

Ronggeng Paser Dance Tradition in Kuaro Village, Paser Regency in 2008-2025

Maulida Rusdiana Zuhriah^{1*}, Syaharuddin², Fitri Mardiani³, Dewicca Fatma Nadilla⁴
^{1,2,3,4}History Education, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Universitas Lambung Mangkurat,
Indonesia

*correspondence email : 1910111120010@mhs.ulm.ac.id

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Abstrak

Seiring pesatnya arus globalisasi dan modernisasi, Tradisi Tari Ronggeng Paser di Kelurahan Kuaro sebagai identitas dan perekat sosial masyarakat, mulai terpinggirkan oleh budaya asing yang masuk ke wilayah. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan latar belakang Tradisi Tari Ronggeng Paser di Kelurahan Kuaro serta perkembangannya pada tahun 2008-2025. Metode yang digunakan adalah metode sejarah yang terdiri dari empat tahapan, yakni pertama, heuristik dilakukan dengan menghimpun sumber primer berupa wawancara dengan narasumber, dokumen, dan dokumentasi. Kedua, kritik sumber diterapkan dalam dua langkah, yakni kritik eksternal dan kritik internal. Ketiga, interpretasi dilakukan dengan menafsirkan dan mengkaji fakta-fakta sejarah Tradisi Tari Ronggeng Paser di Kelurahan Kuaro. Keempat, historiografi yaitu penyajian rekonstruksi peristiwa secara kronologis dan analitis dalam bentuk tulisan ilmiah. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Tari Ronggeng Paser merupakan bagian dari akulturasi budaya asli suku Paser dengan budaya Melayu, dan muncul di masa Kesultanan Sadurengas. Sejak menjadi bagian dari administrasi Kelurahan Kuaro, Tari Ronggeng Paser mengalami perubahan dalam penyajian, aksesori, serta status kebudayaannya. Kesimpulannya, di Kelurahan Kuaro, tradisi Tari Ronggeng Paser ini memberikan makna sebagai gambaran representatif budaya masyarakat Kelurahan Kuaro.

Kata kunci: tradisi, tari ronggeng, paser, budaya.

Abstract

Along with rapid globalization and modernization, the Ronggeng Paser Dance Tradition in the Village of Kuaro serves as an identity and adhesive force within society, but is starting to be marginalized by foreign cultures entering the region. The aim of this research is to describe the background of the Ronggeng Paser Dance in the Village of Kuaro and the development of the Ronggeng Paser Dance Tradition in the Village of Kuaro from 2008 to 2025. The method used is a historical method consisting of four stages: first, heuristics is carried out by collecting primary sources in the form of interviews with informants, documents, and documentation. Second, source criticism is applied in two steps: external criticism and internal criticism. Third, interpretation is carried out by interpreting and examining the historical facts of the Ronggeng Paser Dance Tradition in Kuaro Village. Fourth, historiography, namely the presentation of a chronological and analytical reconstruction of events in the form of scientific writing. This study reveals that Tari Ronggeng Paser represents a cultural acculturation between the indigenous Paser and Malay peoples, emerging during the Sadurengas Sultanate era. Since becoming part of the Kuaro Village administration, Ronggeng Paser Dance has undergone changes in its presentation, accessories, and cultural status. In conclusion, this traditional dance meaningfully represents the cultural identity of the Kuaro Village community.

Keywords: tradition, ronggeng dance, paser, culture.

INTRODUCTION

Culture is a comprehensive system that includes ideas, behaviors, and artifacts produced by human works in social life

that are inherited through the learning process. Meanwhile, customs are part of culture that includes values, social norms, traditions, institutions, and customary

laws that are carried out collectively by a community in the region (Nadilla et al., 2025).

The preservation of local culture is very important to maintain the nation's identity in the midst of globalization. However, this effort faces major challenges due to the assumption that customs are archaic, which is exacerbated by a lack of public understanding of their essence and the procedures for their implementation. This ignorance ultimately triggers the decline of local traditions and makes people lose their closeness to their own culture. (Nadilla et al., 2025).

The culture of the archipelago is rich in noble values that have been inherited from generation to generation as a guideline for life. Each region has unique cultural characteristics, which are reflected in its different values, beliefs, and philosophical meanings (Maimunah et al., 2023).

