

Strengthening and Enhancing Product Competitiveness of Dayaks Woven Fabric: Lesson Learned from Ensaid Panjang, Sintang, West Kalimantan

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Abstract : *The aims of the study were to identify the product of woven fabric that are produced by Dayak female community in traditional long house (Rumah Betang) in Ensaid Panjang, Sintang West Kalimantan. Field survey was done in Dayak Desa –a sub group of Ibanic Dayak, community in Ensaid Panjang Village. Field research was done through the participatory research, in which researcher involve in the female traditional weaver activity in long house. The long house is the central point for the communal activity of Dayak, including traditional weaving by female. Direct observation and in depth, interviews were implemented in the traditional weaver community group. Result of the study shows that wearing practiced by female Dayak in Long house as communal activity. Woven fabric motif were numerous, and mostly motif represent the Dayak perspective to their environment. Problem related to the Dayak woven fabric related to the regeneration of traditional weavers and local institution capacity to maintain and develop weaving in Ensaid Panjang. It is important to enhance the sustainability of Dayak woven fabric. In such a case, the contribution of government and stake holder in Dayak woven preservation is important.*

Keywords – woven fabric, traditional textile, culture preservation, indigenous community

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I. Introduction

Woven is one of the intangible heritages of many indigenous community in the world. Woven is representing the art and technology to produce textile which are important in human culture. Historically, many community in the earth produce woven fabric, including people in Middle East and Africa, the Americas, China and east Asia, Southeast Asia and Medieval Europe. In Indonesia, many communities has been known as a producer of high quality of woven. The diversity of culture, environment, and skill produce numerous woven fabric of Indonesia. Recently, woven fabric was found from Sumatera, Kalimantan, Java to Nusa Tenggara Islands. There are very famous woven fabric of Indonesia, includes *Ulos* (Aceh), *Ulos* (North Sumatra), *Songket* (West Sumatera), *Tenun ikat Troso* (Central Java), and *Lurik* (Yogyakarta and Solo). From Kalimantan, there are *Tenun Doyo* (East Kalimantan), *Tenun Pagan* (South Kalimantan, and *Songket Sambar* (West Kalimantan). There are also woven fabric from Bali, Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara which are shows the diverse motif [1] [2] [3]. The creativity to promotes Indonesian woven is important to preserve and promotes cultural richness of woven fabric. Indonesian woven motives often unique and present the traditional characteristics, which are recently widely integrated into numerous modern design. Currently, woven also considered as an important component in modern clothes design. Challenges and opportunities for woven fabric, however, are related to the sustainability of community-based woven fabric production. Woven in Indonesia has been documented close to the local culture. Woven fabric has been identified produced by traditional weaver with traditional material, tools and device. Human culture and their perception the environment contribute to the motif and design. In many case, woven is related to the cultural activity, and therefore there are specific material preparation and weaving practices [4] [5] [6].

Recently, woven fabric is one of the important sector of SME's in esat Nusa Tenggara, Timor, Sulawesi and some area in Sumatra and Kalimantan. Increase of woven fabric demand is one of the crucial stimuli to the existence of traditional weaver in some area. Tourism is one of the significant sectors for woven market. Local community activity in woven fabric production has been reported contribute significantly in

family economic earning. In many rural area with weaving tradition, women often active in weaving during free time. In many area in Indonesia, weaving using traditional and simple equipment been considered as one of the productive active during the free times of women in a daily life. Some village community member with entrepreneurship vision often organized traditional weaver to produce wooden fabric to sell in art shop. Problems related to the home industry of woven fabric have been reported numerous. Mainly, problems of woven production related to the quality and quantity. There are also problems related to the marketing of woven [7] [8] [9].

