

PHILOSOPHY AND CULTURAL VALUES OF THE DESA DAYAK SUB-TRIBE IN SHIFTING AGRICULTURE

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Abstract: *This research is motivated by the author's desire to describe the facts of shifting agriculture the Dayak Desa sub-tribe. Shifting agriculture is not just an activity of burning land, planting rice or harvesting. Shifting agriculture has spiritual values, culture, local wisdom and togetherness. Shifting agriculture is part of the belief that is manifested in the form of a farming ritual system. The purpose of this study is to describe shifting agriculture practices that have been carried out from generation to generation for hundreds of years. There are 9 (nine) stages of shifting agriculture starting from the beginning, namely slashing (manggul) to the end, namely harvesting (ngetaw) which should be carried out by cultivators of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe: 1). Manggul. 2). Nebash. 3). Nebang. 4). Ngeladaq (cleaning the edge of the field so that the fire cannot spread out of the field). 5). Nunu (to burn) . 6). Nayaq. 7). Nugal. 8). Ngemabaw (cleaning the field by pulling the grass). 9). Ngetaw (harvesting rice). Shifting agriculture in the Dayak Desa sub-tribe version has at least 10 cultural values. These values are; Foraging for food, spirituality, togetherness, caring for the environment, local wisdom (cultivation), Ethics and Law, Joy and gratitude, New Year's Eve and property rights. Terminology in English that is used to designate the farming activities of the Dayak people and especially the Dayak Desa sub-tribe such as the word 'slash and burn' is inaccurate and can lead to misleading interpretations. The Dayak Desa sub-tribe community does not slash land and then burn it, it is true that there are slashing and burning activities in farming activities, but the term 'slash and burn' is not appropriate when used for farming activities. Slashing and burning activities can also be done without farming. The terms slashing and burning are wrong terms so that it can lead to a wrong understanding of farming activities. The English terminology that is closer to the fact of farming activity is 'Shifting Agriculture'*

Keywords: *Main Duties and Functions, Subdistrict Head*

PENDAHULUAN

Shifting agriculture for the Dayak community is the practice of farming by applying the principles of local wisdom, rules and stages that must be passed. Cultivating communities, especially the Dayak community, are often blamed for forest fires every year that cause smog and pollute the environment. The negative stigma as 'forest destroyers' and 'environmental polluters' is often used as an excuse for certain parties to justify their actions

forbidding the Dayak people from shifting agriculture by burning the land.

The narrow understanding above is an understanding that is not based on correct knowledge of cultural anthropology and the religious shifting agriculture system of the Dayak community and the Dayak Desa sub-tribe in particular. For the Dayak Desa sub-tribe, farming is not just about clearing land by burning. Slashing and burning land without rules is tantamount to behavior that damages the environment and the ethical values of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe

community. In essence, slashing and burning activities are ordinary activities that can be done by anyone and have no cultural value.

According to Paul Rattray, an Australian missionary who was born and raised in Sintang, West Kalimantan, who also farmed in Sintang, West Kalimantan, he said that: In English three words are used for shifting agriculture or 'cultivating', namely "Slash and Burn Agriculture", "Swidden Agriculture" and "Shifting Agriculture". The term 'Slash and Burn' means "Slash and Burn", while the words "Swidden" and "Shifting" mean that agriculture moves from place to place with non-permanent agricultural elements. The term 'Slash and Burn' has a negative element because it is commonly used to describe people with destructive and destructive attitudes. Although the word 'Swidden' is technically and scientifically the most appropriate, however, not many westerners understand or use this word, while almost all English users understand the meaning of the term "Shifting Agriculture". The meaning of the term "Shifting Agriculture" is neutral in nature, nor is there any term in English that could interfere with the meaning of these words, so the term "Shifting Agriculture" is the most appropriate term to describe the socio-cultural activities of the Dayak shifting agriculture people. (Interview, February 18, 2022).

