Paradigma: Jurnal Kalam Dan Filsafat
Vol. 8, No. 1, Juni 2026, (119-142)
https://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/paradigma/index

The Social Authority of Village Shamans in Kayong Land: A Social Capital Perspective

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Abstract: *The term shaman is generally associated with negative practices in society. However, village shamans also perform constructive roles in maintaining social and cultural life. This phenomenon can be observed in Mas Bangun Village, Teluk Batang Subdistrict, North Kayong Regency, West Kalimantan. This study aims to examine the social mechanisms through which village shamans gain recognition and authority within the community. It also analyzes their contributions to traditional healing, social cohesion, and the preservation of local traditions. Using a qualitative case study approach, data were collected through observations, interviews with six informants, and documentation. The findings show that the social position of village shamans is closely related to three aspects of social capital: trust, social relationships, and norms. Community trust develops through recognition of their assistance to residents, while relationships with community members and the village government strengthen their social position. Village shamans also participate in maintaining customary norms and practices. They perform three important social functions: participating in rituals associated with human life and nature, strengthening social cohesion and a sense of security, and offering alternative healing services. These findings suggest that the authority of village shamans is shaped by local beliefs, social contributions, and continuing recognition within the community.*

Keywords: *Village shaman; Kayong Land; social authority; social capital; local traditions.*

Abstrak: *Istilah dukun umumnya dimaknai secara negatif oleh masyarakat. Namun, dalam kehidupan sosial dan budaya, terdapat dukun yang memiliki peran konstruktif. Fenomena ini dapat dilihat di Desa Mas Bangun, Kecamatan Teluk Batang, Kabupaten Kayong Utara, Kalimantan Barat. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkapkan mekanisme sosial yang menyebabkan dukun kampung memperoleh pengakuan dan otoritas dalam masyarakat. Selain itu, penelitian ini menganalisis kontribusinya dalam bidang pengobatan tradisional, kohesi sosial, dan pelestarian tradisi lokal. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan studi kasus kualitatif dengan pengumpulan data melalui observasi, wawancara terhadap enam informan, dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kedudukan sosial dukun kampung berkaitan dengan tiga aspek modal sosial, yaitu kepercayaan, hubungan sosial, dan norma. Kepercayaan masyarakat terbentuk melalui pengakuan terhadap kemampuan dukun dalam membantu warga. Hubungan dengan masyarakat dan pemerintah desa turut memperkuat kedudukan sosialnya. Dukun kampung juga berperan dalam menjaga norma dan tradisi yang berlaku. Selain itu, terdapat tiga fungsi sosial dukun kampung, yaitu berpartisipasi dalam ritual yang menghubungkan kehidupan manusia dan alam, memperkuat kohesi sosial dan rasa aman, serta menyediakan pengobatan alternatif. Temuan ini menunjukkan bahwa otoritas dukun kampung dibentuk oleh kepercayaan lokal, kontribusi sosial, dan pengakuan masyarakat.*

Kata kunci: Dukun kampung; Tanah Kayong; otoritas sosial; modal sosial; tradisi lokal.

Introduction

The term "shaman" is often associated with mystical practices and carries a negative stereotype in society.[1] Commonly, this term is linked to practices of black magic, such as witchcraft, curses, and sorcery used to harm others. Those who seek the services of such practitioners are typically those who believe in supernatural forces to achieve their desires. This may involve a desire for wealth, power, fame, or other instant gratifications. Additionally, the media's portrayal of shamans, particularly in horror films, often depicts them as malevolent, further reinforcing this negative view. In religious contexts, shamanism is often considered taboo and forbidden. These representations contribute to the predominantly negative image of shamans in society.

However, it is also recognized that in traditional societies, the role of the shaman holds a significant and strategic position within the social and cultural

[1] Agung Suharyanto, "Eksistensi Paranormal dan Penyembuh Alternatif dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Medan," *Anthropos: Jurnal Antropologi Sosial dan Budaya* 1, no. 2 (2015): 196, https://doi.org/10.24114/antro.v1i2.6244.

structure. In other words, shamanic practices are a complex phenomenon embedded within the social and cultural expressions of a community.[2] The role of a shaman is not solely destructive but can also be constructive. In some cases, a shaman plays a protagonist role, contributing positively to the balance of social and cultural life in a region. In addition to preserving ancestral traditions, which are rich in philosophical values, the shaman also acts as a social unifier, a source of security, a counselor, and even an alternative healer. Thus, the shaman leaves a significant mark on the social fabric. The meaning of "shaman" in this context is, of course, subject to processes of deconstruction and reproduction.

In this study, the term village shaman refers to the locally recognized figure known as dukun kampung. Although the term shaman is commonly used in comparative studies of traditional religious and healing practices, the position of dukun kampung in Mas Bangun Village has its own social and cultural characteristics. Its authority is not limited to spiritual practices but also involves participation in customary rituals, community relations, and alternative healing.

