Social Dynamics Survival of the Paser Ethnic in Subalternity Relations in Moving the Capital of the State Indonesia

Dinámica social de supervivencia de la etnia Paser en las relaciones de subalternidad en el traslado de la capital del Estado de Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The relocation of the capital city of Indonesia in Panajam had an impact on the Paser ethnicity the original ethnicity that inhabited the location. These ethnic groups experience a pattern of subalternity relations, such as their residential land and livelihoods being suddenly set, not being involved in decision-making processes, being prohibited from accessing the zero point, and not given space to become local workers in the work of the National Capital development project. This pattern of subalternity relations then developed into a communal identity as the spirit of this community to carry out emancipatory struggles. Aim this research is explore social dinamics of Paser Community Survival as subaltern group in the IKN project. The research method used is a qualitative method with data collection in the form of interviews, FGDs, and participatory observations. The data were analyzed by finding meaning patterns/themes and presented narratively. The results of the study found the social dynamics of resilience and sustainability through social dialogue, advocacy communication, network mobilization, use of social media, and cultural movements. This research concludes that the dynamics of survival and survival are pursued through advocacy dialogue to gain capacity building and recognition of Paser culture. It is hoped that this community needs to build mutual awareness to continue the struggle for its existence through community empowerment efforts in the form of capacity building.

Keywords: Social dynamics; Subalternity relations; Paser ethnicity; Survival strategies.

RESUMEN

El traslado de la capital de Indonesia a Panajam tuvo repercusiones en la etnia paser, la etnia original que habitaba el lugar. Estos grupos étnicos experimentan un patrón de relaciones de subalternidad, como que sus tierras residenciales y sus medios de vida se fijen de repente, que no participen en los procesos de toma de decisiones, que se le prohíba el acceso al punto cero y que no se les dé espacio para convertirse en trabajadores locales en las obras del proyecto de desarrollo de la capital nacional. Este patrón de relaciones de subalternidad se convirtió entonces en una identidad comunal como espíritu de esta comunidad para llevar a cabo luchas emancipadoras. El objetivo de esta investigación es explorar la dinámica social de la Comunidad Paser de Supervivencia como grupo subalterno en el proyecto IKN. El método de investigación utilizado es un método cualitativo con recogida de datos en forma de entrevistas, DGF y observaciones participativas. Los datos se analizaron buscando patrones/temas de significado y se presentaron narrativamente. Los resultados del estudio encontraron la dinámica social de la resiliencia y la sostenibilidad a través del diálogo social, la comunicación de promoción, la movilización de redes, el uso de los medios sociales y los movimientos culturales. Esta investigación concluye que las dinámicas de resiliencia y supervivencia se persiguen a través del diálogo de defensa para conseguir el desarrollo de capacidades y el reconocimiento de la cultura paser. Se espera que esta comunidad necesite crear conciencia mutua para continuar la lucha por su existencia mediante esfuerzos de empoderamiento comunitario en forma de desarrollo de capacidades.

Palabras clave: Dinámica social; Relaciones de subalternidad; Etnia paser; Estrategias de supervivencia.

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1. Introduction

The Indonesian government decided to move the State Capital to Jakarta with the enactment of Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the State Capital on February 15, 2022. The urgency of moving the State Capital is economic equity outside Java because so far economic development activities are only centered in Jakarta and Java. In addition, based on the study, Jakarta concluded that it already has an uncontrolled population density, a decline in environmental quality, and a decreasing level of comfort in life. Panajam Paser Utara Regency, East Kalimantan Province, precisely in Sepaku, was chosen as the location for relocating the State Capital on the grounds that this area is at the very center point when drawn from the west, east, north and south of Indonesia. Therefore, the construction of the zero point was made as a milestone in the start of the construction of the new capital city of the Archipelago.

The ongoing process of developing the National Capital 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 the original ethnic group because it first inhabited this area and breeds from generation to generation and builds processes of cultural assimilation of the newcomers/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 on the pattern of unequal social relations, they feel during the development process of the National Capital in their area. Their residential land was suddenly pegged as part of the capital city area, together with the company, the state annexed the plantation land that was used as 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 capital city of the archipelago. These are the facts found in the process of mapping this research problem.

