute between the local community and PBS. The hinting rituals of the Dayak Ngaju community, especially Hindu Kaharingan still grow and develop. Hinting pali as an oral tradition can be used as an effective medium of resistance, especially in conveying their message and protest against ecology and land annihilation by PBS. Hinting pali performance as a Dayak Kaharingan community resistance ritual in Central Kalimantan can express their thoughts and feelings about culture, history, customs, human relationships with the environment and God. They can also use hinting pali to express warnings "to determine the future of the community and express their feelings to ecological conditions, or other social problems". By using hinting pali, PBS entrepreneurs cannot marginalize ideas about how to protect their environment because they exist.

**Keywords:**

hinting pali; resistance; ecology

**I. Introduction**

It is undeniable that in order to survive, human beings wherever directly or indirectly, even unknowingly, will depend on the natural and physical environment in which they live. Both associated with forests and with respect to the natural resources used to survive. Post-reformation of palm oil activities is intensified in Central Kalimantan, especially by district governments as an effort to increase PAD. On the other hand, however, the impact of these palm oil plantations resulted in many vertical conflicts between indigenous peoples and government and plantation entrepreneurs. Another very serious impact is the destruction of forests and all ecosystems that have been the supporters of the local cultural existence. Community land as a source of daily livelihoods and supporters of customary ritual activities are widely sold to investors. As a result, they are getting poorer and losing their identity.

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The fight in public space is always described as a struggle between the dominant and the subordinate. This inequality raises a community group that is in a dominant position and the other is in a subordinate position in the context of power relations between the two. The subordinate community has no structural power to make drastic changes to this situation. However, they can fight little by little to undermine the dominant power (Scott, 1990). The simple action that each individual does when done by many individuals will give lessons to the ruler. Therefore, this resistance is based on the interests of each individual in his group.

In the context of Dayak communities in Central Kalimantan, the facts show that multidimensional forms of resistance have been undertaken by subordinate communities in the dominating dominant power. The marginalized Dayak community is incapable of confronting the arrival of palm oil investors as a result and the impact of globalization with its ongoing free-market ideology and widening their investment and expansion in Dayak land. It can be seen as a form of marginalized community resistance against the rule of the country that deprives the customary land rights of Dayak communities that have been inhabited for generations. If viewed from a positive legal point of view, the right to the land of the Dayak people does not have a strong legal force. So the Dayak community's rejection of the existence of oil palm plantations by performing a ritualistic resistance movement, namely hinting pali is a form of resistance. Its rulers and cronies are well aware of what the Dayak community is fighting for, but they can not do much because the regulatory and policy aspects that the government implements are not able to give the maximum answer to the emergence of these conflicts and land disputes. Thus for the Dayak community the ritual hinting pali is the stage or arena of their resistance.

II. Review of Literature

2.1 Dayak

The story of the origins of Dayak at least comes from two things, namely from word of mouth and a more rational view (Elmiyah, 2008: 91) as a result of a study. First, the origin of the Dayak is derived from Tatum, the original literature of Borneo, which can be interpreted as a true cry that is usually sung (manasai) to tell the situation of Borneo marine times, the time of the gods, the era of greatness to the Islamic kingdom (Riwut, 1958: 172). Tetek Tatum is a reference from mouth to mouth, usually sung parents to their offspring (Riwut, 1993: 229–230). In Dayak (Kaharingan) belief, it is always told that their ancestors descended from Palangka Bulau (palanquin) by Ranying Hatala Langit abbreviated Ranying or Hatala which means God. The descended ancestors were (1) in Tantan Puruk Pengantuan in the upper reaches of the Kahayan and Barito Rivers; (2) in Challenge Luang Mangan Puruk Kaminting, located around Gunung Raya; (3) at Tatah Tangkasing upstream through West Kalimantan; and (4) in Puruk Kambang Tanah Siang, upstream of Barito River. Dayak people marry one another, which then grows throughout Kalimantan. Unfortunately, this story does not leave any posts or traces that can prove it.

