Frontier Strategies of Dayak Agabag’s Elite for Cultural Rights in Ulu Sembakung, North Borneo

Strategi Perbatasan Suku Dayak Agabag dalam pemenuhan Hak Budaya di Ulu Sembakung, Kalimantan Utara

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ABSTRACT: The local elites of Dayak Agabag are conscious of their community’s position as minorities, which presents opportunities. As an Indonesian frontier people, the Dayak Agabag have formed solid social ties with the Murut Pensiangan, as a resident community in Malaysia, fostering cultural cohesion across national borders. These sociocultural ties are seen as a threat to sovereignty and nationalism, which, ironically, are often exploited by local elites for the benefit of frontier people. The Agabag’s elites are using their minority status to advocate the development of modern-state infrastructure in their region. This article analyzes cultural rights challenges confronting the Dayak Agabag along the Indonesia-Malaysia border, aiming to comprehend the political role of Dayak Agabag elites in shaping affirmative policies for marginalized communities and their advocacy for human rights, shedding light on the movements of both the elite and the community in their quest for legitimacy. The ethnographic lens used in this article shows that the political agency of Dayak Agabag’s local elite created their own rule to counter the domination of the state spatiality to struggle for human rights as frontier people. This article describes how the local elites maintained their minority frontier people status, as it gave them access to political gain or privileges across state borders. The local agency of Dayak Agabag’s elite offers insight into how marginalized frontier people can leverage their political indigeneity power, obtain cultural rights, and maintain socially legitimate yet formally illegal cross-border mobility.

Keywords: frontier; local agency; political indigeneity; cultural right

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## 1. Introduction

In border regions in various countries, communities face complex identity paradoxes where fluid layers of frontier people’s culture, colonial history, and the geopolitics of modern states converge. For instance, Yorubas in Ilorin faced a complex identity and cultural belonging crisis due to colonialism and post-colonial policies in Nigeria, where they were often seen as less important than the Yoruba nation’s social, cultural, and economic development.¹ A frontier approach, intercultural communication theory, and liminality are used to study border identity in Eastern Slavs, revealing the complexity of changing border dynamics, including the paradox of identity, the need for shared symbolism, and socio-cultural codes that highlight human rights issues in the context of building a unified cultural.² Human rights challenges originate from modern nations’ power structures, often opposing border communities’ social cohesion. Cultural identity is complex for diverse border communities. The Dayak Agabag faces several challenges as a frontier community on the upper Sembakung River on the Indonesia-Malaysia boundary.

Local elites know of the Agabag’s frontier minority status. This awareness affects their daily lives, interactions, and strategic decisions, generating challenges and opportunities. Research in four Russian border regions shows regional identity and “specialness” affect grassroots engagement and social cohesion.³ Regional identity and “specialness” shape local involvement and social cohesiveness in Russian border regions, highlighting distinctions in local, regional, national, international, and cosmopolitan identities. Regional identities shape community attitudes toward their regions’ future and relations with the central government and other Russian entities. The Dayak Agabag of North Kalimantan live in remote inland areas around the Sembakung River. This border village lies in Hulu Sembakung’s mountainous region, far from the state capital. As frontier people, the Agabag retain their history through the sacred Tiagang Sinsilog stone their ancestors found while crossing the Keningau to the Pensiangan.⁴ This folklore shows that the Ulu Sembakung River people crossed national borders across an isolated region for thousands of years.

Socioculturally marginalized Dayak Agabag on the Indonesian border near the Ulu Sembakung River have sociocultural issues. The elite privileges the minority community because they know it. Knowledge influences daily behavior, beliefs, and strategy. Dayak Agabag leaders discuss minority challenges and possibilities. The border neighborhood is aware of its minority status, especially among local elites who appreciate it. This awareness enhances collective resilience and agency as they navigate Indonesia’s complex frontier people dynamics. Research on informal cross-border trade between Malaysia and Indonesia reveals minority status awareness and local elites’ responses to its problems and opportunities.⁵ Border communities’ informal trading and how minority status and local elites affect relationships, attitudes, and tactics are studied. Minority consciousness strengthens communities in complicated conditions like Indonesia’s border settlements. Local elites resolve complex dynamics in the country’s border regions, including informal trade and socio-cultural background, through minority status awareness.

In Hulu Sembakung, Agabag exchange Tempayan on the Sembakung River. In The Gift Framework, Mauss calls this cultural giving.⁶ Derrida analyzes Mauss’s symbolic, imagined, and underlying economies.⁷ Jars depict Hulu Sembakung’s tempayan trade cooperation. Graeber argues that items have value in Anthropological Worth Theory: The False Coin of Our Dreams.⁸ Tempayan represents worth and space in the Hulu Sembakung trade rite to promote social equality. A lifetime of Tempayan exchange returns Hulu Sembakung to the river and its residents. Trading timber with China yields tempayan. Historic Chinese firm Tempayan, Sabah Malaysian jars,

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Dayak Agabag, indigenous people, consider the ritual exchange of Tempayan a cross-border cultural treasure. This rite is part of their culture and a means of exchange. Gifts have sacred importance in the community. Dayak Agabag honors the Tempayan ceremonial commerce, which promotes cross-border cultural interaction. Locals enjoy the commodities exchanged, benefiting the community economically and culturally. Jar-collecting helps families get an education by pawning jars at Chinese merchants in Mansalong Village. Border patrols like the Labang Village Pamtas police disturb family and economic life, frustrating inhabitants like Ibu Ros. Such examples show how border restrictions affect Agabag families’ cohesiveness and livelihoods.