In this taxonomic study, this research interviewed the traditional leader of Paser, namely Sabukdin. He estimated that in the Sepaku Sub-district–the location of the National Capital of the Archipelago–there are around 5000–6000 hectares of land for their ancestors who have not yet received a certificate of ownership. Penajam Paser Utara is inhabited by the Dayak Paser community, transmigrants from Central Java, and oil palm plantation workers. These lands are called Sabukdin as the only "sustainable life" because "our forest is gone, everyone, this livelihood is exhausted". He hopes that before the construction of the State Capital begins, the land ownership affairs will be clarified, with the hope that the government will provide land ownership documents to indigenous peoples, as quoted from his statement below:

> "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 and if they are not heeded it could cause a commotion".

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Dozens of indigenous communities are threatened with displacement. The Paser Balik tribe is part of 21 communities that have been verified by the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago. Of the 21 community communities located in the area of the National Capital of the Archipelago, only "representatives of 1-2 community people" were 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 that a total of 30,000 hectares of their customary lands overlapped with plantation and mining concession permits, even before there was the Nusantara State Capital project. "However, some of these 30,000 hectares are predicted, some will go to the National Capital," said Erasmus. The number of indigenous peoples verified by the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago is at least 200 families in one community, so it is 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 its cooperation or a contract, it doesn't switch. Indigenous peoples are also expected to benefit from the process," said Erasmus. The location occupied by the Paser indigenous people in the IKN area can be seen on the map below.

Figure 1. Map of the New Capital City of Indonesia.

Social dynamics occurred in the form of social turmoil because most local people were not ready to accept the fact that the State Capital was in East Kalimantan. Sepaku is the center of the National Capital, known as the Central Government Core Area. The Sepaku area is part of the transmigration

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area where residents become subalterns. The 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 through logging activities, and forest rejuvenation, forest maintenance, processing, and marketing of forest products by the agreement made so that they can operate. This condition has been going on for decades, even the employees or workers in this Forest Concession Rights are mostly not from the original residents who live in the Sepaku area.

The Paser indigenous people who inhabit the Sepaku area do not get job opportunities on Forest Concession Rights. This happens because of the lack of rights as citizens to get proper education and adequate skills so job opportunities are minimal and not open to the indigenous Paser community. The local indigenous people are still very traditional, so they have not been able to adjust to the rhythm of developments in the Sepaku area. They are still far from the work ethic of modernity because they are only used to living a simple life by manually processing forest products for their daily needs.

Symptoms of the marginalization of the Paser ethnic community emerged in the process of moving the State Capital, which they had previously experienced before the discourse on the State Capital was launched. The Paser ethnic become a subordinate community of dominant forces such as concession companies that control their land without getting adequate compensation. The marginalization process then became stronger after the processes of moving the State 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 began to identify itself as a subaltern group that was 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 ethnic group as a community group that is in a subordinate/subaltern position in the dynamics of the development of the State Capital 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 problems and existing problems. Therefore, research models that are under the umbrella of critical science involve identifying problems or problematic behaviors and explaining strategies for dealing with them (overcoming and changing them) clearly and carefully. This model is more political and has dimensions of social transformation and enlightenment that can make agents (researchers, development implementers, and related parties) aware of the hidden coercion (hidden coercion). In other words, the struggle agenda promoted by critical science is the agenda of liberation and empowerment. By advocating for enlightenment and empowerment, it is hoped that the community will have the ability to make choices for their future. Agents in this position are no longer initiators, extension agents, and teachers, but only facilitators of change and friends of thought for the community.

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In its implementation, critical epistemology as approach in this research usually carries out activities with staff and the community that is the target of learning. In addition, he is also a "research partner" in providing and discussing a research plan that he will design together (Pressler & Dasilva, 1996). According to Pressler and Dasilva (1996), in general, community members who are in the area of critical science studies are the marginalized part of society, namely people who are oppressed and do not have voting rights like the general public. Members of this community are usually called oppressors (groups) which are more often like maintaining the status quo. To change their status, it is necessary to empower them through the framework of research 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.