The seven elements of culture universally (*Cultural Universal*) is at the core of every culture that can be found around the world (Koentjaraningrat, 2000). The seven elements of culture include language, knowledge systems, social organization systems, living equipment systems and technological advancements, community livelihood systems (economy), religious systems, and arts.

This research focuses on the elements of art as one of the seven

elements of universal culture. Art plays an important role in reproducing the social values of society. Through the perspective of anthropologist Clifford Geertz, art functions not only as an expression of individual aesthetics, but also as a socially arranged "net of meaning" in social life (Geertz, 1973).

Both have a causal relationship where culture is the background for the birth of art, while art functions as a medium of communication to preserve, inherit, and dialogue the collective identity of society in the midst of changing times (Irianto, 2017).

Art is divided into five main branches based on its senses and medium, including fine arts, music, dance, theater, and literature (Jakob Sumardjo, 2014). This research focuses on the study of dance in Kuaro Village, Paser Regency. Dance art is the expression of human ideas, emotions, or ideas through rhythmic, rhythmic, and aesthetically valuable gestures in a certain space and time (Soedarsono, 2002).

One of the typical traditional dance arts that grows and develops in people's lives is the Paser Ronggeng Dance, this art is typical of the Paser Tribe in the Paser Regency area and functions as part of the social dance (entertainment dance for the people) which describes the identity of the local culture of the Paser people (Ilam, 2017).

Paser Regency was formed through Law No. 27/1959 and underwent several administrative transformations, including regional expansion (Law No. 7/2002), change of district name (PP No. 49/2007), and the determination of Paser Land as the capital city (PP No. 7/2013) (Prokopim Paser Regency, 2026). Currently, the district in the south of East Kalimantan has an area of 11.603.94 km² with 10 sub-districts and 144 villages/sub-districts (Central Statistics Agency of Paser Regency, 2026). The focus of this research is in Kuaro Village, which is part of the administrative area of Paser Regency.

Paser Regency has the motto "Benuo Taka" which means "Our Area" in the Paser Tribe language. The ethnic and cultural diversity that occupies the area does not eliminate the local cultural identity, one of which is the traditional art of the Ronggeng Paser Dance (Zahra & others, 2025).

The art of Ronggeng Paser Dance has existed since the time of the Sadurengas Kingdom and was initially staged in the palace environment as a means of healing rituals, until later it turned into entertainment for royal guests. Over time, the function of the Paser Ronggeng Dance has expanded throughout the region and is now a tradition that is commonly displayed in various local community events (Zahra & others, 2025).

However, this traditional art faces challenges in its preservation, especially in Kuaro Village. There was a phase of transmigration of ethnic communities outside the region that resulted in ethnic diversity in the Kuaro Village area, then the Covid-19 pandemic occurred which hindered the implementation of the Ronggeng Paser Dance performance, as well as the rapid flow of globalization that affected the local community, especially among the younger generation, thus raising concerns about the sustainability of the tradition (Dugau, personal interview, December 4, 2025).

Therefore, on this occasion the author conducted research with the History method to examine the background and development of the Paser Ronggeng Dance in Kuaro Village, Paser Regency in 2008-2025, as part of efforts to preserve local cultural heritage

In the context of the scope of academic development, the urgency of this research is directed to provide theoretical and practical benefits. Practically, the results of the historical reconstruction of the Ronggeng Paser Dance for the period 2008-2025 can be a source of historical learning, and are implicated in real life as a basis for the development of local history teaching materials at the school education level.

METHODS

The researcher applied a historical research method to deeply reconstruct the dynamics of the Ronggeng Paser Dance Tradition in Kuaro Village from 2008 to 2025. This process begins with a heuristic stage, where researchers go directly into the field to collect historical sources, both primary and secondary data.

The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with four key figures who oversee the preservation of this art, namely Mr. Dugau as the Chairman of the Paser Traditional Council (ASAP) of Paser Regency, Mrs. Imah as the Chairman of the Bawe Paser Association in the Kuaro region, Mrs. Umi Lailatuzzuroh as a dance teacher and a figure in the preservation of the Paser Ronggeng Dance, and Mr. Dwi Totok Sudianto as a dance performer and choreographer of the Ronggeng Paser Dance.

After the data is collected, the researcher conducts a source criticism stage to test the authenticity and reliability of all the data obtained. Researchers apply external criticism by examining the physical authenticity of documents as well as tracing the origin of the information to ensure the data is valid. Furthermore, the researcher conducts internal criticism by comparing the testimonies between sources and filtering the most accurate facts to minimize the element of subjectivity in the field. This series of tests is carried out

by researchers strictly so that the data that passes can really be accounted for in a reliable manner.

