

Ethnic Emancipation Of Paser Based On Local Resources Use In The Moving Of The Capital City In East Kalimantan, Indonesia

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Abstract

In 2022, the Indonesian government will designate the East Kalimantan Sepaku region as the transfer area for the National Capital based on geographical, demographic and sociocultural considerations. In this area lives the Paser community as an original community that has inhabited the location for hundreds of years. The process of relocating the National Capital made the 1,500 inhabitants of the Paser population experience patterns of subalternity relations originating from the state, companies, transmigrants, and the dominant culture which has implications for violations of basic rights. Because of this, the Paser ethnic group tries to carry out emancipation actions within the framework of a pattern of socially just relations. This study aims to gather information about the local resources used by the Paser community in promoting emancipation. The research method uses a qualitative approach with participatory techniques that are practised through social dialogue and community assistance. The results of the study found that local resources that could be extracted as tools for the struggle for emancipation were history, local economic power, local knowledge, and the arts local potential that needed to be developed was political potential and social networks. It is suggested that the Paser community can package these local resources as a key advocacy strategy for empowerment.

Keywords: Paser Community, Subalternity, Local Resources, Emancipation, Advocacy Strategy.

INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian government decided to move the national capital to Jakarta with the enactment of Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the national capital on February 15, 2022. The urgency of moving the national capital is economic equality outside Java because so far economic development activities have only been centred in Jakarta and Java. In addition, based on the study, Jakarta concluded that it already has uncontrolled population density, a decrease in environmental quality, and a decreasing level of comfort in life. North Panajam Paser Regency, East Kalimantan Province, precisely in Sepaku, was chosen as the location for moving the National Capital because this area is at the most central point if

drawn from the west, east, north and south of Indonesia. Because of this, the construction of the zero point was made as a milestone at the start of the construction of the new Archipelago National Capital.

The ongoing process of developing the National Capital City has given rise to very complex socio-cultural dynamics at the national, provincial and district levels as well as at the local community level. The social dynamics that have the most negative impact are the dynamics that occur at the local community level, namely the Paser ethnic community, which is an indigenous ethnicity because it first inhabited this area and breeds for generations and builds processes of cultural assimilation from migrants/transmigrants.

The negative impact felt by this ethnic group is the emergence of a collective identity as a subaltern group which is a reflective attitude towards the pattern of unequal social relations that they feel during the process of building the National Capital in their region. Their residential land was suddenly designated as part of the capital city area, together with companies, the state annexed garden land which was their source of livelihood for reasons of state forest area, prohibited from entering the zero point area, not allowed to speak, and symbols their cultural ethnicity is not a representation of local culture as a characteristic of the development of the Archipelago National Capital. These are the facts found in the mapping process of this research problem.

Social turmoil occurred because most local people were not ready to accept the fact that the National Capital was in East Kalimantan. Sepaku is the center of the National Capital which is known as the Central Government Area. The Sepaku area is part of the transmigration area where there are local residents who become subalterns. 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 are given to certain people for the right to cultivate forests in forest areas with logging activities, forest rejuvenation, forest maintenance, processing and marketing of forest products in accordance with the agreement made in order to operate. This condition has been going on for decades, even the employees or workers at the Forest Concession Right are mostly not from indigenous people who live in the Sepaku area.

Symptoms of the marginalization of the Paser ethnic community emerged in the process of moving the National Capital which they had previously felt 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 process of marginalization then became stronger after the processes of moving the National Capital ignored the existence of the Paser ethnicity as a local community that should benefit greatly from the city's development process. The Paser ethnic community has begun to identify itself as a subaltern group that is experiencing repression from various dominant forces.

The results of this community's critical reflection led to ethnic struggle activities within the framework of getting attention, opportunity, and equal social relations in the dynamics of the development of the National Capital. From a sociological perspective, this research is based on a critical paradigm because the ontology of reality places the Paser ethnicity as a social 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.

In its implementation, the use of a critical paradigm usually places the community as the learning target. Besides that, they also become "research partners" in providing and discussing research plans that they will design together (Pressler and 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. Community members like this are usually called oppressors (groups) who tend to maintain the status quo. To change their status, it is necessary to empower them through research frames conducted by researchers who adhere to critical science. 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 relocating 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. They inhabited the location where the State Capital was hundreds of years ago. The actors implementing the National Capital project then became an elite group, while the local Paser ethnic community was in a subaltern position.

In any social context, there is always an imbalance of relations related to issues of ethnicity which makes one group not have the same access as another group. The group called subaltern by Spivak (2015), in his book *Can the Subaltern Speak: Speculations on Widow Sacrifice*, is indeed not just a group that is sociologically seen as a group that makes a union. However, what is meant is also those who socially receive labels and stereotypes because their characteristics are considered different or beyond the standards applied by society in the process of their existence.

