

Masculinity in Dancers of Belian Bawo


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Received 26 August 2022; accepted 9 February 2023; published 13 June 2023

	ABSTRACT	KEYWORDS
<p><i>Balian Bawo</i> dancer is an important figure in the traditional ceremonies of the Dayak Deah tribe. A <i>Balian Bawo</i> is believed to be the link between humans and spirits. A man should only perform this dance. One of the representations of Dayak life is presented in the dancer's body. This study is qualitatively designed and examines the representation of masculinity manifested in the body of <i>Balian Bawo</i> dancers. Data was collected by compiling photo and video documentation which was then analyzed using the semiotic theory of denotation and connotation of Roland Barthes. The analysis results show that the representation of masculinity is manipulated by attributing clothing featuring an open chest. This large bracelet connotes strength and the use of a special space that covers <i>Balian Bawo</i> dancers. The dominance of masculinity manifests itself through female companions who play a role in preparing all the needs of a <i>Balian Bawo</i>.</p>	<p>Representation Masculinity Belian Bawo Dancers Dayak Community</p> <p>This is an open access article under the CC-BY-SA license</p> 	

1. Introduction

Belian Bawo dance is one of the traditional dances of the Dayak tribe, originating from the Dayak Benuaq tribe in Kutai, East Kalimantan. This dance is often performed in various kinds of traditional Dayak ceremonies. The word Belian Bawo is a combination of two words: belian and bawo. Belian means a way of healing the sick. The word 'bawo' means hill or mountain. Therefore, the Belian Bawo dance is presented in ritual ceremonies whose function is a treatment medium.

In the ritual dance, the dancer recites a mantra addressed to the spirits of the ancestors. The mantra in this dance is part of the traditional healing rituals of the Benuaq people in East Kalimantan. One of the tribes in South Kalimantan that still carries out this ritual is the Deah Dayak tribe. There, this ritual dance is still maintained as part of one of the traditional ceremonies of the Deah Dayak tribe, for example, the Buntang traditional ceremony [1].

Ritual dances are usually performed at death, bala repulsion, medical, and vow-paying ceremonies. The presentation of the *Balian Bawo* dance in the Dayak Deah tribe is at the Buntang traditional ceremony, which is divided into three types, namely (1) Buntang Hajat or Nazar, (2) Buntang Memali, and (3) Buntang Taotn (Year). This dance, in traditional ceremonies, can only be danced by male dancers [2].

Culture in Dayak society contributes to creating socio-cultural constructions. One of the constructions in question is the construction of gender. This construction is present in daily practice, such as (1) how to dress, (2) behave, (3) speak, and (4) art. One of the arts present in society is dance. In dance, gender representation is demonstrated through gestures, facial mimics, musical beats, and pronounced mantras. Normatively, women should display feminine attributions. On the other hand, the male must appear as a

masculine figure. This study focuses on the attribution of masculinity manifested by the body of male dancers in *Balian Bawo* dance [2].

In the context of ritual, this dance is a manifestation of (1) expressions of gratitude, (2) attempts at supplication for healing, and (3) commemorating deceased ancestors. As a result of such a rapid cultural dynamic, this dance finally switched functions. This dance was originally a sacred part of the traditional ceremony. However, at any given time, this dance can be part of a cultural festival and be entertainment in wedding events. This dance has also been documented and presented on Youtube media that many people can consume. When performed to the general public, this dance has shortened its existential prerequisites in ritual culture. On occasions like this, the *Balian Bawo* dance does not use certain offerings, mantras, or sacred conditions that are commonly performed in traditional rituals. *Bawo* means 'man'. Therefore, *Balian Bawo* dancers must be men. Aspiring dancers must undergo a certain process to become *Balian Bawo* dancers. Examples include memorizing spells, memorizing movements, and committing to performing rituals from the *Balian Bawo* dance [2]. This dance can also be interpreted as a marker of Dayak men. The masculinity represented by a *Bawo* is depicted in clothing featuring an open chest, using a necklace of fangs from animals kept by the ancestors and passed on to *Bawo* dancers.

This article attempts the construction of masculinity represented by *Balian* dancer *Bawo* Dayak Deah. Masculinity is a discursive and performative construct that describes and limits the cultural meaning of a person who becomes a man. The formation of masculinity is through disciplining the body to produce not only the subject's essential qualities of stature but also the problem of representation [3].