Secondly, many studies of Dayak origins suggest that the Dayak ancestors came from the Yunan region (South China) which came because of over-population in China so that some of its inhabitants went out to look for new settlement areas (Coomans, 1987: 3) estimated 200 years before Christ (Riwut, 1993) or about 3,000–1,500 BC (Amz, 1985). This group was later by Paul and Fritz Sarasih named as "Proto Melayu" living in the interior of Borneo and Deutero Malay living on the coast (Eliminah, 2003: 92–94). While Odop and Lakon (2009: 2, 7–8) and Usop (1994) stated that long before the entry of China there was already an Austronesian nation (a nation of cross-breeding between the mongoloid race and the native race of Borneo) came to the
island of Borneo. New Chinese merchants enter the fourth abab, whereas the first abab, after Indian merchants enter Hindu teachings in the land of Borneo.

Regardless of the debate on the origin of the Dayak ancestors, the introduction of the Yunan to Borneo is a fact with reference to van Heine Geldern (Elmiyah, 2008: 92) on the spreading of square ax cultures. His research proves that the Autroinese nation immigrated from his home region around Yunan, the area around South China, Yang Tse Kiang, Mekhong and Menan Rivers. They entered Indonesia through West Malaysia spread to Sumatra, Java, Bali, and partly to Kalimantan. Initially, their profession was as gold miners, but then some switched professions as planters, traders, and fishermen.

After the Yunan people, the next group of immigrants who came to Borneo Island was the Deutro Malays group which aimed to trade by small vessels. The wave of migration from the Deutro Malay group from year to year continues to increase control of coastal areas causing the Proto Malay groups known as Dayaks or Dayak tribes increasingly pressed into the interior. Along with the entry of Deutro Melayu-Melayu or Melayu Muda also spread the spread of Islam. When Dayaks convert to Islam, they no longer identify themselves as Dayaks, but Malay. Dayak people who do not want to convert to Islam immigrate to the interior, which then called the territory of Great Dayak. Therefore, Dayak people are a name and a characteristic of ethnic identity of ethnic Proto Melayu (Old Malay or Proto Malayid), which is claimed as indigenous people of Kalimantan Island, including North Borneo.

The term Dayak was originally used by Deutro Malays who were later written by British authors and publishers before World War II about Dayak tribes in North Kalimantan, such as Charles Brooke, a British national adventurer who came to control Sarawak in 1839 (Djuweng, 1992: 07--08). The term Dayak also appears in Dutch manuscripts which are a further development of the Dayak version (Petebang, 2001), as for August Haderland, a Dutch sociologist wrote. The name of Dayak as a unity of Dayak subs tribe in Kalimantan then agreed in the meeting of Dayak customary heads throughout Kalimantan at Tumbang Anoi in 1894 (Usop, 1994: v-vii; and Ilon, 1987: 107--109).

Although the term Dayak is often used to describe indigenous Kalimantan tribes, it is not appropriate because there are hundreds of heterogeneous tribes in Kalimantan. In connection with that, among the Dayak people themselves, there are those who object to the term Dayak so that the term Daya is very popular in Kutai, East Kalimantan. However, due to the pressure of various discriminatory policies, whether the Malay Sultanate, the Dutch colonialists, or religious interests, then became 'one' calling themselves Dayak or Daya.

On the other hand the term Dayak is sometimes constructed to degrade the social status of the group when compared to other groups in Kalimantan (Tanasaldy, 2007: 463; King, 1985: 57; Rivut, 2003: 191; Measure, 1971: 183; Maunati, 2006 : 59; Radam, 1987: 94--105; Usop, 1994; and Odop and Lakon, 2009: 1). The Dayaks are always constructed with the words "hick," "land people," "old-fashioned people," or "hill people," and live in river-bound areas and embrace non-Muslim beliefs. Other constructions for Dayaks are known for their blood-thirsty habits due to the practice of head hunting (Sargent, 1974) and the wild so they are considered not civilized and have no humanity. Researchers such as Domalain (1971) called the Dayaks a wild man and to Boek (1985) Borneo later called him "the country of head hunters". Although in reality it is contradictory because the most well-known Dayaks and peace lovers in their daily lives are always overwhelmed with anxiety for always being the others or being out of the country so it is always the object of the goal to modernize for the sake of development.
Traditional rights regarding customary law recognized by the State are not only material but include the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples to resolve legal problems that occur in their society using local wisdom regulated in the Regional Regulation of Central Kalimantan Province Number 1 of 2010 concerning Amendments to Regulations of Central Kalimantan Province Region Number 16 of 2008 concerning Dayak Customary Institutions in Central Kalimantan. (Pratiwi et al, 2020)