Referring the view of Michel Foucault (1976) as one of those whom Spivak often refers to, they are subjects who experience a process of normalization. The process of normalization is a process that is socially and culturally and even politically made by hegemonic and dominant regimes to regulate those deemed not by the norms and creeds that are considered 'ordinary' or 'general' applied. This normalization process gives rise to exclusion and inclusion which are applied systematically as a result of a process which refers to Bourdieu (1977) view as a process of habituation or habituation process. In this process, inclusivity and exclusivity towards a person are carried out in everyday experiences which are often spelt out in rules, but sometimes it is a discourse that develops without people realizing that this process is taking place constantly and continuously.

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. This strategy played an important role in creating order in the chaotic situation resulting from 'poorly planned' housing developments. The actions of do-it-yourself subalterns, as evidenced by their institutions, are manifested in the contribution and participation of the people in the provision of infrastructure and services in suburban areas of Nairobi due to the inability of formal provision by government authorities. The strength of this research is that it succeeded in uncovering the ability of subaltern groups to participate in the development process if they are given access to participate. However, this research has not explored in depth how subaltern groups apply social strategies that are mutually agreed upon by the subaltern community groups themselves based on their needs, characteristics, and local potential in responding to development dynamics.

This research rests on a critical paradigm as a basis for a study that makes it different from existing subalternity studies. This paradigmatic approach was chosen based on the consideration that the Paser ethnic group needed concrete steps to act quickly in the dynamics of the National Capital project because the process of moving the National Capital took place quickly. It is hoped that this research will identify local resources of the Paser ethnic group that can be used for emancipatory actions so that they do not experience marginalization as a result of the National Capital project, which in essence should prosper the local people.

Based on the empirical problems found in the taxonomical study as a preliminary study and analysis of the theoretical gaps or subalternity concepts put forward as well as the paradigmatic basis used, this study explores local resources owned by the Paser ethnicity in carrying out emancipatory actions.

RESEARCH METHODS

A research approach is a qualitative approach with a participatory research type. The use of approaches and types of research is based on a critical paradigm which has implications for the attitudes and values of researchers who are in favour of the Paser ethnic interests in achieving their emancipation goals. The researcher is a transformative intellectual actor who has a dual role, namely finding and developing knowledge in a scientific methodical manner and facilitating the Paser ethnic group in carrying out actions/actions towards the birth of transformation. This means that the field research process is parallel to social dialogue and community outreach activities where the mentoring actions and the changes obtained are an important part of preparing the research report.

Data sources consist of primary data sources and secondary data sources. Primary data comes from the subject of this study, namely the Sepaku community. Other primary data sources are traditional leaders, village heads, Sepaku Sub-District Head and the Sepaku Police Chief as data sources for key people. This is mainly used when applying the qualitative method. While secondary data comes from relevant agencies such as government agencies: District Government, Head of Traditional or Ethnic Sepaku, District and Kelurahan officials, and community social organizations as well as other documents that support this research.

Data collection is the most important step in research to meet established data standards (Sugiyono 2011).

1. Observasi.

Observations consist of passive participation, moderate participation,

active participation, and complete participation (Sugiyono 2011). To explore a deeper and more detailed focus, researchers use passive participation, moderate participation, active participation, and complete participation according to the data to be obtained.

2. In-Depth Interviews.

The interview is the most sociological research technique because its form comes from verbal interaction between the researcher and the respondent (Sugiyono 2011). Concerning the reality or symptoms selected for research, through question and answer or by using tools. Either by way of free interviews, guided interviews, or guided free interviews (Sugiyono 2011). The type of interview used in this research is a guided free interview.

3. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)/Social Dialogue

FGDs were carried out by gathering several informants to discuss research focuses within the framework of generating discussion conclusions which were used as findings. The FGD will be led by the researcher as a moderator without intervening and directing the opinions that are developing. The moderator/researcher who leads the discussion uses a discussion guide that has been prepared based on the problem formulation that has been mapped.

This social discussion or dialogue will mainly be carried out to dig up generic information such as the third and fourth problem formulations, namely local strengths and potentials and models of community empowerment as social strategies to be used in the context of Paser ethnic emancipation.

The validity of qualitative data in this study focuses more on testing credibility. Testing the credibility test in qualitative research can be done through extending participation, observation persistence, triangulation, peer checking for adequacy of references, negative case studies, member

checking, and detailed descriptions (Moleong 2010). The validity of qualitative data is obtained by testing credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Testing the credibility of the results of qualitative research was carried out by extending observations,

a. Characteristics of Informants

Table 1. Characteristics of Informants

No	Initials	Position	Informant
1	SDN	Pemaluan Traditional Leaders	Main
2	MSA	The customary head of North Penajam Paser Regency	Main
3	AKT	Acting sub-district head of Sepaku	Key
4	YNI	Head of Culture of the North Penajam Paser Regency Tourism Office	Key
5	DRE	Resident of Binuang Village, Sepaku District, North Penajam Paser Regency	Main
6	AMD	Paser Balik Customary Stakeholder, Sepaku District, North Penajam Paser Regency	Main
7	MAD	Lecturer at the University of Indonesia, Faculty of Economics	Key
8	TWE	Paser Traditional Leaders, Sepaku District, North Penajam Paser Regency	Main
9	AMD	Head of Culture, Culture and Tourism Office of North Penajam Paser Regency	Key
10	SSW	Head of Marketing Section, Tourism Office of North Penajam Paser Regency	Key

b. Identification of Local Strengths and Potentials of the Paser Ethnic

Identification of the strengths possessed by the Paser ethnicity along with existing local potentials is intended to obtain information regarding initial modalities that can be developed as approaches and assistance tactics towards emancipation. Therefore, this part of the research will describe some of the local strengths and potentials of the Paser ethnicity based on the direct views of research informants.