Distortion of perception and knowledge that occurs in elite actors moving the State Capital or the State Capital project was given the existence of the Paser ethnicity, which has resulted in the emergence of social actions that marginalize the Paser ethnicity. They have inhabited the location where the National Capital was hundreds of years ago. The implementing actors of the State Capital project then became an elite group, while the local ethnic Paser community was in a subaltern position.

The subaltern is often interpreted as subordinate. As a more philosophical concept, it was originally introduced by Antonio Gramsci when talking about an inferior group that was hegemonic by mainstream power, especially the state (Morton, 2008). In this context, the subaltern referred to is the farmer group. This concept by Spivak (2015), was later developed and re-offered in postcolonial studies which tried to explain identity relations that were never neutral. According to him, there is always a positioning in the construction of identity that involves social relations between the dominant and the dominated. Spivak did provide an example of such unequal social relations in the context of colonialism. However, the positioning of the subaltern can also be present in broader social relations when the problems of colonialism or post-colonialism are not prominently visible.

In any social context, there are always unequal relationships related to ethnicity issues that make one group does not have the same access as other groups. The group called subaltern by Spivak (2015), in his book *Can the Subaltern Speak: Speculations on Widow Sacrifice*, is not just a group that sociologically appears as a group that makes a union. However, what is meant is also those who socially get labeled and stereotyped because of their characteristics that are considered different or outside the standards applied by society in the process of their existence.

Referring to the view of Michel Foucault (1976), one who is also widely referred to by Spivak, they are subjects who undergo a process of normalization. The normalization process is a process that is socially and culturally and even politically made by hegemonic and dominant regimes to regulate what is considered not by the norms and beliefs that are considered 'ordinary' or 'common' applied. This normalization process gives rise to exclusion and inclusion which are applied systematically as a result of a process which, when referring to Bourdieu (1977) view, is referred to as a habituation

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process. In this process, inclusiveness and exclusivity towards a person are carried out in everyday experiences which are often described in rules, but sometimes it is a discourse that develops without people realizing that the process is ongoing constantly and continuously.

In conducting his subaltern studies, Spivak also uses the post-structuralist ideas of Jacques Derrida and Jacques Lacan, as well as Foucault, especially regarding power relations. This is widely criticized because Spivak is paradoxical in seeing the problem of subalternity itself, which he still sees from the hegemony of Western theory, which has a different experience from the Eastern empirical world. As Raewyn Connell (2007), in his book entitled The Southern Theory, there are objections that Eastern writers often adopt Western theories written by Western writers based on 'Western' empirical experience. According to Connell (2007), Western writers have a different habitus from Eastern society, so the application of Western theory is very unfavorable for the Eastern world. However, in his view, Spivak in Morton (2008), said that at that time he did not find an Eastern theory that ignored Western colonialism. The writings of Eastern theorists still follow the mainstream hegemony that adopts Western perspectives and ways of thinking. Spivak, like Edward Said (1978), in his book Orientalism, agrees that colonial power did not just stop after the independence of the colonized peoples. According to them, colonial power was maintained in and through different discourses. He considers writers such as Lacan, Derrida, and Foucault to provide space for the differences between the East and the West.

Several studies on subalternity relations have been carried out, such as Aggrey Daniel Maina Thuo (2013), in his study of how subaltern action in Kenya 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 a do-it-yourself strategy, namely actions that are developed by themselves according to their abilities and potential independently. This strategy played an important role in creating order in the chaotic situation because of 'not well-planned housing developments. The act of do-it-yourself subalterns, as evidenced by their agency, is manifested in the contribution and participation of the community 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 is successful in revealing the ability of subaltern groups to participate in the development process if they are given access to participate. However, this study has not explored in depth how subaltern groups implement social strategies that are mutually agreed upon by subaltern community groups themselves based on their needs, characteristics, and local potentials that they have in responding to development dynamics because this topic is the next Paser community struggle agenda which must be carried out in stages, meanwhile the timing of this research is not in accordance with their priority scale.

