

The Relation of Paser Ethnic Subalternity in the Process of Moving the Indonesian Capital City in East Kalimantan

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Abstract

The process of moving the National Capital in Panajam has had an impact on the original ethnicity that inhabits the location, in this case, the Paser ethnicity. These ethnic communities experience patterns of subalternity relations such as their settlement land and livelihood land are suddenly determined without their knowledge, are not involved in decision-making processes, they are prohibited from accessing the zero point and the Central Government Core Area, and are not given space to become local workers in the work of the State Capital projects. This pattern of subalternity relations then developed into a communal identity which became the basis for the spirit of this community to carry out struggles for emancipation. How this community defines itself as a subaltern is the formulation of the problem that will be answered by this research as well as a research objective. This research approach is based on a critical paradigm because the Paser ethnic community which is used as a research subject is in a cyborg position which requires the role of researchers as transformative intellectuals in helping them to get out of their problems. The research method used is a qualitative method with data collection in the form of interviews, FGDs, and observations, all of which are carried out in a participatory manner. The data were analyzed by finding patterns/themes of meaning and presented narratively. The results of the study found that the pattern of unequal relationships gave rise to collective anxiety and collective perceptions as a subordinated group. The conclusion of this study is the pattern of subaltern relations of the 4 dominant forces, namely the state, companies, dominant culture, and transmigrants, which makes them perceive their group as subordinate. The expected suggestion is that this community needs to continue to build awareness together to continue the struggle for the existence of culture and life while continuing to strive for community empowerment in the form of capacity building.

Keywords: subaltern, ethnic, relation, emancipation

1. Introduction

The decision of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia regarding the relocation of the State Capital to the Panajam location has created complex dynamics of social interaction in the region. There is a local ethnic group in this area, namely the Paser ethnicity as a community that has historically occupied the Panajam area for the first time. Currently, the population of the Paser ethnic group is around 1,500 people scattered around the implementation of the National Capital City project (Hidayat, 2023).

The Paser ethnic community experienced symptoms of marginalization in the dynamics of moving to the National Capital because their residential area, including forest land which was the main source of livelihood for this community, was determined directly by the project manager without obtaining approval from the community. The fact of determining the territory makes this community grow in-group solidarity in fighting against the dominant power (Santoso, 2018). The forces they consider to have intimidated their socio-cultural life during the project to relocate the National Capital were the state, companies, the dominant culture, and immigrants or migrants who seemed to be given special privileges by the local authorities.

Solidarity has brought the Paser Ethnic together to maintain the standards that they have so far. Indigenous people claim that the boundaries of the National Capital City of the Archipelago penetrate the customary lands that they have worked on for generations. The Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago and several NGOs warned of the potential for conflict which might involve 16,800 people from 21 indigenous peoples around the Archipelago's National Capital. About 10 kilometres from there, Dahlia Yati from the Paser Balik Tribe - a local indigenous people - said President Jokowi's arrival "is neither a surprise nor a joy."

Currently, the stakes in the Capital City area have entered the settlements, encroaching on land that has been cultivated for generations to become plantations. "The land owned by parents, and relatives of indigenous people is four hectares, and the land of other indigenous people is legal ownership. The land that has been acquired for generations is having the status of "land seal" or land tenure based on a stamped letter that is known by the village apparatus. "Our land should not be encroached upon," said a source of indigenous Paser residents.

In a taxonomical study, this study interviewed traditional Paser leaders. The Head of the Paser Balik Tribe, Beltindin estimates that in Sepaku District - the location of the Archipelago's National Capital - there are around 5000 - 6000 hectares of ancestral land, which have not yet received ownership certificates. North Penajam Paser is inhabited by the Dayak Paser community, transmigrants from Central Java, and oil palm plantation workers. The lands are called Beltdin as the only "support of life" because "our forest is finished, all, this livelihood is finished."

He hopes that before the construction of the nation's capital begins, matters of land ownership will be clarified, by hoping that the government will provide land ownership documents to indigenous peoples. "Our responsibility is only to defend our place of residence. Our place to grow crops. Do not let my children and grandchildren have no place to live," said Beltindin, who is also worried that if this is not heeded, "then this will invite commotion.

Dozens of indigenous communities are threatened with displacement. The Paser Balik tribe is part of 21 communities that have been verified by the Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago. Of the 21 communities in the Archipelago National Capital, only "representatives of 1-2 community members" are involved in the development process because "in general they have not been involved". Deputy Secretary General of the Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago, Erasmus Cahyadi said, 21 communities reported a total of 30,000 hectares of their customary land overlapping with plantation and mining concession permits, even before the Archipelago National Capital project existed. "However, it is predicted that some of the 30,000 hectares will go to the National Capital City," said Erasmus.

The number of indigenous peoples verified by the Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago in at least one community is 200 families, so it can be estimated that this land issue will involve at least 16,800 people. The most likely option, said Erasmus, is for the government to involve indigenous peoples by offering cooperation contracts, not buying their land. "Compensation," the land rights will be transferred to the government. It's different if it's cooperation or a contract, then it doesn't switch. Indigenous peoples are also expected to benefit from the process," Erasmus said.

The phenomenon of real social transformation has occurred since the appointment of East Kalimantan as the National Capital. This condition appeared when the forest area was changed to become the centre of the National Capital. The turmoil that arose was caused by the fact that most people were not ready to accept the fact that the National Capital City was in East Kalimantan, especially the Paser indigenous people who had gradually become a subaltern group.

