



# Analysis of Sustainable and Green Urbanism Discourses: Cases study of New Smart-forest City Kalimantan Indonesia

**Name: Nitia Agustini Kala Ayu**

**Student number: 4384059**



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Utrecht University, Faculty of Geosciences

By Nitia Agustini Kala Ayu

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Student number : 4384059

Email : [nitiaagustini@gmail.com](mailto:nitiaagustini@gmail.com) / [n.a.k.ayu@students.uu.nl](mailto:n.a.k.ayu@students.uu.nl)

Supervisor : Femke Van Noorloos

Second reader : Kei Otsuki

## ABSTRACT

The green and sustainable urbanism discussion has become more crucial due to many new cities constructed. Moreover, “green” and “sustainable” cities have been promoted by many governments, developers, and intergovernmental organizations, including UN-Habitat, through New Urban Agenda and SDGs (Dryzek, 2005; de Vries, 2011; Rapoport, 2014; Koh et al., 2021). Previous studies found this term used to cover up the complexity problems to attract international investment, people, nation building, and many other reasons, and some studies also found a contradiction between the “green” branding such as eco-city, forest city, smart-city, and sustainable city terminologies (Chang and Sheppard, 2013; Caprotti, 2014; Cugurullo, 2017, Van Noorloos, 2017). Therefore, this research focuses on capital city relocation in Nusantara, East Kalimantan, Indonesia, built because of climate change in the previous capital city Jakarta. Moreover, the central government constructed this new city as a smart-forest city. This research aims to understand the power relation between new city development and green and sustainable discourses.

This research was conducted in the early stage of development because the announcement of this new city was in 2019, and the Indonesian government expects the first phase of relocation will be in 2024. This research conducted critical discourse analysis by reviewing policy documents, interviews with stakeholders, and visual analysis. The participants of the interviews are representative of the stakeholder, such as central, provincial, and local governments, environmental organizations, indigenous community organizations, and the house of representatives who participate in policy making. Thus, this research captured the main discourse at the macro and local levels.

The research finding shows the domination of smart-forest city and economic growth discourse produced by the central government. Furthermore, this research argues that the central government power comes from long periods of territorialization and governmentalism regimes. This is proven by the strategies to mainstream their discourse, such as legitimation from the rule of law and politics, experts, and recalling the history of capital city relocation as nation building. Besides, some challenging discourses include damaged ecosystems and the long period of marginalization. Also, there are accommodator discourses that try to include local people and environmental rehabilitation in new city development.

Keywords: indigenous community, smart-forest city, sustainability, green capitalism

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## Contents

ABSTRACT .....	3
Acknowledgments .....	4
List of Tables .....	7
List of Figures .....	7
List of Pictures .....	7
List of Boxes .....	8
1. Introduction.....	9
2. Theoretical and conceptual framework .....	11
2.1 Capital City Relocation and New City Development Debate: Factors and Interests .....	11
2.2 Challenges of New City Development: Environmental and Exclusion Problems .....	13
2.3 Sustainable and Green City Discourse.....	14
2.4 International Investment Shaping New City Development .....	17
2.5 Translocal Development.....	19
2.6 The Multi-dynamic Politics Framework.....	19
3. Regional thematic framework.....	20
3.1 Nusantara: New Capital City of Indonesia .....	20
3.2 Population: Indigenous community and migrant community .....	22
3.3 Forest and Extractives Activities in East Kalimantan .....	23
3.4 Nusantara Development Plan and Stakeholder .....	24
3.5 Partner Organisation .....	27
4. Methodology .....	27
4.1 Research questions.....	27
4.1 Operationalization Variables.....	28
4.2 Discourse analysis.....	30
4.1 Analysis of Policy Documents .....	31
4.2 Online and offline interviews with stakeholders .....	36
4.3 Visual analysis .....	37
4.4 Reflection: Limitation and positionality.....	37
5. Research Result: Stakeholder Multi-dynamic Politics (Domination of the State on Green and Sustainable City Discourse).....	38
6. Research result: Stakeholder’s Strategies to Mainstreaming and Contesting Discourses .....	42
6.1 Supporter Strategies .....	42
6.2 Challenger Strategies .....	45
6.3 Accommodator Strategies .....	46
7. Research result: Environmental Sustainability Discourse.....	47

7.1	Smart-forest City Discourse .....	49
7.2	Damaged Ecosystem Discourse.....	57
7.3	Translocal Development Impact Discourse .....	59
7.4	Rehabilitation Discourse.....	61
8.	Economic Sustainability Discourse.....	62
8.1	Supporter Discourses: Economic Growth.....	63
8.2	Challenger Discourses: Economic Exclusion Discourse .....	67
8.3	Accommodator Discourses .....	68
8.3.1	Vocational Education Facilities .....	68
8.3.2	Spill over Effect of Development.....	70
9.	Research result: Social Sustainability Discourse .....	71
9.1	Supporter Discourses .....	71
9.1.1	Local People’s Participation Discourse .....	71
9.1.2	Land Protection Discourse.....	75
9.1.3	Restrictive Migration .....	77
9.2	Challenger Discourses .....	78
9.2.1	Marginalisation Memory Discourse .....	78
9.2.2	Do not Want To Be The Next Betawi People Discourse.....	81
9.3	Accommodator Discourses: Indigenous People Recognition Discourse .....	84
10.	Discussion .....	86
10.1	Top-Down New City Development: Territorialization & Governmentalizing .....	86
10.2	Green Capitalism: Urban Greening & Technological Fixes .....	87
10.3	Neo-Malthusian and Ecobordering in Restrictive Migration Discourse.....	89
10.4	Further Research .....	90
10.5	Contribution to International Development and Policy Implication .....	91
11.	Conclusion.....	92
12.	References.....	95
13.	Annex.....	102
13.1	Interview Guide.....	102
13.1	Sustainability Words Search Query Document Analysis.....	104

## List of Tables

Table 1 Discourse analysis Components and Analysis .....	15
Table 2 Capital City Nusantara Planning .....	25
Table 3 Operationalization Research Concept.....	28
Table 4 Multi-dynamic Politic Framework .....	29
Table 5 List of Documents .....	32
Table 6 Operationalization Sustainability Term for Policy Analysis .....	35
Table 7 List of Participants.....	36
Table 8 Multi-dynamic politics of Smart-forest city Kalimantan .....	38
Table 9 Stakeholder's Strategies to Mainstreaming and Contest Discourse.....	42
Table 10 Sustainability Words Search Query Result.....	48
Table 11 Behaviour changes as solution and technology solution policy analysis result.....	55
Table 12 Economic Impact of Capital City Relocation on Pocket Book of Capital City Relocation .....	64
Table 13 Capital City Funding Based on Pocket Book of Capital City Relocation.....	67
Table 14 Actors drive sustainable and green city .....	72

## List of Figures

Figure 1 The Multi-dynamic politics framework .....	20
Figure 2 Maps of Indonesia.....	22
Figure 3 The Five Majority Ethnicities in East Kalimantan Province (2010) .....	23
Figure 4 Design and Construction Timeline.....	26
Figure 5 Environmental Sustainability Word Cloud.....	48
Figure 6 Environmental Sustainability Discourse Map .....	49
Figure 7 Technology as solution search query result .....	55
Figure 8 Economic sustainability Word Search Query Result.....	62
Figure 9 Economic Sustainability Discourses Map .....	63
Figure 10 Social Sustainability Discourses Map .....	71
Figure 11 Social sustainability Word Search Query Result.....	72

## List of Pictures

Picture 1 KOPPAD Borneo banner supporting new capital city .....	41
Picture 2 Dewan Adat Dayak banner supports new capital city relocation .....	41
Picture 3 Ordinary people's statement and video support the new capital city .....	44
Picture 4 Illustration of Historical Idea of Capital City Relocation .....	45
Picture 5 The President of Indonesia meeting with Indigenous Community Representatives .....	47
Picture 6 Header of <a href="http://ikn.go.id">ikn.go.id</a> .....	50
Picture 7 Principle 4 Low Carbon Emissions .....	52
Picture 8 First Principle of IKN: Designed according to nature .....	53
Picture 9 Principle 5 Circular and Resilient.....	57
Picture 10 IKN as Superhub .....	64
Picture 11 The IKN Number .....	65
Picture 12 Economic opportunities for all.....	66
Picture 13 Public Consultation .....	74
Picture 14 The sign of land acquisition in local people's house.....	82
Picture 15 The sign of land acquisition in the forest area .....	83

## List of Boxes

Box 1 Authority Agency Function .....	24
Box 2 National Strategic Area .....	44
Box 3 Lesson learned Brasilia.....	50
Box 4 Forest City Definition .....	51
Box 5 Principle of Forest City on Rapid Assessment of Environmental Strategic Studies .....	51
Box 6 Space provision strategy to support renewable energy .....	53
Box 7 Strategy determining the protected area .....	54
Box 8 Component of mobility hub as a sustainable lifestyle.....	56
Box 9 New capital city as economic driver statement.....	63
Box 10 Capacity building for local people commitment in the masterplan of the capital city .....	69
Box 11 Economic activity around IKN Nusantara will benefit from capital city development.....	70
Box 12 Community participation on Law No. 3/2022 in National Capital City.....	73
Box 13 Community participation in Presidential regulation number 64 of 2022 about National Strategic Area Spatial Plan of Capital City of Nusantara in 2022-2042 .....	73
Box 14 Land proper protection in Law No.3/2022 on National Capital City .....	76
Box 15 Land acquisition regulation .....	76
Box 16 Most populous city of Jakarta and limited population target in the new capital city .....	77
Box 17 Government explanation on indigenous community.....	80
Box 18 Statement from Consortium NGOs on Betawi People.....	81
Box 19 Indigenous people's recognition .....	85
Box 20 Land Certification problems.....	86



## 1. Introduction

New city development has become a trend in emerging economies for some reasons. Previous scholars found that the common reason is nation-building, building social and political centers, attract new investment and industry (Ghalib et al., 2021). According to Moser and Côté-Roy (2020), since the 1990s, there have been more than 150 new cities in around 40 countries built. Interestingly, most of the new cities were in emerging economies. This project becomes a political and economic agenda for the elites who advocate for their creation. New master-planned cities represent critical economic growth and infrastructural modernization initiatives, frequently incorporated into bigger national development plans (Moser et al., 2021). Therefore, new city development becomes an essential topic in the context of climate change and the community's welfare because it is changing the landscape and people's livelihood.

Previous research on new city development has defined the new city as initiatives to build a city from scratch. Administratively and geographically, new city projects frequently intend to be distinct from older cities. Since ancient times, cities have been developed and built from the ground up. They flourish in specific environments, including imperial expansionism, settler colonialism, mass industrialization, and, more recently, the financialization of real estate and neo-liberalization of global economies. Whereas post-1945 modernist towns such as Brasilia and Chandigarh were imbued with socialist values and supported by the state, property developers and technology businesses were significant drivers of the 1990s boom in new cities (Moser, 2020). Besides, Keeton et al. (2011) defined a new town constructed from the ground up as an independently controlled municipality, following a design and frequently as a result of a political decision. Nonetheless, that term is variable; there are tiny and large New Towns, and the degree of autonomy varies. Historically, the establishment of New Towns has nearly always been contingent upon a political decision made by a local or national government institution.

New towns are primarily constructed for economic and commercial purposes, fueled by demographic and political imperatives. New city development scholars mostly focus on factors of new city development and how the development impacts the economy, society, and the environment. Africa appears to have been picked as the new frontier for urban expansion, owing to the continent's economic growth and the stagnation of the rest of the world (Keeton et al., 2019). Another reason is nation-building, this is also because many capital cities were built based on the colonialism era, so the new leader wanted to build a new city. This is explained by Ghalib et al. (2021) that a nation-building and development plan through establishing new capital cities in Astana, Kazakhstan, and Cairo, Egypt promotes a more favourable image of their countries throughout the world.

National and local governments are urged to embrace urban planning as a primary strategy for attracting investment in real estate and infrastructure. This frequently manifests itself through incentives for foreign direct investment; in other instances, investments from the diaspora are also actively welcomed (Klaufus et al., 2017). Moreover, previous research also discusses the role of investment in new city development and building sophisticated cities that solve urban problems. Moser and Côté-Roy (2020) also discussed the worldwide

dissemination of the new city model is encouraged by contemporary urban ideas and enticing narratives, as well as sophisticated city branding techniques and forms of place marketing that enhance the attraction of new cities and give justification for their legitimacy. These narratives advocate for new cities as a solution for addressing inefficiencies and resolving a range of urban issues afflicting cities worldwide, but notably in the Global South.

Various articles also focus on the socioeconomic and environmental consequences of new city projects, emphasizing their effect on increasing social and economic inequities and environmental and spatial challenges. This issue has been discussed by Moser and Avery (2021) that forest city is aggressively promoted as a futuristic model eco-city that reinvents urban living. According to Rapoport (2014), the term is related to a “green” city such as an eco-city, also currently a worldwide phenomenon, and Keeton (2011) elaborated that building an eco-city is a potent approach to demonstrate a commitment to sustainability. It is said that the multi-layered superstructure that covers most of the project maximizes trees and greenery, minimizes the use of personal cars to reduce pollution and the risk of accidents, and encourages walking and cycling as the primary modes of transportation. Forest City has received opposition since it is being constructed immediately on top of the most extensive field of seagrass in Malaysia, which is rich in biodiversity and offers a home for endangered species such as seahorses and dugongs.

Climate change and environmental awareness within governments, public and “green” industries worldwide reasonably increase. Hence, the case study of this research is the first capital city relocation due to climate change, Jakarta, Indonesia, that will transfer to Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara Regency in East Kalimantan. The Ministry of Development and Planning/Bappenas Indonesia (2020), stated that Jakarta is very vulnerable to the impacts of climate change due to its geographical position on the northern coast of Java, so vulnerable to flooding and rising sea levels. Also, it raises problems such as population problems, economic inequality, urban sprawl, environmental degradation, high levels of crime, and social conflict (Ministry of Development and Planning/Bappenas, 2021, p.171).