METHODS

This research is a descriptive research with a qualitative approach. According to Sugiyono (2019), the qualitative descriptive method is a research method based on the philosophy of postpositivism which is used to examine the condition of natural objects (as opposed to experiments) where the researcher is the key instrument, the data collection technique is done by triangulation (combined), the data analysis is descriptive.

inductive/qualitative, and qualitative research results emphasize meaning rather than generalization. Qualitative descriptive research aims to describe, describe, explain, explain and answer in more detail the problems to be studied by studying as much as possible an individual, a group or an event. In qualitative research, humans are research instruments and the results are written in the form of statements or statements that are edited according to the actual situation.

According to Sugiyono (2018) descriptive research is; "Research conducted to determine the value of the independent variable, either one or more (independent) variables without making comparisons, or connecting one variable to another variable". According to Sugiyono (2019) that: "the research subject is someone who knows, knows and understands what the interviewer wants to ask about the interviewer's research variables". Research subjects in this study are people who can provide information as complete as possible and relevant to the research objectives.

This research was conducted in Ensaed Panjang Village and several other villages of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe community in Sintang Regency, West Kalimantan. Researchers use more references from interviews because previous studies related to this theme are almost difficult to find in literature or journals. Data collection techniques used in-depth interviews with key informants, through observation and documentation studies (Miles et al., 2014). While the data collection tools, the authors use semi-structured interview guidelines and observation guidelines. Furthermore, the data that has been obtained will be analyzed using qualitative data analysis

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Shifting agriculture is the life philosophy of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe in which it contains cultural values that have been passed down from generation to generation. Shifting agriculture activities are activities that must be carried out by maintaining norms, ethics, beliefs and implementing the principles of local wisdom. This can be seen in choosing land, clearing land, burning land and in all stages of shifting agriculture. Shifting agriculture is not just an activity of clearing land by slashing and burning it. Such actions are not shifting agriculture activities. Such actions are actions that can be taken by anyone because they do not contain cultural values, beliefs and principles of local wisdom. Therefore, shifting agriculture is not just an activity to meet food needs or just looking for a bite of rice. Shifting agriculture is a philosophy of life for the Dayak Desa sub-tribe community which contains cultural and sacred values.

There are at least 9 (nine) cultural values contained in shifting agriculture as follows:

1. Faith or Trust

The belief practices of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe in shifting agriculture are characterized by three spiritual activities. These spiritual activities are carried out at every stage of shifting agriculture or there are *mali* events that occur during farming, for example, first: listening to the sound of 'good' birds as the first step in carrying out the activity of clearing the field. Second: '*enselan*' is the practice of belief in the Dayak Desa sub-tribe who believes in the type of animal '*mali*'. There are types of animals that are considered *mali* and if the animal enters the field, an *enselan* ceremony must be carried out. The third is *begelaq*: *Begelaq* is carried out if certain types of animals that do not fall into the category of *mali* animals

enter the field. If this type of animal catches fire when burning field land (*nunu*), by the Dayak Desa sub-tribe community it is called *buntawapi*. This *buntawapi* must be laughed at.

A community leader of the Desa Dayak Sub Tribe named; E.S. Djalil who is now 73 years old said: '*tiq kitai kaq manggul, kerah ninga ke bunyi burung dulau, tiq bunyi burung baik, tauq kitai mansang manggul. Tiq bunyi burung jaieq, kerah bekalih kerumah ari yaq. Pejalai kita nadai taoq depangsang ke agiq*'. *Piyaq ugaq tiq kita tangan nebash nebang, tiq bisiq jelu mali namaq ketengah tebash tebang kitai tadiq, kerah de enselan tebash tebang kitai yaq. Piyaq ugaq alai nuu, tiq bisiq buntaw api kerah degelaq atau de enselan ugaq, tiq buntaw api yaq tadiq jelu mali atau jelu tiq agieq sebilik ngau antu puyang gana.*'

Shifting agriculture is closely related to the belief of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe towards the sound of certain birds that give signs of good and bad. The Dayak Desa sub-tribe community also believes in certain types of animals other than birds which are believed to be the family or messengers of the land and land owner, namely *Puyang Gana*. The values of belief or trust of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe community in shifting agriculture activities can be seen in three things, namely listening to the sound of birds, *enselan* and *begelaq*.