Data to describe the current subaltern situation is the systematic narrowing of living space with the entry of various forest management companies including Forest Concession Rights in 1969. Forest Concession Rights were given to certain people for the right to cultivate forests in forest areas with logging activities, forest regeneration, forest maintenance, processing and marketing of forest products by the agreement made to operate. This condition has been going on for decades, even the employees or workers at the Forest Concession Rights are mostly non-natives who live in the Sepaku area.

The Paser indigenous people who live in the Sepaku area do not get work opportunities in Forest Concession Rights or oil palm companies and Industrial Plantation Forests. This happened due to the lack of obtaining rights as citizens to get proper education, and adequate skills so job opportunities are minimal and not open to the Paser indigenous people. The local indigenous peoples are still very traditional, so they have not been able to adjust to the rhythm of development in the Sepaku area. They are still far from a modern work ethic and are used to living simply with forest products in their area, which makes them very slow to accept developments from outside.

Other changes in Sepaku residents must try to balance their potential as residents in the Central Government Core Area, residents who were initially very traditional have become increasingly concerned about the changes in Sepaku as part of the move to the National Capital. Subaltern views are different from the views of society in general. According to them, the National Capital City is a bad part because it will be increasingly oppressed by various interests with the presence of

the faces of the people of the Capital City who will inhabit the State Capital region, especially in Sepaku. The process of the National Capital City being established, for them is the neglected part. They as Paser ethnic groups are not directly involved in decision-making, especially customary land which is currently the Central Government Core Area and the National Capital City.

Based on interviews with several residents, they understand that Sepaku became the State Capital not from the government directly in the form of outreach but based on information from the ear to ear. The Etnit Paser people want them to be involved in decision-making, even though the population numbers are not comparable, they hope that they as residents own the land. The National Capital City may be part of the blessing for other people who are in Sepaku, in contrast to the ethnic Paser who feel left behind. We'll see in the markers made for the National Capital City, these land markers are very confusing for the residents because they are not by the knowledge of land ownership that they have so far.

Symptoms of the marginalization of the Paser ethnic community emerged in the process of moving the National Capital, which they had previously experienced before the discourse on the National Capital was rolled out. The ethnic Paser become subordinate communities to dominant forces such as concession companies who control their lands without receiving adequate compensation. The marginalization process then became stronger after the processes of moving the National Capital ignored the existence of the Paser ethnic group as a local community that should benefit greatly from the city development process. The Paser ethnic community has begun to identify itself as a subaltern group that is experiencing repression from various dominant forces.

From a sociological perspective, this research is based on a critical paradigm because the ontology of reality places the Paser ethnicity as a community group that is in a subordinate/subaltern position in the dynamics of the development of the National Capital City in Sepaku Penajam. The purpose of the study with a critical perspective is to gain enlightenment, which will open alternative paths for individuals and the wider community in solving social and existing problems. Therefore, research models under the umbrella of critical science involve identifying problematic problems or behaviours and explaining strategies for dealing with them (overcoming and changing them) clearly and carefully.

Such a model is more political in nuance and has dimensions of social transformation and enlightenment which can make agents (researchers, development implementers, and related parties) aware of the existence of hidden coercion. In other words, the struggle agenda carried out by critical science is the agenda of liberation and empowerment. By advocating enlightenment and empowerment, it is hoped that the community will have the ability to make choices for their future. Agents in such a position are no longer initiators, extension workers and teachers, but only change facilitators and thinkers for the community.

In its implementation, critical science usually carries out activities with staff and the community that is the target of learning. Besides that, they also become "research partners" in providing and discussing research plans that they will design together (Pressler & Dasilva, 1996). According to Pressler and Dasilva (1996), in general, community members who are in the area of critical science study are part of a society that is marginalized, namely people who are depressed and do not have voting rights like the general public. One of the analytical agendas of critical science is the analysis of distortions of perception and knowledge, both at the individual and community levels. The distortion of perception and knowledge that occurred by the elite actors in moving the National Capital or the National Capital Project in viewing the existence of the Paser ethnicity, resulted in the emergence of social actions that marginalized the Paser ethnicity.

Several results of studies on subalternity relations have been carried out such as Aggrey Daniel Maina Thuo (2013) in his study of how subaltern action in Kenya which was published in the *International Journal of Education and Research*, found that subaltern groups who experienced social transformation due to the conversion of their agricultural land into settlements did independent actions with do-it-yourself strategies, namely actions that are self-developed according to their abilities and potential independently. Meenakshi Gigi Durham (2020) conducted subaltern studies about urban fragmentation to explore the broad influence of subaltern studies on urban studies. This study highlights three very important issues namely the subaltern as a relation to 'popular' political struggles; the subaltern as urban subject epistemology and ethical challenge of representation simultaneously; and the subaltern as a designation for the boundaries of urban theory rather than just urban marginality spaces. A comprehensive study of subalternity that captures the dynamics of subaltern groups historically in India, well written by David Ludden (2002) as presented in *A Brief History of Subalternity*, reveals that subaltern studies occupy a subject position in India, where the disclosure of subaltern images is heavily influenced by national narratives, orientalist images, ethnic stereotypes, and Hinduism.

This research is different from previous research because the subaltern groups come from the ethnic origin in a massive urban development that is marginalized by 4 dominant forces, namely the state, companies, transmigrant groups, and the dominant culture. In addition, another prominent difference is the participatory research approach used to encourage indigenous ethnicity as research subjects to experience an accelerated emancipation process. Based on the empirical problems found in the taxonomical study as a preliminary study of this dissertation and the analysis of the theoretical

gaps or subalternity concepts put forward as well as the paradigmatic basis used, this research will explore why the relational patterns of moving the National Capital in Panajam considered by the Paser ethnic community as an unequal relationship that positions them in a subordinate/subaltern position?

