

## Contestation of Power and Identity in the Dayak Tomun Indigenous Community in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia

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### Abstract

This study addresses the problem of identity ambivalence experienced by the Dayak Tomun community in Central Kalimantan as a result of interactions between customary tradition, Protestant Christianity, and state cultural policy. The research aims to explain how indigenous identity is shaped, contested, and negotiated within these intersecting power frameworks. Using a qualitative approach and cultural studies perspective, the analysis integrates Michel Foucault's concept of disciplinary power, Pierre Bourdieu's habitus and symbolic capital, and Anthony Giddens' structuration theory. The findings show that *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati* (Living by Custom and Dying by Custom) are not merely ancestral customs, but disciplinary cultural practices that shape subjectivity and social conduct. The spread of Christianity introduced new moral and ritual regimes, generating tensions in the continuity of customary authority. Meanwhile, state intervention through Law No. 5/2017 on the Advancement of Culture redefined customary practices as cultural resources for development and tourism. This process results in identity ambivalence: traditional rituals continue to be performed, yet are simultaneously reframed as cultural commodities. The study offers a multi-theoretical interpretation of indigenous identity formation by demonstrating how disciplinary power, habitus, and structuration operate together in shaping the contemporary dynamics of Tomun cultural life.

**Keywords:** Dayak Tomun; Articulation-Disarticulation; Disciplinary Power; Identity Ambivalence; Cultural Commodification

### Introduction

The Dayak Tomun community in Central Kalimantan maintains a cultural expression that defines the meaning of life and death: *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati* (Living by Custom and Dying by Custom). This expression signifies that every individual is expected to live according to customary law (*baadat*) and to be returned to the ancestors through customary death rituals (*bapati*). These values are embedded in social practices, the use of the Tomun language, and life cycle rituals that continue to shape group identity (Mashudi, 2013; Widanarto, 2023). The expression also positions culture not as a symbolic heritage, but as a normative and existential framework guiding social order.

This cultural system encounters ongoing epistemological negotiations. The arrival of Protestant missionaries from the Rhenish Missionary Society in the early twentieth century introduced a new religious discourse that reshaped local understandings of life and death. The articulation *Hidup adalah Kristus, mati adalah keuntungan* began to intersect with, contest, and partially reframe the meaning embedded in custom. Similar encounters between world religions and indigenous belief systems have produced ambivalent cultural forms marked by resistance, accommodation, and reinterpretation (Nrenzah, 2015; Maganyi, 2013). In the Dayak Tomun case, Christian identity does not erase custom, but coexists with it in a dynamic field of negotiation.

The state also participates in this negotiation. Through Law No. 5/2017 on Cultural Advancement, customary traditions are positioned as cultural assets that may support regional development and tourism. Rituals such as Babukunk or Babantan Laman have been reframed as cultural festivals and performed for public display. This transformation reflects what MacCannell (1976) describes as staged authenticity, in which rituals once held as sacred become mediated performances shaped by tourism, bureaucracy, and heritage politics. Cultural revitalization therefore operates within governmental and market logics that redefine cultural practices and community agency.

In cultural studies and indigenous rights discourse, this issue is significant. While research on Dayak societies is extensive (King, 1993; Sellato, 2002), the Dayak Tomun remain underrepresented in scholarship despite possessing distinctive cosmology and cultural philosophy. Moreover, debates on indigenous cultural revitalization in Indonesia emphasize the tension between safeguarding identity, adapting to religious change, and responding to state cultural policy (Warren, 1993; Nurhadi et al., 2022). Understanding how the Dayak Tomun negotiate these forces contributes to wider scholarly discussions about power, identity formation, and cultural governance.

Existing studies across Indonesia and beyond show similar patterns where tradition, religion, and the state intersect to produce hybrid cultural forms. Research on Christian Dayak Tunjung in East Kalimantan (Panggarra, 2023), Mentawai communities (Irwandi, 2023), the Tidayu identity in Singkawang (Parani et al., 2025), and customary-Islamic negotiations in Aceh (Salim, 2024) reveals that cultural practices persist through adaptation rather than disappearance. Comparable global cases include Protestant missions in South Africa (Comaroff, 1991), indigenous performances in the Pacific (Clifford, 1988), and ritual commodification in Spain and Botswana (Greenwood, 1989; Mbaiwa, 2011). These studies collectively show that indigenous identity is continuously produced through negotiation.