Dayak woven fabric-a textile formed by traditional weaving techniques-has known as one of the cultural heritages of Dayak in Kalimantan Island. Weaving is one of the skill of Dayak female in Ensaid Panjang, Sintang Regency. As many indigenous community in Indonesia, Dayak community in Sintang has been known as one of the home of skilled weaver in Indonesia. Weaving was done with traditional with local material and guided by traditional knowledge of the community. In the past, numerous literature state that Dayak community life in harmony with its nature, with traditional knowledge as a scientific guidelines among community to use resources sustainably. They live in a single house called *Rumah Panjang* or *Rumah Betang* (long house) [10] [11]. Some community member in Ensaid Panjang still perform traditional woven making. In such a case, the long house plays an important role to produce traditional woven fabric. There are, however, few studies related to the weaving in long house. It is especially important because socio-culturally long house is important, and recently there are numerous external factor lead to the decrease of the role of *Rumah Panjang* including in weaving tradition. The aims of the study were to identify the product of woven fabric which area produced by female community in traditional long house in Ensaid Panjang, West Kalimantan

II. Methods

This study was performed through the descriptive qualitative approach. Field observation was implemented at Ensaid Panjang Village in Sintang, West Kalimantan. Prior to the field survey, authors collect numerous information related to the villages demography and the story of woven fabric in Sintang Regency, especially in Ensaid Panjang. Focus of the literature survey also complete the socio-cultural aspect of the community. Data was generated from office of tourism, regencies office related to small and medium enterprises, office of cultural preservation and other related offices.

Informant of this study includes staff of marketing in *Koperasi Jasa Menenun Mandiri Sintang*, Head of sub-village (dusun) in Rentap and informal leader in Dayak community in Sintang. Twenty three Dayak female weaver who are member of the *Koperasi Jasa Menenun Mandiri Sintang* was involved in interviews process. Prior to the interviews, authors get the permission from informal leader and coordinator of the traditional weaver community. The semi structured interviews implemented in each informant for at least 15-30 minutes for each informant. Interviews was focused to the aspect of product, price and distribution. Interviews was ended after all of the question was responded by informant. In order to get a complete information regarding the weaving process, authors involved in the community and in some occasion make discussion with the weaver regarding the process. Data was analyzed descriptively.

III. Result and Discussion

Sociological aspect of community in Ensaid Panjang with species reference to weaving tradition

Ensaid Panjang village located at Kelam Permai District in Sintang Regency, West Kalimantan. The distance from Ensaid Panjang to the Sintang City was about 58 km. The majority of community in Ensaid Panjang is Dayak- a local people of Kalimantan Island- with some other tribal community from some region in Indonesia. The community in Ensaid Panjang basically lives as traditional farmer. Administratively, there are four sub-village in Ensaid Pajang, namely Ensaid Baru, Rentap Selatan, Ensaid Pendek and Empenyauk. The community of Ensaid Panjang was given in Table 1.

Table 1. Population distribution in Ensaid Panjang

No	Dusun	Population		Total populaion
		Male	Femae	
1	Ensaid Baru	114	91	205
2	Rentap Selatan	55	49	104
3	Ensaid Pendek	73	68	141
4	Empenyauk	67	67	134
		309	275	584

As many Dayak community in Kalimantan, the social and cultural aspects of local community in Ensaid Panjang was dominant in the daily live of local community. Social and cultural role is the main instrument to build community norm. Interestingly, the old tradition of Dayak to live in communal house (the long house, *rumah panjang*) still exist. Recently, a traditional long house as a communal house still exist in

Rentap Selatan. This long house still becomes the house for some member of Dayak community in the village. The long house has 28 room, but recently only 23 room was used as room live by Dayak. Five family has been move out and establish the private family house beyond long house. In long house, each room was occupied by one family with 3 to 7 family member. The social relationship of member was maintained and organized into *adat* role. In the perspective of Dayak in Ensaed Panjang, long house not only place to live. Long house us also place for community association, interaction and place to conduct communal activity. Long house also place for cultural activity. Long house is the place to draw the communal conclusion of any problem faced by the community, especially among the member of long house. Long house is a site to share the knowledge from generation to generation, including numerous skills to live harmoniously with its surrounding natural resources. Long house is the identity of Dayak, and it is very important to preserve the existence of long house in Kalimantan Island [11] [12] [13] [14].