2. Method

The research approach uses a qualitative approach with the type of research, namely qualitative-analytic which analyzes in-depth and critically the phenomena of the life of the Paser ethnic community as a subaltern group in the relationship of moving the State Capital. Data collection was carried out through interviews and FGD techniques on informants who were drawn purposively with the criteria of the Paser community who experienced subalternity actions due to the policy of moving the National Capital in their area. Data were analyzed using Spradley analysis to find the structure or pattern of meaning to the research focus (Hadi, 2021). Data is presented in a narrative manner supported by transcripts of excerpts from direct interviews with informants.

This type of research relies on a critical paradigm which aims to involve research informants in a participatory manner in exploring problems, diagnosing problems, finding solutions, and carrying out change actions facilitated by researchers. This means that this research approach is very up-to-date because research is carried out while carrying out transformative change actions. Thus the role of the researcher in this context is as a transformative intellectual.

This research was conducted in Sepaku District, North Penajam Paser Regency, East Kalimantan. The reason for selecting the Sepaku sub-district as the research location is that in this location the Paser ethnic group live who feels they are a subaltern amid the rapid development of the region, especially the Sepaku sub-district which is the Central Government Core Area after East Kalimantan was designated as the transfer of the National Capital. The time of research was carried out from January 2022 to June 2022.

3. Results

3.1 Characteristics of Informants

Table 1. Characteristics of Informants

No	Initials	Position	Informant
1	SDN	Pemaluan Traditional Leaders	Main
2	SBK	Head of the Traditional District of Sepaku	Main
3	AKT	Implementing Duties of the District Head of Football	Key
4	HSN	Indigenous people of Paser and Public Relations of ITCI Hutni Manunggal (IHM)	Main
5	SRN	Traditional Paser Head of Binuang Village, Sepaku District, North Penajam Paser Regency	Main
6	SRH	Traditional Head of Bumi Harapan Village, Sepaku District, North Penajam Paser Regency	Main
7	SFN	Paser Traditional Stakeholder, Sepaku District, North Penajam Paser Regency	Main

3.2 The Social Process of Forming Paser Ethnic Identity as a Subaltern Group

The Paser ethnicity is an indigenous community that already inhabits the area that will become the centre of the Archipelago's Capital. This ethnic group considers their community to be in a subaltern position on the issue of relocating the National Capital in their area. The notion of being a subaltern then accumulates into a shared identity which becomes a strong motivation for them in carrying out responses in response to activities related to displacement. What kind of social process did this community go through to form an identity as a subaltern? In uncovering this social process, researchers conducted in-depth interviews with this community, both in their position as key informants and key informants.

The descriptions of the results of the in-depth interviews which are supported by direct quotations describe the reality being faced. To explain the social process of forming a shared feeling as a subaltern which then transforms into a subcultural identity, exploration will be developed by uncovering facts that reflect efforts to marginalize this ethnicity since the activity of relocating the National Capital began. The fact that there is an impression of systematic marginalization is shown in the case of marking the boundaries of the National Capital Region, which partly took their land. Previously this ethnic group received information that their land, whether used for settlements or as livelihood land, would not be disturbed.

The fact that their land was simply marked without seeking their consent has created great concern for the community. They were confused because they suddenly saw signs of landmarking being carried out by the executors of the National Capital Relocation project, as conveyed by the informant below:

...so it hasn't happened that many of the commitments made from the beginning have been violated by the congregation. Initially, the Central Government Core Area of the State Capital did not interfere with residents' housing and land, now it is disturbed by residents' housing with the existence of the State Capital Central Government Core Area. I am ma'am, in my yard, there are markers for the Central Government Area for the State Capital, I'm honestly confused, what does the government want this is my yard, how come there are markers for the Central Government Area State Capital, if you say goodbye, it's okay, but this is just playing with stakes in the Central Government Area of the State Capital...(HSN, 29/06/2022)

The informant's statement above confirms that arbitrary actions were taken by the National Capital Relocation Project because it did not involve the residents at all in deciding actions related to the basic needs of the Paser community. Paser residents are willing to participate in the form of labour and material sacrifices for development reasons as long as they are involved in making decisions.

The struggle of the Paser ethnic group that has been carried out so far to defend their customary lands is likely to continue. Their land was taken secretly by the authorities and the central government for the benefit of developing the National Capital secretly without any meetings with the Paser ethnic group, who used this land as their place of survival. This is a pattern carried out by the central government and the authorities which allows the Paser people as native people to be marginalized which will have an impact on poverty because the previous land which was used as a source of livelihood for the survival of the Paser ethnic was taken by force by the authorities and the central government for the benefit of Mother's development State Capital, as quoted from the following SFN interview:

...It appears that the poverty caused by indigenous peoples is the taking of assets owned by us without our knowledge, including the stakes of the Central Government Area of the State Capital standing firmly in the yard of our house, garden and arable land so that this is a question for us, the indigenous people of Sepaku...(SFN, 10/07/2022)

As far as the Paser residents know, the land they live on island that has been inhabited for hundreds of years and is an asset from the Paser ancestors. This land was taken without their knowledge by sticking markers as the National Capital Region. This land is not only land as a place to live which is determined but includes land that is used as plantations which are arable land for Paser residents as the main livelihood in supporting their family.