This research argues that *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati* are not static heritage values, but an ongoing articulation shaped by interactions among custom, Christianity, and the state. It contributes to cultural studies by combining theories of articulation (Hall, 1996), power-knowledge (Foucault, 1977), habitus and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990), and structuration (Giddens, 1984), to demonstrate how cultural revitalization among the Dayak Tomun reflects a continuous negotiation of indigenous identity and authority. This study contends that the articulation of *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati* reflects a continuous negotiation of cultural power in which the Dayak Tomun assert their identity while navigating the epistemological influences of custom, religion, and the state.

## Method

This research employs a qualitative descriptive research design within a cultural studies approach to understand how power operates in the articulation and disarticulation of *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati*. The study was conducted in Lamandau Regency, Central Kalimantan, focusing on traditional Tomun villages that are actively involved in customary rituals and church-based religious activities. Primary data were obtained through fieldwork, while secondary data came from customary documents, church archives, and local government cultural records. Informants were determined purposively, consisting of traditional leaders, ritual practitioners, church figures, family members involved in customary funerary ceremonies, and local government cultural officers. The research instruments consisted of an interview guide, observation sheets, field notes, and documentation checklists. Data collection techniques included participant observation in customary rituals such as *Babukunk*, *Babantan Laman*, and *Bapati*, semi-structured in-depth interviews to explore meanings, experiences, and interpretations of

cultural practices, and documentation of written materials and audiovisual records of rituals and public cultural events. Data analysis was carried out through three steps: organizing and reducing field data, categorizing and interpreting patterns of meaning in cultural practices, and constructing analytical conclusions that connect ritual practices, symbolic behavior, and identity negotiation in daily life.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **1. The Dayak Tomun Cultural Identity and the Philosophy of Living by *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati***

Indonesia is composed of hundreds of ethnic groups and sub-ethnic groups that form a rich and complex cultural mosaic. This diversity gave rise to the national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which affirms that, despite differences, the Indonesian nation remains one. One of the major ethnic groups in Indonesia is the Dayak tribe, who generally inhabit the island of Kalimantan. The Dayak people themselves are not a homogeneous group but rather consist of hundreds of sub-ethnic groups with different languages, customs, and belief systems, although they share certain similarities in their worldview, cosmology, and ritual traditions (King, 1993; Sellato, 2002).

The Dayak people are generally divided into several major groups, including the Kayan, Kenyah, Iban, Ngaju, Ot Danum, and others. The Dayak Tomun is one of the relatively lesser-known sub-ethnic groups with a distinctive cultural richness. The Dayak Tomun community primarily inhabits the Lamandau Regency area in Central Kalimantan, with settlement centers in and around Nanga Bulik (Mashudi, 2013). They belong to the Dayak group, who use their own language, Tomun, which is different from Dayak Ngaju or Ot Danum.

Generally speaking, the similarities between Dayak sub-ethnic groups can be seen in their way of life, which is deeply connected to nature. Common characteristics include shifting cultivation traditions, forest management, and a sacred relationship with rivers and mountains. Customary rituals such as birth, marriage, and death ceremonies are also an integral part of almost all Dayak sub-ethnic groups. However, each sub-ethnic group has its distinctiveness in language, ritual forms, and social structure. Among the Dayak Tomun, collective identity is strongly maintained through the cultural philosophy of *Hidup Baadat* (living according to custom) and *Mati Bapati* (dying through customary rituals). This philosophy asserts that life and death are inseparable from custom, and a person is considered undignified if they violate these rules (Widanarto, 2023).