This unique phenomenon has been observed in Mas Bangun Village, Teluk Batang Subdistrict, North Kayong District, West Kalimantan Province. This region, which was once part of Ketapang District, has a fascinating history and was the home to prominent kingdoms in Borneo, such as Tanjungpura, Matan, Simpang Hilir, and others. Local beliefs and mystical traditions remain part of the cultural narratives associated with Kayong Land. This is reflected in the various local wisdom practices one can observe when visiting the area.[3]

The role of the village shaman in Mas Bangun Village continues to be influential in meeting the social and cultural needs of the community. Rather than operating in a destructive or divisive manner, the shaman's role is integrative and constructive. The village shaman has become a central figure in solving various community issues, ranging from health, romantic relationships, security, and ceremonial practices, to spiritual matters. It is evident that some individuals with publicly acknowledged supernatural abilities hold a respected position within the

[2] Dragoş Gheorghiu et. al., *Lands of the Shamans: Archaeology, Landscape and Cosmology* (Oxbow Books, 2018), https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvh1dx1b.

[3] Abdullah Sahal dkk., "Etnozoologi Ritual Adat Dan Mistis Masyarakat Melayu Ketapang Di Dusun Bina Usaha Desa Pesaguan Kanan Kecamatan Matan Hilir Selatan Kabupaten Ketapang," *Jurnal Hutan Lestari* 12, no. 1 (2024): 124, https://doi.org/10.26418/jhl.v12i1.63691.

community's social stratification. Even as recently as 2019, the village shaman's position received formal legitimacy from the village government through the issuance of a Decree, affirming their role within the formal governance structure.

Several previous scholarly studies have shown that the role of shamans is not only negatively connoted but also positively viewed in traditional societies, particularly in the realms of health, social affairs, and culture. In the West, research on shamanism began to be a topic of study in the 1960s, often linked to culture.[4] In the archipelago, similar studies focus on the role of shamans in opening medical and spiritual practices.[5] Further literature highlights the power relations in the field of alternative medicine.[6] Some studies also trace the role of shamans in the character education of the community.[7] The strong belief in shamans within society is influenced by determinant factors.[8] Islamic views on shamanistic practices also reflect a dilemma within society.[9] Additionally, shamans play a role in local

[4] Jaana Kouri dan Elina Hytönen-Ng, "Change in the Researcher's Position in the Study of Shamanism," *Approaching Religion* 12, no. 1 (2022): 117, https://doi.org/10.30664/ar.111072.

[5] Ahmad Burhanudin Nuron A'la, "Sistem Pengetahuan Tradisional Dukun Bayi Studi Kasus di Desa Gadungan Puncu Kediri," *Jurnal Global Ilmiah* 1, no. 7 (2024): 462–72, https://doi.org/10.55324/jgi.v1i7.66; Annisa D. Lestari, Dahniar Tahir Musa, dan Syarmiati, "Pengetahuan Lokal Dukun Kampung dalam Merawat Pasien Pasca Persalinan di Kabupaten Kubu Raya," *Endogami: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Antropologi* 7, no. 2 (2024): 464–481, https://doi.org/10.14710/endogami.7.2.464-481.; Andi Ratu Tria Syahrani, Andi Asrina, dan Yusriani, "Peran Dukun dalam Pengobatan Tradisional pada Suku Bajo di Kelurahan Bajoe Kecamatan Tanete Riattang Timur Kabupaten Bone," *Journal of Muslim Community Health* 3, no. 2 (2022): 77–86, https://doi.org/10.52103/jmch.v3i2.778; Seni Widianti, Imam Setyobudi, dan Yuyun Yuningsih, "Pengetahuan Dukun dan Praktik Pengobatannya (Kampung Kadu Nenggang, Desa Pasirhuni, Kabupaten Bandung)," *Jurnal Budaya Etnika* 5, no. 2 (2021): 89–90, https://doi.org/10.26742/jbe.v5i2.1761.

[6] Nur Fitriani, "Relasi Pengetahuan dan Kekuasaan Dukun dalam Pengobatan Tradisional," *JRTI (Jurnal Riset Tindakan Indonesia)* 5, no. 1 (2020): 27–35, https://doi.org/10.29210/3003475000.

[7] Faishal Hilmy Maulida, "Dukun Adat sebagai Benteng Pendidikan Karakter Pemuda Desa Adat Tengger, Ngadas, Kabupaten Malang," *Academy of Education Journal* 15, no. 1 (2024): 787–98, https://doi.org/10.47200/aoej.v15i1.2312.