Indigenous or local people do not forbid or even be happy when the State Capital is in Sepaku because the agreement at the beginning before the transfer of the State Capital was agreed that the Central Government Area of the State Capital would not interfere with the land inhabited by indigenous or local people. Ironically, as time went on, the transfer of the National Capital no longer involved indigenous and local communities in meetings, even the determination of land that became residential areas and gardens as a place of livelihood for the survival of indigenous or local communities was designated as the Central Government Core Area The National Capital City violated the agreement on the transfer of the National Capital to Sepaku.

The central government as if the indigenous or local people have agreed with the stakes as the boundaries of the National Capital Region which will take part of the land from the indigenous or local community. With this benchmark, indigenous or local people are confused about the activities carried out by the central government in Sepaku, as quoted from the following SBK:

...We were confused about what they gave to the centre, so the centre immediately staked our land...We are here, we are humans, so give us the right to live, don't disturb us, this is our life that existed hundreds of years ago, animals are protected until they are given an area of 20 hectares for one animal, why are we humans who own land instead of being taken by force with stakes-stakes in our yard and arable land...(SBK, 18/06/2022)

They metaphorically conclude that the State gives more rights to protected animals by giving areas of around 20 hectares compared to indigenous or local communities by taking over residential land or gardens to be used as the National Capital Region by violating mutually agreed agreements. Connotatively the quote "the state gives rights to animals" means that the state values animals more than humans, a very extreme assessment due to the shackles of critical thoughts and feelings that are very worrying.

Another fact that indicates the systematic marginalization efforts faced by the Paser community is the prohibition of the authorities and the National Capital project not to enter the National Capital Area, especially the Zero Point location and its surroundings for any reason, even though part of the National Capital area has already become a location ethnic livelihoods in earning a living every day. Along with developments and development planning in the area of the

National Capital City of Sepaku. Many of the policies made by the central government try to limit the activities of indigenous or local people in the area. As the following excerpt from the interview with AKT:

...Initially, this zero point was not opened to the public, because this is a production forest area...The concern was cleared because large vehicles were passing from inside transporting wood...Initially from the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing and the Ministry of Home Affairs does not allow this, namely the opening of zero point for the general public...(AKT, 19/06/2022)

Activities in the zero point area of the National Capital City were previously closed by the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing and the Ministry of Home Affairs, not allowing indigenous or local communities to carry out activities at zero point because large cars were passing by in the area. Even the regional government itself does not know about the state officials who come to visit at zero point which is the centre of the development of the State Capital.

If the local government as an autonomous government also experiences restrictions, it is conceivable that the local indigenous community, such as the Paser ethnic group, with limited resources and strength, certainly does not have access at all to enter the Zero Point location. The arrogant attitude of the officers towards the management of the zero point area reflects dominative power which will disrupt relational patterns and hinder the process of local citizen participation in the success of the plan to relocate the National Capital.

The area that was used for the construction of the National Capital City was previously closed to the public to carry out activities in the area. Conflicts over territory have occurred for a long time, both between indigenous peoples and companies, because the companies forbade indigenous peoples to carry out activities in the area, when in fact these areas have been inhabited by indigenous peoples for hundreds of years.

The location around the zero point has a long history which illustrates the symptoms of marginalization. Before the transfer of the National Capital, the ethnic Paser had been prohibited by the company from accessing the location because the company considered it theirs. Even though the location is customary land that has been inhabited by ethnic Paser for generations. The confiscation of Paser customary land by the company resulted in collective acts of resistance in the form of struggles for land ownership through advocacy and legal action. Indigenous peoples have been fighting over land ownership for a long time before it was decided to move the National Capital to the Sepaku area as quoted by the SRN informant as follows:

...We have been fighting for our land for a long time, our land but we are small people who cannot speak... That's why we are not grandiose, we want to meet the president, just to talk about our rights so far, don't let our relocation of the National Capital to Sepaku run out...(SRN, 06/07/2022)

Indigenous people's concern about the transfer of the National Capital City in Sepaku regarding land ownership is increasing because the challenges they face are multi-layered. In addition to the companies that have seized customary land for industry, currently, the state is also considered to have made claims on their land in the context of developing the National Capital City. Local indigenous peoples' initiatives emerged to hold a meeting with the president in conveying the rights of the Paser indigenous people in the context of the development of the National Capital City, especially their rights to the land that they allotted for settlements and land for earning a living.

The growth of local initiatives in the form of small and polite resistance is driven by optimism to continue the struggle for the survival of this ethnic group and the welfare of the people around the National Capital. Another driving force is the high self-confidence of the original local ethnicity who first inhabited the location. They believe that it would be an extraordinary oddity if indigenous people were prevented from accessing the location of the National Capital considering they had been there long before the company and the National Capital existed. These feelings and beliefs were expressed by the main informant as quoted from an interview with the Head of the Traditional Paser of Binuang Village:

...Roads are always closed, sterilized and we can't even pass by when officials visit...Who are we?...We own the territory, we own the land, we existed before the National Capital existed, why are we like stepson in...(SRN, 29/06/2022)

The Paser ethnic community adheres to the noble value that every guest must be given a warm and lively welcome as a form of high respect among human beings. The fact that every state guest who comes receives strict escort, such as closing and sterilizing roads, creates an impression of the Paser ethnicity as a society that is not taken into account, even radically considering that the state seems to be ignoring this community. The visit of state officials to the State Capital ignores the traditions of the Paser indigenous people in welcoming guests. The tradition of the Paser indigenous people in welcoming guests is usually to perform a complete dance with cultural ornaments and occasionally perform cultural rituals. Indigenous peoples feel offended when officials visit the zero point area without involving indigenous peoples as the origin.