For the Tomun people, "living by custom" means living life according to customary rules from conception to the end of life. Customs not only regulate the individual life cycle (birth, marriage, death) but also collective activities such as Babantan Laman (village safety ritual), Batogur (offering to the spirits of nature), and Manuba Adat (request for rain).

*Mati Bapati* pertains to the duty of participating in death rituals, particularly Ayah or Tiwah, which symbolize the final stage of the spirit's journey back to earth. Without a father, the deceased is considered to remain short of heaven. The argument shows that custom is not only a social norm but also a cosmological framework that regulates human relationships with ancestors and nature.

According to Samuel Sedan, if the people of Tomun are not buried with the Bapati, their souls will be restless. That's why customs must be followed even though they are already Christian (Interview, January 22, 2023)

The arrival of missionaries since the beginning of the 20th century brought about a disarticulation of customs. The teaching of "Life is Christ and Death is Gain" replaces the discourse of Life Baadat and Death Bapati. However, this practice was not entirely

successful. Many Christian congregations continue to practice customs, especially in death rituals, leading to an identity ambivalence: being Christian while still adhering to tradition.

Through Law No. 5 of 2017 on Cultural Advancement, the state encourages the preservation of customs as part of tourism development. In Lamandau, the government has instructed each sub-district to send a delegation for the Babukunk parade in the annual Cultural Festival since 2014. Consequently, the Babukunk, once considered sacred by Kaharingan adherents, has transformed into a mere art performance for tourists. The Christian Tomun community also participated, but they interpreted this ritual solely as "cultural entertainment" without spiritual significance.

Customs become an instrument for disciplining the body: regulating how one dresses, speaks, and even the order of ceremonies. The church disciplines the body of the congregation through sermons, education, and moral supervision. The state disciplines the social body through cultural and tourism programs. In all these arenas, the Tomun community experienced internal social control: mutual monitoring of who was "civilized" or not. Such control creates a sense of shame, fear of being ostracized, or loss of social legitimacy if customs are not followed.

## **2. The Effect of Disciplinary Power Practices on the Articulation of *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati* for the Tomun People**

The articulation of *Hidup Baadat* (Living According to Custom) and *Mati Bapati* (Dying According to Custom) in Dayak Tomun society represents moral and spiritual guidelines and functions as a system of disciplinary power operating at the level of the body, consciousness, and social structure. Using the frameworks of Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens, several important effects arising from this practice of power in the lives of the Tomun community can be explained.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, power operates indirectly through representing moral and spiritual guidelines and functioning as symbolic violence, which is power accepted as legitimate and natural by the dominated because it has been internalized in their habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). In the context of the Dayak Tomun, the phrase "Live by custom and die by the father" serves not only as a moral norm but also shapes the collective perception and actions of the community through a habitus that has been passed down through generations.

This The habitus fosters a tendency to adhere to customs, which are viewed as an unquestioned form of "moral truth." The Tomun community is shaped from childhood within a structure that instills the belief that living without violating customs (*baadat*) and dying through traditional ceremonies (*bapati*) are essential components of a dignified life. This is where power operates subtly: the bodies and consciousness of the Tomun people have been shaped to conform to customary norms without feeling forced (Bourdieu, 1990). An informant revealed;

According to Efendi, if I don't participate in the traditional ceremony when the extended family gathers, it feels as though I am no longer part of the family. Perhaps Although no one expressed their displeasure openly, their looks and silence made my heart uneasy. I feel a sense of guilt toward my ancestors, even though the church says it is acceptable (Interview, June 12, 2024).

Additionally, the involvement of symbolic capital is also an important aspect. Individuals considered to adhere to 'traditional life' receive recognition, honor, and social status, while those who deviate are subject to social sanctions and may even be excluded from traditional funeral processions. Thus, power not only imposes will but also disciplines through symbolic recognition and exclusion. A traditional figure from an interview confirmed the point;

According to Sirus, if we don't participate in *Babantan Laman*, it feels like betraying our ancestors." No one is forcing me, but my heart feels bound by a promise that has existed since we were children (Interview, July 13, 2024).