The main strength inherent in this community is historical strength which

increasing persistence in research, triangulation and analysis of negative cases.

RESEARCH RESULT

describes the deepening and appreciation of life as well as the long experience of this community towards the characteristics of the region. They know well the spatial structure and pattern of the social life of the people who inhabit Sepaku. The regional identification potential of the Paser community allows them to effectively act as a locomotive for social change as a logical implication of the presence of the development of the National Capital in Sepaku.

The Paser indigenous people are people who have inhabited the Sepaku area for hundreds of years ago. The Paser indigenous

people already inhabited the Sepaku area before the migrants settled in the area, as quoted by the following SDN informant:

...we lived hundreds of years ma'am before there was transmigration, and companies, we and our ancestors already occupied this place...our ancestral graves are inside, ma'am, that's all my grandmother's grave around 1890, meaning it will take longer to occupy this area above, ma'am...(SDN, 19/06/2022)

It is estimated that the ancestors of the Paser indigenous people have been in the Sepaku area since the year 1890. The Paser indigenous people depend for their lives on the forest which is currently the development area of the National Capital. As historical evidence that the Paser indigenous people are indigenous people who inhabit the Sepaku area is evidenced by the existence of their ancestral grave sites which are in the zero point area. Then followed by immigrant communities who live in this location and continued by the existence of companies that process forests into industrial forests.

In history, the Paser indigenous people inhabited the island of Borneo and lived in forests or were called inland communities. Whereas the indigenous Dayak community was originally referred to as the Dayok community. Dayok means people who live on the banks of rivers on the island of Borneo. So that the Sepaku area is a mountainous area or a wilderness which is where people in the interior live, in this case, the Paser indigenous people who are not Dayak indigenous people. The understanding of the community in general, especially the local government, identifies that the Sepaku area is inhabited by the Paser indigenous people. So that the process of relocating the State Capital in Sepaku, which so far has been dominated by the display of Dayak traditional symbols, has injured the Paser community.

The power of history proves that the Paser indigenous people are indigenous people who live in Sepaku. The very first beneficiaries

of the relocation of the National Capital in Sepaku were the Paser indigenous people. With the relocation of the National Capital in Sepaku, the central government is obliged to carry out various scientific studies on increasing the economic welfare of the Paser indigenous people.

The power of history as the first community to open and inhabit the Sepaku area has implications for land ownership with customary land or customary forest status. Management of customary forests directly becomes a source of this ethnic economy in carrying out their lives from generation to generation.

It's just that after the issuance of Law Number 3 of 2022 the government implicitly considers it a Cultural Area, not a customary forest which functions as an economic asset. A lecturer at the University of Indonesia at the Faculty of Economics disputes the existence of Law Number 3 of 2022 which means that there will be an impoverishment of society, especially indigenous peoples, as quoted by the following informant:

...the "government" does not recognize customary land as an economic asset if it is controlled by indigenous peoples, namely in Law Number 3 of 2022 only mentions it as an important cultural area consisting of burial areas, springs and ancestral lands so this is the basis in my opinion as the basis for the impoverishment of the local community, especially the Sepaku indigenous people...(MAD, 28/06/2022)

The contents of Law number 3 of 2022 state that important cultural areas consist of burial areas, springs and ancestral lands. The statement contained in the law is a sentence that brings down the Paser indigenous people in fighting against land ownership that is included in the Central Core Area of Government of the State Capital. With the existence of land which is land of the Paser indigenous people which is in the zero point area, it is an economic asset for the Paser indigenous people in improving their

welfare. The Paser indigenous people will continue to demand land ownership that is included in the Central Core Area of the State Capital Government as stated by the following TWE informant:

...our land is different from company land which is used for company profits, we ask for clarification on the land we own because that is where our life is centred, our economy...(TWE, 27/06/2022)

The Paser indigenous people have lived their lives since their ancestors until now depending on the land they cultivate. The land and gardens of the Paser indigenous people, which are included in the Core Area of the Central Government of the State Capital, are the centre of life and the economy of the Paser indigenous people. The government understands that land and land which is used as the zero point which is the development area of the National Capital City is land owned by companies. Land and land belonging to the Paser indigenous people are claimed by the company as industrial forest processing which is the centre of the conflict problem.

