

COUNTER-HEGEMONIC DISCOURSE: A CASE STUDY OF RELOCATION OF GOVERNMENT CAPITAL TO CENTRAL KALIMANTAN

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ABSTRACT:

Counter to the hegemony of the Dayak community in Central Kalimantan, if it is being the capital government of the Republic of Indonesia is intended to safeguard the rights of the Dayak people who essentially have two opposing sides. On the one hand, it is counter hegemony, to give greater attention to development of indigenous Dayak lands, recognition of Dayak cultural identity, providing a large space to implement local authority. However on the other hand, it can be a kind of institutionalization to strengthen rights of natural and land resource management, in the sense that they continue to strengthen the ethnic spirit of Dayak and ethnic identity, which may be counterproductive with the aim of strengthening the sentiments of nationalism and Indonesian identity. Recognition and protection of indigenous people is part of a constitution that recognizes the existence of indigenous peoples and their rights. Recognition of customary law communities and their traditional rights must be based on the principle "remaining the frame of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia". This principle emphasizes that indigenous peoples and tribes are part of the Indonesian state whose position is very influential and guaranteed by the constitution in developing political, social, economic, legal, and human rights to achieve defense and security.

Keywords: *Counter-Hegemony, Relocation of the Capital, Dayak Society.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Counter-hegemony concept is one of the concepts about People's Criticism of the Ruler was driven by Italian scientist, Antonio Gramsci, in response to the process of the dominant group hegemony. According to (Gramsci, 2001) the social reality shown by the exploitative capitalistic character, as well as the authoritarianism of Benito Mussolini's political regime, apparently did not create a social revolution, as budgeted by Classical Marxism. In fact, what emerges is the phenomenon of go-to-silent revolutionaries.

The symptom of the silence of the revolutionaries (workers and proletariat) is caused by a set of political interests which

were dominated illegally by the masses of the oppressed people. More ironically, the mass of existing workers tends to be a social group that is "steadfast in suffering". In these conditions, the transformative intellectuals he called organic intellectuals were very much needed.

Hegemony can be seen as a dominant view of life and way of thinking, in which a concept of reality is disseminated in society both institutionally and individually; (ideology) dictates all tastes, moral habits, religious and political principles, and all social relations, especially in intellectual and moral meaning (Nezar, 1999).

Based on Gramsci's thinking, it can be explained that hegemony is a power or domination over the values of life, norms, and

culture of a group of people which eventually turns into a doctrine of other groups of people where the predominantly group consciously follows it. Groups that are dominated by other groups (rulers) do not feel oppressed and feel it is the thing that should happen (Nezar, 1999).

Many people state that the meaning of hegemony varies. It may include socio-cultural areas in various aspects of societal life. Hegemony is defined as the determination of meaning which temporarily supports the ruling class. Hegemony is also stated as a situation of faction (a group or groups of people) of the ruling people using their social authority and leadership to control the subordinate class through a combination of conscious force and agreement (Barker, 2005, p. 513). The state and government are the center of hegemonic radiation as in the state there are the ruler and those who are ruled.

According to Gramsci (2001), hegemony refers to supremacy (the highest power) through moral and intellectual leadership which is supported by a strength and agreement. The government has the legitimacy and authority to organize and make sure that people will correctly behave in accordance with the prevailing and faithfully implemented rules and regulations. The government also has the authority to make regulations and decisions related to essential matters, and to settle any conflicts taking place in society.

In the context of democracy in Indonesia, this intellectual leadership is clearly very necessary as a counterweight to the regime in the administration of its government. Control over the possibility of hegemonization each regime that is counterproductive to the state's goals and guarantee of welfare, political rights and human rights of its citizens. Indonesia has a proven history of intellectual leadership. Almost every symptom of politics in this country always gets control and touches

of intellectuals who selflessly bring justice to the state's arbitrariness. Such intellectual leadership will always be ready to be awaited by the people of Indonesia now and in the future to continuously guard the hegemonic tendency of power.