Subaltern studies about urban fragmentation conducted by Meenakshi Gigi Durham (2020), explored the broad influence of Subaltern Studies on Urban Studies. This study highlights three very important issues: the subaltern as it relates to 'popular' political struggles; the subaltern as an urban

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subject epistemology and an ethical challenge of representation simultaneously; and subaltern as a term for the boundaries of urban theory rather than the space of urban marginality alone.

The strength of this study is that it provides a substantive consideration of how the idea of fragments in subaltern studies can be used in urban research and how fragments are understood in several previous Subaltern Study reports. Strength is that this study compares with how fragments are often understood in Urban Studies. The limitation of this study is that the fragmentation analysis carried out generally departs from studies that use positivistic and post-positivistic epistemology. This paradigmatic basis in sociological scientific discourse is considered not able to provide an in-depth explanation of the roots of social problems faced by society, especially subaltern groups who have a relatively "closed" attitude due to social construction that takes place systematically which relatively pushes them to the periphery.

A comprehensive study of subalternity that portrays the dynamics of subaltern groups historically in India, well written by David Ludden, who is presented in A Brief History of Subalternity, reveals that Subaltern Studies occupies a subject position in India, where disclosure of subaltern imagery is strongly influenced by national narratives, orientalist images, ethnic stereotypes, and Hinduism. The reading of Indian history contained in Subaltern Studies is reflected in various ways by the national context in the globalized world. The historical approach is very relevant in studying subalternity groups because looking at subalternities historically, will lead to an assertion that this group is the main social actor in the social processes that shape the social and cultural structures of a region.

Research studies and subaltern studies that have been carried out are an analytical process in understanding the position of this dissertation research in the discourse on the development of sociological scholarship. From the configuration map of research results regarding subalternity, the paradigmatic study /research problem is the difference in the main problems that cause variations in findings and scientific conclusions.

This research is based on the critical paradigm as the basis for a study which makes it different from existing subalternity studies. This paradigmatic approach was chosen based on the consideration that the Paser ethnic needs concrete steps to act quickly in the dynamics of the State Capital project because the process of moving the State Capital is fast. It is hoped that this research will give birth to real actions that are planned by the Paser ethnic based on their needs and abilities so that they do not experience marginalization due to the State Capital project, which is essentially supposed to prosper the local people.

Based on the empirical problems found in the taxonomic study as a preliminary study and analysis of the theoretical gap or the proposed subalternity concepts and the paradigmatic basis used, this study explores the social dynamics of survival and sustainability of the Paser Ethnic community which tends to experience subaltern social interaction patterns in the process relocating the national capital?

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2. Methodology

The research approach uses a qualitative approach with the type of research that is qualitative-analytic which analyzes in-depth and critically the phenomenon of the life of the Paser ethnic community as a subaltern group in the relation to the relocation of the State Capital. Data collection was carried out through interview techniques and FGD on informants who were drawn purposively with the criteria of the Paser community experiencing subalternity actions due to the policy of relocating the State Capital in their area. The data were analyzed using Spradley analysis to find the structure or pattern of meaning to the focus of the research. The data is presented in a narrative manner supported by transcripts of excerpts from direct interviews with informants.

This research was conducted in Sepaku District, North Penajam Paser Regency, and East Kalimantan. The reason for choosing the Sepaku sub-district as the research location is that the Paser ethnic live in this location and 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 State Capital. The time of research was carried out from January 2022 to June 2022.

3. Results

The pressure from various parties experienced by the Paser ethnic in various types has made them develop and implement anticipatory responses as a strategy for their survival and survival in the development project area of the State Capital. This collective feeling of subalternity which is internalized in each ethnic individual becomes the basic spirit for the growth of shared awareness to take concrete actions so that they are still considered citizens as well as traditional communities that have inhabited the location of the relocation of the National Capital hundreds of years ago.