The next step is the interpretation stage, where the researcher interprets and assembles the tested historical facts into a logical narrative. The researcher analyzed the cause-and-effect relationship between the change in the administrative status of Kuaro Village in 2008 and the ups and downs of the dance's existence.

The researcher connects the shift in the variety of movements, clothing, and the meaning of dance rituals with the social reality of the Paser Tribe people who are dealing with the current of modernization. The researcher ends this entire process with the historiography stage, which is pouring all the results of the analysis in the form of systematic scientific writing. The researcher arranges the facts chronologically so that readers can clearly see the background of the Ronggeng Paser Dance Tradition to its development as a local cultural identity of the people of Kuaro Village from 2008 to 2025.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Background of the Ronggeng Dance Tradition in Kuaro Village

The Paser tribe is a community that occupies the southern region of East Kalimantan. The beginning of the Paser community coincided with the formation of the Paser Kingdom, namely after the

birth of Princess Petong who was the first queen of the Sadurengas kingdom (M. Irfan Iqbal, 2000).

The event of the formation of the Sadurengas Kingdom occurred in 1516 AD, the first ruler of the Sadurengas Kingdom was Putri Petong. Putri Petong was inaugurated as the ruler of the Sadurengas Kingdom from 1516 AD to 1567 AD. It is known that in 1521 AD there was an entry of Islamic publishers from the Kingdom of Demak by bringing a typical Malay culture, led by Abu Mansyur Indra Jaya, to the capital of the Kingdom of Sadurengas through the Kandilo River with a flag on a green ship symbolizing the crescent moon of a white star, inscribed in yellow Arabic letters with the sentence *Laa Ilaha Illallah Muhammadur Rasulullah*. The conversion of Islam into the territory of the Sadurengas Kingdom has changed the system and status of government to a Sultanate (A.A. Assegaf, 1982).

The existence of this new religion and belief triggered cultural acculturation, one of which is reflected in the evolution of the Ronggeng Paser Dance. Based on an interview with Dwi Totok Sudianto, a local artist and choreographer (May 10, 2025), this dance was originally part of *the traditional ritual of Belian*, which is a ceremony for adherents of animism-dynamism beliefs that aims to drive away evil spirits and reject catastrophe. At first, the procession of dancing together in the ritual was

known as "*ngarang*". However, over time and the influence of Malay traders as well as cultural interaction from outside since the colonial period, this tradition has undergone acculturation. The term *ngarang* then shifted to ronggeng dance.

The mention of Ronggeng Paser occurred after the trade of rubber or rubber by the Paser people with Malay traders in Malaysia. Since then, the Ngarang Paser Dance has changed its name to the Ronggeng Paser Dance and has become a dance for entertainment and celebration for the community. This tradition spread to all corners of the Paser area, including in Kuaro Village. The mention of the Ronggeng Paser Dance became more widespread after the Indonesian independence period (Rika Novitasari & et al, 2022).

Presentation of Ronggeng Paser Dance

The Ronggeng Paser Dance Movement in Kuaro Village predominantly applies a horizontal floor pattern (parallel to the side) with a front-back direction, or what is locally called *cinnamon*. Philosophically, the *cinnamon pattern* derived from the Paser phrase "enay oroy kate becomes pekotan" contains the meaning of the firmness of the Paser people's view of life which emphasizes protection for the weak, example of leaders, and gentleness of attitude for the sake of creating harmony in community life (Sudianto, personal interview, 2025).

The Ronggeng Paser dance is accompanied by traditional instruments of the Paser Tribe, which include drums, gambus, and gongs. The existence of gambus and drums shows the acculturation of Malay and Middle Eastern culture in aspects of instrument morphology, playing techniques, and musical characters. Musical accompaniment functions to provide a stimulus so that the dance is more lively and plays a role in determining the duration of the dance performance (Sudianto, personal interview, 2025).

The presentation of the Ronggeng Paser Dance in Kuaro Village was accompanied by accompanying poems that were chanted at the beginning and end of the performance. Poetry inherited by the Paser Rehearsal Tuntung Arts Group. The meaning of the poem contains a representation of a social message in the form of an invitation to the people of Paser Regency to strengthen the bond of friendship in order to realize brotherly harmony, as well as reminding the community to continue to preserve local culture as an original identity in the midst of modernization (Sudianto, personal interview, 2025).