In addition to increasing agricultural and plantation products, the economic opportunity that can be utilized by the Paser indigenous people in moving the State Capital in Sepaku is to open various small businesses such as the availability of food catering, laundry businesses and various other businesses such as quoted by the following AKT:

...one more opportunity that they can take is to open a food catering, I provide about 2 hectares of land on the side of the road for us to manage to become a source of income for the indigenous Sepaku people...(AKT, 06/22/2022)

To improve the welfare of the Paser indigenous people who do not only rely on agricultural and plantation income. The local government at the sub-district level will provide about two hectares of land to serve as a culinary centre and souvenirs for the general

public who come to visit the zero point area. The existence of a place provided by the sub-district government will have an impact on improving the community's economy and directly have an impact on increasing regional income.

According to the informant above, the development of catering businesses, laundry businesses, and other types of service provision will support meeting the needs that have started to increase since the opening of Sepaku as the centre of the National Capital. The fast mobility of people on a high scale is a good market for Paser in developing a business, including business diversification other than the agriculture business that has been running so far.

In addition to the economic power possessed by the Paser indigenous people, they also have the power of local knowledge through the development of the traditional culture of the Paser ethnic group. Many things are done by the Paser indigenous people in Pemaluan to be shown to the general public, especially to state officials who come to visit the zero point area as quoted by the following informant:

...we ma'am, made a lot in Pemalunan, but sometimes we were confused because no one directed us...we wanted a lot of knowledge from us, the people in Sepaku, but sometimes we didn't even know how to start...if you ask about us, yes we are like this, with less education we don't even have a proper diploma to work...if more people like you want to direct us, we can be more advanced like the people out there...(DRE, 08/07/2022)

The Paser indigenous people hope that the Paser culture will be raised to the surface to serve as an accompanying tourist destination in the development of the National Capital City in Sepaku. The introduction of Paser culture to the community certainly requires assistance from various social organizations engaged in the world of empowerment. The Paser indigenous people need this because their level of education is very minimal. The minimal level

of education is because the Paser indigenous people prefer gardening or farming when compared to continuing their education to a higher level. They hope to elevate Paser culture to be known in the eyes of the world. The above statement was also expressed by the SSW informant as quoted below:

...the education of the Paser ethnic group is generally very minimal (low) so they close themselves to outsiders (not isolate themselves). this is a deep thought for Penajam Paser Utara...(SSW, 24/06/2022)

Even though the education level of this ethnic community is in the minimal category, they have local knowledge that comes from experience. Local knowledge (indigenous knowledge) is an incalculable wealth of the Sepaku people which if processed properly will have an impact on accelerating the development of the National Capital in Sepaku.

Paser traditional rituals and ceremonies are often accommodated by the tourism agency, one of which is the Paser Nondoï Traditional Belian Festival. This activity is usually carried out for seven days of activities which have the meaning of cleansing evil spirits in the village from all kinds of dangers. This activity also has the meaning of paying homage to the Paser ancestors because the Paser ancestors existed before the kingdom was founded on the island of Borneo. Another meaning is that the Paser indigenous people get abundant results in farming and working.

In Belian ceremonies or rituals, treatment is carried out for sick people using offerings and knick-knacks worn by "pulung" or what we know as "shamans". This Belian festival shows the strong kinship of the Paser people. The Paser Nondoï Traditional Belian Festival combines elements of local culture with entertainment and other familiar activities packaged in a distinctive cultural diversity to preserve the original Paser culture, namely Benuo Taka. The potential for wealth possessed by the traditional culture of Paser is indeed very diverse, such as the art of dance, from the easy

to the complex, as quoted by the following AMD informant:

...I have spoken twice in this province, it's not that we don't have culture, you want to match the Paser culture, who want complicated dances, want big ones, want rituals, want coastal ones, and some standards are not allowed in general, people just look at the outside, even though there is a standard, so don't hit the standard, don't get hit by the standard, just look at the interim but don't use the meaning, you'll get a comma because the meaning can shift later, that's the first...(AMD, 06/28/2022)

Paser's traditional culture to be preserved so that it can be known by various parties has been advocated by the North Penajam Paser Tourism Office in the Culture section to be submitted to the provincial government. Paser traditional dances from easy to the complex are owned by the Paser indigenous people. Of the various types of dances that are owned by the traditional Paser culture, they have a "standard" or meaning that is believed by the Paser indigenous people. According to the traditional Paser community, this grip cannot be shifted or hit from its meaning. If this grip is hit, the ancestors of the Paser indigenous people will be angry and those who hit the standard will be hit by a comma. With the richness of the Paser culture, this is a symbol of strength in unravelling the collectivity. as quoted by the SSW informant as follows:

...a symbol of culture, culture is the essence of solving the collective problems that occur in every major change...what I don't expect is a decline in cultural values so that the culture has a high historical value which becomes weak because we don't take the cultural views of the Paser ethnicity itself...(SSW, 24/06/2022)

Cultural symbols are the essence of solving collective problems in every major change that will occur. During the process of

moving the national capital to Sepaku, the Head of Marketing for the North Penajam Paser Tourism Office hopes that the traditional Paser culture will not experience a decline in its historical value in the development of the national capital in the Sepaku region. The Paser indigenous people hope that this culture will be preserved along with the development of the state city. The potential for cultural wealth possessed by the Paser custom was also confirmed by the YNI informant as the following quote:

...I know Paser customs well because indeed my field is for a culture that preserves Paser customs and culture...if we talk about Paser customs it takes a long time because it has a lot of history...(YNI, 06/24/2022)

Paser's cultural history has a long journey so this culture is very suitable to be made a tourist destination for people outside of the Paser community. It has an attraction to be studied by academics because dance, language and artefacts in the Paser culture have local wisdom meanings that can be learned in increasing knowledge.