This rite determines Dayak Agabag’s boundary lineage. International human rights protect culture. Vessel exchange defines Agabag culture. Honoring these acts preserves culture. Under international human rights, cultural practices like the Tempayan trade enable indigenous border communities to retain and diversify their traditions. Cultural rights, including participation in cultural life and access to cultural heritage, have yet to be addressed, unlike other human rights. Modern international human rights law ties cultural rights to identity, particularly cultural identity and human dignity. Promoting local practices involves involvement, acknowledgment, community capacity building, and explicit policies and legislation recognizing local customs and cultural heritage. Global society requires legacy flexibility. Social engagement in common areas changes society. Geographically, clusters of relations show that the globe is a political idea that drives spatial action. Dayak Agabag elites’ institutional efforts to preserve cultural assets conforming to the growing human rights framework demonstrate their leadership. Activism has expanded from preserving cultural things for their intrinsic value to acknowledging the complex relationship between cultural heritage and human societies, organizations, and individuals with subjective perspectives. In Ulu Sembakung, where the Dayak Agabag people live, this shift in perspective is critical to maintaining their unique cultural identity and ensuring their cultural heritage can operate sustainably in the local context.

International law recognizes the right to cultural activities as a human right, but state or regional legislation does not ensure its execution. Therefore, there is no guarantee by the state that the Dayak Agabag people can conduct Tempayan exchange rite safely if their cross-border mobility is illegal. Cultural rights as development drivers have been more prominent in international policy texts and activities. Cultural involvement is largely disregarded in UN committee supervision and member state reporting. The neglect leaves individuals unaware of how well their cultural rights are respected. However, the lack of clarity about cultural rights has made it difficult to identify the specific positive obligations linked to their implementation, such as examining the implementation of the human right to participate in cultural life, as outlined in Article 15(1)(a) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), in national cultural policies. As the custodian of the legal framework, the state, including upper Sembakung River countries, guides cultural activity protection. Their attitudes and actions will shape a human rights-based cultural heritage protection system, affecting the Agabag Dayak people and other Ulu Sembakung communities’ efforts to preserve their cultural identity and activities in accordance with international human rights norms.


This article discusses the Dayak Agabag elites’ approach to minority concerns. It analyzes the Agabag elite’s political power of indigeneity and human rights advocacy via an anthropological lens. Informal cross-border trade and minority status and local leaders’ duties on community decisions are also examined. The research investigates how Tempayan exchange rite, as cultural practice of the Dayak Agabag provides a social space for economic and geographic interconnectedness. The rituals protect Dayak Agabag’s identity and display cross-border solidarity. Border guard inspections and Dayak Agabag human rights issues are discussed. International human rights defend indigenous groups’ cultural practices as important to their identity.

2. Method

This article explains Dayak Agabag’s border society culture and fights for human rights and indigenous status using an anthropology approach. To gather field data, the author lived in community members’ homes, followed their daily lives across boundaries, and attended the Tempayan exchange ceremony such as Marcus’ multi-site ethnography emphasizes immersion in informants’ environments. Participants observed traditional ceremonies across boundaries throughout two months of field research. This immersive involvement established a kinship relationship with the community, akin to a distant family from Java, albeit marked by the unfamiliar assumptions often associated with an outsider from Jakarta. “Consequential Presence” emphasizes the researcher’s impact on community dynamics, making examining the researcher’s function and contact with the subjects crucial. Researcher bias, position, and personal impact were considered in the studies. However, triangulation was used to confirm the results.

In-depth interviews occurred naturally during cooking, dishwashing, boat cruises, cassava planting, market visits, traditional ceremonies, and nightly chats. Improvised interactions with traditional leaders and state administrators yielded many insights, even though interviews were planned. In accordance with Tylor et al.’s perspective, in-depth interviews were conducted flexibly and dynamically, characterized by open and equal dialogue. The author interviewed the community because she cared about their experiences and meanings. The author brought a bag with a notebook, recorder, camera, and GPS for data collection. These tools were location- and informant-specific. A notepad was rapidly used to record local language idioms, genealogy, and hamlet names for field notes. Similar to Emerson et al.’s “headnotes,” this contextualized field results. The author transcribed conversations, categorized data, and assessed nine-year-old field notes after fieldwork. The dataset was enriched by mass media, informants’ social media, historical archives, and border rules. According to Clifford Geertz, in-depth ethnography is “doing ethnography,” seeing events as complicated, ambiguous, and resistant to change and prejudice. Ethnographers’ interviews covered daily life and social interactions. After fieldwork, transcribing field notes, conversations, and observations produced categories. Through recurring behavior patterns, category analysis reveals social, cultural, and value links.