One of the survival strategies they use is to conduct dialogue or discussion among these ethnic internals to get a common understanding framework for the problems they face and to find agreement on possible actions to take in responding to urgent situations that are practiced from various lines, namely the project party, the State Capital, the company, the dominant customary holders, and the transmigrants. The Paser indigenous people hope to be able to have direct discussions with the central government, in this case, the President, as the highest policy maker in this country, as quoted by the following informant:

> …I mean sit down together for this, don't keep us away or look like something dangerous, we are human beings so we understand why, if we are asked to talk and sit together directly with related parties in this case we want to talk directly with you president…
> (RMH, 28/07/2022)

Socially they are very open to dialogue with the government in bringing together opinions, desires, and needs regarding the relocation of the State Capital. The views of the informants above indicate this openness and indicate the deepest desire of the Paser ethnic community to participate fully.

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They just want to be respected as citizens who have inhabited this location for generations. They are even willing to meet and have a dialogue with the President considering the profile of the President who likes to meet grassroots in absorbing the aspirations of the people directly.

In addition to social dynamics in the form of social dialogue, the Paser indigenous community also held strategic meetings with the local government. The meeting with the local government is one of the steps taken by the indigenous Paser community in the hope that the local government can provide full support for the struggle they are doing. Local governments at various levels have a span of control that is close to the daily life of the Paser ethnic group, so they are considered to have a good understanding of the existence of this ethnic group. Therefore, they held intensive discussions with the village, sub-district, and district governments in the hope that local governments could voice their aspirations properly and correctly to the central government.

The advocacy communication strategy carried out through discussions with local governments is very appropriate because local governments have direct communication channels with the central government so that the aspirations of the people in the regions can be effectively conveyed, and even can be resolved by the local government itself representing the central government in the region.

The dialogue carried out by the Paser ethnic residents in Sepaku with the central and local governments and agencies is very rapid progress because so far, these ethnic groups only have a routine of living with gardening. Generally, they do not have a formal education level, so they never take advocacy actions such as meetings. This explains the condition of the Paser ethnic closeness with the government because the world of government is considered a world that is difficult for them to reach.

The feeling of being subordinated seems to have become the individual habit of the Paser residents as a logical implication for their low level of education. The subordinate habitus then underwent a process of accumulation that was strengthening in nature after receiving various discriminatory actions since the project of moving the State Capital was started. This is what causes the Paser indigenous people to be closed to the current government structure as quoted by the SSW informant below:

> ...we Paser residents don't sorry...supposing we don't have extensive education about the outside world even when we meet outsiders we are already afraid, especially if we meet the Police or the Indonesian National Armed Forces it's scary not to play until he waits at the shop for the Indonesian Police and National Army to leave... (SSW, 24/06/2022)

However, driven by the motivation to continue to survive, the attitudes of subordinate habitus that are practiced in the form of fear of meeting state apparatus have turned into the courage to meet and speak up without being represented by representative institutions such as the media, universities, and NGOs. They believe that it is far more appropriate to express their aspirations directly because the opinions expressed are real according to needs, but if through representatives there are often differences. It is even possible that the aspirations of the Paser residents have been twisted into the subjective interests of certain groups.

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The social dynamics of defending the property rights of the Paser indigenous people have been carried out long before the decision to move the State Capital to the Sepaku area when this ethnic group faced the interests of the company that had claimed its plantation land. The small resistance they do uses their strength so as not to produce significant changes. The forms of advocacy that have been carried out so far have not provided reciprocity on land and plantations claimed by the company as industrial forests. The Paser indigenous people have struggled to get certificates of title to the land and gardens they cultivate, but the results are still to no avail.

Learning from the experience of advocating failure with the company, when facing the expansion of the National Capital development project, this ethnic group tries to develop more intellectual advocacy by involving components related to issues and discussing as much as possible directly without representatives. More tactically, they involve local governments as part of a strategic struggle coalition because local governments are considered to have good preferences such as knowledge of Paser, patterns of harmonious relations, empathy, and responsibility for the welfare of the community through various public services.

In addition to surviving by using their strength, they also hope to get help from various parties. The Paser indigenous people are aware of what they have done so far in defending the rights to the land and gardens they cultivate using their power which does not have a positive impact on ownership. On the other hand, the Paser indigenous people also hope that there will be studies that raise the issue of Paser culture as a means of struggle in defending the Sepaku area.

The positive side of the issue of relocating the State Capital for Paser is the opportunity for recognition of their culture which has been immersed in the arena of world and archipelago culture. The Sepaku area is currently turning into a big stage for the struggle of various national and local interests, so the movement for the existence of Paser culture can find its momentum.