[8] Nesti Eka Putri dan Deny Wahyu Apriadi, "Konstruksi Sosial Masyarakat terhadap Dukun Suwuk di Desa Tanjung Lor, Kabupaten Pacitan," *Jurnal Sosiologi USK (Media Pemikiran & Aplikasi)* 17, no. 1 (2023): 49–62, https://doi.org/10.24815/jsu.v17i1.31484; Putri Keiko Ayudia Rizky Rahmadilla dkk., "Persepsi Masyarakat Terhadap Pengobatan Tradisional Ayam Ubek di Kecamatan Sungai Tarab Kabupaten Tanah Datar Provinsi Sumatera Barat," *Jurnal Dinamika Sosial Budaya* 26, no. 1 (2024): 47, https://doi.org/10.26623/jdsb.v26i1.9561.

[9] Bambang Yuniarto, Dede Rosada Kolbi, Reni Marliani, dan Ta'ti Mamlakah, "Persepsi Masyarakat terhadap Dukun dalam Pandangan Islam," Jurnal Sosial dan Sains 2, no. 11 (2022): 1160–1169, https://doi.org/10.59188/jurnalsosains.v2i11.521.

elections.[10] The influential role of shamans has, in fact, impacted the development of society's civilization.[11]

Although previous studies have examined various roles of shamans in traditional societies, less attention has been given to the social mechanisms through which village shamans gain recognition and authority within their communities, particularly in Mas Bangun Village. This article focuses on how the social position of village shamans is formed and maintained through trust, social relationships, and customary norms. It also examines their contributions to traditional healing, social cohesion, and the preservation of local traditions. By using social capital as an analytical framework, this study seeks to explain the relationship between individual recognition and the wider social structure.

Method

This study is field research using a qualitative case study approach. The researcher was involved in observing the behavior and interactions between individuals within the social and cultural life of Mas Bangun Village. The focus of this research is to interpret the social position and functions of village shamans based on field data. Through the perspective of social philosophy, the data obtained from observation, interviews, and documentation were analyzed to understand the relationship between village shamans and the local community.

Social philosophy is a specific branch of philosophy that addresses the relationships between individuals in society in a rational, critical, radical, and comprehensive manner. According to Donald E. Comstock, as quoted by Firdaus M. Yunus, social philosophy views society as a unity of human beings in cooperation.[12] Through this unity, social philosophy examines the structure, processes, and social meanings in both the past and present, exploring the values and goals of individuals, groups, and social classes. This perspective provides a

[10] Eko Setiawan, "Eksistensi Dukun di Era Modern dalam Pesta Demokrasi Pemilihan Kepala Desa," Jurnal Ilmu Politik dan Pemerintahan 9, no. 2 (2023): 74–87, https://jurnal.unsil.ac.id/index.php/jipp/article/view/6286.

[11] M. Dimyati Huda, "Peran Dukun Terhadap Perkembangan Peradaban Budaya Masyarakat Jawa," *Jurnal IKADBUDI* 4, no. 10 (2016), https://doi.org/10.21831/ikadbudi.v4i10.12029.

[12] Firdaus M. Yunus, "FILSAFAT SOSIAL (Pribumisasi Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial di Indonesia)," *Substantia* 12, no. Filsafat Sosial (2010), https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.22373/substantia.v12i1.3784.

basis for examining the relationships between individuals, social structures, and the values that shape community life.

More specifically, this research utilizes social capital theory to examine the social position of village shamans within their communities. James S. Coleman,[13] in his article Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital, explains social capital through its functions in facilitating individual and collective actions. Social capital exists within social relationships and may take various forms, including obligations and expectations, information channels, and norms accompanied by effective sanctions. This theoretical framework is used to examine how trust, social relationships, and customary norms contribute to the formation and maintenance of the social authority of village shamans in Mas Bangun Village.

In-depth interviews were conducted with six informants: Sutino (Head of Mas Bangun Village from 2006 to 2019), Supriyadi (Secretary of Mas Bangun Village), Wak Long Samad (Village Shaman), Wak Gani (Village Shaman), Amsyah (community leader in Mas Bangun), and Agus Kurniawan (writer, cultural figure, and youth leader in Ketapang). These informants were selected for their knowledge of and involvement in the social and cultural practices associated with village shamans.

Village Shamans in Kayong Land

Kayong Utara Regency is a division of Ketapang Regency, both of which have significant historical importance in the civilization of Borneo. These areas were once home to great kingdoms such as Tanjungpura, Matan, Simpang Hilir, and others. Because of its historical significance, this region is often referred to as "Tanah Kayong" (Kayong Land). The charm of this area can be seen in the familiar pantun (traditional Malay poetry) of its people, which goes:

Anak cicak dalam gayong
Entah bekaki entah tada'
Kalau dah datang ke tanah Kayong
Entah kembali entah tada'

[13] Coleman, J. S. Social Capital In The Creation Of Human Capital. *American Journal Of Sociology*, 94, (1988). S95–S120. Https://Doi.Org/10.1086/228943

According to Agus Kurniawan, a young leader from Ketapang,[14] this poem reflects the high allure of the region, making it identifiable as an icon and even an oath. This can carry both negative and positive connotations. Agus describes these connotations as representing the masculine and feminine elements of Kayong Land.