20 Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw, Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes.
22 Geertz.
3. Findings and Discussion

This section discusses the transborder community’s complex dynamics, state spatiality, and Agabag’s origins as a disadvantaged population’s ethnopolitical movement. First, the transborder community is examined to illuminate the significant social ties between the Dayak Agabag and Murut Pensiangan communities across the Malaysia-Indonesia border. Central government of Indonesia strategies affect Agabag and nearby border settlements, with elites advocating for affirmative action and modern infrastructure. Marginalized Dayak Agabag communities challenge governmental control, seeking cross-border cultural rights, and guarantees for education, and health explained in the following sections:

3.1. Transborder Community

International cultural mobility, national identity, and human rights relate. African cross-border ethnicities value social and tribal ties over national identity, making border human rights difficult. Economic and cross-border immigration may influence border communities; Ulu Sembakung must protect human rights. Regional integration and the Ulu Sembakung border extension must promote dignity and free migration. Mountain trees and steep slopes distinguish Ulu Sembakung. It connects border crossing pillars to the Pensiangan River northwest of Nabawan, Sabah. Ulu Sembakung residents crossed the Pensiangan River to Nabawan from steep Tiagang Sinsilog. Pak Lumbis, Agabag Youth elite, stated that our ancestors came from Mount Tiagang Sinsilog in Nawaban and Nabawan. Understand historical and cultural space for development and regional integration to manage Ulu Sembakung border human rights. Geography shows community identity and place. Space, values, identity, and feelings create “us” vs. “them” in culture and nationalism. Bukit Tiagang Sinsilog Trig is at 5° 6’ 50,644” LU 116° 24’ 54,556” east on the JUPEM Sabah Gazetir map. This data is essential to understanding the Ulu Sembakung River region, which borders Sabah, Malaysia, and the Dayak Agabag. Bukit Tiagang Sinsilog Trig Point coordinates stress Dayak Agabag identity, not geography.

Figure 1. Map of North Kalimantan

Source: commons.m.wikimedia.org

Regional customs and government reforms have shaped Dayak Agabag’s postcolonial life. In 2019, Lumbis Pansiangan District split from Lumbis Ogong District, changing the upper Sembakung River region’s administration.27 Lumbis Pansiangan’s Labang Village Group is located under Kabupaten Nunukan, North Kalimantan, where the Sedalir and Pensiangan rivers meet (Figure 2). Military stations are needed because the Pensiangan and Sedalir rivers cross national borders, posing security risks. Ulu Sembakung boats reaching Kg. Bantul, whose residents consider Giram Luyu rocks sovereign, face impediments from the murkier Pensiangan River. The border settlement of Dayak Agabag in Ulu Sembakung retains its historical value despite postcolonial changes and natural disasters.

![Figure 2. Map of Kuala Ulu Sungai Sembakung](source: openstreetmap.org, reprocessed)

Ulu Sembakung River residents were hunters and gatherers due to the rocky river’s steep tropical forest setting. The late 1950s finding of a human skull by Tom Harrisson at the Niah Cave site in Sarawak provides archeological evidence that Borneo has been inhabited since 4000 years ago.28 The Pleistocene interglacial episode that connected the Greater Sunda Islands to the Asian mainland is considered to have brought the Australoid Race to Borneo. Other archeological remains in Madai-Baturong, Sabah, show 28,000 cave dwellers.29 To find food, humans entered tropical rainforests and approached river and lake springs. Kalimantan’s people hunted and gathered for food. They live nomadically because hunting and gathering require limited resources in their life niches.

Agabag people in Ulu Sembakung River were often associated with border communities residing in remote areas. Due to its remote location, the author descended downstream to Mansalong village and stayed overnight there to purchase consumables during fieldwork. Afterwards, a man approximately 50 years approached and invited the author to stay at his house, expressing regret that I had to stay in the hinterland mess. National government activities link Ulu Sembakung as evidenced by Indonesian Presidential Regulation 63/2020, which no longer isolates the Ulu Sembakung River valley.30 Development boosts migration. They are homogeneous except for Mansalong Village, Lumbis Capital, and Sungai Ulu Sembakung. Postcolonial state occupational politics ruled space. Create a culture with Setha Low’s space-based culture theory.31 Border planning should

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include state occupation. Agabag nobles wanted Hulu Sembakung to grow swiftly. The growth of PLBN improves Indonesia’s borders. Agabags said, “Security in Labang would become tighter, making it more difficult for our people to send goods and provide for their families.” According to Lefebvre, spatial control arranges sensible objects and materials into representation space. 32 The state has Ulu Sembakung hamlet, border guard post, Garuda monument, highways, and PLBN development. Country lines standardize. State-homogeneous border spatial laws support power centers. 33 Soeharto’s New Order relocated Ulu Sembakung River communities near waterways for population studies. Community-like wartime prisons. Protected areas. State settlement spatial planning law grew. International social network Sembakung River. Users’ perception impacts spatiality more than description. Above the centers, governmental spatial management produced international social space.

Through tempayan links, the “exchange ritual,” the varied Ulu Sembakung group survives. Each clan member seeks status through these trades. While certain ethnic groups in the Upper Sembakung River Basin trade differently, Pak Lumbis said the village’s name reflects past river or pangun boundaries between warring or hunting groups. With the Pengasahan peace treaty, Upper Sembakung River inhabitants can marry and participate in the ‘exchange ceremony.’ Unlike bartering, trade in tempayan affects the clan, not just individuals, and involves reputations. Socializing during the exchange ritual helps the heterogeneous group bond. All clan members actively participate in tempayan exchanges to survive. Tempayan trading is culturally significant in the Upper Sembakung River Basin, unlike other ethnic groups. An older adult noticed the practice of crossing borders to buy ancient tempayan for weddings, emphasizing its importance in local rituals and reaching into Malaysia.

Agabag ethnicity dominates the Ulu Sembakung River basin, while the configuration varies by location. Agabags rule 28-village Kecamatan Lumbis. Mansalong hamlet, the administrative hub of Kecamatan Lumbis, is mostly Agabag. 34 It is also home to Tidung, Banjar, Bugis, Javanese, and Toraja residents. Pak Lumbis said, “The exchange of jars is carried out among three ethnicities in Ulu Sembakung, namely Agabag, Akolod, and Tahol.” Three are Ulu Sembakung residents. Upstream, across the Sedalir River, is the Akolod Panas Village Group, currently part of Kecamatan Lumbis Pansiangan. In Tau Lumbis, the last village, the Tahol ethnic now Kecamatan Lumbis Hulu into the upper Sedalir River.