New city development started in Indonesia, and debate on that project got serious in 2019 when the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, announced the capital city’s relocation from Jakarta to Kalimantan. Interestingly, the new city development frame as a smart-forest city will preserve nature. Thus, this research will be the early discussion on sustainable and green urbanism discourse of the new smart-forest city Kalimantan. Due to the substance of the environmental changes required to mitigate climate change, it is critical to continue researching and debating the meaning and consequences of green urbanization in urban policy interchange. Investigating the influence of these discourses’ dominance on the success of urban sustainability initiatives would thus be a worthwhile area of research. So, this research will fill the gap in the new city development discourse that has been promoted as a sustainable and green city in the context of climate change and degradation of land due to extractives like timber plantation and coal mining in the new city area. This research is crucial because of the novelty of the new city development dynamic in the context of Indonesia and the early stage of city development.

Furthermore, this research aims to analyze the power relation of the new smart-forest city that was built above the area that was a forest but has been exploited because diverse communities live there. Also, understand how the power relation shaped the discourse of new smart-forest cities and how the stakeholder's discourse supports, challenges, or accommodates their interest in the complexity of new city development.

This research applies critical discourse analysis and employs a multi-dynamic political framework to understand the power relation, the main discourse related to green and sustainable urbanism, and what strategies are stakeholders use to endorse their interests.

As an overview, this research report consists of 11 chapters, starting with an introduction to the research topic and objectives. Chapter 2 is about theoretical and conceptual frameworks explaining the capital city relocation and new city development aspect, the challenges, sustainable and green discourse, international investment issues, translocal development concept, and the multi-dynamic political framework. Chapter 3 describes the summary of Nusantara as the new capital city, followed by the methodology in chapter 4, which mentions the research question and technique. Furthermore, chapter 5 until chapter 9 is the results. The research result starts with elaborating on the stakeholder of the capital city Nusantara development and their power relation in chapter 5 and their strategies in chapter 6. And chapter 7 discusses the environmental discourses, chapter 8 focuses on economic sustainability discourse, and chapter 9 includes social sustainability discourses. Finally, chapter 10 is a discussion, and 11 is the conclusion of this research.

## 2. Theoretical and conceptual framework

### 2.1 Capital City Relocation and New City Development Debate: Factors and Interests

Capital city relocation and new city development are trends worldwide, especially in developing countries. Moreover, much research is conducted to understand the factor of these capital city relocations and the intention of the country when they build a new city. There are some previous experiences as references for this research.

Rossmann's (2017, p.272) studies show that most capital city relocations, usually intended to solve economic and urban issues, are also understood in the framework of nation-building as the symbol of territorial integrity from colonial reliance. There are six classifications of capital city relocations factor, such as to solve territorial integration issues, enhance economic growth of territories, reach a reasonable compromise between major ethnic and religious communities and other constituent units of the state, stimulate reconstruction of historical identity, promote new geopolitical positioning, and promote de-centralization of the state

Similarly, Keeton et al. (2019) found that governments that participate in new town development, these initiatives are frequently intended as economic catalysts for the national economy, laying the groundwork for future growth and attracting foreign direct investment. Attracting foreign money is a primary purpose of new town projects, reflected in their planning and design, modeled after successful urban models in Singapore or Dubai. Meanwhile, Ghalib et al. (2021) compared Astana, Kazakhstan, and the Egyptian

administrative capital, which is now under development. The study shows that both capitals are significant projects for nation-building and regional and economic growth.

Keeton et al. (2011) do research on African new towns and categorized cities according to the six primary reasons for the construction of new towns in recent decades: Eco-Cities that strive for the highest level of environmental stewardship, Political Cities that serve as a conduit for (national or municipal) government, an Enclave Cities designed to provide an escape from the current city; Economic Cities intended to attract investment and jump-start the national economy; a High-Tech City to showcase technology a Shelter City to accommodate the masses

There are several crucial components in establishing new capital cities: social inclusion and nation building. Ghalib et al. (2021) analysis has demonstrated how new capital cities might work on bridging divides and uniting communities in various ways. Both cities are marketed as means of overcoming obstacles and transitioning to a more contemporary, economically stable future. Both cities enlisted international construction firms but also impacted national labour market developments. Second, determining the appropriate area to promote regional growth. Thirdly, a diverse range of financial institutions, domestic and foreign, alleviate strain on the national budget and attract international investors. Fourthly, the political will and government support necessary to develop such a huge project within a short time.

Hackbarth and de Vries (2021) evaluate the land intervention for capital city relocation by underlying politics and economy, planning approaches, reasons for relocation, and cultural and ecological backgrounds. Furthermore, according to Hackbarth and de Vries, (2021) there are some factors that the country relocates their capital city, such as geopolitical safety, growth centre, centrality, environmental issues, overconcentration, overcome past, replace colonial capital, and high population. To further classify the responsibility for land impacts, the authors adapted de Vries and Chigbu (2017), who assembled eight normative concepts and objectives, named the 8R-framework. Before comparing using the 8R-framework, it is necessary to evaluate the governance structures or administrative and organisational hierarchies, the governance processes or paradigm shifts that occur during the land intervention, and the outcomes (societal, environmental, etc.) impacts separately. Additionally, the eight 8Rs frameworks enables us to search for specific aspects of written evidence that provide valuable information about the extent to which various stakeholders have the ability to raise concerns (responsiveness), the risk minimisation (resilience), the robustness of plans and execution (robustness), the accumulation of trust among those affected by the project (reliable), the trustworthiness of responsible decision-makers (respected), and the reaction to raise concerns (recognizable).

The 8R framework was also used by de Vries (2021) to analyze the lesson learned from different capital city relocations, specifically to give insight to Kalimantan Indonesia about green city development. De Vries (2021) found that it is critical to recognize and acknowledge components of spatial justice and include stakeholders in the design and execution processes. Moreover, greening should not be undertaken at the expense of existing tropical forests or cultural landscapes, nor should it be undertaken in isolation from spatial justice and affordable housing policies. Additional regulations apply due to the unique character of capital cities. Several of these include considering symbolic elements in the design of

monuments, forms, and the urban structure that express national identity. Also, functional factors contribute to the preservation and enhancement of an area's attractiveness and liveability. Finally, social and cultural considerations include ensuring tenure and rights to land, preserving diversity, and relying on indigenous and local diversity and cultural identity.

## 2.2 Challenges of New City Development: Environmental and Exclusion Problems

Large-scale land investments (foreign investment) frequently initiate urbanisation processes in rural regions by establishing economic activities that used by governments in Global South. Such initiatives are frequently framed as important components of economic growth and climate-resilient development, despite the fact that they may risk local populations resources and significant environmental and social consequences. Zoomers et al. (2017) investigate the new urban agenda's impact on land grabs and the discourse about safe, resilient, and sustainable cities.

Also, about the inclusiveness of the city development, van Noorloos and Kloosterboer (2017) explained that some implications need to be aware of new city development. The first issue is exclusion, displacement, and land governance. Observing new cities through the lens of displacement and uprooting of established communities is critical. Land for new city construction in urban, peri-urban, and rural locations is frequently subject to complex, overlapping land tenure and use regimes and poorly functioning land governance systems—secondly, socio-spatial segregation and gated communities. Infrastructure development, particularly housing, is frequently defined by supply-driven and consumption-driven nature. Thus, specific form communities based on status and wealth could access the service and security. Thirdly, urban fragmentation, democratic governance, and spatial justice.

The success of projects is becoming increasingly dependent on public relations and marketing methods that reference 'world city making' and other successful cities, technological innovation, and ecological sustainability, regardless of whether such promises are fulfilled. Klaufus et al. (2017) analyze the all-inclusive urban development that has become a trend in many countries in Africa and Latin America. Based on the data show, the exclusion in the urban environment. The all-inclusive urban development case study shows that segregation and exclusion also have environmental effects. Klaufus et al. (2017) developed a qualitative framework of 'segregation indicators' specifically to for gated communities based on the following parameters: location; actors; financial construction; target groups; and socio-economic, political, cultural, and spatial-environmental effects.

Keeton et al. (2019) examined problems with new city development. The first issue that new town construction creates is that it diverts resources away from existing urban areas that could be used to enhance or densify them. When sufficient resources are diverted from existing cities, they become even more clogged and stagnant. Second, similar to many other cities grappling with growing inequality, new African town have a proclivity for spatial division and a lack of inclusion. Thirdly, many new towns make little attempt to address environmental vulnerabilities or potential dangers.

### 2.3 Sustainable and Green City Discourse

The eco-city concept arose from the counterculture movements of the 1960s and 1970s as an approach to urban development that respected environmental constraints. Modern eco-city initiatives aim to surpass these limitations and are frequently motivated by economic and environmental goals. Although many eco-city initiatives sell themselves as templates for future urban development, the paper contends that they should be viewed as areas of experimentation and innovation that contribute to more significant socio-technical transformations. The paper finds that the reality of functioning in a profit-driven, entrepreneurial planning environment may restrict the potential of eco-cities to realize their utopian goals (Rapoport, 2014).

Many countries are branding their city as eco-city, green, or sustainable for reasons, including attracting investment, foreign skilled labour, and people to transform the bad environmental condition. For example, Cugurullo (2017, p.12) explained that Hong Kong's project for a smart city is presented as an innovative and cohesive plan and simultaneously re-shape the urban and economy of Hong Kong by developing and integrating new information and communication technologies. This branding was constructed to hinder air and trap pollutants because Hong Kong is one of the world's busiest container ports, a continual source of traffic, garbage, and a threat to marine biodiversity and human health.

In addition, Chang and Sheppard (2013) explained the case study of eco-cities in China, Dongtan, and Chongming, that want to develop green technology to balance urbanization and agriculture. Through place-specific settings, Dongtan and Chongming's ecology and economy become intertwined, generating and repeating "green capitalism" Chongming's island environment and goal to recruit a global population affect this strategy.

Also, Koh et al. (2021) found that Malaysia's government presents Iskandar Malaysia as an ecologically sustainable mega-project forest city. The developer consolidates its brand image and marketing aesthetics using "green and smart" tactics at the expense of the local inhabitants' ecosystem. Vertical greening creates a "forest-like" environment. Post-construction urban and building management systems use smart technologies (e.g., smart meters for real-time energy monitoring and artificial intelligence security applications)

Bibri (2020) study demonstrates that the Eco-city District of Stockholm Royal Seaport employs renewable energy and data-driven smart technologies as the primary strategies and solutions for achieving the environmental goals of sustainable development in terms of reducing energy consumption and mitigating pollution. This involves saving energy and reducing energy demand through the use of renewable resources (sun, wind, and water), bio-fueled Combined Heat Power systems, large-scale smart grid systems, energy management, sustainable waste management, and passive solar homes. Also, technology-fix in eco-city discourse justifies the technology utilization to solve environmental problems.

There are various explanations of what characterizes a sustainable, green, inclusive city. According to de Vries (2021) green city would be defined as three distinct environmental concerns: material (such as the use of recyclable, biodegradable, and environmentally neutral materials), energy (such as the use and generation of renewable energy; fossil fuel reduction),

and pollution (does not pollute or reduces pollution). The term "green city" refers to a metaphorical vision for preserving the existing environment while adapting it to the needs of urban dwellers. Participation and inclusiveness, acknowledgment of diversity, preservation of cultural and landscape uniqueness, a sustainable balance of original and novel green, and an equitable awareness of national and local needs and practices are all critical prerequisites.

Some research has categorized green and sustainable discourse of new city development. For instance, Caprotti (2014) analyzes eco-cities according to their stated and advertised performance objectives in terms of sustainability, energy use, and the like, facilitating critical analysis by highlighting the actual environmental performance behind eco-city projects flashy branding and marketing. Some large-scale eco-city initiatives, like Masdar, were designed with performance metrics. Tianjin Eco-Municipal is based on 22 quantitative and four qualitative indices of the natural and built environment, urban lifestyle, and city economics. Environmental indicators include air and water quality objectives, and many of the city's lifestyle indicators are environmental, such as the target that 90% of eco-city travels be by public transport by 2020.

To understand the discourse analysis related to environmental challenges, examine some components and analysis the discourse.

Table 1 Discourse analysis Components and Analysis

Discourse analysis component	Discourse analysis Sustainable development	Discourse analysis of ecological modernisation	Discourse analysis of green consciousness change	Discourse analysis of green politics
<b>Basic entities recognised/constructed</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nested and networked social and ecological systems</li> <li>• Capitalist economy</li> <li>• Ambiguity concerning existence of limits</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Complex systems</li> <li>• Nature as waste treatment plant</li> <li>• Capitalist economy</li> <li>• The state</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Global limits</li> <li>• Nature</li> <li>• Unnatural practices</li> <li>• Ideas</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Global limits</li> <li>• Nature as complex ecosystems</li> <li>• Humans with broad capacities</li> <li>• Social, economic, and political structures</li> </ul>
<b>Assumptions about natural relationships</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cooperation</li> <li>• Nature subordinate</li> <li>• Economic growth, environmental protection, distributive justice, and</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Partnership encompassing government, business, environmentalists, scientists</li> <li>• Subordination of nature</li> <li>• Environmental</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Natural relationships between humans and nature that have been violated</li> <li>• Equality across</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Equality among people</li> <li>• Complex interconnections between humans and nature</li> </ul>

	long-term sustainability goes together	protection and economic prosperity go together	people and nature	
<b>Agents and their motives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many agents at different levels, transnational and local, as well as the state; motivated by the public good</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Partners; motivated by the public good</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Human subjects, some more ecologically aware than others</li> <li>• Agency can exist in nature too</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Equality among people</li> <li>• Complex interconnections between humans and nature</li> </ul>
<b>Key metaphors and other rhetoric devices</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organic growth Nature as natural capital</li> <li>• Connection to progress Reassurance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tidy household</li> <li>• Connection to progress</li> <li>• Reassurance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Human subjects, some more ecologically aware than others</li> <li>• Agency can exist in nature too</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organic metaphors</li> <li>• Appeals to social learning</li> <li>• Link to progress</li> </ul>

Sources: Dryzek, 2005

In the global context of sustainable and green city discourse, Wit's (2021) findings indicate that civic environmentalism, technocratic environmentalism, and sustainable development discourses are predominant. These discourses mostly represent the legitimate methods of city players in Europe and Asia, where the majority of case studies were conducted. In contrast, neoliberal environmentalism and green radicalism are essentially missing. The urban sustainable exchange platform actively supports just three of the five global environmental themes. On the one hand, this might facilitate collaboration and consensus on a practical policy plan, as parties appear to approach urban sustainability comparably.