According to informant, in the past there is weaving tradition among female to prepare clothes materials for family members. Introduction of modern textile product to the indigenous community has been recognized as a factor in the reduction of weaving. People argues that it is better to buy textile because cheap and simple. Other factor related to the decrease of weaving is the limited material of cotton yarn. The combination of numerous aspects lead to the decrease of weaving tradition. In 1980s, however, the tradition of weaving has been identified rarely found among Dayak community. These phenomena lead to the extinction threats of Dayak woven. In order to preserve the intangible value of Dayak's woven fabric, Jacques Maessen, the missionaries from Europe, establish a Kobus Institute (*Komunikasi Budaya dan Sosial*) with the objectives of the institute of preserving promoting Dayak woven fabric. Kobus Institute basically concern to the religious service that interest to the environmental conservation and economic community development. Kobus Institute also concern to the Orang utan (*Pongo pygmaeus*) protection in tropical forest in Kalimantan. Informant point out that the contribution of Kobus Institute in the revitalization of Dayak woven fabric in Ensaed Panjang very significant. Scholar point out that the existence of religious based or conservation based organization is often crucial to assist local community. It is especially important when support and attention from local community and government low [15] [16] [17].

In 1999, some social agency (i.e. Yayasan Kobus, Yayasan Dian Swadaya Khatulistiwa and People Resources and Conservation Program Foundation (PRFC) Indonesia) promote program for the preservation of traditional Dayak woven through the program called "*Restorasi Tenun Ikat Dayak*". This program supported by Ford Foundation. Many programs has promoted, including weaver identification and mapping, small and medium enterprises and individual weavers productivity and marketing, documenting motif, and training to make woven. Result of the activity identify 40 weavers still exist. These weaver distribute in some villages in Sintang, including Ensaed Panjang, Baning Panjang, Ransi Panjang, Umin and Menaung. From these, only less than 20 people has skill in traditional weaving. These people are more than 45 years old. These project area also organized these weavers to the local union of weavers. These effort seems to be important to provides basic data related to the future development of cultural preservation [18].

The program seem to be success to get local community support. In 2000, the weaver community make communal business group called "*Kelompok Usaha Bersama Jasa Menenun Mandiri*". This group very active to implement many program related to the weavers capacity development through training and coaching. There is also training in business management, in which is is often poor among traditional weavers. In 2001, this group was developed as *Koperasi Jasa Menenun Mandiri*. Recent activity of *Koperasi Jasa Menenun Mandiri* was centered in Longhouse Kobus Sintang. The longhouse also become display for other handmade handicraft, including beads and chaplets. The *Koperasi Jasa Menenun Mandiri* also assist the financial support and provides materials for woven and other handicrafts made by local community in Ensaed Panjang. *Koperasi Jasa Menenun Mandiri* is also important to facilitate woven trading. The communal cooperation institution is important in local economic community development [19].

Socio-culturally, long house is not only home of family, but it is also place for socialization and interaction among community member. Long house also site to practice numerous common activity together. Long house is the centre of cultural activity, including weaving, meeting, cultural event, harvesting celebration *Gawai* Dayak and many cultural activity which are related to Dayak community live. Long house closed to the community sharing and togetherness. In Long house, numerous community activity, planning and program was discussed. Socio-culturally, there are some prohibition in long house, and there role that should be followed by all of the community member and guest in long house. There are also prohibition related to weaving, including prohibition for weaving in night and when there are people die. Some prohibition often can take 3 -7 days. These lengths depend of the person who died. This situation is common among indigenous community as a respect to the informal leader or other people with special status [20].