In On the Natives of British North Borneo, W. B. Pryer describes inland North Borneo as a head hunting land. 35 The British colonial government notes that North Borneo’s indigenous people practiced headhunting until 1885. 36 Upper Sembakung River area residents practiced ‘one for one’ headhunting among village groups campaign—Agabag, Akolod, and Tahol ethnicities. An Agabag person who murders an Akolod person will receive an Agabag head in return. Beheading multiple heads violates the ‘Ambasa’ law. Agabag Ethnic Rule estimates that ‘Antabug’ occurred around the 1650-1900s. 37 Pak Lumbis recounted a local misunderstanding that victimized white people: “White people accidentally entered our village story. Many believed these were new jungle monkeys. They were brutally eaten.” It strengthened the Agabag Dayaks’ cannibal reputation. Headhunting reflects Ulu Sembakung’s diverse culture. Indigenous customs and ethnic groups distinguish the upper Sembakung River watershed of Dayak Agabag. Other Dayak groups joined Sampagun in the upper Sembakung River headhunting. Baukan, Iban, Lundayeh (Agabags called it Putuk), and Kenyah (Ulun Nilui) participated. Unlike ‘one pay one’ fighting with upper Sembakung’s indigenous people, headhunting with alien Dayak clans consumes opposing soldiers.

The clans, excluding the Akolod and Tahol people, that established the ‘one pay one’ norm are now collaborating to create the Agabag ethnic identity. This convergence is underscored by the ancestors of upper Sembakung residents who brokered a peace treaty at ‘Batu Pangasahan,’ effectively ending inter-community headhunting. 38 The Batu Pengasahan Tale serves as a robust historical foundation for the unity of the Dayak Agabag as an indigenous community. The upper Sembakung elite’s political efforts to reinforce its agency as a

marginal group in indigenous people’s iconicity have made Agabag an ethnic identity.\textsuperscript{39}

The history of the Agabag group dates to a time when nomadic life was lived by humans in search of and control of territory by fighting or headhunting to fulfill the group’s food source. The search for food sources became the basis of human migration throughout Kalimantan, from the interior, mountains, hills, and jungles to riverbanks. Technological advances created the knowledge to make houses with materials from the forest, so humans no longer depended on caves for shelter. These humans are known as Dayak, a term that refers to the original inhabitants of the island of Borneo.

Northern Borneo Island is home to Murut, Dusun, Bajau, Bisayah, Kadahan, Tidung, Orang Sungai, Lundayeh, Malay, Punan, Bulungan, Berau, and Dayak ethnicities (Figure 3). The hinterland of Borneo was connected via Arab, Malay, Chinese, and Indian trade.\textsuperscript{40} Trade with foreigners is changing the population composition of Borneo Island. Thus, migration has diversified Kalimantan Island’s population. North Kalimantan is mostly Javanese and South Sulawesi.\textsuperscript{41} These outside migrants live in cities in North Kalimantan, notably Kabupaten Nunukan. Nunukan Island, the administrative hub, hosts 43.54% of the population, occupying 5.21%\


of the territory. Bugis dominated Kabupaten Nunukan at 43.3% in 2000. Official BPS ethnic survey data is missing, but Kabupaten Nunukan BPS data shows 209,922 2019 residents at 14.73 people/km². Nunukan has 32.7% Bugis residents and South Nunukan 10.84%. Dayak Agabag’s low population density in the Upper Sembakung River basin shows its frontier and post-colonial status despite its vast geography. Krayan, South Krayan, Lumbis, Sembakung, and Sebuku are Kalimantan’s mainland indigenous Kabupaten Nunukan settlements. Until 2010, Upper Sembakung River covered Kecamatan Lumbis. It comprises Kecamatan Lumbis Pansiangan, Hulu, Ogong, and Lumbis, with 12,246 residents, 5.83% of Nunukan’s total, making Kabupaten Nunukan 25.6% Upper Sembakung. However, some areas on Nunukan and Sebatik Islands have more residents.

3.2. State Spatiality Discourse

The state’s territorial dominance makes the border area a shared, egalitarian arena of political power disparity. The border is no longer neutral for political reasons. Henri Lefebvre compares space to a meaning-making locus. It is hard to identify inconsistencies between strict cartographic truth and changing ecological-social-cultural reality at country borders. Understanding Indonesia-Malaysia border regions becomes more critical when fixed cartographic boundaries intersect with changing ecological, social, and cultural realities. According to Henri Lefebvre’s space as meaning production theory, this idea highlights boundary variety. Inequality in political power in this familiar territory makes controlling border areas with opposing interests harder. In Grensgebied’s 1891 map, eastern North Borneo demarcation boundaries should be mentioned. This chart shows that Dutch and British colonialists had different North Borneo boundary coordinates. Colonial territorial restrictions facilitate population taxation. In inaccessible areas, occupational boundaries are calculated on maps without field surveys. Gram-filled streams like the Simantipal River require better transportation technology. A multi-line occupancy accommodated colonial rulers’ inadequate geography.