A clear indication that can be seen from the symptoms of the disappearance of Paser culture is the absence of recognition from various parties to this ethnic group as the original ethnic group that inhabits the Sepaku location, including the company operating the industry in this area who considers Paser to be the same as other immigrants.

Another form of survival and continuity of the Paser ethnicity is an effort of cultural synergy that must be practiced in the success of the idea of developing the National Capital in Sepaku. This action reflects the anticipation of the potential emergence of cultural conflicts that usually occur only because of the absence of good communication between ethnic groups. The Paser indigenous people are only migrants who are the same as other transmigrants such as the Bugis and Javanese people who come to live in the Sepaku area as quoted by the following SDN informant:

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> ...But ma'am, as Indonesian citizens, as we all know, ma'am, the smaller the position, the more voiceless, the bigger the position and position, the greater the voice and power. We are villagers, far from the city, even though we are considered non-existent, this is our land, our land, why aren't we asked what we want... (SDN, 19/06/2022)

Exposure to actions that lead to the dominance of certain customs is full of interests, especially Sepaku which has been transformed into the center of the struggle for various national and regional interests. This conflict of interest is often raised irrationally and tends to ignore local truths such as the existence of Paser as part of the locality that needs attention by all actors in the transfer of the State Capital.

Whatever the mode of conflict of interest that occurs in the issue of relocating the State Capital, the residents of Paser consider it a matter of course if the conflict of interest does not lead to the weakening of Paser's existence. The Paser Community considers the conflict of interest by various parties to be part of social dynamics that can indirectly provide positive values in the context of enriching interaction spaces. Therefore, generally, they are open and positive-minded toward the dynamics of interests that occur.

Paser citizens in their dynamics have a central interest, namely the preservation of Paser cultural values and norms as well as the protection of the rights of their community as citizens. Unlike his dark experience when the company's interests received support from the government, the rights of the Paser ethnic community were violated.

The movement to relocate the National Capital has created new economic opportunities for Paser residents to sustain a more decent life. The number of service companies that come to the location of the National Capital City is used by the Paser ethnic elite in collaboration with the local government to integrate Paser symbols in products or in marketing their products. Besides being useful for promoting Paser culture in the international arena, Paser residents benefit from opening job opportunities for their citizens in various fields. This means that it is an opportunity for Paser residents to change the mode of production, from the traditional mode, namely plantations, to the industrial production mode, namely, to become workers in the company.

Another form of survival is an effort to show their cultural customs through dance with the characteristics of the Paser ethnic group. The Paser indigenous people have very high hopes for performing the Paser cultural dance in front of state officials who come to visit at zero point. To show the richness of Paser culture through dance, the teams of dancers were trained intensely by researchers as an implication of the axiological position of critical research. The Paser indigenous people have very high hopes of performing the Paser cultural dance in front of state officials who come to visit at ground zero, as quoted by the following DRE informant:

> ...We want to perform to ma'am, want to introduce our culture because we are a village dance group, which is far from modern city people. We the dance that mother taught us, and we practice continues to add to our creations at Sepaku... (DRE, 08/07/2022)

The Paser indigenous people use dance as a medium or tool used to convey their aspirations to policymakers. This dance is accompanied by language so that every movement in the dance is easy to interpret, the language used is inseparable from the expression of the demands of the Paser indigenous people.

Another defense strategy is that the indigenous Paser community builds a network of various parties so that they can get support to defend their property rights. Network mobilization is directed at support from the academic world, authorities, networks of traditional archipelago stakeholders, and media workers. In a participatory manner, the researcher accompanied the representatives of the Paser ethnic group to meet and have a dialogue with the Chancellor of the University of Balikpapan to explore the possibility of support from academics for their struggle to maintain and continue their socio-cultural life amidst the rapid relocation of the State Capital in their area.

The results of the dialogue with universities received a positive response in the form of the willingness of universities to convey the aspirations of the Paser ethnic in various discussion rooms, especially at cultural and scientific seminars which are academic traditions that are routinely carried out. Another opportunity that will be facilitated by the university is to open space for lecturers and students to carry out tri-dharma activities in areas where the Paser ethnic residents live.