On the other hand, it is debatable if such a policy strategy would represent cities and players globally and provide appropriate answers for diverse actors and contexts, particularly given that European and Asian cities largely advocate these discourses. Rather than opposing or rejecting these discourses, it is necessary to consider whether they are adequate to halt or reverse existing patterns in greenhouse gas emissions that have resulted in climate change. Incorporating critical discourses such as green radicalism may facilitate thinking on such issues.

As an advertising medium, eco-cities typically share the main features: green, with grass roofs, big public gardens or parks, wetlands, and trees that visually represent the city's heritage. Additionally, today's eco-cities are defined by an abundance of solar panels. In some places, rooftops are covered in solar panels, while in others, fields of gleaming blue surround the



development. Contemporary eco-cities must consider various variables, including public green space, waste management, water systems, energy efficiency, and sustainable public transportation alternatives, to be effective. Zero-emission public transportation systems, zero-energy buildings, sustainable urban drainage systems, renewable energy sources, xeriscaping, and natural ventilation techniques are just a few of the eco-cities popular components (Keeton et al., 2011).

Rosol et al. (2017) also elaborated the discourse on urban environmental governance based on three crucial insights. First, green economy discourses and the growing usage of eco-technologies have created a legitimate business sector centered on green urbanism. Through a suite of neo-managerial tools of control (indicators, standards, and rating systems) and incentives (rankings, labels, and prizes), new modes of competitiveness, such as encouraging so-called exemplary practices, have emerged. Second, new urban environmental policies are developed (trans-)locally and turned into "mobile policies" that are then sold and exported to other locations. Thirdly, cities have transitioned toward 'post-political' and consensual behaviors, which remove and displace individuals from the discourse on what qualifies as 'sustainable' and fundamentally reshape urban politics.

According to Bardici (2014), in the context of Swedish urbanism, eco-city discourse has several substantial discourses. For instance, a technologically oriented eco-city can be conceptualized as a distinct urban practice contingent on hegemonic discourses on economic, technological, and environmental regulation about urbanization, as well as the agency of various actors advocating for energy efficiency and green technologies and forming alliances on sustainable urban issues. Moreover, the eco-city discourse is exclusive, as it glosses over some issues and facts about the detrimental direct and indirect environmental consequences of so-called green and energy efficiency technology. Furthermore, the eco-city discourse is impacted by cultural frameworks linked with environmental and climatic consciousness, as well as the role of technology in allowing and stimulating sustainable urban development.

#### 2.4 International Investment Shaping New City Development

International investment has become a sustainable and green urbanism discourse theme that show up many research related to new city development. Interestingly, many countries use the terminologies of green and sustainable cities as a marketing strategy to attract investment. The government believes that the role of private sectors is important to support the new city development, specifically to build the infrastructure from scratch, public facilities, and the economic growth in that area. So, this research needs to include the debates on international investment in new city development because of how the government and private sector's point of view on the sustainable city will shape the future city.

To illustrate, previous new city development in Konza Techno City, Kenya, constructed new utopian urban megaprojects or 'new cities' have been proposed by groups of investors, developers, and architects in partnership with national governments. The project is governed by a Development Authority and agreements with several (mainly foreign) corporate firms (van Noorloos et al., 2019). Also, Masdar City in the United Arab Emirates is proposed as a master-plan eco-city, sustainable urban development, and a blend of traditional Islamic design and clean technology. The city is advertised officially as "the world's most sustainable

eco-city.” As a Masdar City Marketing and Communications member put it, this branding applied to invite investment, 'bring revenue by making sustainability commercial.' This branding aims to build a non-oil component of Abu Dhabi's economy (Cugurullo, 2017, p.6).

Moser et al. (2021) show the rise of powerful foreign city-building actors across the continent. Including those from Asia and other African countries disrupts entrenched North-South knowledge transfer patterns and demonstrates the expanded reach of state-affiliated corporations from Korea, China, Turkey, and elsewhere, as well as their significant influence in shaping urban environments and norms in Africa. This analysis is essential because many flows of international capital influence developing countries' national social, economic, and political dynamics. New cities are supported through linkages to a growing diversity of global players via networks of funding, consulting, or partnerships with foreign corporations for their design and development, with country partners not limited to Euro-American actors.

Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer (2017) and Klaukus et al. (2017) also explaining the direct financing and development mechanisms for new cities in Africa are as follows: (1) entirely private investment and development; (2) foreign state involvement (e.g., China's state-owned China International Trust and Investment Corporation in Angola); (3) public-private partnerships between the national government and the private sector; (4) the latter is frequently used in all-inclusive developments: a development corporation is established to enable the government to engage with a complex international consortium of financiers, developers, and architects.

In Indonesia's capital city relocation, the government is also planning to attract the international flow of capital to build the infrastructure. According to the Ministry of National Development Planning's or National Development Planning Agency's (Bappenas) calculations, relocating the capital city to a province with good connectivity to other provinces will increase trade flows covering approximately 50% of Indonesia's territory. According to Azmy (2021) the relocation of the national capital to Kalimantan is estimated to cost Rp. 466 trillion. Luhut Binsar Panjaitan (as Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment) noted that the budget would not be entirely funded by the state but would involve a variety of stakeholders, including private investment, where investment would occur over a multi-year period. The involvement of private investors in the process of relocating the capital to Kalimantan demonstrates that the government's focus on the capital transfer plan is massive of capital. The question is how this considerable investment would shape the new city development in the context of sustainable and green city development (Dijkhuijs et al., 2022).

Furthermore, the investment-oriented on new city development is related to neoliberal urbanism debates. Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer (2017) elaborated that some nations initiate new cities top-down, while others use neoliberal enablers to compete for private investment. Nevertheless, others delegate governance to the private sector without the capacity to control it. Zanotto (2020) elaborated in the case study of Metropolitan Region Curitiba, Brazil, that stakeholders like developers emphasize the discourse of employment opportunities, tax revenue increases, environmental preservation, and infrastructure enhancement to gain community, political, and municipal support for their initiatives. Combining environmental concerns with neoliberal ideas has helped convert problematic

activities (such as sprawl, privatization of public services and natural areas, gating, exclusion, and urbanization of ecologically protected territory) into positives. Neoliberalism legitimizes activities that may prolong environmental degradation and social marginalization when used as the dominant language.

## 2.5 Translocal Development

Translocal development is the concept that explains that translocal flows happen in every space and development due to globalization. There is a connection between one place to another place, and this connection influences and shapes locality. This perspective is critical to understanding the connection between localities and the dynamic in the process of new city development. Zoomers et al. (2021) describe that localities are connected, and local development is caused by flows of capital, goods, people, and information. According to Steinbrink & Niedenführ (2019), the translocal approach is typically employed by researchers who want to resolve the limitations of conventional concepts based on implicitly specific spatial demarcations. And when they want to consider social phenomena that emerge from the intensive, boundary distance-crossing mobilities of people, commodities, knowledge, ideas, and symbols.

Zoomers et al. (2021) argue that analyzing large-scale development and investment phenomena are interconnected and should not be analyzed in isolation. Translocal development supports understanding the relational dynamics of people's livelihood, whether they benefit or not from inflow of capital and newcomers and how the actor's capacity to negotiate and deal with change, and how the consensus was made to gain commitment to getting promises and expectations due to development.

The idea to build new cities as 'world city' and 'modern city' imply translocal development also relate to SDG 11 to build inclusive urban cities. Furthermore, Van Noorloos (2021) discusses how translocal flows work in mega-cities projects that attract international investment and partnership stakeholders between local and national governments, international consultants, intergovernmental organizations, and international corporations. According to the research, the translocal flows due to large-scale urban development impacted direct and indirect displacement. When the project is labeled as 'national interest', fast-tracking procedures heighten the vulnerability of powerless stakeholders such as local people and thwart public participation. In addition, many new city initiatives are more motivated by land and real estate consumption and speculation by garnering attention and constructing an image. It implies that they are not attempting to address the underlying difficulties of many developing economies.

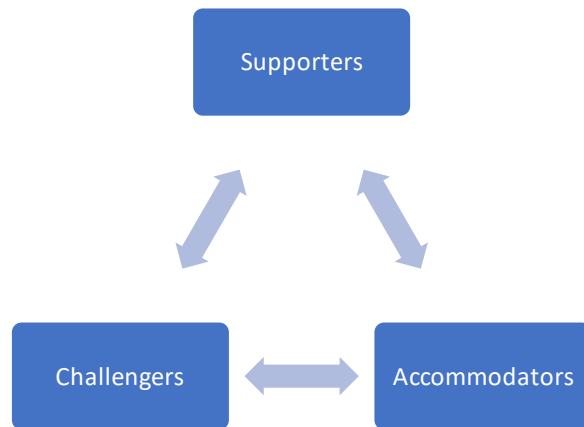
So, the translocal development theory will support the analysis of flow-driven development as one of the impacts of the new city development frame by the stakeholder in the new city in Kalimantan and beyond the new city areas.

## 2.6 The Multi-dynamic Politics Framework

This research employs a component of the multi-dynamic politics framework in order to analyze the power relationship between stakeholders in the green and sustainable rhetoric

of the new forest metropolis in Kalimantan. Alonso-Fradejas (2015) employ this framework to comprehend the stakeholder beyond the ordinary, simplistic descriptions of heroes and villains in political dynamics. This concept focuses on the (re)productive and political roles of multiple and distinct subjects, as well as their sociocultural characteristics and intersections.

Figure 1 The Multi-dynamic politics framework



Source: Alonso-Fradejas, 2020

There are three major distinct political perspectives on the growth issue, which in this case is the new forest city development: supporters, accommodators, and challengers. The supporters are those who defend and or advocate a specific development concern. Moreover, challengers are those who demonstrate disagreement or discontent with the problem through contestation methods and battle for an alternate project. The last one is that accommodators attempt to modify themselves or those they claim to represent to match better their changing circumstances: to reduce risks and harmful effects and capture any available advantage. The performers may represent several social groupings, including dominating and submissive groups of diverse backgrounds.

This research partially employs a framework that focuses solely on the political dynamic between stakeholders. The fundamental idea of Alonso-Fradejas analyses in-depth aspects such as the politics inside actors, the politics between players, and the dynamic across time.

### 3. Regional thematic framework

#### 3.1 Nusantara: New Capital City of Indonesia

President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, stated in the Indonesian House of Representatives meeting on 16 August 2019, officially asked for permission to move the state capital from Jakarta to Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara, East Kalimantan, and the new city namely Nusantara. Several factors are mentioned, such as the risk of natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods, tsunamis, and fires, which is relatively lower than in other areas. The location of Nusantara City is in the middle of Indonesia. The future City of the Archipelago is located near developing urban areas, namely Balikpapan and Samarinda. East Kalimantan has relatively complete infrastructure. There is a land area of 180 thousand hectares that is controlled by the government (Ciputra, 2022).

Dijkhuijs et al. (2022) analyzed that there are explicit and implicit reasons for Indonesian capital city relocation from interviews with several researchers on new capital city development in Indonesia. The explicit reasons the government and mainstream media highlight are land subsidence and floods problems that worsen people's livelihood. Also, Jakarta's pollution and traffic congestion contribute to an unhealthy environment. Capital city relocation to the center area of Indonesia, which is Kalimantan, is expected to eradicate uneven development because new capital city development will expand infrastructure and economic activity in the east area of Indonesia, which was left behind compared to the west. And another explicit reason is to reduce the disaster risk. This reason can be seen in many governments' representative documents and statements. For instance, Ministry PPN/Bappenas also describes the reason for moving the capital city from Jakarta as the climate change problem and disaster risk in Jakarta. Jakarta is very vulnerable to the impacts of climate change due to its geographical position on the northern coast of Java, so vulnerable to flooding and rising sea levels (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2020).

Moreover, the implicit reason for capital city relocation discussed by Dijkhuijs et al. (2022) is economic growth which aims to leverage economic spillover advantages within Indonesian regions and other nations. And the last implicit reason is the symbolic meaning of Indonesia's capital relocation, which is how the government labels the new city as a green city that will solve the environmental problems in Jakarta.

The move of the national capital city (IKN) to East Kalimantan has been approved by the Indonesian House of Representatives in the DPR Plenary Meeting on Tuesday, 18 January 2022. President Joko Widodo agreed to name the new capital, Nusantara, the Indonesia archipelago (Msn.Com, 2022). The Minister of National Development Planning/Head of Bappenas, Suharso Monoarfa explained why the new capital city was given the name Nusantara because the word Nusantara is easy to remember. Nusantara means archipelago. It is also considered a conceptualization of Indonesia's geographical area due to the many islands connected by the sea. The Nusantara in this new capital city will describe and emphasize Indonesia as a maritime country (Ciputra, 2022).

The new capital city Nusantara, Penajam Paser Utara, is an area in East Kalimantan Province. Figure 2 shows the maps of Indonesia, and it illustrates Jakarta's location on Java Island, which is the existing capital city. It is surrounded by the West Kutai regency in the west Paser Regency in the South Makassar Strait in the east and Kutai Kartanegara Regency in the north. Penajam Paser Utara Regency has its capital city which is located in Penajam. And the government has announced relocating the capital city to East Kalimantan in the middle of Indonesia. Penajam Paser Utara is administratively divided into four districts: Penajam, Waru, Babulu and Sepaku.