The discourse of relocating the capital of Republic of Indonesia's government is not only a matter of relocating government. The facts show that massive urbanization has hit Jakarta nowadays; causing many of *Betawi* community's plantation areas switch function into dense housing. Many immigrants who reside in Jakarta buy indigenous land to be used as houses or businesses. This makes plantation land that used to be extensive in recent times has become a house or business place for migrants. In addition, there are many things that must be prepared carefully. One of them that must be prepared and thought carefully is the change of the society's paradigm; that is the government capital as the center of all government activities, including the economy towards a new paradigm that the relocation of the government capital is planned in such a way as to become a service center. From the national side, this is expected to be able to overcome the social gap of development which has been centered on Java. In addition, the government wants to separate the economic city and the city center of government where Jakarta will become the center of the economy or business, and the prospective new capital city will become the city center of government, such as New York and Washington DC in the US, and Brazil and Sao Paulo in Brazil.

Realizing economic equality and reducing development inequality between regions of Indonesia is not an easy thing. The vast territory of Indonesia, consisting of various islands and heterogeneous tribes, makes its own challenges of realizing economic equality increasingly complex and more complex.

Fighting in mastering public space is always described as a fight between the dominant and the subordinate. This imbalance raises groups of people who are in a dominant position and others are in a subordinate position in the context of power relations between the two (Scott, 1990). In line with Scott's thinking, Dayak people will experience collisions due to interactions with migrants and urbanization. This clash will cause changes in the structure of public space. Conflict is not only caused by economic factors but political, social and cultural factors. Are Dayak people in Central Kalimantan ready for this?

Subordinate communities do not have structural power to make drastic changes to this situation. However, they can fight little by little to undermine the dominant power (Scott, 1990). The simple actions taken by each individual if done by many individuals will provide counter-hegemony for the authorities. Therefore, a resistance is based on the interests of each individual in his group.

In the context of Dayak communities in Central Kalimantan, the facts show that various forms of multidimensional resistance have been carried out by subordinate communities in reducing dominant power. The marginalized Dayak community is unable to deal with the arrival of investors / financiers as a result and the impact of globalization on the continuing ideology of the free market and increasingly expanding their investment in Dayak land. It can be seen as a form of resistance from marginalized communities to state regulations that seize the traditional land rights of Dayak people who have been inhabited for generations. If it sees from a positive legal perspective, the land rights of Dayak people do not have strong legal force. So that Dayak people have concerned about the discourse of relocating the government capital. The relocation of government capital has a significant impact on the development of

investors and ultimately attracts people to work and live.

The dynamics of regional autonomy have developed since the independence of the Republic of Indonesia until now (the reformation period) has undergone upward and downward changes in accordance with the wishes and needs of the government which take turn. During the process regional autonomy did not match what was expected. However in fact, there are many problems that arise in the implementation because sometimes the system of regional government is not as strategic, both between districts / cities and provinces and vice versa. Regional autonomy is a state process that has never been completed and has experienced dynamics continuously. Because the new demands always arise in accordance with the needs, as well as the correction of the weaknesses of the formulation on several factors of environmental change both within and outside the government system.

Already two decades of the reformation era are underway. Since President Soeharto and the New Order regime were dropped in 1998, many changes have taken place in Indonesia, especially in the political sphere. Regional autonomy became one of the products of reform that originated from the demands of students in the 1998 Reformation Movement. Consequently, government and House of Representatives immediately drafted Law Number 32 of 2004 concerning Regional Government. Specifically, this rule stipulates that regions can optimally manage their natural resources.

Related to the discourse on the relocation of the Indonesian government capital to Central Kalimantan, the central government as the authority in deciding the policy is obliged and must consult with plural Dayak communities who have their own language, ideals, ways of life, as well as communal lands and tribal power / identity of

making a policy which is related to the discourse. Policy regarding regional autonomy is mandated by the second amendment to the 1945 Constitution, precisely in Article 18. The article stipulates that the sovereignty of regional government is recognized.

To realize what Dayak people want, the government must make a protection policy and several key steps. These include policies regarding the role and position of *Damang*, Head of Customary and Dayak Customary Council (DCC) have the authority to protect the rights of indigenous peoples in Central Kalimantan, guaranteeing that "the Dayak lands and customary forests are the forests within the territory of indigenous peoples", not as interpreting "land and customary forests are state land and forests that are within the territory of indigenous peoples".