In its position as an indigenous community, collective resentment due to the neglect of the existence of those who have lived in this location for hundreds of years is normal. Conditions like this are certainly very risky for the growth of an effective communication process between the government which carries the concept of development that is socially just and the people who feel they are experiencing neglect.

An acknowledgement between parties is needed as a condition for effective communication to take place. In this context, ignoring the existence of the Paser community signifies the absence of acknowledgement which will have implications for the emergence of disturbances or obstacles to the communication process. The follow-up effect is that community participation, which is at the core of successful development, does not appear, which in turn threatens the success of development itself. Isn't development aimed at prosperity? If in the process it ignores the existence and rights of citizens, it means an irony and a paradox of development.

The paradoxical appearance of the development is increasingly evident by the parties to the National Capital Relocation Project, which have never involved indigenous peoples in decision-making processes, especially those related to the community's basic right to life. The central government has the perception that all decisions taken represent the components of the nation, including the representation of the needs and desires of local communities.

This perception arises as a result of information distortion which only relies on data sourced from research reports and information from authorized institutions without any direct verification action on beneficiaries, such as the Paser ethnic community. This is a problem of representation that is often experienced by subaltern groups so Spivak in his book *Can Subaltern Speak?* Claiming the problem of representation has made subalterns experience exploitation from various directions.

The Paser or local indigenous people are not involved in the development process of the National Capital City, both in the process of working on the state building as a central government office and in decision-making. The flow of Natural Resources for the development of the National Capital City comes from Sepaku while Human Resources come from the centre/Jakarta. This development should be based on the principle of welfare by utilizing local potential or communities to improve welfare for the people who are around the development of the National Capital City. Ironically, the construction of this building stood on indigenous peoples' land, while the construction of the building as the head office was carried out by workers brought in from the centre.

The use of resources for building facilities to prepare for the relocation of the National Capital from outsiders, including unskilled workers, is perceived by the Paser ethnicity as a form of neglect of their existence. According to the community, the National Capital City project should use workers from local communities for jobs that do not require technical skills. That way, local people can directly feel the benefits of moving the National Capital to locations around their settlements because they can create jobs for the local community. The building construction project as a state office centre was carried out by workers who were brought in from the centre or the land of Java. Indigenous or local communities in the construction of the building are only spectators at the National Capital City development project as quoted by the following SRH informant:

...Many guests came but we were not involved, we were just waiting for someone to invite us to be involved in the activities of the National Capital, but until now there has been no result...(SRH, 10/07/2022)

The Paser Indigenous People are only spectators at the relocation of the National Capital in Sepaku. They have never been asked for advice either through research interviews or community meetings regarding the development of the National Capital in Sepaku. There are many general public or governments who come to consult with the Paser indigenous people but the indigenous people do not understand their intentions and goals, as quoted by the following SRN informant:

...Honest mother, many came to us, we were interviewed, summoned and even invited to discuss but after that, they disappeared and we didn't even understand the purpose of the meeting...(SRN, 06/07/2022)

Since the establishment of the National Capital City in Sepaku, the general public has been interested in coming to visit ground zero. Their arrival brings interest in the development process of the National Capital City. There were many people conducting interviews with the Paser or local indigenous people about the interests of the development of the National Capital City in Sepaku which had no impact on the welfare of the Paser people. Even the Paser indigenous people were invited to attend a discussion on moving the National Capital who did not understand the purpose of the meeting.

The Paser indigenous people have advocated in various ways to be involved in the process of moving the National Capital in Sepaku but they are still not involved. The Paser indigenous people want them to be involved so they can enjoy the beauty of moving the national capital to Sepaku. They hope that the central government will not turn the Paser people into spectators of the relocation of the National Capital in Sepaku, as quoted by the informant as follows:

...We also want to enjoy the beauty of the National Capital, ma'am, we are not spectators...For that, madam, please help us so that we can voice this out, meet us with those in power...One of them we want to meet with gentlemen of the authorities who have the authority to move the State Capital...(SBK, 18/06/2022)

So that the Paser indigenous people do not become spectators, they hope that they will meet with the authorities who also have the authority to move the State Capital to Sepaku. The Paser indigenous people develop dialogue actions with the authorities so as not to be able to produce an agreement regarding the survival of this ethnic community.

It is only natural for the Paser indigenous people to take various forms of action regarding the relocation of the National Capital in Sepaku. The Paser indigenous people are indigenous people who have inhabited the region for hundreds of years. The land and gardens that have been cultivated which are used as a means of livelihood for the Paser residents are now pegged by the company which claims that the land and gardens are part of an industrial forest which will be used as the zero point area for the construction of a central government building.

The collective perception of the Paser ethnic group regarding the systematic efforts of the state and companies to marginalize the socio-economic life of local indigenous communities has widened its horizons when faced with the context of multicultural life. There is a presumption that the representation of local customs in the archipelago is usually represented by Dayak adat. It is very understandable when the Dayak traditional symbols are often displayed on the stage of the National Capital City considering the existence of this custom is worldwide.