Figure 2 Maps of Indonesia

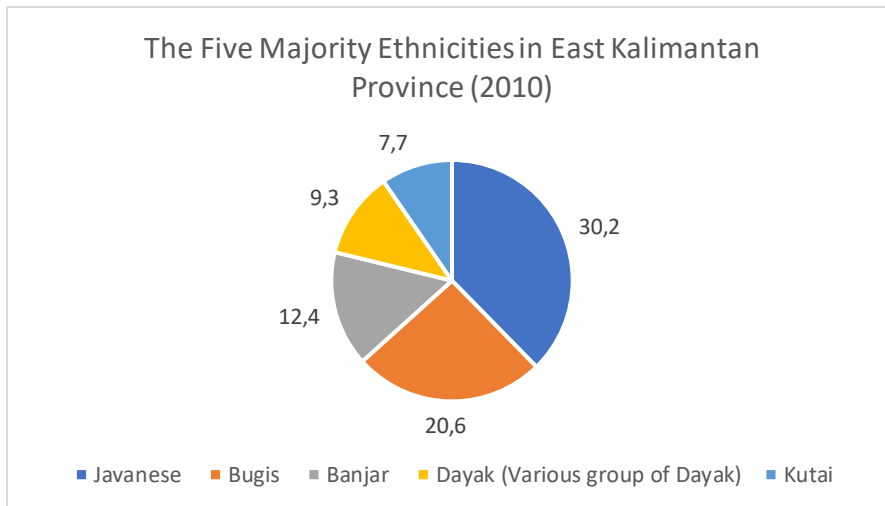


Source: Maulia (2022)

### 3.2 Population: Indigenous community and migrant community

Penajam Paser Utara Regency's population was 185 thousand people in June 2021 (Kusnandar, 2022). The population is quite diverse due to many tribes and migrations from Java and Sulawesi Island. Refer to the study from the Yayasan Bumi (2020), the indigenous tribes in IKN areas are the Paser Tribe, Kutai Tribe, Bajau Tribe, Basap Dayak, Kenyah Dayak Tribe, Benuaq Dayak Tribe, and the Tribe Dayak Tunjung. However, in terms of length of stay, the Paser Tribe, the Kutai, and the Basap Dayak Tribe are the indigenous people who settled in East Kalimantan for generations. Temporary The Dayak Kenyah, Dayak Tunjung, and Dayak Benuaq are indigenous people in East Kalimantan, but occupy villages in the IKN area from the 1960s to the 1980s, came from the interior of East Kalimantan, migrated to the coastal areas to get closer to the center of government and service. While the Bajau, the majority of them inhabit villages south of Balikpapan Bay, Penajam Coast, and Delta Mahakam (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021, p.106-107).

Figure 3 The Five Majority Ethnicities in East Kalimantan Province (2010)



Source: Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2020

Figure 3 shows that the majority of the population in East Kalimantan is Javanese due to the migration period during the New Order era of President Soeharto and massive mining and plantation companies in this area. According to the Ministry of PPN/Bappenas (2020), most originated from Java and were transmigrated between the 1970s and 1980s. Many of the Bugis, Banjar people, and other ethnic groups have assimilated through inter-tribal marriage, including native ethnic groups like the Paser, Kutai, and various other Dayak groups. Development in East Kalimantan has also attracted the migration of these and other ethnic groups. Especially in the IKN area, the Paser Tribe lives side by side with transmigrants from Java because the North Penajam Paser Regency area, especially in Sepaku District, is a transmigration destination for people from Java.

### 3.3 Forest and Extractives Activities in East Kalimantan

Kalimantan contains one of the most prominent surviving forests in Southeast Asia and is a worldwide biodiversity hotspot (Myers et al., 2000 in van de Vuurst & Escobar, 2020)). Despite its biological significance, 30% of Kalimantan has been deforested in the past 50 years, with primary forests being the most severely impacted (Margono et al., 2014; Higginbottom et al., 2019 in van de Vuurst & Escobar, 2020). Indonesia has failed to minimize habitat destruction in Borneo due to infrastructure growth, logging, commercial agriculture (e.g., oil palm and wood-pulp), mining, and wildfires triggered by recent droughts (van de Vuurst & Escobar, 2020).

East Kalimantan, including the new capital city Nusantara area, is covered by a timber plantation and mining area concession. According to WALHI et al. (2019), there are ten plantation concessions in the IKN region in addition to the two forest concessions mentioned above. The Samboja, Muara Jawa, and Sepaku districts, in the second and third rings, are home to eight concessions. PT controls the largest concession. Perkebunan Inti Kaltim Utara

land is 17.000 hectares wide. Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, the Coordinating Minister of Maritime and Investment in the Jokowi-Amin ministerial cabinet, comes from a prominent family.

The third ring of the future capital city region also has one coal power plant. The plant operated under the name PT. Indo Ridlatama Power (PT. IRP) was permitted to begin construction. It is situated in the Kutai Kartanegara Regency's Muara Jawa area. In the IKN region, there are 94 old mining pits. The activities of five businesses produced the majority of the pits: PT. Singlurus Pratama (22 pits), PT. Perdana Maju Utama (16 pits), CV. Hardiyatul Isyal (10 pits), PT. Palawan Investama (9 lubang), and CV. Amindo Pratam (8 pits) (WALHI et al., 2019).

The concession and land acquisition for private companies are also confirmed by the new capital city academic paper. Data from the Preliminary Study of Social Aspects (2019), it shows that the concession areas of PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal (IHM) and PT ITCI Kartika Utama (ITCIKU), which is above the IKN area is, a part of the traditional territory of the Paser Tribe in the past. Furthermore, it is illustrated that in the past, there were many traditional gardens and settlements in the river's upper reaches before the company with its plantation concessions in the 1970s (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021, p.107-108).

### 3.4 Nusantara Development Plan and Stakeholder

Article 6, Law number 3/2022 on National Capital City stated that the capital of the Nusantara covers a land area of approximately 256,142 ha and a territorial waters sea area of approximately 68,189 ha. To control the development and management of the new capital city, the central government created a new agency at the ministerial level called Badan Otorita IKN or Authority Agency of Capital City Nusantara. According to Law Number 3/2022 in article 9, it is said that the Authority agency will lead by the Head of the Authority Capital of the Nusantara and assisted by a deputy. The Head of the Capital Authority is appointed and dismissed directly by the President after consultation with the House of Representatives.

#### *Box 1 Authority Agency Function*

(1) The Nusantara Capital Authority as the organizer Special Capital Region of the Nusantara was given special authority under this Law.

(21) The authority grants permit investment, ease of doing business, as well as providing facilities specifically to parties who support financing in the context of preparation, development, and the relocation of the National Capital, as well as the development of the Nusantara city and supported area.

*Source: Article 12 Law No 3/2022 on National Capital City*



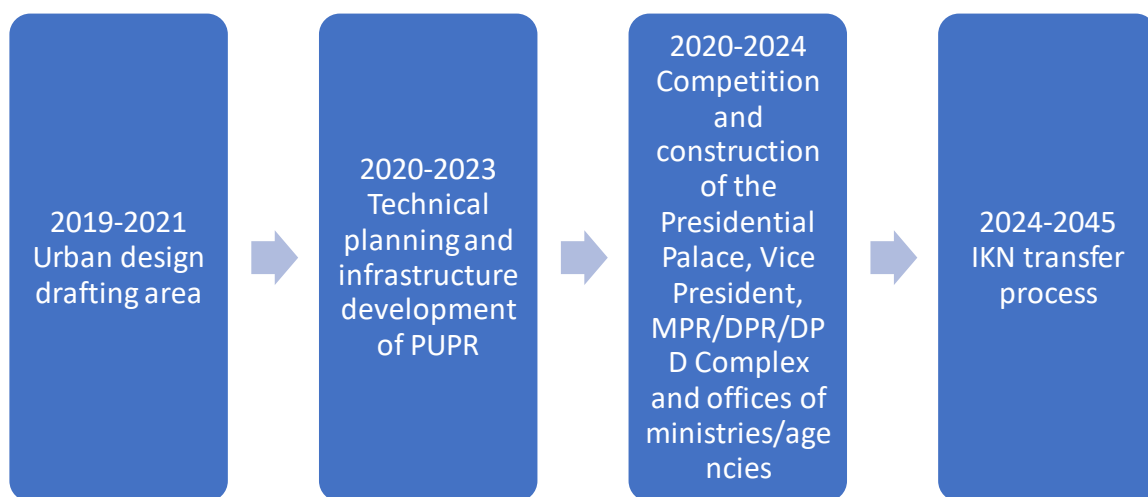
Table 2 Capital City Nusantara Planning

<b>2020-2024</b> <b>Early-stage relocation</b>	<b>2025-2035</b> <b>Building New Capital City as a strong core area</b>	<b>2035-2045</b> <b>Comprehensive infrastructure &amp; Ecosystem Development to Acceleration of East Kalimantan Development</b>	<b>2045-onwards Strengthening the reputation as "World's city for all."</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Build major infrastructure (e.g., Palace of the Presidency, MPR/DPR Building) and housing in the central area</li> <li>• Transfer of early-stage civil servants</li> <li>• The main basic infrastructure has been completed and operating for 500.000 residents</li> <li>• President's office moves before 16 August 2024 and celebrates Independence Day on August 17, 2024</li> <li>• Initiation of priority economic sector</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Developing the next phase of the city (e.g., innovation center and economics)</li> <li>• Completed the transfer of the central government of IKN</li> <li>• Develop priority economic sectors</li> <li>• Implement an incentive system for priority economic sectors</li> <li>• Achieving the SDGs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expand city development and complete connectivity between and within the city</li> <li>• Become the destination of FDI No. 1 for economic sectors priority in Indonesia</li> <li>• Top 5 destinations in Southeast Asia for global talent</li> <li>• Promote a sustainable utility grid by implementing circular economy enablers</li> <li>• Develop an innovation and development center of talent</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To be the world's leading city in terms of competitiveness</li> <li>• Top 10 liveable cities in the world</li> <li>• Achieving net zero-carbon emission and 100% renewable energy at installed capacity</li> <li>• The first city in the world with a population of &gt; 1 million people that will achieve this target</li> </ul>

Sources: Ministry of National Development Planning/ Bappenas, 2021

There are four stages of moving the Indonesian capital city to East Kalimantan. It refers to the new capital city relocation pocketbook, which explains the new capital city realization stages. So, currently, the development process is at the early stage of focusing on infrastructure development. Besides, according to the Decree of the Minister of PUPR Number 1419/KPTS/M/2021 concerning the National Capital Infrastructure Development Task Force, the construction period of the new capital city starts in 2019, starting from the design process. Here is the timeline:

Figure 4 Design and Construction Timeline



Source: Simorangkir (2021)

Furthermore, the central government is the main actor involved in the construction and development of the new capital city. According to the official website of the new capital city, there are several ministries involved, such as the Ministry of National Development and Planning/Bappenas, the Ministry of Finance to support the budget, the Ministry of Public Works and Housing, Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency (BPN), Ministry of Forestry and Environmental Affairs. And many directors and the department under this ministry collaborate on new city planning. Furthermore, the province of East Kalimantan government and other regency governments in Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara have become significant stakeholders in the development. And the role of the house of Representatives (DPR RI) is also crucial during the national law planning and checking implementation.

### 3.5 Partner Organisation

The research topic fits with the International Development Studies research project, 'Following Frontiers of the 'Forest City': Towards Sustainable and Inclusive Urbanisation in Kalimantan and Beyond'. So, this research supports the team to elaborate preliminary research on discourse analysis of sustainable and green urbanization. Ph.D. researcher and postdoctoral researcher assisted this research. Also, collaborate with Universitas Gadjah Mada in Indonesia.

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1 Research questions

The main research question of this research is:

“What is the stakeholders' framing of sustainable and green city discourse, and how does this relate to power dynamics in new city development in Kalimantan Indonesia?”

1. Which stakeholders are given a voice, and which stakeholders are excluded from debates on new city development?
2. What are the main themes of sustainable and green new city discourse?
3. What are the stakeholders' points of view and interest in new city development?
4. What strategies were applied to mainstream and contest the discourses?

#### 4.1 Operationalization Variables

Operationalization is essential to define the concept and variables used and how to measure the finding. Thus, here is the detailed operationalization of variables of the research:

Table 3 Operationalization Research Concept

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Sources</b>
<b>Discourse</b>	Text and statements that the stakeholders say and the way it is identified, understood, and address environmental issues. The discourse would contain metaphors and words with a political, social, and economic meaning related to the interest of the stakeholders.	Waring, 2018; Dryzek, 2005
<b>Stakeholders</b>	This research's stakeholders are actively involved in new city development at Nusantara, Kalimantan, Indonesia, representing the government, national and international private sectors, and community.	van Noorloos and Kloosterboer, 2017; Moser et al., 2021
<b>Sustainable and Green Urbanism</b>	Green and sustainable urbanism related to environmental and climate change consciousness and high technology stimulate sustainable development. It would be defined in some areas, like material (such as the use of recyclable, biodegradable, and environmentally neutral materials), energy (such as the use and generation of renewable energy; fossil fuel reduction), and pollution (does not pollute or reduces pollution), green technologically oriented.	Keeton et al., 2011; Bardici, 2014; de Vries, 2021
<b>Discourse Analysis Component</b>		
<b>Key metaphors and other rhetoric devices on sustainable and green urbanism</b>	Metaphors are rhetorical strategies used to persuade listeners or readers by reimagining a situation. These include commands to commonly recognized terminologies, behaviors, institutions, constitutions, and cultural traditions. Specifically, on sustainable and green discourse, it will analyze how the stakeholders frame the new city as a sustainable city, forest city, and green city.	Dryzek, 2005
<b>Agents and their motives</b>	Agents could be understood as stakeholders, and every stakeholder has their interests. So, this part will elaborate on the storylines of the agents	Dryzek, 2005

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Sources</b>
	of stakeholders on green and sustainable urbanism. Also, the reason/interest of stakeholders' engagement or not engagement.	
<b>Inclusive City</b>	City development considers the impact on the vulnerable group in some aspects, such as rural-urban location, financial construction, socio-economic segregation, and political, cultural, and spatial-environmental effects. Also, how complaining responses from the government or private sector, or elite, the phenomenon of being forced to sell the land and the price determinant, adequate housing alternatives, and housing and land relocation consultation. This research will see the stakeholder's perspective on participatory planning.	Klaufus et al., 2017; van Noorloos and Kloosterboer, 2017; Moser 2020

To understand the power relation of the stakeholder, this research will apply the multi-dynamic political framework to map their position with this table:

*Table 4 Multi-dynamic Politic Framework*

<b>Supporter</b>	<b>Accommodator</b>	<b>Challenger</b>
Category stakeholder who promoted green and sustainable city.	Stakeholders trying to negotiate with supporters are involved in the new city's development and facilitate their interests or other community they said to represent.	The challenger is the stakeholder who contests and challenges the discourse of new city development and advocates their interest to accommodate.

## 4.2 Discourse analysis

This research will apply qualitative research, specifically critical discourse analysis, to understanding the discourse on the sustainable and green city in Kalimantan, Indonesia. A discourse is a collective mode of perceiving the world. It is embedded in language and helps individuals who subscribe to it to understand fragments of information and piece them together to construct coherent narratives or reports. Discourses help define common sense and proper knowledge by constructing meanings and links. Each discourse is founded on presuppositions, judgments, and assertions that serve as the foundation for analysis, discussions, agreements, and conflicts. Discourses coordinate the activity of many individuals and organizations that would not engage otherwise (Dryzek, 2005).