Meanwhile, according to Anthony Giddens in structuration theory, structure is not something that oppresses from the outside but rather both a medium and an outcome of social practices (Giddens, 1984). In this context, the Tomun people are not only objects of customary power but also agents who actively reproduce the values of 'Living by Custom' and 'Dying by Custom' in their daily practices. As expressed in the following interview;

Lukius stated that; even though I go to church, if there's a family death, I still feel I have to follow customs so I'm not seen as severing ties (Interview, July 17, 2024).

The customary structure that frames community life becomes a normative scheme operating through social control and symbolic regulation of individual actions. The community actively monitors itself and others to ensure they do not stray from traditional customs. In other words, social structures do not directly oppress but operate through the internalization of norms and horizontal surveillance.

Giddens refers to this type of monitoring as a component of the disciplinary surveillance inherent in modernity; however, in indigenous societies like Tomun, this form of surveillance adopts a traditional appearance. Discipline is not enforced by state law; rather, it consists of a system of values and instills a fear of shame and traditional curses, both of which are equally effective in shaping compliance (Giddens, 1984).

The first and most fundamental effect is the formation of a habit that adheres to customary norms, especially those represented in the articulation of 'Living Baadat.' Habit According to Bourdieu, habitus is "a system of durable, structured, and structuring dispositions, that is, a tendency to act, think, and feel in a certain way" (Bourdieu, 1990). In this context, his context, the Tomun people experience a social process from childhood that instills 'baadat' values (respect for customs) as something natural and unquestionable.

In other words, 'Baadat Life' is not just an external rule but becomes part of the internal structure of society's collective consciousness. Individuals become "trained" to adhere to customary values, even without the need for coercion. This shows how power operates through internalization, not direct repression. The most successful ideological effects are those that require no words and ask for nothing more than complicit silence (Bourdieu, 1991).

Second, the disciplinary effect is also evident in the symbolic control of the body. The articulation of *Hidup Baadat* dictates how one should dress, speak, and act in daily social life to conform to customary norms. In this sense, the body becomes an arena of symbolic politics, where power operates through practices, gestures, and even ways of thinking.

Bourdieu argues that the body is "social memory" (Bourdieu, 1990). In Tomun society, bodies participating in traditional ceremonies, wearing ritual attire at death or birth feasts, are not merely upholding tradition but are bringing to life the symbolic power of custom. The body's non-compliance with this code of ethics can lead to stigma, shame, or even social exclusion. Giddens explains that social structures do not exist separately from agents but are rather both the result and the medium of social practices (Giddens, 1984). In this case, the Tomun people actively reproduce customary power each time they perform the *bapati* ceremony, or symbolically punish those who do not live *baadat*.

The effect of this practice is the strengthening of traditional power structures that rely on the authority of customary figures. Traditional figures not only possess normative power but also symbolic power legitimized by society itself. Every time society chooses to "manage death in a patriarchal way" rather than non-customarily (e.g., purely



Christian), they are essentially reaffirming the position of custom as a legitimate center of power. All social practices are situated within a set of recurring social relations, and it is these that Giddens calls structures (Giddens, 1984)

The next effect is the emergence of internal social control. The people of Tomun observe each other indirectly, determining who adheres to customs and who does not. The result is similar to Foucault's concept of the panopticon but in a local form: a "customary eye" that is unseen but always present. This phenomenon gives rise to psychological discipline through feelings of shame, fear, or guilt when violating 'religious life' or rejecting 'bapati.' Giddens refers to this effect as part of the reflexivity of social structures, where individuals not only act but also monitor their own actions and those of others (Giddens, 1984). In Tomun society, a person can feel morally failed if they are not buried in a 'bapati' manner, as such an action is considered to harm the honor of the family and community.