In the process of moving the National Capital to Sepaku, only the Dayak tribe is considered representative on the island of Kalimantan based on the views of the central government. While the tribes that inhabit the Kalimantan archipelago consist of various tribes. The Sepaku area is inhabited by the Paser indigenous people which is the territory of the State Capital as quoted by an SDN informant as follows:

...Secondly ma'am, we are native Paser residents who have the Sepaku and North Penajam Paser areas but it's the Dayak who is brought to the surface, we don't hate Dayak but please know how to position ourselves and the area...We have never come to an area that it's not our customary territory, so what we want is Sepaku, it doesn't have any other custom, it's the Paser custom that has it, don't join us in busy managing us here...(SDN, 19/06/2022)

The Paser indigenous people appreciate the relationship between tribes on the island of Borneo. The process of moving the National Capital by the central government only displays symbols of the Dayak tribe without involving the Paser tribe as representatives of the residents of the Sepaku area. However, the process of moving the National Capital to the Sepaku area is the right and responsibility of the Paser indigenous people to be involved, because the Sepaku area was inhabited hundreds of years ago by them.

Interpretations based on generalizations and representations seem to have been developed by the central government in managing the project to relocate the National Capital. The impact is that the government is trapped in viewing the involvement of local ethnic groups as part of a national development strategy by displaying the Dayak ethnicity as a symbol of representation. The reality is that in this area there are ethnic Paser who are very worthy of representing the symbolization of local ethnic involvement.

The pattern of local ethnic involvement that is trapped in the generalization process can implicitly create conflict between citizens because displaying the dominant ethnicity in a regional context will foster the seeds of hostility for the small ethnic group as experienced by the Paser ethnic group. Whereas culturally, the Paser ethnicity develops mutual respect and respect among the tribes in the Kalimantan Region as local wisdom that underlies their daily harmonious life.

The cultural marginalization of the Paser ethnicity is an interpretation that grows within the consciousness of this community. This cultural awareness encourages them to continue voicing their aspirations to the central government in various ways. One of the aspirations considered strategic in maintaining the pattern of life and preserving the noble values of the Paser ethnicity is voicing the desire to be able to live and live side by side around the location of the National Capital City. The voices representing the collective wish of the Paser ethnic group to be given space and a place to live around the location of the National Capital City were conveyed by one of the informants below:

...Our second request is that please make us a city or area inhabited by the Paser custom, so we can live side by side by preserving our Paser culture, don't keep forgetting the Dayak that we raised...The Dayaks don't own the land here, the one who owns the land here is Paser...Once again, we don't hate Dayaks, but we just want to understand the rules, that our territory that you take belongs to Paser...(SDN, 19/06/2022)

The Paser or local indigenous people hope that the central government will create a city or area for the Paser indigenous people to live in in the National Capital Region so that they can live side by side with the central government so that the process of activities carried out later by the central government does not regardless of the culture of Paser as the region

that is used as the capital of the State. The Paser indigenous people do not hold hatred against the Dayak tribe, but the Paser indigenous people hope that the tribes that inhabit the island of Kalimantan can place their tribes in their place based on their respective territories.

The Paser ethnic hopes that the process of moving the National Capital carries the concept of the archipelago by displaying ethnic diversity so that local ethnicities whose existence may not be known so far can be involved equally, so that ethnic diversity becomes the cultural wealth of the archipelago which is useful as a modality of national development.

For the Paser ethnicity, the special position of certain ethnic groups in the decision-making process in the government sector is not a problem, but specifically for the relocation of the National Capital City to their location, attention is needed to involve Paser specifically, not representatives of the Dayak. There is a wish for the Paser ethnicity that the government places local ethnicities differently because each has unique cultural artefacts and ornaments.

The openness of the Paser Indigenous people to accept outsiders can be seen in the transmigrant community living in the Sepaku area. The Paser indigenous people own a very large arable land, ironically they do not have land ownership certificates. The Paser indigenous people have struggled for a long time to have land ownership certificates for the land they work on, but so far they have not received this. Unlike the migrant community who came to live in Sepaku, they immediately received a certificate of land ownership.

The attitude and discriminatory treatment of the Paser ethnicity compared to migrants or transmigrants in terms of land ownership certainly creates social jealousy which can lead to conflict between residents, especially relational conflict between natives and migrants.

For transmigrant residents, they are given residential land and land to make a living with clear ownership, namely ownership rights, but for Paser residents who have lived in the area for hundreds of years and cultivated the land for generations, until now they have not received ownership status. Various efforts have been made such as resistance in the form of demonstrations, advocacy meetings at various levels, from the centre to the sub-districts, and raising support from various parties such as the media, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and universities.

These resistance efforts have not yielded results because of their limited resources and the low capacity and capability of citizens in organizing a social movement for better change. The social dynamics faced by the Paser ethnic in various social spaces with various patterns of interaction and social interrelation describe the social process of forming subalternity identities for the Paser ethnic. In summary, the qualitative analysis maps the central meanings that indicate the process of forming the identity of the subalternity, as can be seen in the table below:

Table 2. Categorization of the Meanings of the Process of Forming Paser Ethnic Subalternity Identity in the Context of Moving the State Capital

Study Focus	Classification of Meanings	Construction of Meaning	Thematic Pattern
The Social Process of Forming a Subalternity Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The ground is pegged - Not allowed to enter the National Capital Region - Not involved in the decision-making process - Not involved in the National Capital project - Experiencing fear of eviction on residential land and plantation land - Only the Dayak tribe is considered representative - Part of the land was taken by the company - Their plantation land is converted into an industrial forest - There has never been a Paser cultural symbol in the welcoming ceremony for guests of the National Capital City - Experiencing acts of discrimination over land ownership compared to transmigrant residents - Never asked for advice either through research interviews or community meetings - Just a spectator in the frenzy of displacement - Conducting meetings with various parties to voice their aspirations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ethnic Paser experience subordinate social interactions from 4 institutions, namely the state, companies, dominant ethnic groups, and immigrants - There is a collective perception of the threat to the continued existence of the Paser ethnic group due to the transfer of the National Capital - This threat perception then creates feelings of worry, anxiety, and fear among ethnic Paser residents, especially those who live on the construction site of the National Capital - Carry out countermeasures with very limited resources so that they do not produce change 	The process of moving the National Capital developed an unequal pattern of social interaction and interrelationships for Ethnic Paser residents. Inequality is practised by the state, companies, dominant culture, and immigrants/migrants. As a result of this inequality, the Paser ethnic group experiences collective feelings of fear and anxiety that continue to motivate them to carry out the struggle. It is this feeling of pressure and resistance that continues to grow their identity as a group experiencing subordination or subalternity.