Masculinity is a form of construction and cultural performative, manifesting in diverse forms [4]. Masculinity manifests specifically in the cultural context in which its people live[5]. This research is limited to the construction of masculinity performed by *Balian Bawo* Dayak Deah dancers in South Kalimantan.

Previous research on the representation of masculinity and the life of the Dayak community has been carried out by researchers in various aspects. They are Ahyat and Mundir Sutaji. Ahyat [6] examined the life of the Kutai Dayak tribe in the 19th century. Mundir Sutaji [1] analyzed the symbol of the *Beliatn Bawo* spell on the Benuaq tribe. However, research on masculinity has at least eight pieces of literature worth considering. They are Baker, Díaz-Cuesta, Guarinos, and Luyt. Baker[7] sees a contrast achieved in *Coriolanus*' film by evoking military masculinity through using Belgrade's landscapes and cityscapes. Díaz-Cuesta[8] discusses how masculinity is represented in John Michael McDonagh's film *The Guard* and how it relates to satire. Guarinos[9] presents how Spanish directors represent the topic of sexual violence by paying attention to the character of masculinity. Meanwhile, Luyt [10] examines how masculinity is built together in South African television commercials. He analyzed a sample of 5803 (five thousand eight hundred and three) advertisements that included 876 (eight hundred and seventy enal) main male visual actors.

This research is based on the assumption that the body of the *Bawo* dancer represents masculinity that is different from the masculinity displayed in other dances, for example, Malay dance, which also exists in the Banjar tribe in South Kalimantan. This research attempts to fill the still open on the sidelines by analyzing the masculinity construction of the body of *Balian Bawo* Dayak Deah dancers. The significance of this study is the opening up of Dayak Deah's cultural knowledge that representations of masculinity can be present through the attribution of clothing that connotes strength.

2. Method

This research uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach through thorough observation of the object of study, such as clothes, equipment used in dance, music, space, and gestures of *Balian Bawo* Dayak Deah dancers. The data used in this study is documentation of *Balian Bawo* dancers collected by researchers, both directly and in the documentation on the internet page, as well as interviews with the community and traditional leaders of Dayak Deah. To analyze the representations displayed, the

researcher used a theory of representation [11], the semiotic theory of denotation and connotations [12], and masculine dominance [13]

Representation is the production of meanings or concepts of human thought that are conveyed through language and produce ideologies capable of constructing the formation of reality in everyday life. Language is the main factor in constructing meaning. Language is written or spoken through signs and symbols such as images, music, and dance to represent human thought [11].

In this context, dance is a text research focusing on the representations of masculine constructions produced by *Balian Bawo* dancers. The meaning of masculinity is analyzed using the theory of signification, denotation, and connotation. Barker [3] explains that denotation is the level of descriptive and literal meaning, while connotation is the second level that forms a broader meaning by associating signifiers with cultural aspects. Piliang [14] also explains that signs and meanings are inseparable in people's lives. Signs are always in people's lives because everything that exists in human life has the potential to be interpreted and give meaning. Konotation is synonymous with the work of an ideology called Barthes myth and reveals the justification of the dominant value at a given period. Myth is a unique system constructed by a pre-existing chain of meanings and is a second-order system of meaning.

One of the myths that have become natural in everyday life is the construction of gender roles in society, such as how to dress, speak and act under the prevailing social order. In this case, gender must be understood as a nonbiological construct. In normative gender constructions, women are biologically required to display feminine attributions, masculine men [15]. The construction of gender also generates ideologies in society that make the masculine superior and the feminine inferior.

Many societies in this world give a different welcome to the birth of girls and boys [16]. Modal material (economics) and symbolic capital is the masculine dominance that continues to be produced from the superior (male, masculine) to the inferior (female, feminine) [13]. Dominance then gave rise to a very subtle, invisible, unconscious violence that Bourdieu called symbolic violence. Concerning male domination, gender constructions are viewed through biological aspects, becoming blessed and experienced constructs.