The discourse analysis technique is used to investigate how topics such as sustainable cities and their conceptualizations are socially produced by actors such as the government and the media, as well as how this influences urban planning as a social practice. It is based on the notion of language as constitutive of the social in this perspective (Bardici, 2014). Thus, discourse analysis as an analytical tool may be described as a way to comprehend how specific ways of statements can have social consequences in a given social context, specifically, how the language of sustainable and green cities might have social consequences in this research.

The research is assisted by discourse analysis in revealing a more profound and thoughtful debate beneath the evident trends toward escalation (Hajer and Uitermark, 2005 in Hajer, 2006). Hajer (2006) underlined the structures embedded in the language employed by the actor in the discourse, which may be traced via metaphor and plot. Metaphor is a term used to comprehend and experience one type of thing in terms of another. Hence the metaphor would be the term used to describe the actor's conception of the situation. Moreover, storytelling is a simplified statement summarizing complex storylines, utilized in conversations as "shorthand."

Critical discourse analysis aims to elucidate how language functions to create meanings that uniquely represent people, things, and events in the world. It concerns how discourse constructs social identities, social interactions, and systems of knowledge or belief, as well as how these discourses retain power through their ideological features (Fairclough, 1989; Brookes, 1995). Moreover, Brookes (1995) stated that the longer a discourse is accepted as common sense, the more probable it is that the information, beliefs, social relationships, and social identities will become established and hence more difficult to reject. The discourse's ideological function in perpetuating uneven power relations becomes more effectively concealed when confronted.

The critical discourse analysis approach has two distinct advantages. To begin, it enables the analysis of policy documents by exposing their underlying biases and assertions in a systematic, organized manner, showing their hidden preoccupations and how they represent various discourses: dominant, marginal, oppositional, or alternative. Second, the technique is essentially activist, as the final stage entails the discovery of alternative discourses, narratives, and arguments capable of redressing existing, dominant discourse's 'social wrongs.' (Cummings et al., 2020).

Therefore, this research will use critical discourse analysis to examine the meaning of the statement of the stakeholders, policy papers, and documents on new city development. This method will explore the social construct, economic interest, political aspect, and power dynamic in sustainable and green city debates.

Three approaches have been conducted in this research: analysis of policy document, remote and offline interviews, and visual analysis. The reason for choosing this approach is explained below:

#### 4.1 Analysis of Policy Documents

Cummings et al. (2020) discussed that policy documents show the power configurations and are subject to written political processes, and may be used to convey an inspiring vision that persuades stakeholders to make change while also sustaining the status quo as established in the prevailing discourse. Hornidge (2011 in Cummings et al., 2020) also believes policy documents may be used to justify current government decisions by offering a view of the future. Hajer (2006) further emphasized that document analysis is the process of analyzing documents to structure concepts, ideas, and categorizations using storylines and metaphors. It should lead to a preliminary attempt to define structural discourses in the discussion. At this point, one would have a fundamental knowledge of the sequence of events and the venues of discursive production.

Policy analysis is essential to understand how the government will develop the city and who is involved legally in the development process. Here are some of the documents that have analysis:

Table 5 List of Documents

<b>Category of Documents</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Year of Publication</b>	<b>Authors/ Institution</b>	<b>Number of Pages</b>	<b>Description of the document</b>	<b>Reason/relevance to analyses of this document</b>
Law	Law of The Republic Indonesia Number 3 the Year 2022 On The National Capital City	2022	House of Representatives and President of Indonesia	55 pages	The foundation law of capital city Indonesia. This document consists of 43 articles and an explanation of the law.	It is the primary law that describes the new capital city. It is chosen to understand the overall concept and green and sustainable discourse.
Law	Masterplan of Capital City	2022	House of Representatives and President of Indonesia	126	Attachment of Law of The Republic Indonesia Number 3 the Year 2022 On the National Capital City. This document describes the capital city's background, objectives, and principles of new city development. Some principal and critical performance indexes are discussed in this document, such as area development, economic development, social and human resources development, land provision and management, environmental protection and management, infrastructure development, government relocation, international organization relocation, and security. Also discussed is the funding scheme to develop the city.	Analyzing the master plan is necessary to see how the green and sustainable aspects of new city development will be implemented. Also, this document discusses so many concepts as the foundation of this new capital city.



<b>Category of Documents</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Year of Publication</b>	<b>Authors/ Institution</b>	<b>Number of Pages</b>	<b>Description of the document</b>	<b>Reason/relevance to analyses of this document</b>
Academic paper	Academic paper of the draft law on the national capital March 2020 version	2020	Kementerian PPN/Bappenas	159	This Academic Paper is a follow-up to the President's directives originating from the President's State of the Union Speech at the Assembly's Annual Session People's Consultation of the Republic of Indonesia on August 16, 2019, and the Announcement of Moving the National Capital by the President on August 26, 2019, at the State Palace. The document contained theoretical and empirical analysis as the basis of new capital city development, an evaluation of current law on the capital city, the capital city's philosophical, juridical, and sociological foundation, and other material on new capital city development.	The first version of the capital city academic paper is essential to show the first idea of the green and sustainable discourse of the new capital city.
Academic paper	Academic paper of the draft law on the national capital June 2021 version	2021	Kementerian PPN/Bappenas	175	The document contained a theoretical and empirical analysis of the foundation of new capital city development, an evaluation of current law on the capital city, the philosophical, juridical, and sociological foundation of the capital city, and other material on new capital city development.	The second version of the academic paper shows the additional change in green and sustainable discourse produce by the central government.
Pocketbook	Pocketbook of Capital	June 2021	Kementerian PPN/Bappenas	28	An early overview of the capital city relocation concept, including the history of capital city relocation discussion,	The first official document was published by the Ministry of Planning and

Category of Documents	Title	Year of Publication	Authors/ Institution	Number of Pages	Description of the document	Reason/relevance to analyses of this document
	City Relocation				lessons learned from other countries, the principles of the new capital city, and the new city vision.	Development/Bappenas, which shows how the central government frames the green and sustainable discourse.
President regulation	Presidential regulation number 64 of 2022 about National Strategic Area Spatial Plan of Capital City of Nusantara in 2022-2042	2022	President of Republic Indonesia	202	Operationalization and details of the Master Plan for the Capital of the Nusantara. Also, describe the coordination and synchronization of program implementation development at the strategic area in Nusantara.	It is one of the most detailed plans for the new capital city, so it is necessary to see how this document defines green and sustainable discourse.

The first approach to understanding the central theme in policy documents, this research uses quantitative analysis of words used. Adapted from Rapoport and Vernay AL (2011), this research applies the search terms method to analyze the documents. This approach enables in identifying statements that express the discourses on sustainable and green urbanization, the researcher compiled a list of phrases that, if employed, would likely indicate the existence of that discourse. We determined the frequency with which each of these terms appeared. Each time the researcher saw a word, it examined the context to ensure only those relevant to the discussion. After counting the terms used, the researcher wants to address the discourse and draw general framing from the document. It is essential to be aware that this research will be based on a qualitative approach and should not be considered as possessing statistical significance testing.

Here are the search terms adapted from Rapoport and Vernay AL (2011), also added some terms by inductive approach.

*Table 6 Operationalization Sustainability Term for Policy Analysis*

<b>Type of Sustainability: economic, social, or environmental?</b>	Search terms
Environmental sustainability	Environment, nature, green, ecology, preservation, wildlife, biodiversity, green, renewable, efficient, forest, rehabilitation
Social sustainability	Social, accessible, affordable, cultural, diverse, equity, participate, health, spirituality, ethnic group, justice, inclusive, input
Economic sustainability	Economy, industry, commercial, employment, company, business, work, financial, vacancy, poverty, growth, equally, superhub
<b>Which actors drive the sustainable and green city?</b>	Search terms
Actors: private sector	The company, business, industry, developer, private, architect, contractor
Actors: community / civil society	Participation, community, involvement, people, ethnic group, public
Actors: government	Government, authorities, officials, ministry
Actors: experts	Expert, consultant, university
<b>Technology solution</b>	Search terms
Behaviour change as a solution	Behaviour, bicycle, public transport, pedestrian, vehicle free
Technology & design as a solution: production-focused	5G, industry 4.0, renewable, technology, CHP, solar, wind, biomass, design infrastructure, production
Technology & design as a solution: consumption-focused	Efficient, reduce, diminish, Insulate, minimize, save, and smart

After learning the main words in the documents and understanding what terms and words the stakeholders use to define sustainability and green urbanism, this research goes more deeply into understanding the words' meaning and context. To understand the discourse in the policy documents, here are some questions guide to analyzing documents:

- What words with meaning, metaphors, expressions, and other rhetorical techniques are used to describe sustainable and green urbanism?
- How is the role of the stakeholders portrayed/described? More what word was used?
- Which themes emerge?
- What themes are emphasized and what is not (what remains underexposed)?
- Which points of view, interests, or visions emerge in the documents?
- Who are the authors of the text, and what are their visions/interests?
- What is the purpose of the text, and who is the target audience? What are the possible effects of the text on this target group, and to what extent are word use and rhetorical techniques used for this?

#### 4.2 Online and offline interviews with stakeholders

This research conducted remote and offline interviews with several stakeholders that are involved or would get impacted by the new capital city development about how their perspectives on new city development. The interview technique was conducted to understand how the stakeholder perceived the green and sustainable discourse. Also, according to Hennink et al. (2020), the interviews can be used to understand the context and narratives surrounding the issue, which is new capital city development.

The participant selection is by organization/background and how this stakeholder discusses the new capital city project on online media. Also, to connect with the participant, I ask the researcher from the research group 'Following Frontiers of the 'Forest City': Towards Sustainable and Inclusive Urbanization in Kalimantan and Beyond' at Utrecht University, Universitas Gadjah Mada, and Research and Development Agency in East Kalimantan. Also, I did an offline interview with the national government representative because of the Indonesian's government discussion at Indonesia Embassy in the Netherlands. Here is the list of participants:

*Table 7 List of Participants*

Stakeholder Category	Organization/Position	Online/Offline Interview
Central Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Director of Regional II Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas</li> <li>• Head of Legal Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas</li> </ul>	Offline

Province Government	Head of Research and Development Agency in East Kalimantan	Online
Local Government	Head of District Babulu	Online
	Secretary of District Sepaku	Online
	Head of Village Babulu Darat	Online
Indigenous Community	Chairman of the National Indigenous Peoples Alliance (AMAN) East Kalimantan	Online
	Chairman of the National Indigenous Peoples Alliance (AMAN) Penajam Paser Utara	Online
Environmental NGOs	Pokja Pesisir East Kalimantan	Online
	WALHI East Kalimantan	Online
House of Representative Republic of Indonesia	Special Committee of Capital City Bill from GOLKAR party (Zulfikar Arse Sadikin)	Online

### 4.3 Visual analysis

The third approach to understanding the green and sustainable city discourse is analyzing the images and visual text that show the new city development project. According to Rose (2007 in Vallinga, 2012), the visual is fundamental to the cultural creation of social life since images and photos provide perspectives of the world. However, they are never innocent since they interpret and show the world in specific ways. For example, images can illustrate social differences or social power dynamics. Images can also provide specific perspectives on social groupings. So, the visual images are used to answer how the stakeholder that involved in new city development planning represent the green and sustainable city on their website and what messages they want to give to the people. The visual data for this research is the website of the new capital city in Kalimantan. Here is the link: [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id). This research will use the images and text on the website to analyze the new city development authority constructed the new city project.

The practical question to visual analysis:

- Are the visual images representing some concept? (Such as how the authority represents Environment, social, or economic sustainability discourses, and other discourses)
- What symbol and sign are used to signify the new city development?
- Are visual images used to emphasize certain concepts by giving them textual prominence?
- What is the meaning of the images and messages that want to deliver to the viewers?
- What discourse is dominant and minor that visualize the website as a whole?

### 4.4 Reflection: Limitation and positionality

This research has some limitations, such as this research interview are mostly online. However, some interviews have been done offline too, so it is also good to do it online and

offline due to budget limitations travel. And most of the interview participants are elite stakeholders in new city development. Also, the capital city relocation is in progress, so this research focuses on the discourse that produces gathering much policy that has been produced during the early stage of development.

This method's limitations can be improved in the following research. For example, the limitation of field research so most of the discourse gather from documents, interviews with representatives of the government and local NGOs, and the indigenous community, so the field interviews and observations would do the following research on discourse and implementation of discourse. Also, abundant documents would be analysed to understand the changing discourse and the agency of local people.

As an Indonesian student who accepted the national government scholarship, I realized there is the possibility that I included my point of view in the discourse on the analysis of new city development. The analysis could be influenced by what type of information I read in the media about this topic. Also, there is the reflection that I am part of the public who actively follows the policy and critically discusses this relocation.

## 5. Research Result: Stakeholder Multi-dynamic Politics (Domination of the State on Green and Sustainable City Discourse)

The first result of this research is the stakeholder multi-dynamic position on capital city development. This part answers the research question: what are the stakeholders' points of view and interest in capital city relocation and new city development? The multi-dynamic politic framework has been applied to understand the stakeholders' interests. The stakeholder dynamic can be categorized into three groups: supporters, challengers, and accommodators of the green and sustainable city discourse

According to the policy document, interviews, and visual analysis on the official website, it can be seen that the supporter of the green and sustainability discourse is mainly the central government, house of representative, and provincial government. It is understandable because the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, is the most influential actor that drives the capital city relocation project. So, all national, province, and regency governmental institutions should follow the project.

*Table 8 Multi-dynamic politics of Smart-forest city Kalimantan*

<b>Supporters</b>	<b>Accommodators</b>	<b>Challengers</b>
Central Government	Village Level Government	Environmental NGO
Province Government	District Level Government	Fishermen NGO
House of Representatives (Majority of the political parties)	Some indigenous community organizations	Some Indigenous community organization

<b>Supporters</b>	<b>Accommodators</b>	<b>Challengers</b>
Some Experts and Academic institution	Some Experts & Academics	Some Experts & Academics
Kingdom of Kutai Kertanegara & Kingdom of Paser		One political party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera)
Some Indigenous community organizations		

Source: Author

In this context, nine political parties are in the House of Representatives (DPR RI) Indonesia in this period. Moreover, most of the political parties are the coalition of the Partai Demokrat Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP), the president's political party. It is demonstrated in the interview with the house of representative when they elaborate on the dynamic of the high-level government meeting and a coalition of political parties that supported the president during the election standing position on capital city relocation policy:

“This (capital city relocation) has been initiated by the President. Moreover, of course, the politicians and political parties who support the president are those who support the government project. But other than that, it is natural to give support” (House of representative, interview).