Dayaks are categorized based on dwellings in watersheds, such as the Kapuas, Katingans, Seruyan, and Barito. They are also often called uloh Ngaju, for Dayak people who live in the upper river and uloh Ngawa for people living in the downstream of the river. The communities living downstream of the river are generally more advanced than those living in the upper reaches of the river. To Dayak people, they call them Dayak people (uloh habasa) so that in communicating they usually adjust to the speaker, that is using Indonesian or Banjar Malay language (Usop, 2011: 12).

The Dayak tribe is divided into subtribe. Riut (1958 & 1979); Hudson (1967); and Measure (1972) states that at least 405 Dayak sub-ethnic living in Kalimantan. Despite being divided into several tribes, Dayaks basically have similarities in physical form and cultural elements, such as longhouses, linguistic equations, oral traditions corpus, customs, and customary law, social structures, weapons and views about the universe. Similarly, the pattern of religious relationships with land and nature, the pattern of natural resource use, ownership, and extraction (King, 1978; Measure, 1992). For the Dayaks, the land connects past, present and future generations (Djuweng, 1992).

3.2 Hinting Pali

Tradition is something that is passed down from the heritage of the ancestors to the next generation in a relay descends performed by the indigenous communities that have become deeply entrenched the culture in life. Customs and traditions include the creation and work of human beings who have become convictions in regulating the social order of life. ( Pane et al, 2020).

Hinting pali is a religious and traditional ritual which has been performed for hundreds of years ago. The amicable discussion is held to settle any dispute over land; however, if no amicable discussion has been reached, the spiritual strength (the ancestors’ souls) of the margining hinting will take over it and this may fatal to the loser. The word hinting, which has become hinting pali in the Dayak language, means a sign of prohibition. The rope is extended to show the prohibited area (pali). However, the meaning, function, and objective and purpose of the hinting, as far as the context of resistance is concerned, has changed, in accordance with the context of the maintenance of the local people’s or the subordinate class’s rights. The local rattan rope or a root of a tree called Tengan is used as the symbol, to which leaves of a tree with the sign +, called Tengan are suspended with lime.

From the Dayak cultural context, if the pali are broken, the cosmos will become disturbed and imbalanced, leading to a conflict or dispute. Therefore, the area under dispute should be neutralized. It may be cultivated again (netes) if the conflict has been amicably settled, meaning that the cosmos can be made to be in harmony again and the cosmologic balance can be maintained. Dayak culture includes a culture of dynamism that contains the belief that the spiritual realm exists and can reciprocally interact in human life. In the life of man in the world for example in Tiwah ceremony (a kind of Ngaben) citizens/participants who participated in the ceremonial delivery ceremony cooperate reciprocally handep (reciprocal) finance the ceremony.
This wisdom/tradition can be the economic principle of cooperative or people's economy based on a mutually beneficial partnership.

Hinting pali is a traditional ritual ceremony known hundreds of years ago. To find justice in resolving land disputes in the effort of the community to find a settlement by deliberation and if deliberation cannot be achieved then the spiritual power hinting pali are the one who determines it which is fatal for the guilty party. Customary procedures can be harmonized with positive laws in the case of evidence in the procedure of inquiry which further becomes the authority of the court. For indigenous peoples, the positive legal procedure takes a long time and costs too much. In the process of deliberation there is mediation where indigenous peoples have to deal with 1) the government and 2) law enforcement officers that can be controlled by 3) Private Large Companies (PBS) using their capital under conditions 4) unclear economic systems (see Nehen, 2012). Under conditions 5) there is no law or the recognition and protection of indigenous peoples, feeding the community to continue to fight in a marginalized state in the defense of the damaged land and living/living environment.