Figure 4. Map of Borneo Grensgebied 1891
Source: Colonial Archives

Grensgebied 1891 allows cross-border space flow. Natural river ecological changes. Water flows from upstream to downstream to massive river mouths, linking the community’s culture. Sumantipal River flows into the Sedalir River, merging with Pensingan River water to reach the Sembakung River and Tana Tidung Sea. The river environment links Upper Sembakung inhabitants to the Tempayan exchange rite. High-elevation Tempayan exchange rituals follow the river. Production at the boundary expresses space’s paradoxical existence. The center of power’s geographical dominance contradicts the national border movement.

45 Lefebvre, The Production of Space: Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith.
The 2,004-km Indonesia-Malaysia border in Kalimantan travels through eight districts: Sanggau, Sambas, Sintang, Kapuas Hulu, Bengkayang, Malinau, West Kutai, and Nunukan. Unfinished land border demarcation or boundary issues are the main concerns with this border. Indonesia gained geographic sovereignty over all Dutch colonial lands in the archipelago after independence in 1945. Colonialism in many places perpetuates the space paradox. Until 2019, North Kalimantan had five Outstanding Boundary Problems (OBP) with Dutch-British colonial occupational bounds, including the Simantipal River. The Nunukan Regional Border Management Agency reported that Sumantipal, an OBP in the Lumbis Pansiangan Hulu Sembakung sub-district, joined the Unitary State of Indonesia on September 27, 2022. The 43rd Joint Indonesia Malaysia Meeting (JIM) in Kuala Lumpur gave Indonesia the OBP parts of Sumantipal and C500-C600 in Nunukan Regency.

By ending OBP status, the government symbolically addresses the uncertainties and contradictions in the region’s space. The steps taken by the Nunukan local government, including the change of status of the Sumantipal area to another use area (APL) and infrastructure development, can be understood in the context of spatial production. The presence of clear boundary markers creates new spatial representations, changing the dynamics of the region from uncertainty to a solid foundation for accelerated development. Lefebvre says border access road II and other infrastructure, including the Labang bridge, produce spatiality. Sumantipal’s reach extends beyond geographical boundaries with this facility. Nunukan policy gives residents new areas and experiences. Lefebvre’s concept of everyday life in social space uses this technique to control the border region and benefit inhabitants sustainably.

Community-run Sembakung. The Tempayan exchange rate follows the notion of giving Marcel Mauss to ancient societies, which always contain a symbolic element—the exchange rate puts that material as symbolic. The Tempayan symbolizes upper Sembakung’s human acts and circulates values. As value tokens, things, objects, and materials circulate communal action value. In the exchange ceremony at upper Sembakung, the Tempayan becomes a mark of value and space for the community to form an egalitarian social space. Exchanging Tempayan at each step of the upper Sembakung community’s life cycle mobilizes the populace to cross the river freely to reach settlements.

Postcolonial nationalism holds the border region captive to power. Malaysia became Indonesia’s nemesis after independence. The 1963-1966 “Ganyang Malaysia” command symbolized Kalimantan’s state sovereignty fight. State sovereignty in nationalism’s citadel makes the border magical and anarchic. Postcolonial states do not recognize loose borders. Power remains firm until it touches other countries’ territories. Coexisting border zones from overlapping powers often pose spatial issues between countries. Indonesia’s capture of the Simantipal sector continues to create a nationalist bastion controlled by the country’s spatial system and central supervision.

In upper Sembakung, the state’s territoriality traps space social cross-border community. Thus, inflexible state boundaries cage residents. Simantipal Point, in the upper Sembakung landscape habitat in North Kalimantan, Sabah, Malaysia, connects communities on the Pensiangan River trail. An ancient Agabag guy stated, “We used to be free like the river, going back and forth without police or border officer supervision. We felt free every time we crossed the river. Nowadays, inspections and surveillance are constant.” The post-colonial state created a space contradiction for Hulu Sembakung residents, who used to roam freely without hegemony. Upper Sembakung residents must work hard in their social environment, which is affected by spatial control and official surveillance.

The Agabag ethnic community on the Sembakung River in North Kalimantan is crucial to Indonesia-Malaysia border relations. The boundary has not been demarcated because the steep river was impassable throughout Dutch and British colonial rule. As a result, the Ulu Sembakung area falls within a gray area without clear colonial power and is subsequently inherited by post-colonial states as OBP (Outstanding Boundary Problems). With their customs, culture, and economy, Agabags govern the frontier. Elite Labang, once silent, continue to create a nationalist bastion controlled by the country’s spatial system and central supervision.

now offers Murut-favorite Pensiangan River white-water rafting in Sabah, Malaysia. Labang is “a cross-border hub of friendship flowing through the waters” and rafting. Legal and administrative improvements enable growth in border areas like Sumantipal. The Dayak Agabag people along the Sembakung River in North Kalimantan are crucial to Indonesia-Malaysia relations. Dutch and British colonial officials did not mark the boundary since the steep river was impassable. OBP-bordering Ulu Sembakung Colonial gray lines define agabags. Agabags’ customs, economics, and culture. Labang offers Murut-favorite Pensiangan River rafting. Labang is “a cross-border hub of friendship flowing through the waters” and rafting. Sumantipal and border towns get government funding.

After settlement, the OPB territorial conflict in Ulu Sembakung strengthened its status as a national strategic area. KSN (Kawasan Strategis and Nasional) spatial planning regulations tried to space it out in society’s spatialized culture in state-made environments. The state center can easily regulate the artificial environment needed to build the Mansalong-Tau Lumbis roadway. The state occupies the Ulu Sembakung River axis via highway infrastructure building, which has proved challenging to manage. According to Foucault, power relations in spatial architecture are a political technology of bodily obedience that controls each person through daily spatial canalization. Setha Low argues that Foucault’s vision of spatial design through infrastructure perpetuates power by managing the mobility and observation of each person in its territory. The state-built border architecture through KSN laws limits the generation of social space for the Ulu Sembakung community and divides it from neighboring Malaysia.