Only two political parties are opposition, which are Partai Demokrat and Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS). Partai Demokrat is the political party of the former president of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and he wanted to join the coalition with the current president. However, he had a bad relationship with the chairman of PDIP, and most of the time, Partai Demokrat takes a neutral position on current government policies. Meanwhile, PKS, the political party, is well known as an Islamic political party that is always critical of PDIP and disagrees with the current president’s policy.

And then, during the meeting between the house of representatives and the central government to discuss the draft of the new capital city law, only PKS rejected the draft and was against the new capital city relocation project, including questioning the green and sustainability of the new capital city, concern about the budget, and how about Jakarta as a current political party. Meanwhile, other opposition representatives, Partai Demokrat, continued to accept it with several critical inputs (CNN Indonesia, 2022).

Furthermore, stakeholders who challenge the idea of a sustainable and green city are mostly environmental NGOs in East Kalimantan that build consortiums with other national NGOs. It is because they are working on the complexity of the environmental problem in East Kalimantan and are concerned that the new capital city will exaggerate the issues.

Some stakeholders become the accommodator of the capital city relocation related to the city's green and sustainability aspects. The local government at the village and district level typically becomes an accommodator for indigenous people and local people who do not access information and lack access to express their opinion related capital city's relocation to their area. It is because some local stakeholders do not have the power to reject or be too

critical of major government projects due to a lack of political power for years. Hence, they try to get some benefit on behalf of the economic prosperity of local people and environmental issues. This can be seen from the Head of District Babulu (interview) statement: "People in Kalimantan are used to limited facilities, infrastructure, low quality of life, so they do not complain much. So at least we can get some infrastructure because of the capital city development".

Some notes on the stakeholder dynamic on green and sustainable discourse in the new capital city Kalimantan is that some stakeholders have different perspectives and standing positions. The stakeholders with various perspectives are experts, academics, and the indigenous community.

Most economists and international consultants believe that new city development will boost economic growth, attract investment, and increase the quality of life in East Kalimantan and the eastern area of Indonesia. Many experts and academics support the idea of capital city relocation, especially green and sustainable city discourse. It can be seen from some academics presenting their perspective on that topic in the House of Representatives meeting. Besides, some experts are against the idea of capital city relocation. For example, researchers of the Institute for Development of Economics and Finance (INDEF) aggressively criticise the relocation of mainstream media and presentations in House of representative meetings (Pratama, 2022). According to the presentation documents by experts and academics in the house of representative received during the interview with the politician, it is known that some academics are also critical of the sustainability aspect of the new capital city in East Kalimantan. However, they are also trying to accommodate some solutions to such a project, at least considering the environmental and social aspects.

The indigenous community's perspective on capital city relocation has fragmented because there is no one entity of the indigenous community. There are some tribes and kingdoms in the areas. On the one hand, the Paser Balik tribe leader and their community actively criticised the government for not including them in the planning of new capital city. They have been marginalised for years due to massive tree plantations and mining in their area (BBC News Indonesia, 2022). Moreover, interviews with indigenous community representatives show the disagreement and questioning on the discourse of green and sustainable cities constructed by the central government.

On the other hand, some indigenous community organisations support the capital city relocation, such as Dewan Adat Dayak (Dayak Customary Council) and KOPPAD Borneo, as illustrated in pictures 1 and 2. In addition, there are the Nansarunai Defending Borneo Community Alliance (AMNBB), East Barito Sector (Bartim) Central Kalimantan Province, who said that they support the transfer of a new capital city to Kalimantan and will get rid of parties who want thwart this government's policy (Populis id, 2022).



Picture 1 KOPPAD Borneo banner supporting new capital city



Translation: “We are, KOPPAD Borneo Mass Organisation support the IKN. We are against any group that does not support IKN.”

Source: Pokja Pesisir

Picture 2 Dewan Adat Dayak banner supports new capital city relocation



Translation: “Dewan Adat Dayak (Dayak Customary Council). We support and are ready to oversee IKN in East Kalimantan. We are ready to fight all forms of activities that hinder IKN.”

Source: Pokja pesisir

The massive support from a mass organisation called themselves indigenous community organisation was explained by AMAN East Kalimantan (interview) as a tool to gain political

power because previously, local people had been left behind on development projects and did not have political power in government or representative. So, the mass organisation is a paramilitary organisation that engaged in the security sector and always cooperated with the Indonesian army (TNI) and police in conducting security of development activity (IDN Times Kaltim, 2022).

## 6. Research result: Stakeholder’s Strategies to Mainstreaming and Contesting Discourses

This chapter describes the power dynamic of the stakeholder in green and sustainable discourse, specifically will answer two sub-questions, which are the stakeholder’s strategies that are applied to mainstreaming and contest the discourses and to understanding which stakeholders are given a voice and which stakeholders are excluded from debates on new city development. Throughout the interviews, visual analysis on the official website and policy document analysis, stakeholders have applied some strategies to gain the support of their idea on green and sustainability discourse and to challenge the opposite discourse. Table 9 shows the three categories of stakeholder strategies: supporter’s, accommodator’s, and challenger’s strategies explain further.

*Table 9 Stakeholder's Strategies to Mainstreaming and Contest Discourse*

<b>Supporter</b>	<b>Accommodator</b>	<b>Challenger</b>
Academic & Expert Legitimation	Dialogue between indigenous leader representatives with the government	Strengthening NGOs Consortium
Law & Political legitimation	Coordination with the higher-level government	Report Publication
Bringing up the historical discourse on capital city relocation		Advocacy and public discussion

Source: Author

### 6.1 Supporter Strategies

The supporter discourse that the central government mostly produces has some strategies to mainstream their discourse that is quite strong, so the smart-forest city discourse and economic growth discourse become common discourses when people discuss new capital city. The first strategy is gaining academic and expert legitimation. Since the beginning of the idea of capital city relocation, the central government has hired an international consultant to analyse the new capital city potential and recommend how to build the new city. Moreover, according to the interviews with Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, one of the consultants was McKinsey. The consultant discussed some concepts related to forest city, green and sustainable city, superhub industry and economic growth in the new capital city. Here is an example of the statement:

“During the planning, I have meetings from 4 to 9 pm 4 days a week listening to studies, and there is a calculation of the need for financing, and this standard is the international standard

from McKinsey, we know that McKinsey is consultants. Moreover, they want to help the government at a low price. So, they are committed. Furthermore, there are academics from international and national as well" (Head of Region 2 PPN/Bappenas, interview).

Besides, Kementerian PPN/Bappenas also utilize the resources of their institution, which have some researchers and expert in development. The Head of Legal of Kementerian PPN/Bappenas (interview) said that the smart-forest city concept they chose because it is well-known internationally, and the research and development team in Kementerian PPN/Bappenas also did research and analysis on the green city, how to reduce climate change, anticipate natural disasters and social disasters.

Furthermore, Kementerian PPN/Bappenas also made a discussion forum for economists, which is connected with the government to legitimise the feasibility and economic benefit of the new capital city. Head of Region 2 PPN/Bappenas (interview) mentioned that one of the economists that give a direct review of new capital city analysis is Professor Bambang Bojonegoro, a lecturer in the Economic Faculty of Universitas Indonesia (which is one of the best universities in Indonesia), Former Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas (2016-2019), and Former Ministry of Research and Technology (2019-2021). He also checks the master plan that becomes the attachment of national capital city law number 3/2022 and the presidential regulation.

Additionally, during the policy planning in the House of Representatives, some university experts present their knowledge and give recommendations on the idea of a new capital city. Moreover, the analysis from these academics is also a solid strategy to validate the concept of the new capital city in East Kalimantan. For example, a presentation from the Faculty of Economic and Business Universitas Gadjah Mada and Lecturer Faculty of Economic and Business Universitas Indonesia support the economic growth discourse in the new capital city in their presentation. Also, a presentation from Indonesia's urban development supports the city development and emphasises the sustainability aspect that can refer to SDGs, New Urban Agenda and UN-Habitat.

Kementerian PPN/Bappenas also held a road show too many universities in Indonesia, not only in East Kalimantan. They present the new capital city concept and get feedback from the discussion forum participant. Here is the explanation about that:

"Alhamdulillah, not only Mulawarman University academics were present, but also from universities throughout East Kalimantan who provided input from various aspects, such as food security, local community involvement, and how to relate to the surrounding area" (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2022a)

The second strategy is the law and political legitimation. The state usually used the rule of law as the power to legitimise development projects when dealing with local people. Moreover, in this project, it can be seen that the term "Kawasan Strategis Nasional" or "National Strategic Area" is used to validate that the new capital city is the most critical project in East

Kalimantan all governmental institutions will adapt to the project. The regulation article that discusses the national strategic area can be seen in box 2.

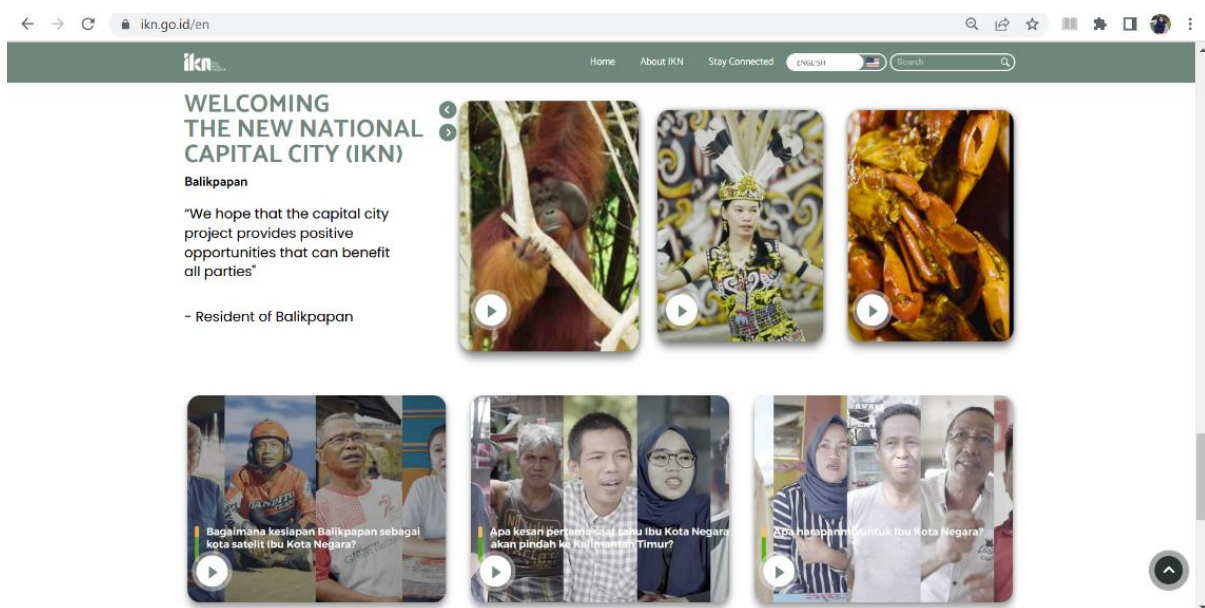
*Box 2 National Strategic Area*

National Strategic Area (KSN) of the Capital of the Nusantara whose spatial arrangement is prioritized because have a very important influence in the scope of the city on the economic, social, cultural, and/or environment and is an inseparable part of the spatial plan of the capital city of the Nusantara.

*Source: Regulation of The President of Indonesia No. 64/ 2022 About National Strategic Area Spatial Plan Capital City of The Nusantara in 2022- 2042, art. 1 (24).*

Due to the national strategic area label, local governmental institutions and the public will accept the idea of a new capital city. This strategy effectively validates the new smart-forest city and economic growth discourse that will impact East Kalimantan and other areas in Indonesia, especially the welfare distribution to the east area of Indonesia. This can be seen from the picture and video that the central government produced, and they attached the video to the official website.

*Picture 3 Ordinary people's statement and video support the new capital city*



Source: [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)

The central government made the narrative that local people accepted and supported the relocation of the capital city. On the website of the new capital city ([ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)), the government made some videos to interview ordinary people about that topic. All interviewees answered that they supported the capital city relocation and were happy to hear that the new capital city will be in East Kalimantan. Interestingly, some interviewees answered that they need to be ready for the capital city relocation in their area because it was chosen by the national government (IKN Indonesia, 2022a). In the interview with local people in

Samarinda, East Kalimantan, when they were asked about their readiness for capital city relocation, the answer was, "Like it or not, we have to be ready because the government has determined it". Similarly, another interview with ordinary people in Balikpapan said, "If it has been determined (capital city relocation to East Kalimantan), whether we are ready or not, as a community, we must be ready. Like it or not, we have to".

The third strategy is bringing up the historical discourse on capital city relocation. The central government reproduced the historical discourse to legitimise the idea of capital city relocation. So, the current generation is responsible for creating the previous leader's imagination about the new capital city to build nation building. This strategy has been applied on the official website with the big picture of some previous presidents who had capital city relocation ideas, also in the policy documents. Moreover, this strategy is quite strong because the discourse of capital city relocation during the interview also mentioned the historical idea.

Picture 4 Illustration of Historical Idea of Capital City Relocation



Source: [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)

## 6.2 Challenger Strategies

Some stakeholders who challenge the idea of capital city relocation and question the city's green and sustainable discourse used some strategies. There are three main strategies identified. The first strategy is strengthening the consortium of environmental NGOs to advocate the capital city relocation issue. The second strategy is publishing a report about the problem of the new capital city. Furthermore, the third strategy is mainstreaming the challenge discourses through public discussion.

Some environmental NGOs built the consortium to research capital city relocation environmental problems, the flow of capital in East Kalimantan, and oligarchs behind the extractives industry in East Kalimantan and who owned the land concession in the new capital city area. The consortium consists of WALHI, WALHI East Kalimantan, Forest Watch Indonesia, JATAM, JATAM East Kalimantan, POKJA 30, POKJA Pesisir dan Nelayan, and Trend Asia. They

published a report titled “The New Capital for Whom?”. Furthermore, during the interview with WALHI East Kalimantan, they said they are also doing further research and will publish it soon.