The Dayak Desa sub-tribe community may not choose arbitrarily to cultivate land. There are lands or forests that are believed to be *Mali* lands and forests. Based on the results of an interview with Mr. Bintang, a 72-year-old cultivator and hamlet level customary leader said: '*...bisiq babas, gupung atau lahan tiq nadai taoq depuma, baka temawai, pendam, gupung temuniq, udah yaq kebaq*

gupung-gupung mali, yaq nadai taoq depuma. Land or forest that should not be used as farm land, for example, graves (*penddam*), *ketumbang* (places where people have died not from disease/died suddenly), *keripit* (the place where a baby is born and then dies and has not had time to breastfeed, *gupung temunieq, temawai*.

2. Ethics and Law

The Dayak Desa sub-tribe community should not arbitrarily choose a place or land for shifting agriculture, in addition to land or locations that are believed to be the location of *Mali*, there are locations that are not Malicious but also cannot be used as farmland. In an interview with Mr. Y. Lapan, 72, who is a cultivator as well as a village-level customary administrator, he said: *'...kitai menua bisieq adat basa tiq kaq buma, ngigaaq alai tiq kaq ngau buma kerah malieq ke lahan yaq. Nadai tauq buma entanq emmudaq pangan, de pendam, de gupung-gupung tiq mali. Yaq piyaq yaq. Tiq kitai buma dapiq lahan tiq piyaq, kitai kenaq ukum urang. Tiq bisieq urang buma emmudaq pangan yaq nadai bisieq basa, taoq ugaq depadah neraka basa. Taoq kita buma emmudaq pangan tiq udah madah, sidaqpun udah madaq ke taoq. Tiq kebaq gupung mali, pendam, kebaq temawai yaq saja nadai taoq depuma.'*

Land that should not be used as agricultural land, for example; land that has been recognized by other people (*udah depanggul pangann*), people's gardens, other people's former fields (*emmudaq entayaq pangann*), land that is outside the boundaries of the cultivator's village or village, even though the land is still forest and not someone's former field. Violation of these unwritten rules is an

ethical violation and will be subject to appropriate customary law.

Fire that comes out of fields and burns other people's land or gardens and all that the fire passes through (*api merarai*), is also part of the violation of the law even though this action (*apai merarai*) is not the desire of the cultivator. The cultivator who owns the land must deal with customary law by making up for the losses caused by the fire.

3. Togetherness

Based on an interview with a community leader named J.P.S., who is 74 years old and still farming, that the Dayak Desa sub-tribe recognizes and shares togetherness in working the fields in three senses, namely; 1). *Beduruq*. 2). *bong*. 3). *Ngari*. He further said: *'.....mulah uma bukai utai tiq depulah temeli nyadi, kebaq me buma kitai menua sekalieq setaun. Rama manggu, nebash, nebang, ngeladaq yaq dapieq bulan 2-5, tiq rama nunu, nayaq bulan 8. Tiq rama nugal 19-10. Rama ngemabaw bulan 11-12 udah yaq ngetaw bulan 2-3. Nadai ugaq kerah sama bakaq yaq semau, bisieq ugaq urang tiq dulau nebash nebang, bisieq ugaq tiq dudi.'*

These three joint activities can be carried out at each stage of farming. The stages of farming start from: 1). *Mangull* 2). *Nebash*. 3). *Nebang*. 4). *Ngeladaq* 5). *Nunu*. 6). *Nayaq*. 7). *Nugal*. 8). *Ngemabaw*. 9). *Ngetaw*.

Beduruq is an activity to help other people in the shifting agriculture stage with physical energy which will be rewarded by those who have been assisted with physical energy as well. *Bong* is: helping others in the shifting agriculture stage in return for a sumptuous meal. The sumptuous meals are provided by those who are assisted. So the people who are

helped provide various types of food and a variety of delicious and delicious Dayak drinks to be enjoyed together with joy. The assisted cultivators must provide a drink typical of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe (*beram*) and must kill the pig which is more than enough to be enjoyed by everyone who helps in the *bebong* activity. Meanwhile, togetherness known as *ngari* is helping other people with money or rice or rice or other goods in accordance with the daily wages prevailing in the village.