Figure 1. Ronggeng Paser Dancer Outfit Kuaro Village, Mrs. Bariyah (46) on the left, Mrs. Umi (52) on the right (Personal Documentation, 2024)

The makeup of the Ronggeng Paser Dance in Kuaro Village applies a simple corrective makeup concept that is uniform for all dancers. This makeup serves to emphasize the lines of the face such as eyebrows, eyes, nose, cheeks, and lips, without using flashy colors. Meanwhile, the typical clothes worn are yellow satin baju kurung combined with red satin fabric, and equipped with a scarf (or handkerchief) that hangs or is attached to the fingers as an accessory. However, along with the modernization and acculturation of culture, the creation of fashion and accessories for the Ronggeng Paser Dance continues to develop to improve the aesthetics of the performance (Sudianto, personal interview, 2025).

Based on data from DWDB (2017, p. 200), for costumes and accessories used by Ronggeng Paser dancers are plain kebaya clothes that were generally used by Paser women during the Sultanate era, as well as additional accessories in the form of handkerchiefs and shawls used for *Squirting* that is, attracting/inviting the audience to dance together. The costume color follows the characteristics of Paser's color. The colors that characterize Paser are in harmony with nature, namely red, yellow, green, white, black, and purple (Paser Regency Government, 2022).

The concept of the Malay community regarding baju kurung on the clothes worn by the Ronggeng Paser dancers, has the meaning of being confined, as in Islamic law reflects what God Almighty has taught to cover the aurah (Takari & Dja'far, 2014).

The Ronggeng Paser dance is generally performed in various ceremonial activities. The location of the Ronggeng Paser Dance performance in Kuaro Village is flexible following orders from the organizers, because it can be carried out in various places including in the yard of the local community's houses. This is a variety of folk art performances because they can be presented anywhere (Sudianto, personal interview, 2025).

B. Development of the Paser Ronggeng Dance Tradition in Kuaro Village in 2008-2025

The Paser Ronggeng Dance has existed since the reign of the Sadurengas Sultanate in Paser, the influence of Islamization that entered and spread to the Paser Regency area has given a new color to the tradition of the Paser Ronggeng Dance, especially in its function and meaning for the community. The Paser Ronggeng Dance has become a cultural identity and a means of entertainment that is always displayed in various community events in Paser (Dugau, personal interview, 2025).

Entering the period of 2008-2012, since the establishment of the administrative area of Kuaro Village in accordance with the Decree of Regional Regulation of Paser Regency number 12 of 2008 (Paser Regency Government, 2008), the Paser Ronggeng Dance has become part of the identity of the Paser people in the Kuaro Village area.



Figure 3. Ronggeng Paser dancers, Ibu Umi's protégé preparing to perform (back) (Umi Lailatuzzuhroh, 2008)

The implementation of the Ronggeng Paser Dance performance is evidenced by the existence of personal documentation belonging to a cultural preservation figure, namely Mrs. Umi Lailatuzzuhroh. The clothes of the Ronggeng dancers use a long green kebaya that extends to the knee with long skirt bottoms that cover the ankles, as well as accessories in the form of a red hair tie and a red belt. The green color on the costume symbolizes coolness and peace that comes from the color of the leaves of the serembolum plant, which is a plant that lives in the Paser area, so the accessory is adapted to Paser's typical color. Meanwhile, the red color on the hair tie and belt accessories symbolizes

the brave people of Paser. For the musical accompaniment, a cassette that is connected to the *soundsystem* is used (Umi, 2025).

In the 2013-2017 period, the performance of the Paser Ronggeng Dance experienced an increase in community participation in line with the dominance of the Paser ethnic group in Kuaro Village (Kuaro Village Government, 2024). This development is supported by the appointment of Mrs. Umi Lailatuzzuhroh as the administrator and trainer of dance arts at the Rindis Talun Studio in 2014 (Umi, 2025). Since then, routine training has been intensified for students of SD Negeri 001 Kuaro.