The negative meaning serves as a warning not to act recklessly or boast in Kayong Land, as doing so may lead to misfortune or even death, often through mystical means. On the other hand, the region's powerful charm has attracted many settlers who find comfort and even marry locals, never returning to their original homes. This reflects the openness of the local community.

The presence of village shamans, sometimes regarded as "wise people," remains significant in the local community, although their social roles have undergone changes alongside broader developments in society. However, the beneficial values derived from shamanistic practices continue to be upheld by the community as an important cultural inheritance. This is not only observed in Indonesia but also in other parts of the world, such as certain regions in Turkey, where shamanistic practices are still involved in various stages of life.[15]

In Mas Bangun Village, Kayong Utara, the tradition surrounding shamans has a unique history worth exploring. From the phrase "Mas.. Mas.. Bangun.." referring to a nobleman who passed away in his sleep to the story of a land opener who experienced a "death-like" state, the village is rich with fascinating narratives about its shamans.[16]

One of the key figures who was formally appointed as the leader of the other shamans by the village head is Abdul Samad, known as Wak Long Samad. He served as the main village shaman in Mas Bangun since 1974..[17] Four years ago, he officially retired due to age and physical limitations, as well as family requests. Although no longer serving in an official capacity, Wak Long Samad is still consulted by the community for important events because of his respected abilities.

[14] Agus Kurniawan, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Ketapang tahun 2021," 23 Juni 2021, https://www.forpeka.org/2024/09/agus-kurniawan-ssosi-mikom.html.

[15] Didem Uzun dan Şimal Yakut Aymankuy, "Food and Beverage Rituals at the Period of Birth, Marriage, and Death in Shamanist Turks and Its Modern Reflections," *Journal of Tourism Leisure and Hospitality* 6, no. 1 (2024): 106, https://doi.org/10.48119/toleho.1492741.

[16] Amsah, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong 2," 3 November 2022; Sutino, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong Utara," 2 November 2022.

[17] Wak Long Samad, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong 3," 2 November 2022.

"When the main shaman became too old and could no longer fulfill his social functions, an election was held. However, the elected shaman passed away before the position could be formally taken, and no election has been held since."

"In the past, there was always one shaman who served as the head of the group, while the others acted as assistants or substitutes. The community would typically refer to the head shaman for their needs. If the head shaman was unavailable or wished to delegate, they could recommend another shaman to fulfill the community's needs.".[18]

The position of the main village shaman was subsequently replaced by Pak Deraman.[19] This decision was made following deliberation among the community leaders and recommendations from the previous village shaman. However, shortly after assuming the position, he passed away. Since then, and up until the time of writing, no further deliberations or official appointments for the main village shaman have taken place.

The process of appointing and replacing the main village shaman suggests that this position is not based solely on individual abilities. Community recognition and local leadership arrangements also play a role. The absence of a new formal appointment after the death of Pak Deraman suggests that the formal position of the main village shaman and the continuing social functions of other shamans need not be identical.

Nevertheless, the community's need for the social functions provided by the village shaman remains very high. They often turn to individuals believed to possess certain magical powers that can assist in mystical matters during events or in providing alternative healing. These individuals were previously known as trusted figures by Wak Long Samad. Among them is Abdul Gani, also known as Wak Gani. He is an important figure who can replace the social role of the elder Wak Long Samad. He has been in Mas Bangun since August 18, 1980. These two village shamans were the ones interviewed and observed by the author for the purposes of this study.

[18] Sutino, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong Utara."
[19] Supriyadi, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong 5," 1 November 2022.

Social Philosophy Review

In general, social philosophy is a theoretical framework that is rational, critical, radical, and speculative in examining and reinterpreting social reality. Each individual is viewed as part of a larger social system, with the two elements influencing each other. This framework reflects three levels of human organization described by Parson in his work The Structure of Social Action (1934), from individual personality, which forms social systems, to cultural systems that regulate these social systems.[20] To analyze this, various academic disciplines such as psychology, anthropology, ethnography, and sociology are employed.

The primary goal of social philosophy is to uncover what is hidden behind a social phenomenon. This serves at least three functions: first, as a medium for more comprehensive and profound explanation; second, to provide evaluative materials and projections; and third, to provide the fundamental elements for future social control actions (social engineering). These three aspects are necessary for the construction of a better society.

This paper will focus on the key elements of social capital within a community, where every individual plays a role. Social capital is a crucial resource that an individual must possess in order to play a significant role within the social structure. It facilitates the creation of solid interpersonal relationships and can transform them into an active engine to achieve collective goals. In this context, social capital facilitates relationships between individuals and groups, allowing them to cooperate and pursue shared interests within the community. In the case of Mas Bangun Village, this study will examine the role of village shamans in shaping the social capital of their community.