Another togetherness must be done in terms of burning fields. Norms, ethics and customary law of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe, burning fields should not be done alone but must be done by many people. Burning fields also cannot be done without notifying people in the village, and you must ask permission from people who own fields or gardens that are adjacent to/directly adjacent (*bedar*) to the fields to be burned. Burning fields should not be done by those who are not experienced in burning fields (*nunu*). Burning fields has its own 'science'.

4. Shifting agriculture **science/knowledge**

For the Dayak Desa sub-tribe, shifting agriculture is carried out once a year where each stage is adjusted to the cycle or season. Each stage in shifting agriculture has a unique way that researchers call the term 'shifting agriculture science'. Shifting agriculture is not a haphazard activity but a culture that practices local wisdom full of meaning and belief. Based on the results of interviews with cultivators and traditional leaders Y. Lapan in Ensaid Panjang it was said: '.....*kitai menua sentaq re manggul datai, nebash, nebang, ngeladaq, nunu, nayaq, nugas ngemabau datai ke ngetau bisieq jalai e kedirieq-kedirieq. Tiq kitai*

nebash nadai nebash badaq ari, tiq kitai nebang nadai nebang bedari, tiq kitai nunu nadai taoq nunu bedari. Piyaq ugaq me utai bukai, nadai dekerja bedari.' Based on the opinion of Mr. Sembai, a 65-year-old cultivator from Ensaid Pajang Village, it is said that the 'knowledge of farming' starts from:

a. **Selecting and preparing** shifting agriculture **equipment**

Types of shifting agriculture equipment vary according to the stages. The type of equipment in the slashing stage is a machete (*isau penebash*). The type of machete used for *nebash* fields is not an arbitrary knife, the *isau penebash* is a type of machete made specifically with a special weight and length and a very sharp level of sharpness.

The main type of equipment used at the felling stage is a pickaxe, however, the chopper is still brought (*detangkin*). This type of equipment is made in such a way that it is easy and convenient to use when cutting large trees. *Nebash* and *Nebang* activities are two different activities and are carried out at different times. *Nebash* is an activity of cleaning, cutting fields that are not large trees. This activity is carried out until it is finished and if the *nebash* stage is completed, then there is a pause of several days before the stage of felling large trees with a pickaxe is carried out. The farming equipment at the *ngeladaq* stage is the sledgehammer and hoe and wood made in such a way to clean the edges around the field.

The main equipment in the *nunu* stage is a fire, *ratai*, water sprayer made of bamboo. *Ratai* is dead and dry bamboo that is used to light fires around the fields. At the time of *nunu*

uma, usually the *penunu* bring sticky rice (*pulut*) which is inserted into the bamboo and stored in the burned field as food for the *penunu* after the fire has burned the field (*ruash/pansuh*).

The equipment used in the *nayaq* stage is fire, and *isau penebash*. *Nayaq* is the activity of clearing fields that have been burned by collecting twigs, roots and tree trunks that have not been eaten up by fire in one place/pile and burned (*penugung*). The goal is that the land is more fertile and can be planted with seeds that are difficult to live in ordinary soil. The number of *penugung* can be a lot depending on the level of burning of the fields (*alaq nadai*).

The main equipment at the *nugal* stage is various types of rice seeds and other seeds that will be planted in the fields and stored in a special place (*takin*), *tugal*, *cupai pemenieh*. All types of seeds to be planted in the fields are placed in a special place (*takin and takin temungan*) and smeared with chicken blood (*desengkelan*). The main *takin* is the main *takin* and there is only one sitting on the side of the dip (small plants planted in the seed cover). All *takin* containing the seeds are placed in the middle of the field (*penuduq benieh*). *Tugal* is a piece of wood the size of an adult's arm with a length of approximately two meters made taper whose function is to make holes in the ground to store rice seeds to be planted. *Cupai pemenieh* is a tool used to store rice seeds to be planted.

The main equipment in the *ngemabaw* stage is a special knife (*isau cikoq*) which is made in such a way as to cut the short grass that grows between the rice trees.