Figure 4. Performance of Ronggeng Paser Dance by Kindergarten Children in Kuaro Village (Umi Lailatuzzuhroh, 2015)

This period shows the development of the performance of the Paser Ronggeng Dance which began to be danced by early childhood (TK). Developments can also be seen in fashion variations, such as the use of new costume models and Paser's typical head attribute called *laung* with an open model. *Laung* is a plain or beaded cloth that has a color meaning that reflects cultural identity: yellow symbolizes gentleness and politeness, while red is

used in traditional rituals. This characteristic is applied to child dancers through a combination of red and yellow clothing, which is combined with *ulap* bottoms (split skirts) with Paser batik motifs (*serembolum*). Meanwhile, the musical accompaniment of the performance has switched to using audio recordings through DVDs and *sound systems* (Umi, private interview, 2025).

The development of Ronggeng Paser Dance in 2017 showed positive dynamics thanks to the active involvement of the community, cultural figures, and the role of dance studios in Kuaro Village as a forum for preservation.

The peak of the existence of the Paser Ronggeng Dance, namely after it was officially designated as Intangible Cultural Heritage (WBTb) in the same year, this art received more intensive attention from the government through the Culture and Tourism Office (Directorate of Heritage and Cultural Diplomacy, 2017).

According to Mr. Dugau (2025), the Ronggeng Paser Dance from Kuaro Village in 2017 has been successfully staged outside the district area in the annual *Erau event*. The performance which was held at night still maintained its authenticity by using traditional musical accompaniment in the form of drums, gongs, and gambus. Mr. Dugau (2025) also said that usually the people of Kuaro Village carry out joint exercises with the

Paser Ronggeng Dance at the Istana Putri studio owned by the ASAP organization.

Entering the 2018-2022 period, in 2018 the Ronggeng Paser Dance in Kuaro Village was still being held. This is proven. This shows that the role of the Ronggeng Paser Dance for the Kuaro people is very important, because their performance is always inserted as part of the event that is carried out (Umi, personal interview, 2025).

In 2019, the performance of the Paser Ronggeng Dance on the 9th Anniversary of SMK Kertanegara Kuaro (September 2019) became tangible evidence of efforts to preserve tradition and affirm the cultural identity of the Paser people in Kuaro Village. This performance maintains the use of traditional musical instruments, such as drums, gongs, and gambus amid the rampant use of electronic audio media at other events. Adult dancers appeared with simple makeup and distinctive yellow and red clothes with hijab. The fashion reflects the values of the Paser people: yellow symbolizes prosperity and hope, red symbolizes courage, while the use of hijab reflects the identity of the majority of Muslims (Sudianto, personal interview, 2025).

In 2019, it is known that the performance of the Ronggeng Paser Dance was carried out by students of SDN 001 Kuaro under the guidance of Sanggar Rindis Talun at the opening of the Standby

Party which displayed a wealth of traditional clothing full of local symbolism. Dancers wearing ties *Head of Laung Lilit Wakai* (bako) in black in accordance with Perbup Paser No. 67 of 2020 concerning traditional clothes created with typical flower decorations (REGENT OF PASER & EAST KALIMANTAN PROVINCE, 2020).

The variety of clothing used includes purple dresses with a Jala Ngembang Batik pattern in accordance with the fashion color rules in Perbup Paser No. 38 of 2022 (Paser Regency Government, 2022), the color of fashion symbolizes the gathering power of life, as well as the combination of satin green and golden yellow colors that represent the fertility of the region and good hope. The use of red and yellow shawls is still maintained as the main characteristic of the Ronggeng Paser Dance performance (Umi, interview, 2025).

The COVID-19 pandemic and the PPKM policy in 2020 had a significant impact on the preservation of the Ronggeng Paser Dance in Kuaro Village. Restrictions on activities and online schools caused rehearsals and performances to come to a complete halt, so that the Princess Palace Studio became abandoned (Dugau, personal interview, 2025). In order to emphasize the status of regional arts and culture in the midst of the stagnation, the government inaugurated Mr. Dugau as the Chairman of

the Awa Simba Adat Paser Council (ASAP) (Chief of the Dayak Paser Besar Custom, East Kalimantan, 2020). Furthermore, in 2021, the inauguration of the Bawe Paser Association of Kuaro District led by Mrs. Imah was held on a limited basis by displaying the Ronggeng Paser Dance accompanied by digital music and hair ornament creations *Squirrel* (Central Management of the Bawe Paser Association, 2021).