Intensive interaction patterns between the higher education communities will, directly and indirectly, affect the perspective of Paser residents in understanding their social world and being able to encourage the creation of local innovations initiated by Paser residents themselves.

Implicitly, academics expect the central government to use local wisdom as one of the strategies for the development of the National Capital. This means that the Paser culture which provides a lot of character building for local wisdom needs to be integrated with various decision-making, both for infrastructure development and for the development of the required human resources.

The use of local wisdom indicates that the concept of development that is carried out is accommodative. The accommodative concept will give birth to development cooperation because it openly provides space and opportunity for the parties to be involved based on their capacity. No one feels left out, let alone feels disadvantaged by the development process.

Based on the explanation of the results regarding the strategy of survival and survival of the Paser ethnic group about subalternity to the transfer of the State Capital, the classification of meaning and construction of meaning along with the pattern of meaning formed can be seen in the table below.

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Table 1. Social Dynamics of Survival the Paser Ethnic with Transferring Structures for the National Capital.

Study Focus	Classification of Meanings	Meaning Construction	Thematic Pattern
The strategy of Survival the Paser Ethnic Residents	- Discuss among them - Meet with local government - Defend their rights with their power - Talking in the media - Looking for a coalition of social organizations Take the initiative to show their cultural richness through dance - Establish communication with universities - Establish communication with the National Capital Authority - Making local products made by the National Capital City (songkok, yellow scarves, glasses, organizing Small and Medium Enterprises) - Conduct cultural dialogue - Providing souvenirs as a symbol of the Paser culture in every guest visit to the State Capital at the zero point (installation of skullcaps and scarves by traditional heads) - Documenting works of art culture via youtube - Communicating their needs with the local government	- Conduct internal and external dialogue - Internal dialogue to generate consensus on joint action movements and external dialogue for advocacy to local government, authorities, and central government - Develop support networks with other cultures, social organizations, media, and universities - Develop local initiatives and creativity as a medium for introducing culture and a tool for the struggle for cultural existence - Using social media as an effective communication channel	The strategy of survival and sustainability of the Paser ethnic group is pursued using social dialogue, advocacy communication with policymakers at various levels, network mobilization such as traditional archipelago groups/social organizations/media/ universities, socialization of existence through social media and local product marketing, and cultural movements through dance performance.

Own sources

4. Discussion

The social dynamics in the subalternity relations experienced by the Paser ethnic community encourage them to carry out "resistance" for the sake of survival and the continuity of their social and cultural life. The internal meetings they held with the facilitation of the researchers had created awareness about the need for smart strategies and tactics in carrying out the struggle effort. The advocacy strategy was chosen as one of the survival and sustainability strategies that are considered relevant because the subordination event has many consequences because of policy imbalances.

According to WHO in Khumairah et al., (2022) "Advocacy is an attempt to influence public policy through various forms of persuasive communication". According to Socorro Reyes, Local Legislative Advocacy, Philippines, 1997 in Nathalia (2017) "Advocacy is a strategic action aimed at creating public policies that benefit the community or prevent the emergence of policies that are thought to be detrimental to the community".

Concerning the above definition, advocacy is a series of strategic communications that are systematically designed and implemented within a certain period by both individuals and groups so that decision-makers can make a public policy that benefits community groups (Nurdin, 2008). The ideal hope is that their systematic advocacy will bring positive consequences that benefit their survival, such as their settlements remaining around the location of the National Capital City so that they get better welfare.

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Another strategy chosen is the use of social media to echo their cultural wealth to the public, especially the policymakers. The rationalization of this choice of strategy is the pressures they face, according to him, because the public does not know that there is an indigenous culture that lives and continues to grow around the location of the State Capital. The public only understands Dayak culture as a representative culture in the Kalimantan region. As a result, Dayak culture is often used as a symbol of the involvement of local culture in the process of moving the State Capital.