Weaving is the traditional communal activity, with science and knowledge was transferred from generation to generation through oral tradition. There are no texts to document weaving techniques, and recent weaver generation received all of the knowledge and practical experience from old generation. All of the

practicing, coaching and transferring knowledge were done in long house. Long house has function as an informal school for next weaver generation. Weaving the works which are related to the female group, but in some occasions, there is also male involved in weaving activity. Scholar point out that direct practices of some empirical experience and oral transfer mechanism are common among traditional community. These become the characteristic of science and knowledge transfer [18] [20], including in case of woven fabric production in Ensaid panjang.

Product

Traditional woven fabric has been processed through handmade, and there are no technological introduction to the woven production. The equipment and device for woven processing (i.e. vertical loom) was prepared by weavers from local materials. The woven processing includes several steps, including preparing material (threads), shedding process, beating-up process, left off and take up process. Compared to the other weaving techniques, the process seems to be similar.

As far, there are 44 woven motives has been identified made by Dayak craft weavers in Ensaid Panjang (Table 2). A woven fabric has one motive, but other can be composed from combination of motive. Each motif has specific value, represent the Dayak community perception to their physical and spiritual environment. Dayak motives has represent the relationship between human and nature, and in many aspect there are human-nature philosophy in woven motives.

Some motif was given in Fig.1. Some traditional motifs i.e. *Lekuk (Ular)*, *Buaya*, and *Remaung (Roh halus)* recently rarely made by weavers. There are some reasons for such case. Firstly, these motifs was prohibited to produce because “*Mali*”, a traditional prohibition belief because such creatures are considered sacred creature among Dayaks community. Making such motives carelessly will influence the negative impact to the personal weavers of disaster to community. In the past tradition of weaving, only old weavers with emotional and spiritual maturity can made the motifs. These group of people was believed as holy person without any *adat* punishment. Thirdly, weaver in Ensaid Panjang belief such taboo. “*Mali*” or other form of local prohibition is one of the local wisdom of particular community. It is often become significant instrument to control the activity and behavior which are identified has potential influence to destroy the local culture [18] [20]. According the size of woven, there are three kinds of woven fabric, namely *kebat*, *kumbu* and *selampai*. *Kebate* has size 52 cm in wide and 82 cm in length. There is however, size variety depending on the costumer request. *Kumbu* often has size about 100 cm in widet and 200 cm in length. It s often used as blanked, or other material for ornament. *Selampai* has size about 4 cm wide and 150 cm length. Usually used as scarf.