Referring to James S. Coleman's,[21] discussion of social capital, this study focuses on three related aspects: trust, social relationships, and norms. Trust develops through obligations and expectations within social relationships. Social relationships provide channels through which information and cooperation can take

[20] Daniel L. Pals Daniel L Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion* (IRCiSoD, 2012), 336, https://books.google.co.id/books/about/Seven_Theories_of_Religion.html?id=ncf4DwAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y.

[21] Coleman, J. S. Social Capital In The Creation Of Human Capital. *American Journal Of Sociology*, 94, (1988). S95–S120. Https://Doi.Org/10.1086/228943

place. Meanwhile, shared norms and sanctions help regulate individual behavior within the community. These three aspects are used as analytical categories to examine the social position of village shamans in Mas Bangun Village.

1. Trust

The first key element of social capital is trust. It is upon this trust that social bonds between individuals in society are formed. Additionally, trust has the power to prevent and minimize conflicts, as well as to create harmony. As a result, a solid social network is built. Commitment to collective interests, openness, a sense of belonging to one's group, solidarity, empathy, and responsibility are the pillars that support the growth of strong trust among the elements that constitute society.

Within this web of trust, the actions and aspirations of community members take shape. When individuals perform specific roles well and with intensity, they provide benefits and advantages to their environment. From this, social trust in the individual's abilities in that area arises. Psychologically and sociologically, the community forms expectations for the individual to continue the good work they have initiated. Meanwhile, the individual themselves feels a moral obligation to continue the positive contributions they have made.

The public trust built around the two village shamans follows different patterns. First, Wak Long Samad comes from a lineage of village shamans. His father and grandfather also held the same social title. Although he was not born and raised in Mas Bangun Village, he is originally from Tanah Kayong and is a descendant of the Simpang Hilir Kingdom. After marrying, he moved to the village, where he has lived for approximately 48 years. His ability to perform social functions, both in traditional rituals and alternative healing, earned him the trust of the community. He was directly appointed by the villagers as the village shaman and was even officially recognized by the village government with a Decree from the village head, valid until 2019.[22]

Secondly, Wak Gani is a Bugis migrant who has studied various mystical arts during his travels. His role is more substitutive and

[22] Wak Long Samad, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong 3."

complementary to the main village shaman in traditional rituals and alternative healing. Public trust, as the cornerstone of community tradition, was passed through word of mouth. Eventually, he became known as someone with particular abilities who could perform his social functions alongside Wak Long Samad. As the main village shaman's role diminished due to age, Wak Gani stepped in to fulfill the social functions required by the community.

The strong trust of the community is reflected in the enthusiasm for involving Wak Gani in traditional rituals and alternative healing practices. The author conducted in-depth interviews with the informant multiple times. Participant observation was also carried out during the rituals performed by Wak Gani, including the tija' tanah, keluar belamin, and betimbang rituals. During the interview sessions at the informant's house, community members could also be seen visiting to seek specific assistance from this village shaman.

There is a role that cannot be replaced by anyone other than the village shaman in carrying out traditional rituals in Mas Bangun Village. Rituals themselves are forms of establishing or maintaining relationships between humans and the unseen, between humans and each other, and between humans and their environment. Thus, rituals are also processes of communication that convey certain messages. These messages are packaged in the form of symbols, accompanied by cultural values specific to the community.[23]

> *"What I often experience is that when there is a wedding, circumcision, or any event involving a large gathering of people, it is always the shaman who is called upon. This means that the shaman provides instructions on preparing certain items (such as offerings). Once these are gathered, mantras are recited and placed in specific locations. This*

[23] Sumanto Al Qurtuby dan Izak YM Lattu (Ed), *Tradisi dan Kebudayaan Nusantara* (Lembaga Studi Sosial dan Agama (eLSA) Press, 2009), 281–82, https://www.nusantarainstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/E-Book-Tradisi-dan-Kebudayaan-Nusantara.pdf

is done to ensure that the environment is not disturbed and is protected by unseen entities (spirits), so the event can proceed smoothly.".[24]

2. Work Relationships

The second key element is participation in the work relationships established among individuals in society. This serves as the reinforcement of one's existence within a larger organizational unity, grounded in voluntarism, civility, and equality. The willingness to dissolve individual identity into collective identity is a crucial factor in strengthening the social capital of the community. The network of relationships itself can be observed through the smooth flow of information and communication patterns among individuals.

In the case of the village shamans in Mas Bangun Village, we can identify a positive relationship between the village government and the village shamans in maintaining social harmony. This relationship was even formalized by a Decree from the village head until 2019. In traditional societies, there is a concept known as primus inter pares, referring to a leader who becomes the focal point for addressing societal issues. In this role, the village government, through the village head, works closely with the shamans to meet the social demands of the community.