Dayak tribes as indigenous peoples have a very close relationship and close to the environment. They are often influenced by magical religious realms. This fact is not easily understood and understood or trusted by everyone. In contrast, the Dayak people consider the knowledge of certain signs or symbols in their lives to be natural even though not everyone has the cleverness to understand and interpret these signs. The cultural values of the Dayak people, Central Kalimantan are derived from the Kaharingan belief (derived from the word "Haring" which means life exists by itself). In essence this Kaharingan believe in all things and creatures that have spirit (gana) and there is only one God, that is Ranying Hatala Langit which creates all the contents of the universe as stated in Balian speech: Inyaho hai mamparuguh tungkupah, kilat Panjang mampa rinjet ruang (great thunder opens its power, long flash of space move/split space) The origin of the creation of man and the universe is illustrated by the symbol of the "tree of life" (batang garing) in which there is a hornbill (tingang) as the symbol of the upper world ruler and dragon as the symbol of the ruler of the underworld. Today this crisp bar symbol is understood by the Dayak people as a balance of human relationships with nature and the balance of human relations.

In everyday life, the people of Kaharingan believe in the divine beings who are in charge and are in charge of helping the salvation of human beings, providing sustenance and spreading diseases, etc. scattered in water (rivers, lakes and seas), mountains, forests, and certain places. For Kaharingan followers, these divine beings are very influential in determining human life. The luck and misfortune of life, natural disasters, accidents occur because of their actions although the cause of the emergence of the action is the act of man himself. Therefore, the highest form of Kaharingan's belief practice is to adhere to custom, it's not breaking taboos (pali) and performing ritual ceremonies that include ceremonies of life (gawi belom), such as mampas lewu, manyanggar, pakanan batu, and manajah antang and ceremonies of death (gawi matei) like a tiwah ceremony.

Ancient Dayaks before clearing land for agriculture and cultivation, make a mark. so that others do not grab or snatch and cultivate the fields in the place where the markers (tarinting or hinting custom symbols) or stakes on the wood from every corner of the acreage from the vacant land to be worked on (Salilah 1977: 1). Hinting or tarinting can be interpreted as a sign of a ban or a local symbol of the Dayak community in Central Kalimantan to mark an agricultural / field area and a religious ritual area in Kaharingan or now called Hindu Kaharingan integrated with Hinduism. Such hinting marks or symbols when in a person's field or land, signifies
ownership and rights for the landowner/area. If hinting is found in the ceremony or in front of the house of a person performing a Balian in a Hindu Kaharingan religious ceremony, it is forbidden to engage in indecent acts or acts within the boundary/custom portal, such as fighting, gambling, and indecent acts. If any deaths and bleeds may be subject to a singer or payment of a customary fine in accordance with customary law prevailing in that area.

The hinting tradition is a tradition in the context of the struggle and struggles for the rights of Dayak indigenous peoples lands from entrepreneurs or foreign investors who invest in large plantations which in practice do things that violate custom, disobey, custom or violate agreements or pali. The person who breaks the pali is called a non-godly person (he does not know). Therefore, hinting becomes one way of planting values and norms that serve to maintain social order, punishment, and discipline in Dayak life.

Hinting means that prohibition/abstinence in Dayak language becomes hinting of prohibition markers by stretching the ban rope. However, in the context of the opposition, the meaning of shifting hinting aims to defend the rights of a person or group by making signs or symbols by stretching a rope ban from rattan or rope from a wooden root. On the rattan rope is hung leaves lenjuang or sawang with cacah on the front surface of leaves with white whiting which in this context indicates that in the land area marked by hinting there is a breach of agreement in terms of ownership and rights to the land. On the other hand, the symbol of rattan rope in hinting means that negotiations are still possible in the deliberation or agreement in solving the land dispute problem. In accordance with the intention of hinting to call gana or spirits of the land and plants are intentionally done to be a witness of their oath or like the spirit court that the concerned carry out the ceremony/tradition hinting is to declare really the landowner or the land area. If anyone lies, one of the parties to the dispute will experience the death and calamity that the spirits (spiritual violence) will commit to those who deliberately violate, break, dismantle, violate, and seize the land.