Inclusivity and equality must guide border state spatial policies, notably in state spatial discourse. Spatial policy can promote harmony by acknowledging border groups’ autonomy and unique cultural identity, such as the Dayak Agabag ethnic. Instead of state-centric measures that may worsen marginalization, these groups’ autonomy and rights should be prioritized. This transformative strategy unifies countries’ spatial discourses to build an inclusive and just spatial landscape where boundaries are locations of cultural celebration and human rights protection rather than discomfort and injustice.

3.3. Agabag as an Ethnopolitical Movement of Marginalized Community

Agabag, an ethnopolitical group of persecuted populations, represents Dayak resistance and identity search in the Upper Sembakung River. The name changed from Tegalan or Tanggaan to Agabag, and an ethnopolitical campaign began to end this community’s oppression. As an ethnopolitical organization, Agabag defends neglected populations’ ethnic and political rights, rejects exonyms like “left behind,” and represents neglected communities. This name symbolizes the rejection of the previous identity’s stereotypes and stigma. As its new name implies, Agabag is a basic ethnopolitical movement representing poor groups. Due to their dual citizenship, Dayak Agabags skillfully navigated districts. They have a large presence in two countries because they traverse state lines as frontier people. Due to central state dominance and spatial limits, excluded groups in frontier regions may use dual citizenship to navigate the complex human rights landscape.

Agabag is a minority in Nunukan Regency and the region despite being the majority. Regional politics are difficult for Sembakung Ulu’s modest Agabag population (5.83% of Nunukan’s total). Poor people in Kecamatan Nunukan affect Agabag’s politics. The Agabag are politically oppressed since Bugis are more numerous and support Nunukan District politics. They govern Upper Sembakung despite their small political presence. An ethnopolitical group, Agabag elites pursue regional expansion to support development and protect disadvantaged areas. The ethnopolitical movement Agabag advocated for marginalized groups. Kabupaten Nunukan’s 73.82% Muslim majority governs religiously. Bugis, predominantly Muslims, govern politics, then Tidung and Java. Agabag has jurisdiction over the Sembakung watershed but only accounts for 5.83% of the population in Nunukan. Agabag had to address local political, religious, and ethnic issues related to minority status, particularly concerning the Bugis and Tidung communities, who held influential positions in Nunukan politics.

Nunukan Regency’s motto, “Panekendi Debaya,” meaning “build the region,” confirms its indigenous identity. Unlike the suppressed Agabag, the Tidung ethnicity in Nunukan Regency represents indigenous people and politics. To understand the Agabag ethnopolitical movement’s use of “Sakai” or “Ulun Basakai” to refer to the Tidung people is vital. “Sakai,” from “Ulun Basakai,” means neat, according to Agabag elder Ruben Yangka. This word illustrates the cultural peculiarities of the Agabag guest name. Mixed marriages and tight relationships between the Upper Sembakung River group and the Tidung reinforced Agabag identity and unhappiness. In Kabupaten Nunukan, Agabags supported Bugis elite candidates in elections despite kinship, exposing ethnic rights protection rather than discomfort and injustice.

56 Low, Spatializing Culture: The Ethnography of Space and Place.
58 Nunukan.
tensions. After electoral losses, the Agabag movement wants cultural sovereignty and ethnic representation in local governance.

Studying Indonesian, post-anthropocentrism, and decolonized indigenous youth’s global climate change movement. Several young activists’ views on climate change before considering barriers to creating a space where youth, especially indigenous youth, may freely express their ideas and advocate for a future that respects their values and desires. The Dayak Agabag movement has significant potential to play a key role in defending cultural habitat and shaping global human rights trends. Promoting Indonesianism and local decolonization, elite Dayak Agabag upholds environmental sustainability, cultural independence, and heritage. Seeking indigenous district recognition in 2019, they preserve customary forest management rights and advocate for sustainable economic models. Dayak Agabag youth advocate for cross-border forest management rights, ensuring environmental, cultural, and economic viability in globalization.

The first Agabag youth to graduate from tertiary institutions founded the FKMDA (Forum Komunikasi Mahasiswa Dayak Agabag) to address ethnic identity, labeled left, Tengalan, or Outback. Border inhabitants will have enormous agency power with a solid ethnic endonym like Agabag. A group of 16 Agabag students from Samarinda, Tarakan, and other Java Island areas founded FKMDA on March 17, 2002. This organization is a sign of ethnic resurgence (ethnogenesis) by top Sembakung youth intellectuals. In addition to several upper Sembakung students, FKMDA members have grown. FKMDA has three branches: Samarinda, Tarakan, and Yogyakarta. FKMDA became a state hegemonic agency. FKMDA gave Agabag’s intellectuals additional knowledge and skill. Through the Agabag Dayak Customary Council, student organizations gained power from customary politics. Tertiary education helps these adolescents negotiate against the state’s hegemony.