Data shows that there is no intersectoral collaboration between the government and the ranks of government agencies related to land and licensing matters such as Defense Agency (DA), Public Works, and DCC in the event that *Damang* has the authority to issue Indigenous Land Certificates (ILC) that can be used as evidence / initial ownership of land. This ILC can be submitted together with other evidence to obtain the Property Rights Certificate on the customary land. To further strengthen the protection of the customary land, ILC have been made efforts; among others are to get support from the central and regional governments through legislation and collaboration with the Public Works Service to map customary lands in Central Kalimantan Province.

To create conducive conditions and ease investors to enter and invest in Central Kalimantan which has abundant natural resources. Strengthening Cooperatives and Local Mining Associations. The House of Representatives and the government need to make policies, regarding Development and Mineral Indigenous Peoples-Based Law. This

policy allows Dayak people to work joint ventures with the private sector.

Besides, the House of Representatives and the Government also need to make the Dayak Special Autonomy Tax Status Act which creates a new tax revenue that gives the Dayak community opportunity to collect and tax non-community and government companies, when they operate in community's forest and customary lands and gives them permission to finance customary forest projects from pay taxes freedom.

In order to keep and preserve the culture and identity of Dayak people, it needs to be a special policy regarding bilingual and bicultural education programs, teacher education, and children's education to be able to maintain and protect the local culture from extinction.

Nowadays, Jakarta is increasingly chaotic, while development in Palangka Raya is slow. There is hardly a sign that this city will ever become the grand capital of the Republic of Indonesia. Only a monument stands as a reminder that Soekarno once had a big dream to move the capital to Palangka Raya. While Jakarta as the nation's capital, it seems increasingly inappropriate. This city has a lot of problem. It starts from acute congestion, overcrowding, and unplanned development to floods that always lurk if the rainy season comes.

Velix Wanggai, who was born in Jayapura, Papua, said that the relocation of the capital city requires strong political commitment. He stressed that on several occasions the President had expressed his views to examine the discourse of relocating the capital city of the country. In order to be optimal, the transfer of the capital city must be a national consensus. The President's "Political will" needs to be supported by a national consensus confirmed through the House of Representatives' decision. The discourse on the relocation of capital can also be seen as an

effort to promote regional development balance by redistributing government, business, arts, culture and industry activities outside the Jakarta and surrounding areas (Kusumawijaya, 2010).

The relocation of the capital could have happened because of various things including the disasters and the defeat of the war, which from ancient times had occurred in Indonesia due to political emergencies (the temporary relocation of the capital to Jogja). Every time a disaster occurs in Jakarta or Java, there is always a suggestion or discourse to move the capital city from Jakarta. Of course, this proposal is often speculative and seasonal is just a discourse for chatter.

II. METHODS

This study uses qualitative data by using in-depth interviews and participatory observation. Thus, besides using a qualitative-descriptive models, this research is also designed with a critical interpretive models. Reality that will be read, captured, described, interpreted, and criticized is the phenomenon of postmodernism. A model-interpretive qualitative research-critical as mentioned above requires a proper choice of approaches. Support the achievement of the research objectives gaining an understanding of the phenomena mentioned above, using the historical approach and critical ethnography.

In this present study the informants were purposively determined, whose criteria had been made based on the degrees of understanding, intellectuality, knowledge, experience and role played in discursus. The key informants included the *damang*, traditional leaders, academicians, the government, and entrepreneurs. The common informants included the traditional Dayak community living in the location where the present study was conducted.

The main instrument in the qualitative research is the researcher who should be neutral as stated by (Moleong, 2006, p. 168). However, to accelerate the research process, the instruments such as a recorder, a questionnaire, writing equipment, and not books were also used.

The data in the present study were collected through in depth interview based on the interview guide which had been prepared, and participatory observation in order to obtain the empirical data on the Dayak ethnic people's perception of the conflict and dispute resulting from the existence of the discursus of relocation capital government to central Kalimantan.