Another significant effect of this disciplinary power is the exclusion of those considered deviant. In Tomun society, individuals who do not live 'baadat' (for example, those who live in a modern style considered contrary to custom, such as eloping, not undergoing traditional death ceremonies, or choosing a purely Christian burial path) are often labeled as lacking dignity. This condition leads to social effects such as identity fragmentation and internal conflict, especially in the context of changing times and the arrival of Christianity. Some people experience identity ambivalence, torn between being devout Christians and remaining faithful to tradition. The practice of excluding customary lawbreakers demonstrates how disciplinary power fosters compliance and draws a boundary between socially and spiritually acceptable behavior. Symbolic power is the power to make things with words. It is the power to consecrate, to legitimize, to name, and to exclude (Bourdieu, 1991).

Finally, the effect of this power also produces social dependence on customary symbolic capital. To gain social recognition, legitimacy, and even access to collective decision-making, individuals must present themselves as 'civilized' citizens. This symbolic capital determines who is respected and who is marginalized.

Bourdieu explains that symbolic capital is a form of power that is unconsciously recognized and accepted by society, and it serves as the primary tool for maintaining power (Bourdieu, 1990). In Tomun society, being a 'baadat' means having moral and social authority. '*Hidup Baadat*' and '*Mati Bapati*' cultures serve as cultural resources that are partially utilized as tourism potential, demonstrating compliance from bodies with the power to speak. Those with the power to speak use it to create discursive practices of knowledge. This concept is inseparable from the knowledge that is internalized to become the basis for the formation of a person's habitus. Bourdieu explains the meaning of habitus as follows: The habitus is a system of durable, transposable dispositions that functions as the generative basis of structured, objectively unified practices (Harker, 1990).

Harker et al. further explain habitus as a set of dispositions created and reformulated through the urgency of objective structures and personal history. These dispositions are derived from social positions within a field and imply subjective adjustments to those positions. Habitus also operates in a state of unconsciousness (Harker, 1990).

The presence of habits can be analyzed based on the compliance shown by individuals or institutions in social practices. Customs are a guide to life or a set of norms and values that regulate the way of life of the Dayak Tomun people, which is why they are called 'Baadat.' Customs for the Dayak people are divided into two parts: customs that regulate the way of life (life cycle) and customs that regulate death rituals. Customs already determine what is encouraged and what is forbidden/taboo in their daily lives.

When we discuss customs, it naturally includes customary law, which serves to provide sanctions for violations of customs that are mutually recognized. Customs and traditions must be followed and shown in daily life and in relationships with the cosmos (Widen, 2023).

Culture, as a system of values, beliefs, and practices passed down from generation to generation, provides a framework that guides our actions and perceptions (Rahmawati, 2021). Tradition, as a concrete manifestation of culture, embodies these values in rituals, ceremonies, and everyday practices that shape how we interact with the world around us.

The practices associated with the 'Living by Custom and Dying by Custom' cultural activity in the Dayak Tomun community, which has converted to Christianity, lead this community to be submissive and obedient to its own cultural rules. The already Christian Dayak Tomun community continues to have its discourse and activities related to the 'Living by Custom' and 'Dying by Custom' cultures monitored, supervised, and trained to ensure obedience and usefulness.

The practice of power resulting from discourse is a form of power that functions on disciplined bodies. Haryatmoko (2017) states that discourse is social practice in the form of symbolic interaction that emerges, or can be revealed, in speech, writing, images, diagrams, films, and music. The concept of discourse is similar to Foucault's, which views discourse as social practice. The consequence of these similarities is that discourse cannot be separated from his concept of power produced by knowledge (Foucault, 1982).

The phenomenon on the ground shows that the culture of 'Living Baadat' and 'Dying Bapati' is not just an attempt to uphold ancestral traditions and a reflection of the Tomun people's identity. It started from the basic law regarding the advancement of culture in Indonesia, as well as its preservation and utilization.

The local government instructed each sub-district, represented by the villages within each sub-district, to send representatives for the Babukunk parade at the 2024 Babukunk Festival. The Babukunk Festival is held simultaneously in Nanga Bulik, Lamandau Regency, Central Kalimantan. Our Babuk Festival has been designated as an annual event for Lamandau Regency since 2014. Babukunk is actually part of the sacred ritual of the Kaharingan religion among the Dayak Tomun people.