Gender constructions are often not directly displayed but are present through various forms of sign representation. Penari *Balian Bawo* Dayak Deah represents the masculine construction of the Deah Dayak tribe. All things that convey signs can produce meaning using several approaches, one of which is constructionist design, which is a meaning produced based on the interpretation or interpretation of the reader or listener. However, there is no meaning of a fixed nature, which means changes from one culture to another, from one period to another. Referring to Hall's approach, this study uses a construction design approach.

3. Life in Borneo

The Dayak community consists of various tribes that are the indigenous people of Kalimantan and inhabit most of Kalimantan Island. According to Tjilik Riwt, the Dayak tribe consists of 7 (seven) major tribes, namely Ngaju Dayak, Apu Kayan Dayak, Iban Dayak (Heban), Kalimantan Dayak, Murut Dayak, Punan Dayak, Ot Danum Dayak [6]. The seven major tribes are further divided into 18 (eighteen) small tribes consisting of 405 (four hundred-five) family tribes. The Dayak tribes then spread to West, East, Central, South, and North Kalimantan. The island of Borneo has more than four hundred tribes, including the Iban, Kayan, Molah, Kendayan, Kenyah, Punan, Ngaju, and Dusun tribes, each with its language and customs. Indeed, there are more than four hundred tribes in Kalimantan, including the Iban, Kayan, Molah, Kendayan, Kenyah, Punan, Ngaju, and Hamlets, each with its language and customs [17].

3.1. Dayak Community

Borneo is the third largest island in the world and was known to Europeans in the early 20th century. The archipelago, located in the center of Indonesia in the European imagination, is often associated with mystique, danger, and excitement. There are many mystical images in the writings of European explorers

and administrators, such as headhunting, which the Dayaks believe to be evidence of male power to attain adult status [18].

Borneo is a region that has not only pleasant natural characteristics but also a distinctive culture. This condition has been a concern for Europeans since the time of European occupation until now. Europeans recorded every natural and cultural phenomenon. They also noted the long-standing form of masculinity of the Dayak people. However, this condition has changed, such as men's need to wear battle clothes with *mandau* guns and shields [18], [19].

The Dayak people are cognate with the Malays. His face and posture are racially similar to those of the Siamese, Chinese, and other Mongol races. They are reddish-brown or yellowish-skinned, shiny black-haired, thin or irregularly bearded, rather small and wide-nosed, and have high cheekbones and eyes resembling the Mongol breed's eyes. The average Dyak is taller than the Malays but shorter than the Europeans and has a propositional stature [20].

Researchers are searching for caves in Kalimantan, explaining that they also met a "long-eared" woman in one of the Dayak villages of Kalimantan. Women's ears become long due to the weight of their earrings. In the past, this tribe was once nicknamed "*pengayau*" (headhunter) or beheader. In earlier times, getting into the forest without an escort was dangerous. In certain Dayak initiation rites, each young man must prove his or her courage by bringing home the beheaded head of the enemy. The enemies for them were the surrounding tribes that were attacked suddenly, and the colonial government banned this practice in those days [21].

For a long time, there have been contemporary stereotypes of Dayak people, from colonial times to the New Order government. By the colonial period, Westerners had formed a construction about the Dayak people as primitive humans, headhunters, and living communally in longhouses. The construction ultimately influenced the attitude of the post-independence Indonesian state [17].

Despite the large diversity, non-Dayaks generalize Dayak as a singular identity and ignore the identification of the indigenous people themselves. As King explained in Maunati (2003), Dayak often identifies himself with his tribe, such as from the Punan tribe, Ngaju, to explain his differences from other Dayak tribal groups. King's next explanation is that

Cultural identities are deliberately formed or constructed. Cultural identity is the product of earlier cultural processes and is open to reinterpretations, new ideas, and fading of old components. Khan mentioned that cultural identity is not only a construction but also finds its context. Similarly, the concepts of identity are seen as a result of the dynamic interaction between context and constructed history [17].

Dayak identity is a product of construction that has long been carried out during the colonial period until the New Order period. Even now, that construction is constantly changing along with society's culture. One of the representations of Dayak identity is also constructed through the attribution of a Dayak dancer, namely the dancer's clothes, gestures, and equipment used in dance. Each element the dancer displays represents masculinity and femininity in Dayak men and women. The meaning of Dayak identity constructed through the dancer's body also changes over time, and differences in meaning from the point of view that interprets it [17].