The main equipment at the harvest stage (*ngetaw*) is a large enough place woven from rattan material to store the harvest (*takin*), a special tool for cutting rice stalks (*pengannyi*), a small hut on the edge or in the middle of a field that is planted to store the harvested rice and as a shelter/rest (*Langkaw belepa* or *Langkaw uma*). The type of equipment that is always carried and used in all stages of farming is a machete (*isau penebash*).

b. **Choose a land of shifting agriculture**

There are types of rice that are good and suitable to be planted in wet land (*payaq*) and there are types of rice that are good or fertile if planted on dry land (*mungguq*). The Dayak Desa sub-tribe community can choose land according to the availability of seeds they have, if the available rice seeds are good and fertile types of rice if planted in wetlands or *payaq*, the wet fields will be chosen. The type of rice that can thrive in wet land (*payaq*) is called *padi payaq* and the type of rice that can thrive in dry land is called *padi mungguq*. *Padi payaq* types do not thrive when planted in dry land, but *padi mungguq* can thrive in dry land (*mungguk*) or wet land (*payaq*).

According to the results of an interview with Mr. Empusul in Kelumbik Village, aged 67, that: '.....*tiq kitai nebash nadai bedari e, nebang piya ugaq, nunu piyaq ugaq. Tiq kaq nebash, nebang nunu bedari e, yaq nadai buma nama e, yaq nunu babash na.*' Slashing land is not done arbitrarily, there are certain methods whose purpose is so that the slasher does not get tired easily at work. Shrubs and all cut branches or grass should be placed some distance from

the edge of the field to avoid large fires at the edge of the field when burning the land. Likewise at the cutting stage.

Cutting big wood is different from cutting small wood. Wood with a diameter of one meter for example, is cut with a dayak pickaxe (*beliung*) by making a *paraq* with a certain technique to fall down in the direction desired by the logger. Cutting down large trees that are dense and entwined by roots, thorns or rattan, there is also a technique to make them fall simultaneously in the direction desired by the logger. The feller can determine the direction of the felled wood using only the chopper and dayak pickaxe by making the pickaxe cut by facing the desired direction. In addition, 'the science of cutting' also calculates the inclination of the tree, the dominant number of branches/tree branches on a certain side, the number of trees that grow close together, the height of the tree, the size of the tree, the direction of the wind and other trees that are around that can be used to determine the size of the tree. forcing the tree that is being cut down to fall in the desired direction.

Based on the results of interviews with cultivators from the village of Entalang Panjang, Mr. Nawan said: '..... *tiq kaq nunu uma nadai bisieq penemu bayah me, yaq bayah nyuruh api ngerampit. Nunu uma nadai baka nunu utai bukai, bisieq cara e yaq. Piyag ugaq tiq kaq nunu nadai taoq kedirieq, yaq kerah bepadah ngau bala urang di kampung. Nunu nadai ugaq tauq kedirieq, kerah ngau mensia mayuh.*'

Burning the land of shifting agriculture (*nunu*) also has its own

'knowledge' or local wisdom. Those who are the first to light the fire in the fields with *ratai* must be professionals. Such knowledge is: 1). Burn the land of shifting agriculture not at noon but around 3-5 pm. 2). Must know the direction of the wind. To find out the direction of the wind, the cultivating community from the Dayak Desa sub-tribe uses a method by scattering dust upwards. Informing and involving many and experienced people. 3). Prepare all necessary extinguishing equipment. 4). Those who first light the fire in the fields must start in the right direction according to the direction of the wind.

The technique for burning is: If the wind is coming from the west to the east, then the first group to ignite the fire with *ratai* must start from the west of the fields by turning around the edge of the field quickly (*ngerintai*). Next another group ignites fire from the opposite direction (from the east) after seeing the fire is quite high, must do the same thing quickly.

This burning technique aims so that the fire does not grow towards the edge but 'pulls each other' into the middle of the field so that it spreads faster and grows to the middle of the field (*nyabung api*). The fire that moves towards the edge of the field is getting smaller because from the beginning all the twigs, leaves and wood are not piled up on the edge of the field, thus controlling the fire that spreads to the edge of the field is not difficult to do.

5. Protecting the Environment

Protecting the environment for the Dayak Desa sub-tribe community is not only during farming, but is part of the daily

activities of the community. In this study, only the practice of protecting the environment during farming will be explained. The *bumma bettaun* norms or customs of the Desa Dayak sub-tribe are as follows:

- a. Every field land must be made *peladaq* around the fields
- b. Burning fields is done properly by experienced people.
- c. Farming is not carried out on *emmudaq* land where the forest condition is not yet ready to be used as farmland to provide opportunities for trees to grow again.