In this present study, the in depth interview was held through a question and answer process between the researcher and the informants in order to obtain oral data such as information, view and opinion of the subject under study. Therefore, interview is one of the most important parts in this present study as the data were obtained by directly asking the informants. The information obtained from interview could usually be used to complete the data which were obtained from the field.

Participatory observation is intended to obtain the data from the "observed" context. Adler in (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p. 378) state that observation is not only made using the visual sense for seeing but also the other senses such as the sense for smelling, the sense for hearing, the sense for touching, and the sense for understanding the meaning behind the visible data. (Spradley, 1980, p. 39—41) states that observation is aimed at the three main elements of a social situation. In this present study, the participation in the research setting was done through the technique of active participation in order to be able to collect the information needed. The researcher joined and was present at the meeting attended by the traditional community, the firm, and the government in which the local people

demanded that the issue be performed. In that meeting what was demanded by the local people was also discussed.

To better understand the above the historical approach can be used in this study. This approach has always stressed the historical meaning of the situation, that is to understand the phenomenon in its historical context, that is of past, and into the future. While ethnography gives more emphasis on flowing narrative models to follow the findings in the field, and does not impose the assumptions that have been built previously.

Qualitative research in the context of *verstehen* approach would like to see a picture of the opinion of the relocation of the government capital to Central Kalimantan. The construction of the specificity of autonomy is for the management of Central Kalimantan as a candidate for Government capital in the context of counter hegemony. Descriptive method is with the form of phenomenological study research. This method is chosen based on the problems that arise from the existence of a phenomenon that occurs. The number of respondents was 100 Dayak Ngaju people in Palangka Raya, Katingan Regency, and Gunung Mas District. Data collection technique used is direct observation techniques, direct interview techniques and documentaries. Data collection tools in the form of interview and observation guidelines and questionnaires (Arikunto, 2010). The data analysis technique used is qualitative descriptive using percentages and understanding is only the first step in the data analysis process.

III. RESULTS

1.1. Dayak Community Life Philosophy

The life philosophy of Dayak people in Central Kalimantan is *Huma Betang* (Long House) and *Belom Bahadat* (Cultured Life)

which means respecting diversity, heterogeneity, pluralism in the context of *Pancasila* (five basis of Republic of Indonesia) and The Unitary State of Republic of Indonesia. It means that human must respect the difference and diversity, tolerance and respect each other. Where the earth is grounded where the sky is upheld, it is like the proverb of Minang Kabau, can be matched with the local Dayak proverb "*hong kueh langit ingkijak. Hong hete supak ilekat'm.*" This is in line with the philosophy of "*belom bahadat*" life that must be civilized where minorities must be able to respect and protect minorities.

1.2. The Dayak Cultural Local Wisdom towards Environment

Usop (2015) proposed a concept referred to as *belom bahadat*, as far as the forest management is concerned. Based on this concept, forests cannot be separated from the eternal life. In accordance with the old Dayak language, the word *huma* means the corporeal and incorporeal roundness of life. Forests are part of *huma*, which includes the collective residences of those who are still alive and the invisible souls. In addition, forests prepare everything which is needed by all in order to survive.

Huma does not only belong to the family members who are still alive; it also belongs to the family members who are already deceased. In addition, *huma* is also the residence where the other existing spirits (*gana*) reside. Furthermore, it is stated that it will be impossible for forests to become barren as it is cleared away if tradition is maintained. The native people know how to open forests, how to use the ones which have been opened, and how to move from an old area to a new area. Everything is consciously done that collective life is one form of life which should be looked after and respected.

1.3. *Batang Garing* as a Dayak Myth

From the perspective of Hindu Kaharingan, the universe was formed by great collisions of the objects in the sky which sent great rays of fire everywhere which then formed the universe. Then the universe is divided into two; they are the upper nature which is controlled by God (*Ranying Hatala Langit*) and the lower world which is controlled by what is referred to as *jata* or a giant snake (*tambun*). Although there are two 'mahadewas' (gods), they are basically one, as what is referred to as *jata* is the shadow of *Ranying Hatala Langit*. They are different in their respective power; however, they form an intact cosmos. If one is deleted, the cosmos will be imbalanced. From the concept *batang garing*, it can be understood that man and other lives are made to exist by the collision between the two opposing strengths which results in a new life. The Dayak ethnic people consider that they and other lives come from parts of the *batang garing* tree which became destroyed due to the fight between two *enggangs* (bird), one was male and the other was female.