3.2. Representation of Dayak Dancer Masculinity

Discussing a dance cannot be separated from the dancer's body itself because every attribute and movement conveyed by the dancer is a construction of ideologies and concepts that have long existed and are believed by society. The dancer's body is a medium to convey this understanding to be more subtle by using various signs to represent the original life of a society.

The body is something complex. The existence of the body is a thing that is never neutral. There are three ways of stature if we look at it from gender: male, female, or hermaphrodite. The body also has races, ethnicities, and disciplines that must be lived so that the way a person has a body can differ from

culture to culture. The body is part of the cultural construction, so the body also undergoes a hierarchy of meaning between the male and female bodies [22].

The hierarchical order creates a body space that differs between men and women in every aspect, including dance. Lanki's research on Japanese dance explains that dance has a gender within the body and space. A dancer with attributes and movements is a marker of identities such as culture, history, emotional state, and gender. Consciously or unconsciously, the signs produced by the dancer are social constructs so that the dancer's body becomes performative, representing the society's culture [23]. Dayak communities, like society in general, also display dance arts based on gender. Both female and male dancers must perform some dances.

On the other hand, the dance itself can be interpreted as gender. The dance is subjected to feminine or masculine attribution. Dayak dance can thus be argued to represent Dayak's life in terms of gender [23]. Masculine attribution in Dayak men is not only represented through dance. However, masculinity can be represented through everyday clothes, hunting suits, and battle clothes attached to the male body. The clothes attached to the hunting include mandau, shields, spears, and necklaces made of animal fangs. Clothing has two basic functions: to meet biological needs that protect the body and as part of the social system interacting in the social environment [24]. Structural semiotics explains that the attributes attached to the body are markers that have a marker so that it has certain connotations. This meaning can develop into connotations against the backdrop of a meaning-giving culture. The construction of connotations that continue to occur will shape myths and continue into ideologies. The representation of Dayak masculinity through clothing can be seen in the following figure [24].



Fig. 1. Dayak Wong Man

Dayak tribal clothing has differences with their respective identities and ideologies. However, there are the same elements in every Dayak tribe, namely shields, spears, and mandau. That element became a unitary identity in the Dayak tribe.

The Dayak Deah tribe calls shields talabang. Shields are objects made because the Dayak people believed in the magical power to become a mandau couple. Shields are made of ironwood or clay wood. That type of wood was chosen because the material is lightweight and can last a long time and is rectangular in shape. The wood is made pointed at the top and bottom, about 1–2 meters long by 50 centimeters wide, and the outer side is decorated with carvings typical of Dayak culture, while the inside is made of handles. According to Dayak beliefs, shields have magical powers that can raise spirits so that the person holding them feels strong [25].

Citing Sopiandi's explanation, the idea of creating Dayak motifs, including Dayak shield carvings, usually comes from the surrounding natural environment, such as humans, plants, and animals. The carving of motifs on Dayak tribes is different from each other. This happens because of different ideas, customs, and cultures. In the Dayak Deah tribe, for example, the motif usually carved on the shield is a fern motif, meaning an eternity of life [26]. The colors usually used in carvings are red, which means the spirit of life; yellow, which means majesty or sacred; and white, which symbolizes the sanctity of one's faith in the Creator (Deah).

The clothing for each Dayak tribe has its differences with their own identities and ideologies. However, there are the same elements in every Dayak tribe, namely shields, spears, and mandau. That element became a unitary identity in the Dayak tribe. The Dayak Deah tribe calls shields talabang. The basis for making shields is the Dayak community's belief in the magical power of shields to become mandau couples. Shields are made of ironwood or clay wood. That type of wood was chosen because the material is lightweight and can last a long time, and is rectangular. The wood is made pointed at the top and bottom, about 1–2 meters long by 50 centimeters wide, and the outer side is decorated with typical Dayak carvings. At the same time, the inside is given a stalk that serves as a handle. According to Dayak's beliefs, shields have magical powers that can raise spirits so that the person holding them feels strong [25].

Mandau and spears are Dayak weapons that are used as daily necessities. These weapons have supernatural or spiritual powers. In daily necessities, mandau and spears are used for farming, hunting, and clearing forests. In spiritual terms, mandau and spears are used for traditional ceremonial activities led by traditional heads [27]. In the Deah Dayak tribe, in ancient times, mandau was used to guard themselves, fight, and defend territory. Every engraving on the mandau and mandau handle or in the Dayak Deah language is called the *utok mandau*, meaning the caste level in the Dayak Deah community or the user's identity (Deah).