The local knowledge possessed by this community is in the form of farming methods that reflect the balance of nature, ways of interacting among human beings, how to foster family relationships, how to treat leaders, and various knowledge that regulates the karma of the community. It is hoped that this local knowledge can synergize with modern/scientific knowledge that can be used to control humans and nature in the context of relocating the National Capital.

Local knowledge is very important in public policy formulation. Local knowledge enriches policy-making by providing context and strengthening targeting. Local knowledge can channel new forms of knowledge to policymakers at the local level and can revitalize traditional cultures and how these local cultures are expressed. Unfortunately, we often believe that scientific research is more important for influencing public policy.

Ignoring local knowledge is a mistake because local knowledge can play a key role in improving the quality of public policy at both the regional and national levels. Without local knowledge, science will not be effective in influencing policy. The desire of the Paser indigenous people to participate in the development process of the National Capital City in Sepaku is highly expected. Because of that, public policies issued should take into account the local knowledge of the Paser ethnicity as much as possible. The Paser indigenous people are fully willing to participate, but they have limited access and capabilities. However, the local knowledge possessed by the Paser indigenous people will greatly assist the development process of the National Capital City in Sepaku, as stated by an AMD informant in the following interview excerpt:

...this is what we convey that we want to convey what we feel directly with the president, starting from our culture, our lives to our long experience living with the Sepaku forest. We don't want to be moved to another area because they know that we are poor people and have no education so they can expel us as they, please...(AMD, 07/07/2022)

The statement above is full of meaning from local knowledge, namely life with the forest in the long term. This understanding must be well known by policymakers so that existing policies do not cause local communities to suffer losses, such as fears about evictions from settlements and claims for arable land.

Local knowledge is the knowledge that is owned by a group of people in a particular community or organization that is accumulated over time through direct experience and interaction with the social and natural environment around them. Local knowledge often relates to the same subject as scientific research. However, local knowledge has different perspectives, meanings and understandings which are based on the local context and are shaped by human interaction with the surrounding physical environment.

This means that in addition to considering scientific knowledge, it is important that local community knowledge is aligned equally.

The efforts of the Paser community to introduce their local knowledge as important information for policy formulation is carried out through a desire for dialogue with the highest policymakers. The concern of the Paser indigenous people is due to a lack of knowledge due to a low level of education. Planning a meeting with the president to convey several matters related to the transfer of the State Capital in Sepaku including treating the Paser culture as the host for the transfer of the National Capital, the impact of transferring the State Capital is obliged to contribute to the level of community welfare, especially the Paser indigenous people and improve education the Paser indigenous people for the sake of giving birth to superior human beings in dealing with the development of the national capital in Sepaku.

One of the dances owned by the Paser custom is the Ronggeng dance which is a dance of the Paser indigenous people which aims to strengthen intimacy for all Paser sub-ethnicities. With the Ronggeng dance that is owned by the Paser custom, it can be used as a dance to pick up state guests who come to visit at zero point, so that the Paser indigenous people can communicate directly with related parties, especially the central government in conveying issues regarding certificates of customary land ownership rights that are included in the Central Government Area of the National Capital City.

Through dance, the communication process between Paser residents and other residents goes well. This fluid communication pattern then builds harmonization and fosters an attitude of togetherness among residents. Dances that contain high artistic value are very worthy of being displayed when welcoming state guests visiting the National Capital. The dance performance at the same time illustrates the existence of the Paser community, at some point, this community can use dance to express their aspirations directly.

Politically, the Paser community has a large enough population which is a distinct strength in each regional and central power contestation. In addition to the constituent potential they have, the number of indigenous Paser people is a potential strength in advocating for every interest in the development process of the National Capital. The Paser indigenous people who live in the Sepaku area make up five per cent of the total population in Sepaku District as quoted by the following AKT informant:

...that I can say that the existence of the local indigenous people, namely the Paser custom, is only 5%, while 60% are Javanese transmigrants, and indeed it is called bargaining or selling value yesterday why was the State Capital placed here in the Sepaku region?... (AKT, 06/07/2022)

One of the bargaining points for moving the national capital to the Sepaku region is that the majority of the population is inhabited by immigrants, around 60% of whom come from the island of Java, and only 5% of those who inhabit the Sepaku area are indigenous Paser people as natives. Seeing the potential for conflict from the large population of the Paser indigenous people who only live in the Sepaku area, around 5% of the total population, it is impossible to trigger a conflict over the transfer of the National Capital in Sepaku because this area is dominated by transmigrant people. However, the political potential of the 5% is also influential in determining policy.