Even the Dayak Tomun people who have converted to Christianity are now rediscovering Babukunk and performing the tradition as part of the instructions for staging Babukunk at the annual festival in Lamandau Regency. However, the meaning of the cultural performers themselves has likely changed, considering Babukunk merely as a performance art without any specific philosophical significance.

The entry point for this body discipline is the ideology of development for economic advancement. The pursuit of economic advancement involves identifying the region's opportunities and potential, then utilizing them as resources (Aitchison, 2001; Alamineh, 2023; Besculides, 2002). Cultural advancement and culture as a tourism potential are used as an entry point for body discipline in the cultural revitalization of *Hidup Baadat* (Living by Custom) and 'Mati Bapati' (Dying by Custom). The authorities view certain aspects of these customs as potential tourist attractions. The Dayak Tomun community in Lamandau Regency considers Babukunk, the Babantan Laman tradition, Maruba Adat, Nota Garung Pantan, Banaik Banaki, and several other traditions as revitalized practices that they will continue to uphold.

The Lamandau local government structure also enforces body discipline. The discourse of cultural preservation disciplines individuals within the structure, as various local government programs incorporate Dayak Tomun traditions and customary symbols. On the other hand, Bourdieu doubts the dominant discourse of economics as a pure and

perfect order. He believes that economic discourse is the implementation of a utopia that conceals certain intentions and can be converted into political issues (Bourdieu, 1990).

The contestation of power and identity within the Dayak Tomun community in Central Kalimantan reveals how the cultures of *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati* operate not merely as traditions, but as disciplinary power structures that are embodied within society. This expression confirms that the Tomun people can only be socially recognized if they live according to custom and die through a customary procession. In this case, custom is not just an external norm but a value system that disciplines the body, shapes consciousness, and regulates social relations (Foucault, 1977; Haryatmoko, 2017).

From Foucault's perspective, Tomun custom is a disciplinary mechanism that operates through rituals, symbols, and internal social control. For example, the obligation to undergo Bapati in death does not simply involve formal ceremonies but also concerns moral and cosmological legitimacy: the spirit is considered restless if not buried according to custom. "If the Tomun people are not buried with Bapati, their spirits cannot rest," said Samuel Sedan, a Tomun traditional figure (interview, January 22, 2023). This practice confirms the existence of customary law that constantly monitors, a local panopticon that makes individuals comply not through physical coercion but through a sense of shame and fear of losing dignity in the eyes of the community (Foucault, 1982).

However, this compliance cannot be understood solely through disciplinary mechanisms. Bourdieu's analysis shows that custom has shaped the habitus of the Tomun people, which are dispositions inherited across generations and make compliance feel natural (Bourdieu, 1990). From childhood, Tomun individuals are shaped to "live according to custom," so that customary norms are internalized as part of themselves. This habitus is reinforced by symbolic capital: traditional figures are respected for their ritual authority, while church figures are respected for their religious legitimacy. The Tomun cultural arena also became a space for power contestation, where both of these actor groups competed for the authority to define the truth of life and death (Swartz, 1997). Symbolic violence works subtly: society accepts customary norms not because they are forced upon them, but because they are believed to be legitimate moral truths.

Nevertheless, the Tomun people were not merely objects of power. From Giddens' (1984) perspective, it can be seen that they are reflexive agents who continuously reproduce structures through everyday actions. Many Tomun people continue to practice Bapati even after becoming Christian, citing respect for their ancestors and the preservation of social harmony as reasons. Conversely, some also choose a purely church burial as a form of faith loyalty. These choices demonstrate that customary and religious structures are not static entities but are dynamically reproduced through social practices. This reflexivity confirms that the Tomun people are constantly negotiating their identity between two horizons of truth: custom and religion (Giddens, 1984).