The weak management of natural resources in Indonesia is responsible for the bad issuing system of permits. This frequently marginalizes the people's rights to the resources of their lives. The issuing system of permits should be audited and the permits provided to the firms which have conflicts with the local people should be nullified. In addition, the existing regulations are not optimally implemented; the reason is that the related parties do not implement such regulations and policies correctly. An example, the policy of *sawit* plantations should be managed in an integrated fashion; the environmental regulations, the permit used for the land use, the space layout planning, and evaluating procedure of the environmental impact should be included.

The results of this study indicate that the Dayak community continues to perform counter hegemony in the discourses of relocation government capital to central Kalimantan. This is a form of resistance to the domination of the state. Counter hegemony have a reproduction meaning a ritual full of meaning to the interests of each group. It is also used to indicate the counter hegemony of the marginalized Dayak community groups. Indicated counter hegemony is a form of survival strategy (war position and ideology) for each individual to get the space to negotiate to fight for his interests. The forms of counter hegemony are a means of forcing the dominant group to renegotiate (opening the door of peace), discussing the common rules so that the interests of one another are not harmed. The negotiation process is a form of concern for their social structure, where the Dayaks are aware that partnerships between indigenous and dominant communities are needed in order to create a conducive atmosphere for sustainable development.

The discourses of relocation the government capital is a deliberate and conscious form of counter hegemony performed by the Dayak community in a subordinated condition to dominance. This is due to creating social space changes in patterns of interaction and justice within the community. Counter movement is motivated by differences in claims on land tenure systems between government, employers and indigenous Dayak communities in agrarian conflicts that do not go there is certainty of completion. Indigenous communities retain their hereditary tenure that is informal (law custom). On the other hand, companies and others come up with a system of formal rules (positive law) that are unknown and alien to the customs of indigenous communities.

II. DISCUSSION

2.1. Counter-Hegemony of Dayak Communities

Counter hegemony means disagreement with or opposition to the acquisition of superiority or supremacy through intellectual leadership and morality over a strength or agreement. It is a form of the people's opposition to the regulation issued by the government as the state apparatus through both the repressive and ideological state equipment.

The counter-hegemonic bloc is built by intellectuals. Therefore, at its core should be global revolutionary elite which rejects the "status quo" at its deepest level. In trying to understand one's position at any point of the modern world in any country, culture, society, social class, professional function, etc. man sooner or later arrives at an understanding of the basic theses of hegemonic discourse in searching for deep answers to the deep questions of the social arrangement in which he lives. Of course, this is not possible for everyone even though according to Gramsci every man is an intellectual in one way or another. However, the only real intellectual is he who represents man in a holistic sense, a kind of delegate to the parliament of thinking humanity (*homo sapiens*) on behalf of the more modest representatives (those who cannot or do not want to realize the fullness of man in the form of the possibility culminating in the opportunity to think, i.e., being an intellectual). We have such an intellectual in mind when we speak of identifying hegemony. At the point when he is faced with a choice, i.e., realizing his opportunity to become an intellectual, he can say "yes" to hegemony and accept its syntax, thus continuing to act within its structure, or he can say "no." If he says "no", he is sent on the quest for counter-hegemony; he searches for accession to the global revolutionary elite.

Some experts such as (Zelinsky, 1971, p. 222); (Lewis, 1982, p. 168) say that population mobility plays an important role in socio-cultural change and the position of public space by bringing people from traditional life to modern ways of life brought from the outside. These changes included a shift in values and norms as well as networks and patterns of kinship, based on the results of interviews with 100 Dayak Ngaju tribal people. It could be concluded that their 5 (five) views on the discourse of transferring the government capital to Central Kalimantan.