The unequal distribution of the population between the Paser community and migrants raises the potential for conflict which results in a threat to socio-political stability. This potential requires a mitigative approach by providing affirmation to the Paser community as indigenous people. It's not the other way around, where the tendency for policy-making that doesn't involve the Paser community can even erupt into a conflict that is detrimental to the process of relocating the National Capital. Therefore, the customary head of North

Penajam Paser Regency hopes that the local government will side with the local community and not take sides with the central government, as quoted by the following MSA informant:

...with the description of the traditional Sepaku stakeholders, one can see what the role of the local government is, in looking at the local population...the local government is responsible for all levels of society, don't let bias happen to the Jakarta elite so that the people around Sepaku become victims...(MSA, 30/06/2022)

In the process of moving the National Capital in Sepaku, the Paser indigenous people hope that the local or regional government will side with the Paser or local indigenous people. The concern of the Paser indigenous people towards the local government is that they are partial to the central government due to having a line of coordination between the centre and the regions, thus ignoring the interests of the Paser indigenous people in the development of the National Capital which has an impact on the marginalization of the Paser indigenous people as native or local people domiciled in the Sepaku area.

The process of relocating the Indonesian capital city in Sepaku needs to be welcomed in preparing the availability of local communities that can balance the flow of urban development with their complex needs. One of the government's readiness to welcome the development of the city is to collaborate with training institutions such as the Vocational Training Center which will provide training on culinary management for residents.

Culinary training for the local community, especially the Paser indigenous people, is very important to do. Given that currently, the construction of a state building in the Sepaku area has begun to be visited by various levels of society to visit the zero point area. People who come to visit the zero point area need a place to shop for food. In addition to networking with training institutions for the indigenous people of Paser, they also seek cooperation with the Pariwisata Office of North

Penajam Paser Regency, as quoted from an AMD informant as follows:

...I already know that mother's smell from 2 weeks ago but not from North Penajam Paser Tourism Office, first, thank you ma'am for participating in the framework of activities in the National Capital and I support us first from the tourism office fully support all because all of these activities provide support for development in our area, directly indirectly it will bring good...secondly, you happen to mention people who are used to it, those are people like Mr Hasanuddin, I happen to be a Paser too...(AMD, 06/24/2022)

The Head of the Culture Office of the North Penajam Paser Tourism Office provides full support to the Paser indigenous people to organize cultural festival activities in the zero point area. The implementation of the Paser cultural festival in the zero point area is a forerunner to introducing Paser culture to all levels of society and also a forerunner to being used as a medium for the Paser indigenous people to convey aspirations to related parties about the living conditions of the Paser indigenous people.

Support came from the North Penajam Paser Regency tourism office to preserve Paser culture as the host for the construction of the National Capital City in Sepaku. One of the duties and responsibilities of the Tourism Office is to preserve local culture. The Head of the Culture Office of the North Penajam Paser Tourism Office who is also a member of the Penajam community and also part of the Paser indigenous community, as quoted from the following AMD:

...so we support the first one, ma'am, so the first one, both in the position of the tourism service and the position of the people of Penajam and I also as a position as a resident of Paser, finally I support this program and this program is one of the reasons why you are a

resident Paser is a minority...(AMD, 28/06/2022)

The holding of the Paser cultural festival in the zero point area carried out by the Paser indigenous people is natural, even though the Sepakku area is inhabited by the majority of migrant communities, the Paser indigenous people have been the indigenous people in their history as the first people to occupy the Sepaku area.

The Paser community positioned the sultanate's support for the Paser ethnic struggle agenda in the location of the National Capital to

determine success. The sultan's character is not merely a scientific title, but also through real proof that is manifested in attitudes and behaviour, so that they can become mediators in solving problems faced by the Paser community in society, especially the Paser who live in Sepaku.

From the description of the strengths and potentials of the Paser ethnic community based on the views of the informants above accompanied by the interpretation of the meanings, the meaning of the findings can be systematized as shown in the table below:

Table 2. Analysis of the Meaning of the Strength and Potential of the Paser Ethnic Community

Study Focus	Classification of Meanings	Construction of Meaning	Meaning of Thematic/Pattern/Structure
Paser Ethnic Strength and Local Potential	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The first inhabitants to inhabit Sepaku - Have a livelihood that is by local conditions, namely agriculture and plantations - Have high solidarity with residents, including immigrants/transmigrants - Have a good understanding and mastery of the area - Have local knowledge in processing nature and dealing with fellow humans - Has a wide social network - Has the potential for business development - Have good cooperation potential - There is a potential for conflict due to the small number of communities compared to immigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The historical aspect is Paser's strength which is reflected in the comprehensive recognition and mastery of regional characteristics. - The Paser ethnic cultivates forest land as a source of livelihood that functions to support the economic sector, both the family economy and the community and regional economy. - Habits and experiences passed down from generation to generation have become local knowledge which can be used as a source of information for the formulation of policies on relocating the National Capital. - Dance as one of the cultural artefacts of Paser acts as an instrument of struggle in voicing aspirations. - There is potential for political modality in the form of citizen participation as 	The strength resources of the Paser community that can be organized in the struggle to deal with subalternity relations include historical aspects, economic aspects, aspects of local knowledge, and aspects of artistic artefacts. While the potential that requires development is the potential in the field of politics and the potential for the development of cooperation networks.