Also, the Consortium for Policy Advocacy of Agrarian Reform (KPA) expressed their concern about the conflict that will occur in IKN Nusantara, which is become the National Strategic Project. In BBC News Indonesia (2020), the consortium that consists of KPA and AMAN, ELSAM, WALHI, and several other NGOs who are members of the National Committee for Agrarian Reform said that “We reject all IKN development, and urges President Joko Widodo to immediately stop the entire IKN development agenda for the good and safety of the Indonesian people”.

The following strategy is advocacy and public discussion on the complexity of the capital city and the problem behind the discourse produced by the government about the benefit of the new capital city. Some NGOs actively join the public discussion with the public, share their finding on environmental problems in East Kalimantan, and remind the memory of local people's marginalisation during tree plantation and mining exploitation. They remind people that the same pattern of marginalisation could happen again due to capital city relocation. To illustrate, here is how some NGOs discuss this problem in a public discussion with high education students in East Kalimantan:

“I often ask students, what do you expect from the development of IKN, what kind of job opportunities do you expect to become civil servants? I said they are from Jakarta, and these projects are short-term. So, it is the same as when we faced the extractive economy, they will use local people as low-skilled labour, but it turns out that only 10% of local workers, sometimes not up to 10%. Because the migrants are graduates from well-known universities. So, the only jobs that open for the local area security, household assistants, labourers, office boys” (WALHI East Kalimantan, interview)

### 6.3 Accommodator Strategies

Some stakeholders used two strategies to negotiate with the central government to be involved in the green and sustainable city development project. The first strategy is public consultation with the central government, especially dialogue between the president and ministry with the representative of the indigenous community. The second strategy is coordination with the higher-level government.

Ministry of PPN/Bappenas accompanied some traditional leaders to dialogue with the president in Balikpapan on 31<sup>st</sup> January 2022. The indigenous community leaders and representatives of some tribes that live in East Kalimantan who were invited consisted of the Sultan of Kutai Kertanegara, the Sultan of Paser, the head of the Dayak Kenyah tribe, the chairman of the Kerukunan Bubuhan Banjar, the representatives of the South Sulawesi family descendants, and the representatives of the Dayak people. Furthermore, during the dialogue, the representative asking some concerns such as economic development to accelerate development and support the development of the new capital city with the hope that it will give benefit East Kalimantan, pay attention to local wisdom, and also facilitate special quotas for jobs for residents, including work as civil servants, police, and army (IKN Indonesia, 2022b).

Picture 5 The President of Indonesia meeting with Indigenous Community Representatives



Source: LAMAN SETKAB RI/BPMI SETPRES/LAILY RACHEV in BBC News Indonesia, 2022

Furthermore, the strategy is also used by the local government, such as the head of the district and village who have access to communicate directly with the high-level government, such as the Authority agency, Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, and another ministry who visited the new capital city areas and involved in the construction process. The accommodator stakeholder at the local level would join the online meeting. So facilitating local people's aspirations to the central government. For instance, there is an indigenous community that discusses their issues with the head of the district about their concern, and the head of the district who has access to the central government could deliver that issue directly:

“Because I am the head of one of Dayak tribe leaders, so I communicated with the village head, the sub-district head, the district head regarding the transfer of this capital city, at least it has reached the district head. I once communicated with the sub-district head that he had plans to enter the authority body. So later there would be someone I could ask who was directly in the authority body” (Head of AMAN Penajam Paser Utara, interview).

Overall, the central government is the most potent stakeholder who frames the green and sustainable discourse in the new capital city of Kalimantan. Besides, the state got support from many stakeholders such as experts, academics, and political parties. However, the rule of law as the tool to legitimise the capital city relocation is the most effective strategy to gain support for sustainable and green discourse.

## 7. Research result: Environmental Sustainability Discourse

There are four main discourses on an environmental sustainability topic. This chapter aims to describe the research result on green and sustainability discourse, and this chapter will answer two sub-research question. The first one is the main themes on sustainable and green

discourses, specifically the environmental sustainability discourses. Also, this chapter discusses the second research question on the points of view and interest of the stakeholder, specifically on the environmental aspect.

Before describing the four main discourses, there is interesting data on how the central government frame environmental sustainability discourse as the most mentioned in the policies of the new capital city in Kalimantan. The first result from policy analysis used the search words query that has conducted is that terms related to environmental sustainability are the most mentioned compared to social and economic sustainability. Environmental sustainability terms have mentioned 1057 from policy documents that this research analyses.

Table 10 Sustainability Words Search Query Result

Type of Sustainability: economic, social, or environmental?	Total Frequencies
Environmental sustainability	1057
Social sustainability	705
Economic sustainability	830

Source: Author

It is interesting to see how some environmental terms and concepts were used to explain the project. Furthermore, the words search query in policy documents shows in the word figure 5 that the term 'lingkungan' ('environment') is the most mention. After that there are "hutan" ('forest'), 'alam' ('nature'), 'ecology' (ecology), and 'rehabilitasi' ('rehabilitation'). Because the new capital city is branded smart-forest city so visibly in the policy documents, they used the terms many times.

Figure 5 Environmental Sustainability Word Cloud



Source: Author

Furthermore, after conducting policy analysis, interviews, and visual analysis, some environmental discourses are identified in this research, which is presented in figure 5. The first central discourse that the state produced is the smart forest city discourse. This discourse has some sub discourse that has become the centre of discussions among supporters of the new city development in East Kalimantan, such as the 70% green area and technological orientation to solve the sustainability issues.

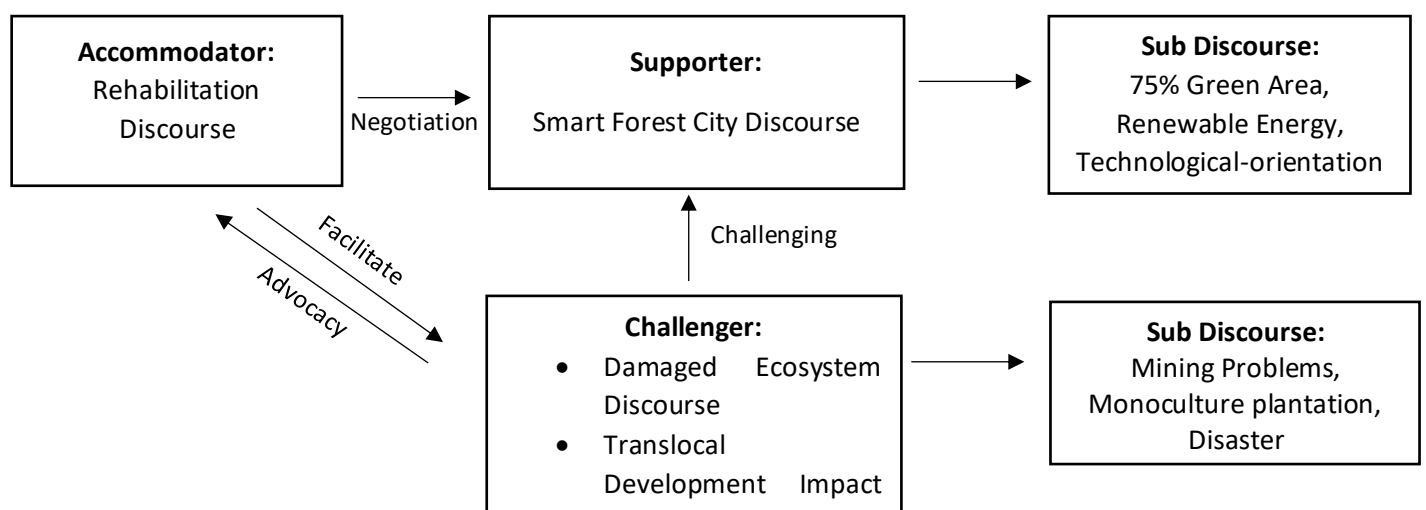
The second central discourse produced by the challenger of the smart forest city idea in Kalimantan is the damaged ecosystem discourse. It has some sub-discourses that emphasize the complexity of the environmental problem in East Kalimantan, such as mining problems, monoculture plantations, and disasters in East Kalimantan. Besides those main discourses, there is one discourse from several non-state stakeholders who challenge the smart forest



city on how the new capital city development will impact the environment beyond the Nusantara area.

Many stakeholders believe in the importance of rehabilitation as a solution, the discourse of rehabilitation is also split between the state and non-state organization, they have different perspectives on how to do the rehabilitation. Due to this condition, the main discourse tried to accommodate those discourses, which is the rehabilitation discourse. All of this discourse is elaborated below.

Figure 6 Environmental Sustainability Discourse Map



Source: Author

### 7.1 Smart-forest City Discourse

The main discourse about green and sustainability in the new capital city in Indonesia is the smart-forest city discourse produced by the central government, which supports the idea of the new capital city in East Kalimantan. All interview participants discussed this concept. Also, many pictures uploaded on the new capital city website are filled with forest pictures in the policy documents. Most participants mentioned that they are familiar with the idea that green areas will surround the new capital city and forest, especially the government at every level, such as the national government representative, house of representative, province level government, district and village government. Furthermore, the supporter of the new capital city in East Kalimantan agrees that a smart-forest city is a proper strategy to build a sustainable capital city.

The term smart-forest city can be traced from the first academic paper on national capital cities produced by the Ministry of Planning Development/Bappenas that learned from other countries that relocated their capital city and used the term forest and green city. The idea of developing a forest city is believed to be from the narrative of the success of other

countries in building green cities, such as Brasilia, Putra Jaya, and Canberra. To illustrate, in box 3, the narrative of Brasilia as a thriving city built in the former forest area into a modern city and balanced economic growth and green space.

*Box 3 Lesson learned Brasilia*

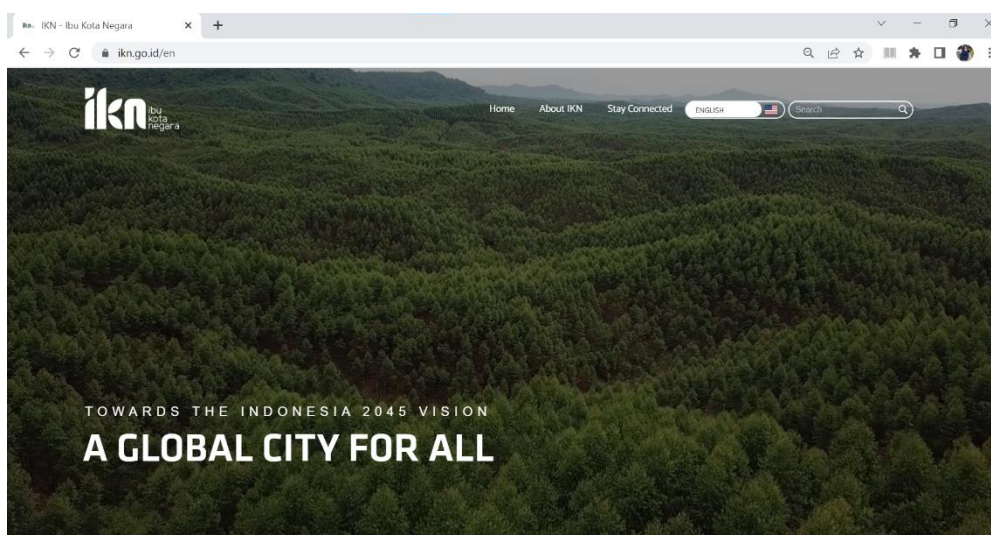
Brasilia becomes a catalyst for economic growth. The theme of the development of the City of Brasilia is Modernist City, with the infrastructure built covering the functions of government, housing, sports centers, parks, botanical gardens, zoos, and economic and entertainment facilities.

Extensive green open space in Brasilia can be a reference for the development of the new IKN. More than 50% of Brasilia's territory is green open space including Park, Green Spaces, zoos, Botanical gardens, and sports complexes. The large proportion of Green Open space and the concept of green, environmentally friendly, and sustainable urban development are important considering the development of Brasilia in the Amazon Forest region which is the lungs of the world.

Source: Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2020, p. 54-56.

Furthermore, the idea of smart forest city was chosen to attract international attention, foreign investment, high-skill talent, and nation-building purposes. It can be seen from the official website picture, statement, and policy document. To demonstrate in picture 6 is one of the illustrations of a forest that the central government put to show that they will make a forest city and protect the environment with text that directly says: "A Global City for All". A global city means international standards and a welcoming international community, including business, foreign investment, high-skill talent, and international tourists.

*Picture 6 Header of [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)*



Source: [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)

The central government wants to build a forest city as a strategy to follow international standards. It can be seen in the first academic paper that said that the new city would be an International-class capital city. Generally, the city will have transportation infrastructure,

parks and open spaces or urban forest parks, cultural activities, tourism objects, historical monuments and museums, hotels and accommodation international class, the comfort of a city that is sustainable, affordability of 'cost of living', infrastructure and international event facilities. Indonesian membership in organizations international and regional demands Indonesia to have a capital city that is always ready to organise various international events (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2020, p.17-18).

Smart-forest city discourse has some sub discourse that is most familiar in the stakeholder's perspective on how green and sustainable this new city will be developed. The first idea is that the new capital city will be a majority of green and forest areas, with around 75% green area. The second narrative is that this city will have zero emissions, so will use renewable energy, and the third is applying technology to solve sustainable issues.

*Box 4 Forest City Definition*

A forest city using an integrated landscape approach is a city that is dominated by landscapes with a forest structure or green open space which has the function of ecosystem services, such as forests, and aims to create a life that coexists with nature.

The principle of a forest city is a city that can maintain the ecological function of the forest and the development goals in other forest city concepts, such as carbon sequestration, biodiversity conservation, and environmental management to improve environmental quality.

Source: Attachment II Law of Republic of Indonesia Number 3 the Year 2022 on National Capital City

Box 3 and box 4 shown how the central government identified the forest city. It can be seen that the government describe the forest as a green space, not necessarily an original forest. To make it more straightforward, according to the second public discussion, explained by Abdul Kamarzuki as General Director of Spatial Ministry ATR/BPN that there will be around 67,73% of green area protected, and not all of this area will become a protected forest. So, this area will be designed as a protected forest, grand forest park, mangrove ecosystem, local protected area, urban jungle, city park, sub-district park, urban village park, and green line (IKN Indonesia, 2022c).