4. Discussion

The subaltern identity perceived by the Paser ethnic community arises because the pattern of relations that they feel every day in the context of the transfer of the National Capital City is a pattern of power relations in which their position is often in a depressed/subordinate position. The Paser ethnic community then experienced collective anxiety and began to compare the response they received with other communities such as transmigrant migrants who were considered more privileged. This is what drives the process of developing social identity as a subaltern group.

Jenkins (2014) takes the essence of Turner 1987 regarding social identity by saying that social categorization produces social identity and produces social comparisons, which can have positive or negative effects on self-evaluation. Social identity is part of a person's self-concept which is based on his identification with a nation, ethnic group, gender or other social affiliation. Social identities are very important because they give us the feeling that we have a place and position in the world. Without a social identity, most of us would feel like marbles rolling freely and unrelated to one another in the universe (Carole & Carol, 2008).

As revealed by Jenkins (2014), this community tries to hold internal meetings as a response to their concerns about the fading existence of Paser cultural values, including threats to their lives in their land. The social process of forming subaltern identities is similar to the theory developed by Hogg et al. (2004), said that the process of social identity occurs in 3 stages, namely: social categorization, depersonalization and prototype which explain and determine behaviour.

The fact that their land was forcibly marked, they were prohibited from entering the zero point area, they were not involved in the decision-making process regarding the use of settlement land and their plantations were used as experiences that shaped social categorization. They define themselves as a community group that does not receive attention in the process of relocating the National Capital, even though the location is an area where they have lived hundreds of years ago. The depersonalization stage as the next stage is shown in the form of a shared understanding that only the Paser ethnic community gets discriminatory treatment. Then the prototype is explained in the form of an agreement to carry out a joint struggle as a value that must be carried solely to maintain its existence and culture amidst the dynamics of moving the State Capital.

The pattern of subordinate interaction experienced by the Paser Ethnic community in its form is an interaction process indicating the existence of a power relation. Countries, companies, dominant cultures, and even immigrants/migrants are generally in a position of superordination that aims to control subordinate groups. This pattern is to Simmel's view of the form of interaction. Simmel's concern was not with the content of social interaction but with the forms of social interaction. With the existence of patterns and interactions that are very numerous, the individual deals with the contents of social interaction, and the individual organizes it by imposing patterns or forms on him. More specifically, Levine in Ritzer (2014), shows that "forms are patterns shown by associations".

Thus the forms of interaction can be understood as patterns that exist in community interactions shown by the community indirectly. The distinction between the form of interaction and its content can be separated even though such socialization or interaction has the same goal, namely as a means of fulfilling various interests. Simmel in Ritzer (2014), divides the forms of social interaction into two, namely superordination (domination) and subordination (obedience) which both have a reciprocal relationship.

For example, in a leader's dominant relationship with his subordinates, the leader will expect a positive or negative reaction from his subordinates. This form of interaction will occur if there is reciprocity between the two. Although domination for some people is an attempt to eliminate individual independence within the structure, for Simmel in Rifki (2018), if that happens, then a social relationship will stop at that moment. In many ways, the subordinate influences the superordinate even though the superordinate only aims to control the subordinate (Ritzer, 2014).

Simmel's view seems to strengthen or justify the efforts of the Paser ethnic community in carrying out the struggle as a normal process so that the movement of interaction does not experience a vacuum. Efforts to fight are considered a form of balance in the social system (Mustopa et al., 2020). Similar but not the same, Gramsci's view emphasizes that the struggle of subordinate groups is a form of counter-hegemony due to the existence of collective awareness that is already owned by those who are subordinated (Siswati, 2017).

For Gramsci in Siswati (2017), all social relations between various institutions other than the state in a capitalist society, Gramsci called civil society. Civil society has an important position and role in shaping mass consciousness and is a place where the dominant social group regulates consensus and hegemony. Civil society is at the same time a place where lower (subordinate) social groups organize resistance and build alternative hegemony or counter-hegemony (Siswati, 2017).

The collective awareness of the Paser ethnic community is internalized into shared ideas, values, and norms which are the basic foundation for formulating ideas of counter-hegemony. It is interesting to pay attention to Frank W. Elwell's statement about Durkheim's concept of collective consciousness. Frank W. Elwell states that according to Durkheim the desires and self-interests of each individual are influenced by a force that exists outside the individual. This external force is referred to as a collective conscience which is a shared social bond that is expressed through ideas, values, norms, beliefs, and cultural ideologies that are institutionalized in social structures, and internalized by each member of the cultural stakeholders (Elwell, 1996).

With the belief that Frank W. Elwell Pilakoanu (2010), has examined and understood Durkheim's thoughts, the above explanation shows that there are components that accompany collective consciousness as meant by Durkheim, namely: ideas, ideas, values, norms, beliefs, and ideology. Within humans, this collective awareness will encourage humans to take actions that are acceptable to members of society, so that person will be accepted by all members of society. Thus, he will have moral authority in society, he will be respected by society (Nugroho, 2017).