Study Focus	Classification of Meanings	Construction of Meaning	Meaning of Thematic/Pattern/Structure
		constituents of local and central political contestation. - Widespread network allows them to get support in changing the pattern of subalternity relations they experience.	

DISCUSSION

The Paser ethnic group was the first community to occupy the Panajam area. This means that this community has a very broad introduction, knowledge, and experience regarding the characteristics of the area and the people who inhabit the area. It can be said that the Paser ethnic group has historical strengths that can be used as a source of inspiration in building the location for the National Capital.

This ethnic historical strength can be used as a basis for strengthening local solidarity which results in a strong upholding of national solidarity. According to Sartono Kartodirdjo (1989), a nation is a collectivity just as individuals have a personality consisting of a set of characteristics that make up a character. National personality is usually rooted in the common experience of the nation or its history. The identity of a person is returned to their history, as well as the identity of a community reflects its history, so the identity of a nation is rooted in the history of that nation. In this case, local history has a very fundamental function to create national awareness which in turn strengthens national solidarity. In this regard, the historical strength of the Paser ethnic group has a very strategic function for the development of the National Capital. History is a story about the collective experience of a community or a nation in the past. Personally, experience shapes one's personality and at the same time determines one's identity. A similar process occurs in the collectivity, namely its collective experience or history which forms its national personality and at the same time its national identity. A nation that does not know its history can be likened to an individual who

has lost his memory, is a person who is senile or mentally ill, so he has lost his personality or identity.

Based on the statement above, it can be concluded that knowing the identity of a nation requires knowledge of national history in general and local history in particular. National history comprehensively covers all aspects of national life which are manifested as actions, behaviour, and achievements as a result of their efforts or work to maintain their freedom or sovereignty, improve their standard of living, carry out economic, social, political, religious activities, moreover live the political culture and its national ideology, continuity society and culture. Meanwhile, national history includes all social strata and their areas of interest, and subcultures. National history reveals its multiethnic development, its customary law system, language, kinship system, beliefs, and so on.

In the development of the local economy, several factors can influence, and the following are two important factors in the development of the local economy: 1) Natural Resources. The natural resources of an area can be said to be superior because they have features in that area which can provide a characteristic and will not be found in other regions. Therefore it is necessary to analyze what potentials can be developed in an area to be managed optimally. So that this potential can be used as a means to be able to build and develop the regional economy. 2) Human Resources. The next factor is human resources. If an area has abundant natural resource potential, then the area is required to be able to make maximum use of these natural resources

to build and develop the local economy. To achieve this, it is necessary to have a creative idea so that these natural resources can be utilized optimally. Therefore, abundant natural resources must also be balanced with adequate human resources. So the role of human resources here is very important in the development of the local economy. Both the government and the local community must always work together to create a more advanced economy with a superior sector in the area (Agitama 2021).

One important strength possessed by this ethnic group as an implication of historical strength is the amount of local knowledge (indigenous knowledge) which is the basis for developing the behaviour of others, interaction with nature, and devotion to God. Local knowledge is far more complex and varied than scientific knowledge. Local knowledge may not be expressed directly, it may also be explicit, and it may be owned by individuals or collectively, making it more difficult to communicate in the formal legalistic policy-making process. This feature determines how to communicate local knowledge to influence the policy-making process (Nugroho, Carden, and Antlov 2018).

Defining local knowledge as 'good practice' without context runs the risk of losing important social and cultural information about the origins of knowledge, how data is created, and the appropriate and acceptable use of data. A good example is research conducted by Poros Photo on whaling traditions in Lembata, East Nusa Tenggara. They try to communicate the message that this tradition is an important part of the people's way of life and their worldview. Removing this tradition will not only eliminate their livelihood but also a very important thing that forms the basis for building a sense of togetherness as a community and their identity. Poros Photo follows the daily life of the villagers of Lamalera and takes photographs related to whaling activities. A photo and film exhibition was organized and a book of essays on the photographs was published to convey the message that indigenous peoples' whaling

practices are different from commercial whaling. Responses to Poros Photo's exhibitions and publications varied. Some consider that the communication strategy is effective. By creating something more than a simple documentation of local observations and knowledge, the use of interactive and multimedia exhibitions provides new possibilities for recording and sharing local observations and knowledge. Audio and video recordings document observations, knowledge and narratives as recounted by knowledge holders and the public in their language of choice. To add a visual dimension, Poros Photo includes photographs and other visualizations to complete the knowledge documentation process. To strengthen supportive messages and movements, working through the media (including social media) is another effective communication strategy (Nugroho, Carden, and Antlov 2018).