Fig. 2. Mandau Dance

The attribution of masculinity used daily by the men of the Deah Dayak tribe in its development began to switch functions along with the modernity and cultural acculturation that occurred in the tribe itself. The attribution was then negotiated into a dance outfit to maintain the Dayak Deah culture. Dayak Deah has masculine dance, namely (1) *Mandau* dance, (2) *Mongket Manau* dance, and (3) *Balian Bawo* dance. Each dance has elements that form a representation of masculinity in Dayak Deah's men. The attributes of masculinity attached are not wearing top clothes to display the chest, animal fangs necklaces, and mandau.

Mandau dance has its meaning in the Dayak tribe. However, it generally represents a war, the masculinity of a Dayak young man. Even the head hunting believed by the Dayak tribe has been carried out by previous ancestors (Nugraheni 2018). Mandau dance continues to be modified and become a public consumption in the Dayak Deah festival in recent years. The attribution of masculinity represented in Mandau dance can be seen in Figure 2.



Fig. 3. Mongket Manau Dance

The Mongket Manau dance in the past was a proving ground for the bridegroom to marry the bride. This dance displays inner masculinity through a test symbolized by a thorny tree. However, along with the development of culture, dance is no longer a proof but rather an entertainment in weddings or festivals carried out by the Dayak Deah *sanggar*. This visual can be seen in Figure 3.



Fig. 4. Hall of Aruh Buntang

Balian Bawo dance is a ritual dance, part of the traditional buntang ceremony (*aruh*). This ceremony is a means for the Dayak Deah community to pay their vows or promises to the spirits and commemorate the deceased ancestors. At certain times, *Balian Bawo* is also part of small sacred ceremonies, such as a family asking for the recovery of one of his family members. In this case, *Balian Bawo* dancers are believed to be healers and can ask for healing from the spirits.

In the Dayak Deah tribe, aruh buntang is divided into three, namely (1) buntang *hajat*, which is a ceremony to pay vows for the intentions that have been achieved; (2) Buntang *memali*, which is a ceremony to remember parents, family or ancestors who have died. Part of this memorial is repairing the tombs of the deceased; (3) Buntang *taotn* (year) is a ritual ceremony that has not been carried out for a long time because it takes time to perform every night for a whole year. The ceremony or aruh buntang is usually carried out for three days and three nights, up to seven days and seven nights. A week earlier, the community gathers to make a hall or stage, the center of the ceremony or *aruh*. The shape of the hall is as in Figure 4.

The hall is made of bamboo or wood as poles and boards as the floor. The height of the hall is approximately half a meter from the ground. The width of the hall is adjusted to the ceremony's needs, depending on the number of event participants. The hall is decorated with coconut leaves, and in the middle of the hall is a pole called *lawut longan* as the center of the hall, as shown in Figure 5. Here are placed various leaves, offerings, and heads of buffalo that have been slaughtered as offerings in the rafting

of the *buntang* [28]. The executor of the aruh will carry out *nyundro beliarn ngetis tali banjakng*, which means that the executing party has summoned or picked up the Bawo dancer, commonly called Balian, to perform the opening ritual, the handing over of offerings, and the final ritual, namely cleansing.

Since the beginning of the implementation of the aruh, the masculine gender has been dominant because men from the implementing party should only perform the role of calling Balian. Meanwhile, a Balian always has *Penggadikng* as Balian's companion in preparing all Balian needs, such as clothes, offerings, and supporting equipment. *Penggadikng* was also specially summoned by women from the implementing party.



Fig. 5. *Lawut Longan* as Central of Aruh

Before starting the *aruh buntang*, the implementing party led by the traditional head or man who has an important role performs rituals with the *sanggar* as Figure 5 that is placed on the ground or next to the hall. *Sanggar* is a place of offerings indicating that a *buntang* is being held in the house. The offerings placed in the *sanggar* are the executor's gift to the ancestral spirits so that the spirits run well and are kept away from bad things.