Often, when facing a problem, the village head contacts the village shaman to request assistance in resolving it. Similarly, the village shamans always coordinate with the village government when conducting traditional rituals involving many people. The village government supports and facilitates these activities, such as the caboh Kampung ritual, which will be explained in the following sections.

"The presence of village shamans is quite helpful to the village government in certain aspects. Typically, when there is a problem, whether related to health or otherwise, the community will approach the village head. The village head then contacts the village shaman to help resolve the issue. The shamans are very cooperative. When called upon, whether day or night, they are always ready to assist the

[24] Sutino, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong Utara."

community. Even though they do not receive a salary from the village government.".[25]

Being a village shaman is not a primary occupation for the individuals who hold this role. Most of them are also farmers, like the other villagers. The call to help others is regarded as a personal calling and a social responsibility. They never request payment for their assistance, although they never refuse any gifts from the community as a form of appreciation. Traditionally, individuals or families who have been helped will offer "asam and garam" (tamarind and salt) and nails or a needle as a symbolic gesture. These offerings are often accompanied by money as a token of gratitude to the shaman.[26]

"In life, what should be sought is happiness. Even if we have excessive wealth, with cars stacked up under the house, but if we are not happy, it means nothing. My age is just a bit under 80 years. So, my life experience is quite full. Although I am above wealth, if I am not happy, then life has no meaning. To eat peacefully, sleep peacefully, and have family problems where I can help—that's what is called happiness. To be able to do good or be useful to others, that's what I apply in life. I always prepare my phone and other equipment. Even at 10 PM, if someone calls for help, I pack up and go to help, even if it rains. Rain can be handled with a raincoat, but if someone is sick and we don't help, what would be their fate? That's how much I want to help and be generous.".[27]

3. Social Norms

Social norms are a set of rules that are believed in and adhered to as the foundation of behavior within society. Although they are unwritten, these norms bind all members of the community. Within these norms, there are actions that must be carried out and avoided by each individual, and there are sanctions for those who violate these life guidelines.

[25] Sutino, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong Utara."
[26] Wak Long Samad, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong 3."
[27] Wak Gani, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong 6," 1 November 2022.

Social norms develop naturally and gradually, eventually being accepted as common rules that foster harmony in relationships between humans and their surrounding environment. This is closely linked to the belief system in society. Beliefs provide a framework for understanding the values of the universe. Through belief, humans form their worldview, shaping their attitudes and actions.[28]

The majority of the people in Mas Bangun Village still adhere firmly to the traditions passed down by their ancestors. "Indeed, in our place, the community still believes in the teachings and taboos of old," said the village secretary, Supriyadi. Moments of transition in human life are marked by celebrations in the form of rituals that must be carried out. These include traditions that must be observed when reaching certain stages of pregnancy (such as *mandi bunting*), post-birth rituals (*tija' tanah*), rites of passage into adulthood (*belamin*), pre-marriage rituals (*betimbang*), and post-death ceremonies (*beroah*). Certain traditions are only applicable to the descendants of the Simpang Hilir Kingdom.[29]

This phenomenon also reflects the acculturation between religion and the local Islamic culture. The presence of religion has not diminished the usefulness of shamans in various community activities. Historically, it is proven that the spread of Islam in the Middle East could not completely erase shamanic practices.[30] These practices continuously find new forms after adapting to the resistance that arises.[31]

Similarly, in the agricultural phase, there are specific traditions followed when the planting, growing, and harvesting seasons arrive (caboh Kampung). In the field of health, certain ailments are believed to be caused by spiritual disturbances, which can only be healed by chosen individuals. All types of belief in supernatural forces require the performance of these rituals,

[28] Husni Thamrin, *Antropologi Melayu* (KALIMEDIA, 2018), 175,

[29] Sutino, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong Utara."

[30] Denise Aigle, "The Transformation of an Origin Myth: From Shamanism to Islam" (preprint, 2008), https://hal.science/hal-00387056.

[31] Sukru Burbar, "The Shamanism in Altai and Tuva from Past to Present: Universal and Local Aspects," *Turkic Studies Journal* 4, no. 2 (2022): 22–34, https://doi.org/10.32523/2664-5157-2022-2-22-34.

and it is believed that abandoning them will lead to harm to both individuals and the community. From here, social norms automatically take shape.