6. Joy and Thanksgiving

Joy and gratitude are carried out at least on two occasions, namely during the activity of working on the stages of farming, for example at the time of *bbong* or *bebbong* and at the time of *keramay*. *Bbong* is a togetherness that has the nuances of joy and joy. The second joy or thanksgiving is at the time of 'gawai dayak' (*keramay*). The implementation of the *Keramay* is not carried out simultaneously by the villages of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe but takes turns. This is done to provide an opportunity for families and other village members from the Dayak Desa sub-tribe to participate in the *keramay* (*ngabbang*). *Ngabbang* is an activity where families or people from other villages go to the village to carry out the 'gaway Dayak' (*keramay*) event.

Keramay is a thanksgiving party after the harvest, where the village holding the *keramay* invites family and other people from other villages around it. Usually *Keramay* is held for 2 days and two nights up to a week. The village holding the *keramay* has agreed in advance on the day and duration and has prepared all the things needed for the event. This village will provide Dayak food and drink (kill

large numbers of pigs and chickens, make a Dayak specialty drink, namely *beramm* which is enjoyed during the ceremony) and feed and drink to guests who come (*pengabbang*) free of charge.

7. Change of year (*nyelepapat taun*)

The completion of the harvest which is manifested by *keramay* ('gawai Dayak') is the end of the old year and the entry of the new year for the Dayak Desa sub-tribe community.

8. Property rights

Forests that are turned into fields are automatically and legally valid according to customary law of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe as legal and indisputable property rights of the person who first cleared the land. That is why the Desa Dayak sub-tribe may not farm on other people's former fields (*emmudaq Pangann*). Even if it is allowed to farm on other people's former fields (*emmudaq Pangann*), then there must be permission from the owner of the land and it is in a borrow-to-use status. All Dayak Desa sub-tribe communities must know which land belongs to them and which land belongs to someone else. Every member of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe is subject to and obeys these unwritten rules, respects and maintains *emmudaq Dirieq* food by not admitting that *Emmudaq Dirieq* becomes *Emmudaq Dirieq*.

9. Preserving seed

Shifting agriculture is the best method used by the Desa Dayak sub-tribe in increasing the number of seeds and preserving them. The types of *mungguq* rice are: *Rampuq* (*paddi ppun*), *ensanggaw*, *entabbai*, *lennsat*, *sayyapp*, *ellangu*, *engkerabai*, *itam*, *mirah*. Types of rice commonly grown in wet land (*payaq*) are: *baung*, *siam*, *pantuuq*. The types of seeds that are commonly planted in the fields are: rice of various types,

corn (*nyelieq, nyelieq kettup*), *kundur* (*ngemalay*), *perengi, gambas* (*kusutt*), long beans (*rretaq*), ginger (*liyaq*), *kuccai*, taro, chili (*ranggki*), kencur (*cekurr*), sweet potato (*belautt*), millet (*jawaq*), cucumber (*enttimun padi, enttimun battang*), mustard greens (*ensabi*).

CONCLUSION

Shifting agriculture is a philosophy of life for the Dayak Desa sub-tribe, not just the activity of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe community to survive foraging for food. This activities have stages of processing and each stage contains various cultural values, namely: spiritual, moral, ethical, legal, togetherness, thanksgiving, environmental protection, local wisdom and so on. Farming activities that do not heed the principles of farming are those who do not know the rules and norms of farming or deliberately choose to ignore these norms. Ignoring the principles of farming results in violations of customary law and environmental destruction. Until now, farming is still carried out by the Desa Dayak sub-tribe, but in the last two decades, the number of cultivators has decreased drastically. The access of the Dayak Desa sub-tribe to farmlands is getting smaller in line with the massive expansion of industrial plants, large-scale plantations, mining, and the entry of the transmigration program.

More cultivators at this time do not fully follow the stages of farming by applying the principles and values contained in the stages of farming. This is due to shifting cultural values and changing beliefs of cultivators.

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