III. Results and Discussion

Rituals as Resistance Media

The results of this study indicate that the Dayak community continues to perform ritual resistance hinting pali. This is a form of resistance to the domination of businessmen and the state. Rituals have a reproduction meaning a ritual full of meaning to the interests of each group. Hinting pali is also used to indicate the resistance of the marginalized Dayak community groups. Indicated resistance is a form of survival strategy (war position and ideology) for each individual to get the space to negotiate to fight for his interests. Rituals are a means of forcing the dominant group to renegotiate (opening the door of peace), discussing the common rules so that the interests of one another are not harmed. A negotiation process is a form of concern for their social structure, where the Dayaks are aware that partnerships between indigenous and dominant communities are needed in order to create a conducive atmosphere for sustainable development.

Hinting pali is a deliberate and conscious form of resistance performed by the Dayak community in a subordinated condition to a dominance. This is due to creating social space changes in patterns of interaction and justice within the community. Counter movement is motivated by differences in claims on land tenure systems between government, employers and indigenous Dayak communities in agrarian conflicts that do not go there is certainty of completion. Indigenous communities retain their hereditary tenure that is informal (law custom). On the other hand, companies and others come up with a system of formal rules (positive law) that are unknown and alien to the customs of indigenous communities. Implementation of ritual
resistance has characteristics can be led by Hindu religious clergy Kaharingan are pisor and basir and only carried out by a traditional leaders such as damang. If, the implementation is led by a damang then the ritual changed its name to hinting the customary pali. If, in the execution led by a priest Kaharingan called hinting pali. Context and situation affect the purpose and purpose of the ritual is implemented. The meaning of this ritual also becomes a multi-meaning connotation not only meaning prohibition or taboos (pali), but also paves the way to pursue a solution (win-win solution) in resolving land disputes and conflicts.

Hinting pali can be seen as a marginalized community resistance action against land grabbing by state-backed private capital through the granting of entitlements (HGU). In connection with that, the entry of private investors into the Dayak community with the actions of land grabbing. It caused the life of the Dayaks to get worse and face a subsistence crisis to the limits of tolerance. However, hinting pali is not only based on the dominance and symbolic violence at the level of the social structure of the community. However, it is also because of non-governmental actors and NGOs that bring enlightenment and opening opportunities due to the reform and advancement of science and technology (virtual movement) in Indonesia.

In the implementation of hinting pali ritual shifts occur intents and purposes. The existence of a third party which is an extension of the dominant power that cannot build good relations with indigenous communities seeks to ban and suppress resistance by saying that the pant hinting ritual is a sacred domain and should not be indiscriminate. The pros and cons of implementing such actions give rise to controversy from the parties concerned. The result of the controversy gave rise to a new form of hinting in the implementation of the term hinting pali adat / hinting adat because it was not led by a Hindu Kaharingan (pisor and basir) priest, but was replaced by traditional and damang figures as the ritual ceremonial leader who understand and have knowledge and insight about the ritual.

IV. Conclusion

The ongoing globalization has caused many changes not only to environmental issues, but also to community behavior due to changes in their cultural elements. Local government should make local regulations on customary land, as resolved by Permeneg Agraria no. 5, 1999. It requires the involvement of indigenous peoples and government policies related to customary community land use. The need for participative mapping of indigenous community areas. This is due to overlapping of land and interest in land use between community groups, corporations, and governments. The need for cross-sectoral decisions to address conflict and land disputes. The need for formalization of customary land boundaries created by customary head damang supported by local custom communities in accordance with local culture. The necessity for the existence of rituals, cultural sites is reinforced and clarified, as well as the concept of shifting cultivation.

The hinting ritual of pali as a medium of resistance with the local symbol (pali) done by the Dayak community every time they have the opportunity and space to bring down the symbols of violence belonging to the dominant group. The purpose of this resistance is to awaken the dominant class of the existence of their identity, no absolute victory can be obtained because the dominant class is the owner of that victory. In this resistance, the Dayaks have symbolic and cultural capital which is used as norms in the discipline and punishment of dominant groups if they violate the prohibition (pali) is the concept of life (belom bahadat) does not abstain from abstinence, their existence as a marginal community must be recognized and taken into account for propping up the dominance of the superordinate group.
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