After all the offerings (offerings) are placed in the *sanggar*, the whole family surrounds the *sanggar*, led by the traditional head, who plays an important role in the *aruh*. Then, the offerings and a pot filled with charcoal are brought to the hall for smoking by circling them while shaking them with *sawang* leaves. This ceremony is intended so that the hall is protected from evil things. After the process is complete, all equipment and offerings are placed on the *lawut longan* as a sign that the influence will begin.

After handing over the executor's offerings, *Balian Bawo*, whom the executor has specially summoned, will carry out the ritual process *Balian Bawo* is important in *aruh buntang* or other ritual ceremonies because Balian is the leading figure. *Balian Bawo* Dance which just no one can perform. Balian needs to recite or ask for knowledge from the previous Balian. The person who becomes Balian is not only influenced by heredity but can be obtained by anyone willing to bear the title Balian and wants to learn about all the ancestral customs of the Dayak Deah.

The Balian reciter must memorize the mantra or what is commonly called *mamang* by the Dayak Deah tribe. *Mamang* is oral literature passed down from generation to generation (from mouth to mouth). The mantra recitation is usually led by *Balian Bawo*, who is considered powerful. Balian is considered a link between the unseen world and the human world. The mantra recitation performed by Balian is accompanied by dances, drums, bracelets on the hands and feet, gestures, and other body movements that are considered to strengthen the *mamang*'s strength. Therefore, Balian has an important role in aruh or other rituals as an intermediary in conveying expressions of gratitude to ancestral spirits, asking for healing, and conveying wishes.

One of the masculine gender dominations is the inheritance, recitation, and appointment of a Balian only to men, while women can only be Balian's *Penggadikng* or companion. In this case, another representation of masculine dominance sweetened by a Balian is a higher position and gets special services from women.



Fig. 6. Prepare the *Sanggar*

Balian is divided into four groups, namely (1) Young Balian, people who have just learned to memorize and understand some *mamangan*, mite, and legends; (2) Balian Tengah, the person who is allowed to replace the leader in some aruh temporarily; (3) Balian Tuha, the person with full authority in presiding over the aruh; and (4) Guru Jaya, the supreme leader who opens and ends the aruh and becomes the place of the lower level of Balian [29], [30].

Balian Bawo's first role was to open the aruh buntang by bringing prepared offerings and delivered to a large tree. This ritual is called mengkongket nayu. The belief there states that a big tree is a temporary place for the spirits around so they do not disturb during the rafting. *Balian Bawo* will circle the tree while reciting the *mamang*, and hand over the offerings placed on the tree's base. Every day during the *aruh*, new offerings will continue to be placed at the tree's base.

After opening the aruh buntang, *Balian Bawo* acted as the leader of the aruh until the last day. One of the roles of the leader of the *aruh* is *ngebo*, which is to chant humming to ancestral spirits, which is done from night to morning and will be interspersed with *gintur* dance as entertainment for the surrounding community and also for the ancestral spirits. Throughout the night, the music continued to be played and only paused for a moment. *Balian Bawo's* second role after opening the buntang aruh is to close it by doing a cleaning called ngetis tali bajakng. This is a process of severing the relationship with the ancestral spirits as a sign that the promise to the ancestral spirits has been fulfilled. The process of breaking and cleaning lasts from midnight to dawn and is the cover of the buntang rafting. The representation of *Balian Bawo's* dominance of masculinity at this stage can be seen from several *petandas*. First, it is *Balian Bawo's* seat which is the central aruh. According to Giddens, space is fundamental in analyzing social life interactions. The significance of the placement of space specifically to *Balian Bawo* is a representation of the dominance placed on the male (masculine) body. The second sign the preparation and equipment of *Balian Bawo*, which was especially carried out by *Penggadikng* the night before. That represents the position of men who cannot be separated from the ministry of women [3].



Fig. 7. Soyokng Tungoh Process

Soyokng tungoh as shown in Figure 7 aims to summon ancestral spirits using *mamang*. The goal is for the spirits to guide the Balian Bawo in every process and ask permission to break the *wundrukng* rope in front of the Balian Bawo. *Wundrukng* is believed to be a connecting gate to ancestral spirits. The rope's breaking signifies that the promise of execution has been fulfilled. The *soyokng tungoh* process lasts approximately one hour. It was accompanied by musical accompaniment until Balian felt he had received permission to continue the ritual. After finishing *soyokng tungoh*, Balian will be *ngeriak* or shout in a high tone. His shouts were a sign that the dance was about to begin, and the musician would play music louder than ever.