Table 2. Traditional motifs of weaver in Ensaid Panjang

No	Traditional motifs name (Local/ Indonesian)	Specific means
1	<i>Encerebung/ Pucuk rebung</i>	Young bamboo shoots, forming canonical structure. Believed able to protect weaver from any negative power
2	<i>Tiang kebuk dua/ Tiang luba dua</i>	Pillar of house
3	<i>Pengayuh/ Dayung</i>	Paddle
4	<i>Emperusung/ Ikan emperusung</i>	Name of the local fish found in Dayak territory, the Emperusung fish
5	<i>Seligi Beras/ Biji Beras</i>	A symbol that Dayak community in Kalimantan is the rice farmers
6	<i>Temuku/Perahu</i>	A symbol of Dayak transportation vehicle in river and lake, especially to collect fish and vegetables
7	<i>Pematah Pakuk/ Patahan Pakuk</i>	Fern which are consumed as vegetable
8	<i>Pucuk Miding/ Pucuk Pakis</i>	Shoot of fern leaf, consumed as vegetable
9	<i>Langgai Uwi/ Ujung Daun Rotan</i>	Rattan, shoot of rattan, material for rope
10	<i>Tambat Manuk/ Tali Pengikat Ayam</i>	Rope to tie chicken in the yard
11	<i>Kaki Kemabai/ Binatang Kaki Seribu</i>	Millipede, one of the common fauna in tropical forest
12	<i>Bandung Berumpak/ Perahu Bandung</i>	Specific traditional boat will wall and roof.
13	<i>Tipah Layang/ Sayap Burung</i>	Bird wings, symbol to keep away negative aspect of weaver in the daily life
14	<i>Perau Semanang/ Sampan Dukun</i>	Boat used by shamans
15	<i>Sandung/ Tempat menyimpan tulang</i>	<i>Sandung</i> is a pillar with specific craft, in which in the top of pillars there artificial house with birds.
16	<i>Pelangka Semanang Jelapik</i>	Symbol of equipment in Dayaks Shamanism, equipment used by shamans in medical treatment
17	<i>Punguk Berangan/ Ranting pohon Berangan yang belum tumbang</i>	<i>Punguk</i> , a twigs of died tree, a fruit with seems like peanuts
18	<i>Ticak Serawak/ Cecak Hutan</i>	Gecko Lizard, symbol for feel at home
19	<i>Ringgit Emaluk/ Bunga Pemukul</i>	Instrument made from rattan, used to process cotton.
20	<i>Mensia Laki/Manusia laki-laki</i>	Symbol of male, head of family
21	<i>Mensia Inuk/Manusia Perempuan</i>	Symbol of female
22	<i>Sempepat Rumah Pasar/Kunang-kunang di pasar</i>	<i>Sempepat</i> , the fireflies.

23	<i>Pupuk Berapung/ Buih air sungai</i>	A bulb of water evolve from spring
24	<i>Luayan/ Alat menyusun benang</i>	Luayan is the traditional instrument of weaving
25	<i>Ruit/ Tombak</i>	Tombak, a traditional weapon of Dayaks in hunting
26	<i>Pentik/ Patung</i>	The statue
27	<i>Lingkuk Bekantuk/ Jalan Berliku</i>	Winding road, represent the dynamic of daily life of Dayaks community
28	<i>Lintah Beperaw/ Lintah Peraw</i>	Leech adhere the boat, leech is dangerous animals but also provides medical benefits
29	<i>Tengkang Banang/ Ikan Tengkang Banang</i>	Name of the fish that are consumed by Dayaks
30	<i>Pelangka/ Tempat melepas bulir padi</i>	<i>Pelangka</i> is traditional tools for rice harvesting.
31	<i>Jelu/ Binatang berkaki empat</i>	<i>Jelu</i> refers to the animals with four legs which are able to consumed by human, but <i>Jelu</i> also refers to unreal or animals with mystical value that able to attack human.
32	<i>Buli Tuntung/ Kumpulan buah-buahan</i>	<i>Buli Tuntung</i> , an instrument that produce specific sound and hanged out in the room to protect and naturalize room from sound that disturb the calmness of house
33	<i>Keliauk/ Perisai</i>	Shield, a traditional war tools to protect enemy attacks
34	<i>Empelanyau/ Buah Empelanyau</i>	Name of the fruit
35	<i>Tangak Semengat/ Tangga Jiwa</i>	Stair, a component of longhouse building to facilitate access to longhouse
36	<i>Tanuk Rusa/ Tanduk Rusa</i>	Horns of deer.
37	<i>Lekuk Pemaluk/ Pemukul Kapas</i>	<i>Lekuk Pemaluk</i> , tool hit for cotton. It is one of the instrument for traditional weaving.
38	<i>Tiang Imai/ Tiang Rumah</i>	<i>Tiang Imai</i> is the first motif of woven made by human, it is become the first motif should be made for beginner weaver.
39	<i>Rumpun Aor/ Rumpun Bambu</i>	Aor, bamboo in the front of house. Instrument to protect negative aspect and sign that the family has the girls that has been protected by her family.
40	<i>Antu Penunggul Aor/ Hantu Penguasa Aor</i>	Ghost in bamboo clump. It was believed that bamboo in the front of house able to protect people from ghost or other negative impact of unseen creature.
41	<i>Temaduk/ Patung</i>	<i>Temaduk</i> is statue of man with animas head; as a symbol for <i>Ulu</i> follower. It is often stored near the stairs and belief able to protect human from negative impact.
42	<i>Mata Kujur/ Mata Tombak</i>	Traditional weapon for hunting
43	<i>Penyepit Daging/ Ikan di tungku</i>	<i>Penyepit Daging/ikan</i> , stick that use to take cooked meat and fish
44	<i>Buayak/ Biawak</i>	Asian water monitor lizard, in some occasion consumed by Dayaks people