Contestation becomes increasingly complex with the state's involvement through Law No. 5 of 2017 concerning the Advancement of Culture. The state rearticulated customs into development and tourism assets (Liljeblad, 2014), packaging sacred rituals like Babukunk or Babantan Laman into an annual festival in Lamandau since 2014. This process aligns with what MacCannell (1976) referred to as staged authenticity, where local culture is presented for tourist consumption. In practice, the Christian Tomun community participated in the festival but considered it merely "cultural entertainment" without spiritual significance. This indicates a reduction of sacred meaning into a spectacle, a phenomenon of cultural commodification also observed by Cohen (1988) and Picard (1996) in the context of tourism in other communities.

This process of articulation-disarticulation-rearticulation aligns with Stuart Hall's thinking (Hall, 1996), which emphasizes that culture is always political. The customs that



had long been the framework of the Tomun identity were disarticulated by Protestant Christian teachings—replacing "Life is a Blessing" with "Life is Christ," and "Death is a Father" with "Death is Gain." However, this disarticulation did not completely replace custom, as society continued to perform death rituals according to custom. The state then rearticulated this by positioning custom as "local culture" within the framework of development and tourism (Cheong, S. M., & Miller, 2000). Thus, the Tomun culture became an arena where custom, religion, and the state clashed to determine the authority of meaning.

Identity ambivalence emerges as a consequence of this contestation. On one hand, the Tomun people are proud that their customs are recognized by the state and showcased in cultural festivals. On the other hand, they face the reality that the sacred meaning of customs is eroded by the logic of tourism. This ambivalence shows that cultural revitalization is never neutral but is always linked to political, economic, and power interests (Dwipayana, 2023). In other words, *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati* are not merely ancestral legacies but rather practices of power that are continuously produced, negotiated, and transformed within the context of modernity, global religion, and state policies.

### **3. *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati* as a Mechanism of Power and Subject Formation**

This research offers a multi-layered analytical framework for understanding power relations within indigenous communities by integrating Foucault's conception of disciplinary power, Bourdieu's notion of habitus and symbolic capital, and Giddens' structuration. This approach highlights how identity and legitimacy are negotiated not only through discourse but through embodied practice and everyday social interaction (Rara & Subagya, 2023).

Field data show that *Hidup Baadat and Mati Bapati* is not simply a cultural expression but a mechanism of embodied power. Shame, honor, and belonging are inscribed in the body and reinforced through ritual expectation and community surveillance. Individuals not buried according to customary rites are perceived as having lost dignity. Similar negotiations between customary funerary norms and Christianity have also been reported in other Dayak communities, showing a shared dynamic of identity ambivalence (Anggraini, 2021; Widyawati, 2019).

This research expands articulation–disarticulation beyond discourse by demonstrating how identity is performed and reproduced through bodily comportment, affect, and ritual action. Christianity did not erase customary authority but introduced alternative forms of moral legitimacy that coexist, overlap, and sometimes challenge each other. State cultural policy further reshapes these relations by reframing custom as cultural heritage and touristic resource (Lindsey & Pausacker, 2022; Dewi, 2020), producing new configurations of authority within the Tomun community.

The practical relevance of this study lies in its implications for cultural preservation policy. Custom in the Tomun context is not static heritage but a living mechanism of identity formation and social regulation. Revitalization policies that treat custom as display risk producing cultural forms that are officially recognized yet socially hollow. Effective policy must respond to how authority, meaning, and belonging are negotiated in lived practice.

### **Conclusion**

The articulation and disarticulation of *Hidup Baadat* and *Mati Bapati* among the Dayak Tomun show that this cultural expression functions as a dynamic mechanism of power that shapes identity, regulates social behavior, and mediates relations between

custom, religion, and the state. Rather than being static heritage, it operates through embodied discipline and internalized dispositions that make adherence to custom feel natural, while Christianity introduces new moral frameworks that do not erase but coexist with and reshape customary practice. The state's cultural revitalization and tourism policies further reconfigure these meanings by transforming sacred rituals into cultural displays, creating tensions between authenticity and commodification. The research concludes that the cultural identity of the Tomun people is formed through continuous negotiation across customary loyalty, religious belonging, and state cultural agendas. Therefore, efforts to preserve or revitalize culture must prioritize the lived meaning and spiritual significance of customs within the community, rather than reducing them to symbolic or economic value.

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