In the end, the Ronggeng Paser Dance in Kuaro Village is an important part of the history and identity of the local community. The tradition of the Paser Ronggeng Dance has traveled a long historical journey, starting from the sacred rituals of animism and dynamism during the Sadurengas Kingdom to developing into a public entertainment art that is routinely performed in various events. Along with the mixing of Malay culture and Islamic teachings, this dance continues to undergo adaptations in the elements of fashion, musical accompaniment, and the form of its performance from 2008 to 2025 without eroding its main value. Even though it was stopped due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this dance still survived thanks to the concern of traditional institutions, cultural leaders, and schools who continue to teach it to the younger generation. Therefore, maintaining the preservation of the Paser Ronggeng Dance means maintaining the identity and pride of the

people of Kuaro Village so that they are not eroded by the development of the times.

CONCLUSION

The Paser Ronggeng Dance is a traditional art of the Paser tribe which functions as a folk entertainment as well as a reinforcement of the cultural identity of the Paser people, especially in the Kuaro Village area. The Ronggeng Paser dance has existed since the reign of the Sadurengas Paser Kingdom. The presentation of the Ronggeng Paser Dance includes basic movements based on *limbai* and *tirik*. The Paser Ronggeng dance is also accompanied by drum instruments, gambus, and gongs, in the performance from beginning to end accompanied by typical poetry of the Paser language mixed with Indonesian which contains an invitation to maintain harmonious relations with fellow Paser people and preserve each other's traditional Paser culture as an identity, even though modernization continues to develop.

In the performance process, the dancers performed with many fashion creations, makeup, and the use of modern musical accompaniment using dvd cassettes and *sound systems*. The role of the government, which has designated the Paser Ronggeng Dance as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Indonesia (WBTh) in 2017, has increased the existence of the

Paser Ronggeng Dance as the cultural identity of the Paser people.

Even though it had experienced obstacles in its implementation due to *the Covid-19 pandemic* in the 2018-2022 range which caused the abandonment of the Princess Palace Studio, the existence of this dance continues to be pursued through the support of the local government and updates to fashion attributes. Such as the official inauguration of Mr. Dugau as Chairman of the ASAP Board to strengthen the role of ASAP regional institutions in the Paser area, especially Kuaro Village, and also the establishment of the Bawe Paser Association under the leadership of Mrs. Imah which is a special customary institution for Paser Women.

The existence of cultural preservation figures such as Mrs. Umi Lailatuzzuhroh, cultural figures created by choreographers such as Mr. Dwi Totok Sudianto, female traditional chairmen (Bawe Paser) Mrs. Imah, and ASAP traditional chairwoman figures, Mr. Dugau, have become a big factor in the preservation of the Ronggeng Paser Dance in Kuaro village that continues to be carried out from 2008 to 2025.

Trading system policy through the Clove Buffer and Marketing Agency (BPPC) in the period 1992-1998 changed the clove distribution mechanism from a relatively open system to a more centralized system. For the Jambu Bol Cigarette

Factory, these changes are reflected in the increasingly limited access to raw materials, the emergence of distribution barriers, and various administrative obstacles related to the procurement of cloves and the marketing process of production products. This condition shows that the impact of the clove trading system is not only felt by farmers as producers, but also by the clove cigarette industry as a downstream sector that depends on the availability of clove supply.

During the period of BPPC's operation, the production capacity of the Jambu Bol Cigarette Factory showed a decreasing trend, from 1.924.962.800 cigarettes in 1992 to 790.369.920 cigarettes in 1997. Although the decline cannot be explained solely by the existence of BPPC because it is also influenced by other factors such as market conditions, industry competition, and national economic dynamics, various sources show that changes in the clove trading system are one of the factors that contribute to the pressure faced by the company. These pressures not only affect production activities, but also have an impact on the socio-economic conditions of workers through reduced employment opportunities and income.

From the perspective of *Richard Robison's crony capitalism*, the case of the Guava Bol Cigarette Factory shows how state intervention in the management of

strategic commodities can affect the relationship between political power and economic activity. The monopoly of clove distribution through BPPC not only changes commodity trading patterns, but also affects the position of business actors who depend on these commodities. These findings show that economic policies during the New Order period not only had an impact at the national level, but also affected the sustainability of local industries and the lives of the workers involved in them. Thus, the Jambu Bol case provides an idea that the relationship between the state and the business world during the New Order period did not always generate equitable profits, but could create vulnerability for industry players who were outside the economic network who received privileged access from the state.

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