Informant point out that recent threats to the future of traditional woven fabric in Ensaed Panjang is the young generation interest in weaving activity. Most of the young generation enjoy with modern culture and spend a lot of time without any cultural activity which is important to sustain Dayak identity in the future. The low number on young generation involvement in weaving was recorded in the data of weaver ages. It has been reported that modernization is one of the significant aspect to change the local community behavior and local value [20] [21].

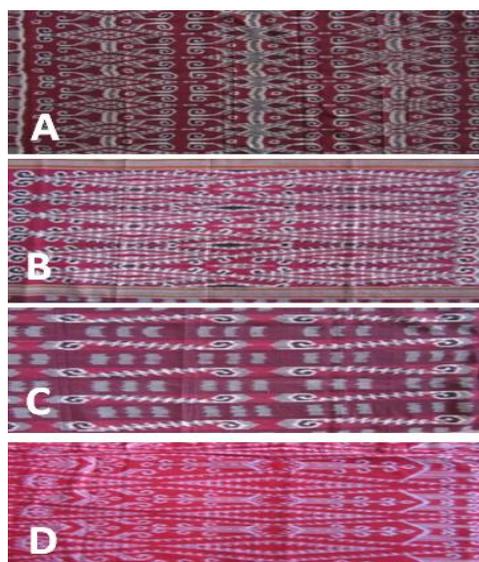


Fig. 1. Motif of Dayak's woven. (A) Motif Ticak Serawak/Cecak Hutan, (B) Motif Temuku/Perahu, (C) Motif Tambat Manuk/Tali, Pengikat Ayam, (D) Encerebung/Pucuk Rebung

Recent local community organization

Dayaks woven has been promoted as one of the national heritage. To ensure continuing production of woven fabric, the human resources development must be promoted. As far, the continuity of Dayak woven seems to be related to the local community activity to make and produce woven. Some assistance to promote woven fabric has been done through numerous training, workshop and human resources capacity development.

Recent local community organization in weaving has been established and active to share information regarding woven fabric. Local organization in weaving can enhance woven fabric development through management skill improvement and networking. The role of the central government and local government is also critical for local community organization in traditional weaving. A governmental pro-poor policy will produce result only if local people can access the governmental aids effectively. Improve regulation transparency is another priority. In many case, the high cost of government regulation in small and medium enterprises are among the major constraints on the development of local woven fabric. Recent craft weavers in Ensaid Panjang belong to the communal organization for weaving

There is recently considerable that local organization and institution is important in local community development. In Ensaid Panjang, however, effort to increase the community skill in organization and institution management is needed. Consequently, a series of training and program related to the human capacity programs is needed. These can be overcome by involvement of stakeholders participation [22] [23] [24].

IV. Conclusion

The woven fabric produced by Dayak community in Ensaid Panjang is facing serious problem lead to the woven extinction. The motif of Dayak's woven often characterized by traditional motif, including component of biodiversity. The preservation of traditional motif is related to the indigenous knowledge and cultural preservation. Attempt to improve woven fabric must be designed for acceptance and must involve the socio-cultural aspect of local community in Ensaid Panjang. The development and integration of traditional woven into market can be achieved through the weaver-market linkages. In such a case, the improvement of woven fabric quality and authenticity is important

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