> *"I once encountered a case where a newcomer had performed the pijak tanah ritual at their birthplace, but when they arrived in this village, they developed itching and sores on their feet. They were taken to the village health worker and given medicine, but there was no improvement. Finally, they were brought to the village shaman, and a substitute ritual was performed using turmeric and lime. Eventually, the illness was cured.".*[32]

The Socio-Cultural Role of The Village Shamans

From the social capital possessed by the village shaman, at the very least, the individual can contribute positively to their environment in three aspects, which will be explained as follows:

1. **Alignment of the Cycles of Nature and Human Life**

In every traditional ritual within Mas Bangun Village, we can observe that its implementation follows the pattern of the human life cycle. Each stage marks biological, psychological, and social status changes in an individual. As a result, a crisis of identity often arises during these transitions. This period of transition is referred to by Arnold Van Gennep in his work Rites of Passage (1977) as the "liminal phase." According to Gennep, rites of passage are rituals or ceremonies that signify a life event marking a transition from one stage to another, such as from adolescence to adulthood, marriage, or death.

Every individual in this transitional phase needs to undergo an initiation ceremony to signify and guide their shift to a new, more stable phase in life. Humans experience this liminal, initiatory, and stabilizing process throughout their lives, thus forming a continuous cycle.[33] Health disturbances or misfortunes experienced by an individual are often identified as the result of neglecting these rituals.

[32] Supriyadi, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong 5."

[33] Lies Mariani, "Ritus Ruwatan Murwakala di Surakarta," *Umbara* 1, no. 1 (2017): 52, https://doi.org/10.24198/umbara.v1i1.9603.

This cycle applies not only to the individual but also to the livelihoods of the people. As an agrarian society, specific rituals accompany each stage of planting. From sowing, planting, to harvesting, each step has its own ritual. What the author found in Mas Bangun Village aligns with the traditions commonly found in Malay society. Husni Tamrin, in his book Antropologi Melayu (2018), states that there are several important events that the Malay community must celebrate. Although these events may differ geographically, there are significant commonalities due to the strong cultural concept of "adat Melayu" (Malay customs). These include rituals for birth, marriage, and death.[34]

All of these activities refer back to the role and function of the village shaman. Except in the case of death ceremonies (*beroah*), where the religious leader takes charge, the village shaman participates as a regular member of the community. It is not surprising that in South Korea, the role of shamans has been preserved in modern life due to their positive impact on culture and tourism.[35]

For death and post-death events, shamans do not play a role as they do in other rituals. The beroah ceremonies, which occur on the 3rd, 7th, and 40th day after death, are led by religious leaders, and shamans participate as regular participants in these rituals.[36]

2. Social Cohesion and Provider of a Sense of Security

Social cohesion can be distinguished into horizontal and vertical relationships.[37] Horizontal cohesion refers to the bonds between members of society, while vertical cohesion refers to the relationships between society and individuals or institutions in higher positions. Vertical cohesion in social

[34] Husni Thamrin, *Antropologi Melayu*.

[35] Nasional University, Jakarta, Indonesia dan Teguh Pratama Aditya, "Impact the Effect of Shamanism in Modern Society in South Korea," *International Journal of Current Science Research and Review* 06, no. 02 (2023), https://doi.org/10.47191/ijcsrr/V6-i2-25.

[36] Supriyadi, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong 5."

[37] Katharina Löhr dkk., "Social Cohesion as the Missing Link between Natural Resource Management and Peacebuilding: Lessons from Cocoa Production in Côte d'Ivoire and Colombia," *Sustainability* 13, no. 23 (2021): 2, https://doi.org/10.3390/su132313002.

cohesion provides access to the formation of social protection.[38] Only actors who are formally or individually recognized can play this role. The village shaman in Mas Bangun is highlighted within this framework, where their presence becomes a necessity for the community during moments of celebration in the life cycle. Additionally, this figure also receives legitimization from the village government to perform their social function.

Most of the rituals conducted in Mas Bangun Village involve large gatherings. This creates opportunities for intense encounters among community members, thus enhancing the quality of communication and the sense of kinship. In this space, the community can experience the values of living together through social activities. Furthermore, an individual's participation in these activities serves as a form of recognition of their identity as part of a larger group. From this, a strong and well-functioning social system is formed. In the implementation of various rituals, the village shaman plays their role as a social binder.

As is common in traditions, various tools, procedures, timing, and locations of certain celebrations carry deep philosophical meaning. This can be observed in the symbolic meanings of these traditional elements. During the process of their implementation, there exists a form of symbolic interactionism between humans and their social behavior, mediated by the village shaman. In this context, symbols act as social objects in interactions, used as representations and forms of communication determined by those who use them.[39] Certain symbols are employed by the community as a representation of higher wisdom.[40] In other words, there is a form of non-verbal education happening, where symbolic meanings are reaffirmed to the community.

[38] Francesco Burchi dkk., "Disentangling the Relationship Between Social Protection and Social Cohesion: Introduction to the Special Issue," *The European Journal of Development Research* 34, no. 3 (2022): 1195–215, https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-022-00532-2.