2.2. The Political Ecology of Counter Hegemony

In a context of biospheric crisis, the recent turn to Gramsci in political ecology has great pertinence to our analysis (Mann, 2009; Kebede, 2005). As a 'new front' in the analysis of hegemony and counter-hegemony, Gramscian political ecology understands the production of nature as a co-evolution of humans and their environments pointing to 'the conditions of possibility for radical change that might emerge through interactions with nature' (Ekers, et al. 2009, p. 288). From this perspective, bourgeois hegemony is achieved though the reification of particular spaces and natures (Wainwright, 2005), as in the common sense of a consumerism founded upon industrialized agriculture, auto mobility and suburban sprawl, and north-south relations that displace ecological costs onto the periphery (Rice, 2007). The turn to Gramsci enables us to see the environment as 'a socio-natural entity ... a particular terrain over which hegemony is consolidated and contested' (Ekers, et al. 2009, p. 289). In an era of deepening ecological crisis and of rising consciousness of that crisis, social groups aspiring to hegemony must demonstrate their ability 'to pose solutions to a variety of issues

related to nature and the environment' (Ekers, et al. 2009, p. 289).

This insight reconfigures the meaning of counter-hegemony around a vision of ecosocialism. To forge an alternative hegemony, counter-hegemonic movements must go beyond resisting the capitalist growth machine, into prefiguration: 'they have to develop alternative forms of production and reproduction or alternative conceptions of nature-society relations' (Karriem, 2009, p. 318). Abdurazack Karriem's study of the Brazilian landless movement (MST) gives us a case in point. The war of position that MST has waged through a combination of land occupations and popular education has not only moved from local sites to transnational arenas; it has had a strong prefigurative thrust. Besides the ethic political claim that food and food sovereignty are human rights, the MST has promoted ecological alternatives to corporate agriculture, in alliance with the environmental and indigenous movements – all aspects of 'a long, slow process of practical and ideological struggle for an alternative hegemony' that refuses the regime of 'sustainable degradation' on offer from transnational neoliberalism (Luke, 2006).

People who belong to an ethnic group which is marginalized and discriminated for a long time feel that they are becoming more emotionally closer to one another. They have common cause, common goal, and common interest, causing them to have politics of identity and identity resistance. These are the political channels which involve those who have the same characteristics such as ethnicity, religion and culture. The attempt made to be dominating by the government and the state take place in various forms. One of the groups of people who resist such a condition is the Dayak traditional community in Central Kalimantan, causing them to plan a movement which resists and opposes the discourse of relocation capital government to central Kalimantan. It is used as

the medium to resist the government and investor. According to (Foucault, 1991), identity and power are two concepts which are related to each other. Through discrimination, power can operate more widely as the politics of identity which is played by the ruler. Through distinction, someone or a group of people can help his/their group to find cohesion and position in society using his/their specific identity.

First, the majority of the Dayak Ngaju indigenous people depend on their lives for nature. During leisure time after harvesting and waiting for the time to open the land again, it is used by Dayak Ngaju indigenous people to hunt and search for forest products, tap rubber, rattan and leaves or tree bark that can be made into wicker with economic value. To fulfill their basic needs, they sell forest products to traditional markets to be exchanged for other daily necessities. Rubber plantations owned by Dayak Ngaju people are still traditional or natural rubber. The lack of attention and empowerment of the Dayak community has caused itself to be an obstacle to the overall process of agricultural development. The discourse of relocating the capital resulted in soaring land prices, which caused the indigenous Dayak tribes to be marginalized and shifted to the periphery. Like the local proverb "*je tempun petak manana sare, je tempun uyah batawah belai, je tempun pasah bisa puat,*" it means that the Dayak people are increasingly marginalized. The fear of the Dayak people is important for us to counter hegemony not to be afraid of changes if later the relocation of the government capital really takes place.

Second, the most visible changes in the aspects of the society organization are viable. Some informants stated that awareness will organize to unite opinions and obtain joint solutions to fight the dominance of the brunt of globalization and government. There are more and more regional organizations established

such as the Dayak Customary Council, National Dayak Customary Council and People's Miners Association which is to voice aspirations and fight marginalization through organizational struggles.