The shouting is a code for dance music to begin or to continue the ritual process to the next stage. On the other hand, shouting is also a marker of Balian Bawo's power as a leader in *aruh buntang* to regulate all ritual processes. Sound or sound is related to space, time, and subjectivity. Similarly, dance is not only dominated by visual elements but also constructed by sound [31]. In other words, the sound of *Balian Bawo's* screams means space, time, and subjectivity that cannot be separated from the dancer's body. All of these are connotative markers of masculinity manifested by the body and voice of dancer *Balian Bawo*.



Fig. 8. The process of the Balian Bawo Dance surrounds *Lawut Longan*

Balian Bawo continued the ceremonial process by performing the Bawo dance. The dance is accompanied by music with powerful body and hand movements so that the *gangsa* bracelet (the big bracelet worn by *Balian Bawo*) sounds to create a fast musical tempo beat. The sound of the *gangsa* bracelet also has a meaning that connotes a call to the spirit. Another meaning is the delivery of gratitude, represented in the offerings or *sesajen* given.

Balian Bawo dance is the finale in *aruh buntang*. Its presence is a sign that the ritual process has ended. This dance is a form of gratitude and entertainment to the ancestral spirits who have accompanied every ritual process. The difference in the space of movement that is pinned to the bodies of men and women, men have a wider space for movement than women (Young 2005). The wiggle room was manifested in

Balian Bawo's body through wide hand movements. The power to ring the bracelet and the wide footsteps to circle the *longan*, as seen in Figure 8, are markers of masculinity.



Fig. 9. *Balian Bawo* Costume or Clothing

Through the vast space of gestures, Balian Bawo can be viewed as a manifestation of power. The social body is influenced by a consensus and the embodiment of power operating on the body (Foucault (2002). Power in the body is achieved through investment, such as gymnastics, exercise, and body care. In other words, Balian Bawo, in achieving bodily power in the Dayak Deah community, must go through various processes, such as recitation, and memorization of mantras, to get the title of Balian Bawo. The title is a masculine symbol of the Deah Dayak tribe because not everyone can afford it. The representation of masculinity manifested in Balian Bawo is the attribution attached to the dancer's body. That manifestation appears in Figure 9.

The clothes worn by Balian Bawo are called *sambang sawit*, the embodied representation of the clothes worn is a dashing figure who leaves the chest exposed. The head covering is called *laukng* as a sign that *Balian Bawo* is carrying out the ceremony and acting as the leader. The necklace worn, called *wondi* is a collection of animal fangs as a marker of power because it is only passed down from the previous Balian to the new Balian who has passed from various conditions.

4. Conclusion

The representation of masculinity that *Balian Bawo*'s body manifests is a show and something that society does to fulfill the socio-cultural construction of male standards in ancient times. Cultural changes in dress in the Dayak Deah community impact the fading use of masculinity attributions. At first, the clothes were worn daily. As a result, the use of that attribution of masculinity can only be found in traditional ceremonies. Along with the times, the Dayak Deah tribe has also negotiated so that the representation of masculinity in men can be widely known through cultural festivals. This festival became public consumption. They present their knowledge about masculinity using social media, such as Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube.

The dominance of masculinity is also represented through the role of Balian Bawo, an important figure in traditional ceremonies and a form of service of a devotee to Balian Bawo. Unconsciously the masculine dominance resulting from Balian Bawo dancers reflects the patriarchal ideology created socio-culturally in the Deah Dayak community through the difference in position between Balian Bawo and Penggadikng. In other words, the position of a believer is like a "wife." She is obliged to serve every need of her "husband."

It can be argued that Balian Bawo dance is a representation of the masculinity of a Dayak Deah man who has been socio-culturally constructed for a long time in the dancer's body. The masculine representation that the dancer's body manifests becomes a marker of machismo and the dominance of Deah Dayak men, which is part of the ideology in society and is still maintained as an inherited Deah Dayak male identity. Masculine connotations are manifested in the attribution of clothing attached to the body of Balian Bawo dancers, such as fangs necklaces, side dishes as leader markers, energetic movements displayed, and shouts as markers in organizing music.

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