Then Kaplan and Manner in Rohmad's (2016) studies related to culture do not study the definition of culture but social structures or systems. The social system itself is complex, originating from a variety of influences or it can be an inherited impact so that the human social system is considered a true sociocultural system. Therefore, culture is an important element in shaping the capacity of society, in short, culture is not a product in the form of symbols or artefacts, but also the values that are inherent in it. In the analysis associated with the State Capital region, of course, culture is very strong in shaping the capacity of the people in the Capital City. The capacity of the people in the State Capital region is an important element in driving the economy in that community.

Culture-based development in the community in the State Capital region is important because the culture currently developing has left many of the original frameworks of local culture, as Theresia et al. (2014) said that if there are no special efforts, local culture can no longer be the main basis for the outlook on life of every member of society.

For this reason, culture-based development in the Paser ethnic community

must be strengthened, so that it is not eroded by currents of marginalization as a result of the implementation of the National Capital project so that it becomes a cause of moral and cultural degradation. Any development that is carried out by the government but does not make culture in the community its basis, will cause the spiritual heritage that has been passed down from our ancestors to fade, such as the culture of the community (*rukun*) and so on. Therefore, according to Mardikanto (1993), it is necessary to understand the local cultural philosophy of all groups in a sustainable manner. So in the development of the Paser ethnic community, it does not eliminate cultural capital that has long developed in society.

Another type of power is local political power. Local politics can simply be defined as all political activities that are at the local level. In this case, all matters relating to politics such as local government, regional policy formation, and regional head elections. This shows that the scope of local politics is below the national one. The regional groups that are included in the management of local politics include cities, districts and villages.

At the local political level, the national government cannot fully intervene. This is because each local arrangement has its regional regulations. In this case, regional regulations are usually not always in line with the government. Implementation of local politics must also be in line with national politics. Differences in regional levels do not mean that they must be separated from the national regional order, but that local politics must still be oriented to national politics.

In addition, local politics can also be interpreted as a local market that provides public services. In this case, it is meant that local politics can become a good public service provider for the community. This is because, at the local level, the community will be more understanding. Local government policies will weigh the lives of the majority of local people. Therefore, local government is considered a good service provider for the community

because it can better understand the needs of its people.

The political objective of regional autonomy (decentralization) is to create a more just and open relationship between the Center and the Regions within the framework of the Unitary State. Unity can be glued together in the political atmosphere of decentralization in the administration of government by providing opportunities and flexibility for the regions to carry out their administration. Ideal ideals like this are not easy to do. Indonesia itself has experience in determining the pattern of decentralization with various laws. The target and achievement is the arrangement of governmental and social relations by the characteristics of Indonesia as a nation and state.

Dennis Rondinelli in M. Safi'i (2009), says that political decentralization is the transfer of power to geographical units of local government which are located outside the formal command structure of the central government. Thus, political decentralization implies the concept of separation, of the various structures in the political system as a whole. Local government should be given autonomy and freedom and be considered as a separate level that does not have direct control from the central government. At the same time, local governments must have legally defined and clear geographic boundaries within which they (the units) exercise their authority and carry out public functions.

Because the purpose of decentralization is to democratize local governance, decentralization itself must be implemented in ways that uphold the true value of democracy. This needs to be underlined because the reality of government life often shows the reality, decentralization is implemented by too often ignoring democratic values. If this is not the case, the democratization process in the regions will often encounter obstacles from those who carry out the mandate of decentralization itself.

Sultan Paser's hope to empower the Paser ethnic community in the development of

the national capital, this hope is in line with Grindle's (2017), policy model which focuses on three main concerns, namely paying attention to responsible institutions, paying attention to power networks (political, social and economic), as well as paying attention to the expected or unexpected impact of a policy.

In involving responsible institutions, building networks and paying attention to the impact of policies, the government uses several strategies that focus on efforts to empower the Paser ethnicity. This strategy is in line with the purpose of empowerment itself, as stated by Mubyarto (1997), that the community empowerment process is directed at developing human resources, creating business opportunities that are by the wishes of the community, and is a strategy carried out to develop a group or individual in running a business. or life-sustaining activities.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this study is the strength of the Paser community which can be organized in the struggle to deal with subalternity relations including historical aspects, economic aspects, local knowledge aspects, and artistic artefact aspects. While the potential that requires development is the potential in the field of politics and the potential for the development of cooperation networks. Based on ownership of local resources and potential, the appropriate empowerment strategy is a strategy to increase the capacity of the Paser ethnic community based on the scale of needs and capabilities, an advocacy strategy to various parties in the framework of gaining recognition/legitimacy, and a strategy for developing local initiatives that are sourced from the community itself.

SUGGESTION

The suggestions generated based on the conclusions of this study are that the strengths of the Paser ethnic community require systematic intervention through community empowerment programs so that these strengths can be organized to encourage rapid social change. The formulation of strengths can be an

effective social bargaining tool in initiating support from various parties.

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