Third, changes to the policy of political culture in local cultures, where local content such as teaching of Dayak Ngaju Language at the elementary school up to universities level is included in the curriculum, awareness of the defense of culture is not extinct and uprooted from the younger generation.

Fourth, the Dayak *misik* (wake up) movement was motivated by concerns that land as the only valuable asset for the Dayak Indigenous People was born, live, work and even will be buried. Currently, customary land is easily taken over by other parties (inversely proportional to transmigration land) that have received recognition, appreciation and legal protection (given a certificate). Now the customary land of the Dayak Community has become increasingly narrow and threatened to be taken over by other parties easily. Even the rate of expropriation of community land by other parties is not constrained, with various reasons in the name of development, for example, present in the form of investment / investors (HPH, PBS, and Mining), transmigration.

The aim of this movement is to defend Dayak Farmers of Moving Farmers throughout the countryside and the interior of Central Kalimantan, so that together they try to "help themselves" in achieving justice and prosperity, also maintaining dignity. Remember the message of our National Hero Tjilik Riwut: "*Ela itah tempun petak tapi manana sare, ela itah tempun kajang tapi bisa puat, ela itah tempun uyah tapi batawah belai*".

Fifth, the counter-hegemony movement is a ritual "*hinting pali*" which aims to against Palm Large Plantation investors in traditional rituals outside the government

structure. The resistance pattern of the Dayak community uses traditional rituals as a media of resistance. Local symbols by using the ritual of sowing rice "*tawur behas*" by Kaharingan religious leaders and traditional leaders that indicate the existence of taboos or "*pali*" in land areas that dispute between the customary land of Dayak tribes and oil palm plantations (Usop, 2015).

This study shows: the choice of autonomy forms has a complicated impact. The specificity of Central Kalimantan is internally oriented (internal jurisdictional arrangements) but weak external orientation of managing relations with surrounding areas in urban areas. This condition is closely related to very weak special authority possessed by indigenous peoples (DCC and *Damang* /Head of Customary), so that it is also difficult to design an institution suitable for its management.

III. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the discussion, it can be concluded that the Dayak Ngaju indigenous people have concerns with the discourse of relocating the government capital from Jakarta to Central Kalimantan. The relocation of government capital has a significant impact in forming a special autonomy for Central Kalimantan in the development of the capital, and in the end it becomes an attraction for local communities to prepare concepts, strategies, and policies to prepare themselves to deal with these challenges and opportunities. One of the concerns of Dayak community is the issue of defense, culture, economy, and social. Urban development and all government facilities are: spatial and regional, physical, land vs. green and customary land. Distribution of urban facilities, water spatial and spatial planning, environmental problems, slums. This is because the community is used to live or

depend on nature. Second, there are structural and social concerns; congestion, unemployment, poverty and crime that might increase. Competition in obtaining jobs will increase sharply, competencies between local communities and immigrant communities will cause friction and vertical and horizontal conflicts. Third is culturally the readiness of the local population, namely the Dayak Ngaju tribe in competition to face changes into the location of government. Local human resources must be prepared to face this change, this is a challenge. Strength, weakness, opportunity, and threat (SWOT) that must be addressed wisely.

From the results of this study, some suggestions can be conveyed, including: 1) For Dayak Ngaju people in Central Kalimantan, they are expected to be able to access information related to land, agriculture and plantations management as well as modern creative industries in order to increase productivity and improve their welfare. 2). For the central and regional governments, it is expected to make a policy or Law on Special Examination concerning the privilege of Central Kalimantan if it becomes a government capital of the Republic of Indonesia. In addition to prepare sufficient land and design sustainable regional governance, road infrastructure, education, markets as supporting economic activities of the community, in addition the local government is expected to provide protection for the Dayak customary law community so that they are not interpreted and hegemony from Dayak tribal ancestral lands. Immediately government need to establish customary law areas in each region of Central Kalimantan, so that the implementation of the decision of the Constitutional Court No. 35 of the Constitutional Court's "customary forest, not state forest" argues that "forest rights" must be interpreted as consisting of customary forests and individual forests / legal entities, in

addition to existing state forest categories in addition to rights forests. Customary forests are included in the category of rights forests, they are not State forests.

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