The state was enraged and ignored the Dayak people in Kalimantan, who sensed their existence when Indonesian president Abdurrahman Wahid (Gusdur) included ethnic and religious composition data in the 2000 BPS census. In 2010, ethnic composition surveys included daily language. The 2010 BPS census defines Agabag Dayak as Kalimantan Dayak sub-ethnic. Young elite male informant: “Including Agabag in the census revives our community’s identity.” The 2010 BPS survey recognized Agabag as a Dayak sub-ethnic and indigenous Kalimantan community, increasing community borders and preparing upper Sembakung for ethnogenesis. AMAN’s technocracy helps indigenous Indonesians shift from customary law to sovereignty; hence, criticizing Acciaioli’s position is relevant. Research on upstream Sembakung ethnogenesis names Agabag an ancestral endonym. Agabag debunked the derogatory pseudonym Tingalan or Tenggalan, abandoned by people and inland people. Traditional technocracy defines society by ethnicity. These backs upper Sembakung adat ethnic institutions against Dayak Agabag’s claims. Progress requires other groups to rule. Dayak Agabag technocracy challenged Nunukan’s district or Kabupaten rulers’ power. Cross-country familial links make up Agabag’s electoral mass due to the high rate of dual citizenship in the upper Sembakung River.

Materials growth rivals two nations. The citizenship mark protects the land. Unfortunately, Scott, border residents’ citizenship identification is harder. Statelike: Human progress fails. divider for “others.” Family ties give dual citizens in the upper Sembakung River basin government health and social benefits. Citizenship is needed for ethnic minority political unity in both countries. The state claims that Sembakung River migratory patterns mimic ancient rites with strong international product and labor commodity ties.


Agabagism conforms to state sovereignty and will not stop neighbors from visiting modern nations. Frontier Agabags cross. Human rights give global trade and culture dignity. “The Agabag elites have formed solidarity through FKMDA to raise funds for Agabag youth pursuing higher education.” Local first-generation college graduates influence education, health, culture, and human rights action. Says, “At least every Irau Agabag, residents from villages in Malaysia join in the celebration in Kampung Binter.” For cultural and social continuity, they network with cross-border communities. Upper Sembakung River unification. The central government built the upper Sembakung River’s Satria Lumbis Pensiangan Gate to promote tourism and unify Indonesia. This initiative encourages global culture and trade. Dayak Agabag’s human rights activity is flexible and committed to international standards. Cross-border collaboration boosts local rights and well-being. In the Upper Sembakung River watershed, society, politics, and history shape Dayak Agabag’s ethnogenesis. A confident Agabag Elite said, “Agabag is a symbol of resurgence, concrete evidence that this community is not marginalized.” Smart kids in difficult upper Sembakung River districts dispute Agabag identity. Agabag is a new ethnicity in several civilizations.

The central state acknowledges Agabag as a minority yet independent community after discovering this new identity. This emphasizes the difficulties of upper Sembakung River Agabag’s political representation. Agabag needs autonomy to draw the central government’s attention. Awareness reveals hidden issues. While border towns get all the attention, Hulu Sembakung’s downstream beauty is remarkable. Teen Agabag: “People observe and meet our needs in Hulu Sembakung. Since some people and localities control Agabag’s sociopolitical context, we must struggle for our rights.” Ethnic superiority leads underrepresented groups like the Agabag to demand rights and involvement. Although dual citizenship has unique rights and responsibilities, the Agabag retains cultural cohesion. Transnational indigenous projects and Agabag ethnic solidarity exacerbate this issue. The upper Sembakung River Dayak Agabag asserts its identity and debates minority rights, representation, and the intricate relationship between local and global factors.

3.4. Cultural Rights Across Border and Indigenous Autonomy

The Dayak Agabag village in upper Sembakung’s hinterland preserves powerful stories about cross-border travel. They are intertwined with cross-border human rights and indigenous autonomy. In the context of mobility and human rights for the Dayak Agabag population in Ulu Sembakung, the ideas articulated in the argument may apply to the right to cross-border identification of Eritreans and Ethiopians. Dayak Agabag populations in Ulu Sembakung may undergo cross-border movements and interactions, making cross-border identity rights crucial. Transborder identity rights can be protected by dual citizenship or identity recognition. Dual recognition of citizenship emphasizes the need for a holistic approach to transborder individual rights. A holistic approach to the rights of the Agabag Dayak people, who may have cross-border contacts and interactions with other ethnic groups in the region, may benefit them.

Equality and ending national origin discrimination justify cross-border identities and dual citizenship rights. Through this strong cross-border interaction, Agabag Dayak people can exercise their human rights, including the right to be acknowledged for their transboundary identity. The Upper Sembakung River Agabag people mix tradition with global human rights discourse to maintain their identity and navigate current rights frameworks. Under government administration, the Agabag community works to retain Tempayan trading as a cultural activity. Although the central government wants “loose suzerainty,” this can harm human rights. Agabags face bureaucratic and regulatory hurdles that prevent human rights. Government dominance, supposed to foster order and governance, can impair the implementation of human rights for the Agabag people. Local autonomy vs. external influence can complicate merging global human rights rules with Agabag culture.

Resilient in its desire for autonomy, the Agabag community negotiates governmental dominance to exercise its human rights authentically. Although state interference can be a burden, it becomes part of their...
story. This drives them to advocate for a nuanced human rights framework that suits their cultural identity and socio-political milieu. In the lush hinterlands of upper Sembakung, the Agabag community shows persistence and flexibility despite state dominance. Through dialogue with external influences, the Agabag seek to balance cultural preservation with human rights principles, creating a narrative that transcends borders and resonates with the universal pursuit of dignity, equality, and autonomy.