The selected social media are YouTube, Instagram, and Facebook as well as using local scale mainstream media to display the richness of Paser cultures such as artifacts, language, art, clothing, and rituals. This wealth is displayed by using the art of dance as an instrument of movement. Social media is one of the instant media that currently has various functions in its role. In addition to functioning as a tool for communication, mass media is also a means for users to explore various information. The definition of social media is not necessarily an unfounded idea put forward by these experts. Social media has a role and impact on people's lives which must be designed in such a way that social media remains in the function and purpose of social media itself and has benefits in the life of each individual (Dwiyono, 2018).

As stated by Henderi et al, the notion of social media is a web-based social networking site that allows everyone to build public or semi-public profiles in a restricted system, list other users with whom they are connected, and view and explore the list of connections they have made by other people with a system (Henderi, et al in Purbohastuti 2017). Meanwhile, according to Phillip Kotler and Kevin Keller social media is a means for consumers to share text, image, video, and audio information and with companies and vice versa (Kotler et al., 2014).

New web technologies make it easier for everyone to create and most importantly share their own content. Post on Blogs, tweets, instagram, facebook, or videos on YouTube that can be reproduced and viewed by millions of people for free. Advertisers do not have to pay a lot of money to publishers or distributors to place their ads. Now advertisers can create their own content that is interesting and seen by many people (Zarella, 2011). As a result, news, and performances of the Paser dance are now available on various social media that can be accessed by anyone easily.

The strategy of survival and sustainability of social and cultural life chosen by the Paser ethnic group in responding to the pattern of subalternity relations is to develop a network/coalition with various parties. There is a historical awareness that struggles that rely solely on their resources are not getting results, as is their long experience of fighting against the tyranny of companies that have seized their land for decades without any results to date.

The struggle networks they are trying to explore and convince to work together are university networks, media networks, NGO networks, traditional archipelago networks, and networks of local community organizations. This network is focused on increasing the influence of the power of advocacy aimed at the birth of policies that favor the aspirations and needs of the Paser ethnic who are experiencing symptoms of marginalization due to the relocation of the State Capital in their area.

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As stated by network theorists such as Atikson and Coleman in Yitno Puguh Martomo (2020), the concept of a policy network is a network equipped with several adequate tools to deal with various problems or obstacles to state autonomy. There is a statement that even though the political system is centralized, the policy-making process is structurally decentralized in practice. Atikson and Coleman argue more emphatically that in all political systems, the policy is very rarely sufficiently centralized. Several institutions or public institutions may claim the existence of one or more policy instruments carried out in a particular policy area.

Networks or coalitions are groups of organizations or individuals to achieve changes in legal policies and programs on a particular issue or problem. Universal in nature, everyone becomes a member of one or more networks, both frontal and informal, and has similarities with other group members. Become a group that supports or supports an action with a supportive network and shares expertise to influence policies and programs. An effective network according to procedures, organizations and norms can create useful decision-making. These are called meetings, alliances, and others (Edukasi, 2020).

Another local initiative chosen as a strategy to survive and ensure the survival of the Paser ethnic group is to package dances as a reflection of cultural richness to serve as a means of ethnic struggle. This dance represents the voices of the oppressed Paser ethnic community about the relocation of the National Capital. The design of ethnic struggle through dance they call a cultural movement.

Peursen (2000) says that the management of the concept of culture means that culture is no longer an end, but a tool or means of contemplating our culture is not primarily a theoretical endeavor but provides tools that can help us describe a cultural strategy for today. front. Modern man should be made aware of his culture, and this means that he should actively participate in thinking and planning the direction that human culture will take.

5. Conclusion

The conclusion of this study is the social dynamics of the survival and survival of the Paser ethnic community in the pattern of subalternity relations in the form of social dialogue, advocacy communication with policymakers at various levels, mobilization of cooperative networks, socialization of Paser cultural wealth in social media and mainstream media, and cultural movements through attractively modified dance performances. All forms of social dynamics lead to the creation of an increase in the capacity of the ethnic community and the recognition of the Paser ethnicity as local culture.

The limitations of this research have not revealed the truth of reality from the side of the implementer of the IKN development project so that it is hoped that further research can focus on tracing information from the government's side, thus obtained balanced information.

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