Collective consciousness is an idea so vast and amorphous that it is impossible to study it directly and one has to

approach it through the related material social facts. Durkheim's (1973), dissatisfaction with these limitations caused him not to use collective consciousness so much in his later work because he preferred a much more specific concept, namely collective representation. In French representation means "idea". Durkheim in Ritzer (2014), used the term to refer both to a collective concept and social 'power'. Examples of collective images are religious symbols, popular myths and legends. These are all ways in which society reflects itself. They describe collective beliefs, norms, and values, and they encourage us to conform to those collective claims (Ritzer, 2014).

Collective images are also not reducible to individuals because they arise from social interactions, but they can be studied more directly than collective consciousness because they are more likely to be linked to material symbols such as flags, icons, and pictures or associated with practices such as rituals. Therefore, the sociologist can begin to study how certain collective images are compatible or related to other collective images or not (Ritzer, 2014).

Collective images are symbols that have the same meaning for all members of a group and enable them to feel the same as one another. The collective picture shows the ways group members see themselves as the influencing object. Collective image is part of the content of collective consciousness, an entity that exists between a metaphysical group thought and the more prosaic reality of public opinion. Collective consciousness contains all the ideas that are shared by the individual members of society and which are the goals and purposes of the collective (Campbell, 1994). The collective image is higher in form than the psychic life because the collective image is awareness of consciousness (Durkheim, 1973).

When the Paser ethnic community gathers collectively, in essence, it strengthens collective sentiments and collective ideas which have another dimension called collective memory (Pilakoanu, 2010). Within Durkheim's in Misztal (2003), framework the discussion of memory is strategic not only for explaining the past but also for how to transform the past into an identity available in the present. Panajam as the area first inhabited by the Paser ethnic group often becomes the collective memory of this community to inspire the growth of collective awareness among them. The idea of collective memory was also put forward by Assmann & Czaplicka (1995), who was influenced by Halbwachs. The basic argument of their theory is that memory always has a social aspect.

Everyone is part of a community. His identity is embedded in the community. The concept of freedom must also always be understood about the existence of a community. Every community always has values that are rooted in traditions that have developed across generations. These values also become part of the collective memory (Arifin, 2020). According to L. Niethammer in Assmann & Czaplicka (1995), this everyday memory can also be called communicative memory. Every human being has and experiences this memory as part of his daily life. It also has a large influence on one's way of thinking and behaving.

Halbwachs in Assmann & Czaplicka (1995), further explained that when living communication is processed into an objective culture, whether in the form of text, images, rites, buildings, monuments, cities, or landscapes, then everyday memories will disappear because those memories turn into history. However, Assmann & Czaplicka, (1995), disagrees with Halbwachs' statement, which obliterates memory into history because according to him the objectivity of a culture has a structure of everyday memory/memory. So, collective awareness is indeed an important thought for the existence and sustainability of a community or society (Pilakoanu, 2010).

The collective awareness that was formed in the Paser ethnic community then led to the birth of a consensus to carry out "resistance" against the forces that suppressed their social life. All these social processes become effective because they get a touch of ideas from researchers who act as transformative intellectuals. The presence of researchers adds to the spirit of the movement because it meets two leadership patterns, namely spontaneous leadership developed by the community according to their experiences of subordination and conscious leadership initiated by researchers.

This consensus will not be created if the intellectuals and society cannot create a relationship, therefore it is necessary to understand the characteristics between the concepts of spontaneous leadership and conscious leadership. The unity between spontaneous leadership and conscious or disciplined leadership is a real political action from subaltern classes, which so far is mass politics and is not merely an adventure of groups that claim to represent the masses (Gramsci, 2013).

Spontaneous leadership is leadership that is driven by common people's thinking which was previously formed by social experiences, namely the traditional societal conception of the world in other words it is also interpreted as an instinct that drives collective consciousness, and its character is contradictory to conscious leadership which is driven systematically through intellectual leadership. Morals, therefore the role of intellectuals is to initiate conscious leadership systematically through educational activities that are carried out continuously by creating consensus so that people can be influenced and then can identify themselves organically. The obstacles encountered may be those traditional (lay) people already have their conception of the world or their system of ideas in viewing the world, but this is still limited and may be influenced by efforts of intellectual subordination so that this social group can identify itself as an organic group; obedient followers (Gramsci, 2013).

5. Conclusions

Subaltern ethnic identity for the Paser community in Sepaku is formed through an unequal pattern of social interaction in various social spaces related to the relocation of the National Capital in their region. They experience subordination with the four dominant forces, namely the state, corporations, dominant culture, and immigrant communities. The experience of subordination then gave rise to collective perceptions and feelings as a group of people whose existence and culture were threatened, which triggered the birth of social dialogues between them. The results of the dialogue give rise to a consensus or shared values in defining social life as a subaltern community. The shared consensus is believed to be the need for the movement of the Paser ethnic community to defend their basic rights and to preserve the cultural values of the Paser as the original culture in Sepaku.

The process of moving the National Capital to the area where the Paser ethnic group has lived has always taken into account the existence of this community as residents who inhabited the area hundreds of years ago. Policymakers should involve this community in decision-making processes because this community is a group of people who are directly affected by the project to relocate the National Capital. On the community side, a shared awareness is needed to increase their ability to respond to the increasing scale of needs that arise as a logical consequence of development activities in the National Capital City.

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