The Agabag community movement protects their rights by applying Free, Prior, Informed Consent (FPIC) in development, notably for indigenous community participation in development projects. FPIC states that indigenous peoples can agree to development projects or natural resource extraction in their area. Indigenous peoples’ rights to freely, in advance, and informed consent must be respected by the government and corporations involved in these projects. A transparent interaction between the government, project developers, and indigenous populations is promoted by FPIC. However, FPIC may be challenging to implement if the government and indigenous groups disagree on the impacts of the development project. This approach can require lengthy talks in Agabag to secure the cultural rights of indigenous peoples. The state should preserve Indigenous peoples’ rights to land and natural resources for cultural and environmental sustainability. Thus, the state should also help Agabag preserve the cross-border jar exchange rite as a cultural heritage. FPIC principles must be negotiated and implemented in Agabag to ensure that the government and relevant parties recognize and respect autonomous, primarily cultural, and environmental rights.

Olson defines “loose suzerainty,” which describes indigenous autonomy as a careful balance between central authority control and influence.69 This strategy gives local entities some authority without over-restricting them, creating a complex relationship between central governance and indigenous self-governance. A lady informant said, “In the past, the ritual exchange of Tempayan as part of our tradition was conducted without being influenced by strict rules or regulations from the central government.” They had plenty of social space to construct and organize this cultural ceremony. Indigenous autonomy relies on social space agency, which allows Indigenous communities to construct and govern their social spaces to preserve cultural practices, traditions, and communal institutions.

Schendel and Abraham defined lict mobility as the legitimate movement of indigenous peoples across boundaries to facilitate cultural exchanges, trade, and familial relationships.70 Beyond national boundaries, human rights became more widely known after the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted in 2007.71 A border crosser says, “We bring ritual items that are not for sale, and these are for our cultural ceremonies that have been performed since ancient times.” Indigenous communities worldwide have the right to equality, liberty, and progress, as stated in this proclamation.

This paradigm includes cultural identity, equality, and liberty as fundamental human rights. Elites say, “Dayak Agabag have full access to state services like health and education as border inhabitants and indigenous people. They deserve equal protection and opportunities as central government Jakarta citizens.” Indigenous peoples deserve to live without discrimination and have their culture recognized. Recognizing indigenous populations’ agency through education and political involvement is significant. The human rights framework requires education and political participation.

Indigenous autonomy is essential for sustainable and inclusive development as human rights rhetoric crosses borders. This approach recognizes the link between human rights and indigenous community autonomy, fostering global justice. The Agabag community struggles to preserve its Tempayan exchange as a cultural activity under governmental rule. The central government may intend to give “loose suzerainty,” but its presence can occasionally impede human rights. A Dayak Agabag elite said, “There is currently no national regulation in Indonesia specifically addressing the rights of border-crossing for indigenous communities at the national border to practice their culture.” Bureaucratic impediments and regulatory impositions can hinder the Agabag community’s actual application of human rights in the delicate dance of autonomy within state authority.

Recognizing the Dayak Agabag community’s rights to education and political engagement, notably human rights, is a milestone in an indigenous community agency. Education and political participation are essential to preserve Agabag Dayak’s distinctive identity and cultural legacy. Indigenous autonomy debates in human rights discussions go beyond politics and education to maintain traditional economies and lifestyles. This distinction highlights Agabag Dayak’s role in preserving their culture and livelihoods under external pressures.

and autonomy rights, as part of transboundary human rights, support Agabag Dayak’s desire for self-reliance and control over their destiny. Dayak Agabag’s experience shows that human rights and indigenous autonomy are linked, supporting a holistic approach and comprehensive policies protecting the rights of various cross-border indigenous peoples. As human rights discourse evolves, Dayak Agabag emphasizes preserving indigenous autonomy to promote sustainable and inclusive development and affirm the intrinsic link between human rights principles and indigenous sovereignty, creating a more equitable and just global landscape.

The local Dayak Agabag elite’s minority status affects cross-border politics and privileges and generates a dynamic that facilitates cross-border migration, which is illegal but socially acceptable. Local elites use minority status to acquire political access, infrastructure funding, affirmative policies, and social norms. Especially in cross-border interactions with Malaysia’s Murut Peniangan group, minority awareness strengthens solidarity and social support. Thus, while cross-border mobility may violate formal restrictions, local communities may consider safeguarding their rights and interests necessary. Thus, local Agabag Dayak elites’ minority status and cross-border movement reflect the complicated dynamics of cross-border human rights and indigenous autonomy.

4. Conclusion

The Dayak Agabag’s frontier character is challenged by the postcolonial state’s influence in the cosmopolitan upper Sembakung area. Citizens face contradictory situations due to the state’s policy of occupying borders, which includes regulating places and security measures during trade ceremonies. However, residents in upper Sembakung show exceptional resilience and independence by not yielding to the state. By affirming their humanity as individuals living on the border, they question and carry out laws that go against the government, using the symbolic act of Tempayan as a key element in challenging governmental power across borders.

In order to regulate the flow of goods and people between Indonesia and Malaysia, the Border Trade Agreement (BTA) and the Border Crossing Agreement (BCA) have been established. The BTA manages the transportation of goods, while the BCA controls the movement of people across the Indonesia-Malaysia border. These agreements are essential for settling border disputes and promoting bilateral border cooperation. It is essential to review the border’s social space, specifically concerning the Agabag ethnic and their human rights. Existing spatial limitations need to adapt to frontier communities’ diversity and cosmopolitan nature. It is essential to establish trans-local autonomous dimensions that accurately represent the identities and requirements of these groups. Border regions shared by states should prioritize the needs of the local population over the interests of state power hubs.

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