[39] Dadi Ahmadi, "Interaksi Simbolik: Suatu Pengantar," *Mediator: Jurnal Komunikasi* 9, no. 2 (2008): 302, https://doi.org/10.29313/mediator.v9i2.1115.

[40] Andry Fitriyanto Dkk, *Keraton Keramat; Mendedah Fakta Mengeja Tanda Mereguk Makna* (IAIN Pontianak Press, 2021), 44.

In addition to serving as a social binder, the village shaman also plays a role as a provider of security in the community. As an individual believed to possess magical powers, the village shaman is a respected and honored figure. In the case of Mas Bangun Village, Wak Gani, the village shaman, is also known for his high martial arts skills. Thus, when a disturbance occurs within the community, he acts as a heroic figure, emerging in critical moments. With just one move, he can silence those involved in physical conflict. This was witnessed firsthand by members of the surrounding community.

Moreover, in supernatural terms, the village shaman claims to ensure the security of the village from destructive spiritual disturbances. This is particularly important because the people of Tanah Kayong are also known for their ambiguous views on negative shamanistic practices. If one were to categorize these abilities based on their nature, they would be classified as ilmu putih (constructive knowledge) that can ward off ilmu hitam (destructive knowledge). On the other hand, there is no information suggesting that these village shamans are involved in village politics. This implies that the work carried out by the village shamans is more oriented towards the collective welfare.

3. Alternative Health Care Management in the Community

The village shaman in Mas Bangun Village plays a role in providing alternative medicine within the community. This role falls within the scope of ethnomedicine, which addresses health maintenance and treatment in traditional societies, becoming a trusted practice among the local people.[41]

> *"When children or adults in the area fall ill, they usually seek treatment from the village shaman. However, the illnesses typically treated by the shaman are non-medical, such as possession or conditions that medical professionals cannot diagnose, like prolonged headaches with no clear cause."*.[42]

[41] Widianti dkk., *Pengetahuan Dukun Dan Praktik Pengobatannya (Kampung Kadu Nenggang, Desa Pasirhuni, Kabupaten Bandung)*, 89–90.

[42] Sutino, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong Utara."

Some members of the local community place their trust in village shamans when experiencing illnesses that they associate with spiritual or other non-medical causes. Within this belief system, village shamans are considered capable of identifying certain complaints and providing assistance through traditional healing practices. When medical factors are diagnosed, the shaman offers assistance as needed but recommends seeking care from professional health practitioners.

> *"For example, when someone is sick, I will help. If someone is getting married, or if someone comes asking for help, if a person faints, they must be disturbed by spirits. If a child is crying non-stop, I will help. People here understand if it's a cold, they take them to the hospital. But if it's possession, they bring them here."*.[43]

The field accounts suggest that traditional healing practices and modern medical services may operate alongside each other in Mas Bangun Village. Community members appear to seek different forms of assistance depending on how they understand the nature of an illness. However, the available data do not establish whether these practices are formally coordinated with local health services. In an observation conducted after the tija' tanah ritual at a resident's house, Wak Long Samad visited the home of a patient who was already considered treatable by medical means. The shaman read prayers and gave a ai' tawar (a traditional healing offering), contributing his efforts. His presence, at the very least, offered spiritual comfort to the patient and their family.

Conclusion

The findings of this study show that village shamans continue to occupy an important position in the social and cultural life of Mas Bangun Village, North Kayong Regency. Their position is closely related to social capital developed through trust, social relationships, and customary norms. Community trust is established through recognition of their experience, involvement in traditional practices, and willingness to assist others. Social relationships with community

[43] Wak Gani, "Wawancara Kampung Riset Kayong 6."

members and the village government further support their position, while customary norms provide a cultural basis for their continuing involvement in community life.

The experiences of Wak Long Samad and Wak Gani suggest that the social authority of village shamans does not develop through a single process. Wak Long Samad's position was supported by family background, customary recognition, and formal acknowledgment, while Wak Gani gained recognition through his activities, reputation, and relationships with community members. These different experiences indicate that traditional authority may be maintained through both inherited recognition and continuing participation in community life.

The social and cultural roles of village shamans can be observed in three main areas: participation in rituals associated with human life and nature, the maintenance of social cohesion and a sense of security, and the provision of alternative healing practices. These roles are closely connected to local beliefs and the community's recognition of customary authority. However, the authority of village shamans has certain boundaries, particularly in religious activities led by Islamic religious figures. Their healing practices also exist alongside modern medical services, although the available data do not establish the effectiveness of these treatments or the extent of cooperation between the two systems.

From the perspective of social philosophy, this study suggests that the authority of village shamans is not determined solely by beliefs in spiritual abilities, but is also shaped and maintained through social relationships, community recognition, and customary practices. The findings contribute to an understanding of how traditional authority continues to operate within contemporary village society. Further research involving broader community perspectives would be useful for examining changes in this authority and its relationship with religious institutions and modern public services.

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