*Box 5 Principle of Forest City on Rapid Assessment of Environmental Strategic Studies*

- a. based on watershed management;
- b. has a structured network of green spaces;
- c. utilizes about 50 percent of the area to be developed;
- d. consuming water must be very efficient;
- e. the burden of fulfilling the population's consumption is low;
- f. has good air quality and the average air temperature is cool;
- g. has good surface water quality;
- h. protects animal habitats; and
- i. has good quality land cover and revitalized landscape "Tropical rain forest"

Source: Attachment II Law of Republic of Indonesia Number 3 the Year 2022 on National Capital City

This discourse emphasizes the specific target to show that this futuristic city will be green and sustainable. It can be seen during interviews, documents and visualisation on the website. The national government research participant elaborated on the smart-forest city planning details. By the specific number, they want to show that the target is achievable and will implement as sustainable as planned, so the public does not need to worry that the new city will endanger the environment. Here is the statement:

“If we look at the area from IKN itself, there are key performance index (KPIs), we have clear indicators, net zero emissions, the use of 100% renewable energy. So, the most important is, firstly, designing nature. 75% of the area is green space: and 65% is protected area or protected forest. Then there will be the food production. 75% green area of the entire IKN region. 10% for food supplies. 50% green space. 60% are plants or conservation. 100% environmentally friendly development” (Director of Regional II Ministry of PPN/Bappenas, interview).

Those ambitious target frames by the central government will be achieved by high technology and renewable energy to support that. The third principle can see in the new capital city. Picture number 7 shows a high target on low carbon emissions, which is zero emission by 2045 and all energy in the new capital city will be 100% renewable. That shows how the high technology will be applied in the new capital city and support the target of low carbon emissions. The research participant also said they are concerned for the environment, so the energy will no longer be fossil energy but new renewable energy from solar power (Zulfikar Sadikin, House of Representatives, interview). According to the presidential regulation Number 64/2022 On National Strategic Area Spatial Plan Capital City Of The Nusantara, the government will support renewable energy facilities such as large-scale solar panels and hydrogen in the capital city, and it is become a priority, mainly to provide space for this energy.

Picture 7 Principle 4 Low Carbon Emissions



Source: [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)

Space provision strategy to support use 100% of renewable energy and create a low carbon emission area consists of:

- a. provide land and build panel fields large-scale solar system and transmission network and distribution and connected to the system Kalimantan's electricity generation; and
- b. provide land for energy storage, including hydrogen and batteries.

Source: Presidential Regulation No. 64/2022 On National Strategic Area Spatial Plan Capital City Of The Nusantara In 2022-2042, art,10.

The same narrative is also understood and agreed upon by the provincial government until the village level. For example, the Head of Research and Development Agency, East Kalimantan (interview), discussed that the forest city is the concept asked by the President to protect the environment and convert the production forest into a protected forest. Also, the Head of Village Babulu Darat (Interview) described that the concept conveyed to the community is a smart city and smart forest. It will not eliminate the existing natural condition. He believed that this would work well and succeed.

Picture 8 First Principle of IKN: Designed according to nature

**THE EIGHT MAIN PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW NATIONAL CAPITAL CITY (IKN) PROJECT**

### 1 DESIGNED ACCORDING TO NATURE

- Over 75% of the IKN's Governmental Zone will remain green
- Every single resident inside the city can easily reach a green recreational site within 10 minutes
- All residential, institutional and commercial buildings are constructed using strict environmentally friendly construction methods

Source: [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)

Picture 8 shows one of the new capital city project principles that illustrate high buildings surrounded by green spaces. The central government in that picture emphasises the concept that 75% area will be green and want to make an environmentally friendly city.

According to the Masterplan of the new capital city (2022), the new city will design according to nature. More than 75% of 256 Ha will be green space (65% of protected area and 10% for food production). Furthermore, 100% population could access green space in 10 minutes. And 100% replacement of green space for every building, significantly more than four-floor building.

The strategy for determining the allocation of Protected Area Space including public green open space of at least 65% of the IKN area that supports the realization of a forest city consists of:

- a. establish and establish Protected Areas;
- b, rehabilitate the Bukit Suharto Grand Forest Park area;
- c. carry out rehabilitation and reforestation of post-mining areas;
- d. conserving and creating wildlife corridors as wildlife habitat connectivity that is in line with development;
- e. carry out reforestation of water catchment areas; and
- f. restore the mangrove ecosystem.

Source: Presidential Regulation No. 64/2022 On National Strategic Area Spatial Plan Capital City Of The Nusantara In 2022-2042, art,7.

Another part of the smart-forest city discourse is how to protect the animal in the new capital city, which is also elaborated in the policy document in box 7. The Director of Regional II Ministry of PPN/Bappenas (Interview) described that when they plan to build infrastructure, for example, the bridge, if animals or wildlife are living in the area have reported in Environmental Impact Analysis (AMDAL), they will change the direction of the bridge a little bit to protect the area for animals.

Furthermore, The Mentawir Seedbed in Sepaku District, Penajam Paser Utara, develops seeds of various native trees of Kalimantan and will be planted on critical lands of IKN. The types of trees include nyatoh wood, meranti, lime, agarwood and guava to attract animals and birds to the IKN area. The areas in and around IKN will become tropical forests instead of homogeneous monoculture forests (Secretary of District Sepaku, interview). So, the Mentawir seedbed will contributed to reforestation in East Kalimantan, specifically in Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara.

Besides, smart-forest city discourse also pretty up the concept of nature so people who live in the area will enjoy staying in the city. This idea can be seen from the participant's statement, "there is a kind of lake there or what is it river, so besides the functioned as a lake, the plan also beautifies the lake. So, it will be more like a park. If we look at the pictures, we can see that they show that there will be an adjustment to the condition of Kalimantan as a forested area and then the lungs of the world. So, we do not want to do damage, but we want better engineering" (Zulfikar Sadikin, House of Representative, interview).

The cutting and planting system has an impact, such as wood waste that can be carried away by rain currents and clog gutters. In the future, it will not happen again. The state's readiness to move the capital to make it a green city has been prepared. Thousands of types of wood in the modern seedbed have been prepared, and one of the villages in the sub-district has prepared trees that are ready to be planted. Secretary District of Sepaku explains it:

"In our area, there is also a garden area which has always been called a technology research centre, and there are many seedbed centres in Kalimantan, including those under the

guidance of the Mulawarman University of East Kalimantan” (Secretary District of Sepaku, interview).

The next sub-discourse about the smart-forest city is the technological orientation to solve the sustainable issue. The discourse on technology as the solution is powerful, and this is because, in many interviews, the participants also mentioned some technology to support the new city's development. This discourse comes up in policy documents describing how modern technology will be used to build a sustainable, zero-emission city and support the industry while protecting the environment.

Table 11 Behaviour changes as solution and technology solution policy analysis result

Behaviour changes as a solution or technology and technology design as a solution?	Total Frequencies
Behaviour changes as a solution	1248
Technology & design as a solution: production-focused	621
Technology & design as a solution:consumption-focused	206

Source: Author

The text analysis in the policy documents shows exciting results in table 11. In the documents, it seems that the central government planning the new city development will be focused on behaviour changes as a solution to make the city sustainable because they mention so many terms that related to this more than another approach. The frequency is around 1248. It can also be seen in figure 7 that the term ‘Jalan kaki’ or ‘walking’, ‘perilaku’ or ‘behaviour’, ‘mengurangi’ and ‘meminimalkan’ ‘reduce’ and ‘minimize’ are mentioned so many times compared to another word that related to technology. That means the policy wants to introduce the public's participation to change their behaviour to have a sustainable lifestyle.

Figure 7 Technology as solution search query result



Source: Author

The government frames a sustainable lifestyle as part of the smart-forest city discourse. There are some infrastructure policy planning that has been mentioned related to this. For example, in the master plan of the new capital city, they will make a pedestrian-friendly city designed to put pedestrians ahead of vehicles. In addition, the government described that they would make a mobility hub that integrated and incorporated innovation, which can be seen in box 8:

- a. public transportation, namely mass transportation, bus I shuttle interchange, enhanced waiting room facilities, real-time schedule information, and dynamic transit screens;
- b. active mobility, i.e. pedestrian facilities, personal mobility vehicles (PMD), bicycle parking facilities, bicycle storage facilities, bicycle rental, and dynamic route information;
- c. Shared parking centers, pick-up locations, and drop-off, flexible walkways, ride-sharing, the use of shared private vehicles/car, intelligent parking system, electric vehicle charging, and connected autonomous vehicles (CAV); and
- d. logistics, namely package delivery centers and last-mile expeditions (e-trike, drone, or automatic vehicle (AV) if applicable).

Source: National Capital City Masterplan, 2022, p.67.

The concept of a sustainable lifestyle and the narrative that the city will be pedestrian friendly have purpose to promoting the city as liveable for future residents, so people want to come to this city. This purpose can be seen in National Capital City Masterplan (2022, p.67) that said IKN Nusantara was built to provide a pedestrian area, thus making IKN Nusantara a decent place to live work and play. The target audience of this sustainable city is foreign people who want a balanced lifestyle like work and enjoying their life. This narrative also can be important to not repeat the traffic jam problem in Jakarta so that people will have fewer hours of commuting.

The narrative behind the smart-forest city discourse shows that the planning and development process will consider the environment and no danger to the ecology. Also, to gain support from the public for this huge project. Some government representatives said this new city would be futuristic and become a monumental history because of the combination of nature protection and high technology. Here is a statement that emphasizes the technology as a tool to solve sustainability problems in IKN Nusantara:

“There are many former mines. So, there must be a separate disaster technology, right? Moreover, there is still much coal. So, the government will use green technology to overcome this” (Zulfikar Sadikin, House of Representatives, interview).

Referring to the academic paper on the national capital city, it is directly said that the relocation of the Capital City is on a mission to structure and stimulate technology and innovation (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2020, p.54). Also, the Deputy Coordinating Ministry for Infrastructure and Transportation, Ministry for Maritime affairs and investment Indonesia (Interview) said that they would build the best city in the world in Nusantara as the new capital city. And the strategy to build this best city is by attracting high technology industry. The high technology also will use related to the fifth principle that can be seen in picture 9, that the government wants to achieve 60% of waste to recycle by 2045 and 100% wastewater will be treated by 2035 also demand high technology.



Picture 9 Principle 5 Circular and Resilient



Source: [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)

In the smart-forest city discourse, the role of high technology is very strong and can be traced in the academic paper on the national capital city. For instance, the document discusses the main characteristic of a smart city: smart mobility like well-integrated transportation mode, the building layout planned efficiently and effectively (smart building), supported by high-speed information and communication technology (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2020, p.83). This strategy aims to attract foreign investment in high technology to build this smart-forest city.

According to the interview, the central government actively communicates with investors from many countries to promote smart-forest city development as a business opportunity. The government has negotiated contracts with foreign companies who want to invest in the new capital city under the concept of a smart-forest city. For example, the Vice chairman/CEO of LG Corporation said that he wants to invest in renewable energy in Indonesia, particularly in electric batteries and electric vehicles in the new capital of Indonesia (Nurhidayat, 2022). Also, Minister of Public Works and Public Housing Indonesia, Basuki Hadimuljono, explained that South Korea's Ministry of Environment would help through grants to build a water purification installation to take care of liquid waste in the new capital city. To connect iKN Nusantara with Balikpapan City, the South Korean government will also assist in constructing an underwater tunnel or an immersion tunnel per the concept of a forest city to protect proboscis monkeys, fauna and endemic flora around Balikpapan Bay. So, the plan is to build an immerse tunnel like in Geoje, Busan (Raharjo, 2022).

Overall, the smart forest city discourse that the central government produces is related to urban greening because they focus on green space in the policy. Also, a liveable city narrative involving convenient public transportation, renewable energy and high technology can solve the sustainable issue.

## 7.2 Damaged Ecosystem Discourse

The second main discourse in environmental sustainability is damaged ecosystem discourse, mostly discussed by the challenger of the idea of a new capital city in East Kalimantan. During interviews with NGOs and indigenous community organisations, they also heard about the smart-forest city discourse built by the government. Many NGOs disagree and challenge the

smart-forest city discourse that would solve the damaged ecosystem in East Kalimantan. Even though the supporter stakeholder acknowledged this discourse as one of the problems and complexity of new capital city development, both stakeholders framed the damaged ecosystem differently according to their interests. This part will discuss the challenger narrative on the damaged ecosystem to delegitimize the smart-forest city discourse.

Damaged ecosystem discourse mainly focuses on historical experiences of local people on how extractives for years exploited natural resources in East Kalimantan by the mining company and monoculture plantation. They also discussed the long-term impact of this exploitation, including disasters like flooding, shrinking rivers, and water scarcity.

Environmental NGOs in East Kalimantan actively mainstream this discourse to remind people how bad the environment condition in East Kalimantan is. They describe the core environmental problem as the exploitation in every ecological area, specifically the river, an upstream area that has been exploited by tree plantation, the middle of the area has been exploited by coal mining, and the downstream area is taken by palm oil plantation. WALHI East Kalimantan (interview) emphasises that is the main reason for flooding in East Kalimantan, which has never happened before the exploitation.

Moreover, the damaged ecosystem has impacted the population who live around the former coal mining areas that lack a sustainable exit strategy to take care of the mine pit. Forty people died in the ex-mining pond mentioned by the research participant. Even though the pond's water looks bluish, the depth is about 150 meters. Furthermore, Jaringan Masyarakat Tambang or The Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM) of East Kalimantan, stated that the government's commitment to reduce the number of mining pits in East Kalimantan through post-coal recovery has not changed (Fadil, 2021). This condition influenced people to question industrialisation's negative impact in East Kalimantan. For example, the head village of Babulu Darat said:

“There are mines, and it will be challenging to restore to some kind of potential hazard in the next few years, and the impact maybe not now but in the future” (Head village of Babulu Darat, interview)

Another sub-topic on the damaged ecosystem is water scarcity that local people experience and comparing how the river used to be. Environmental NGOs emphasize how much money local people need to spend to get clean water because of the environmental damage to show how urgent this problem is and that local people are the most vulnerable to the problem. WALHI East Kalimantan (interview) said people in some areas like Bumi Harapan buy clean water for daily activities. There is a car carrying large and medium water reservoirs, and the price is around 70 thousand rupiahs for one ride so that they can spend around 700 thousand rupiahs on clean water. Some use rainwater and take water from the river, but the water is not so clear.

Relate to the water scarcity, the sign of damaged ecosystem discourse is the environmental organisation talked about the river that shrinking issue. The narrative also compares the Sepaku River's previous condition in East Kalimantan, specifically in the area of Penajam Paser Utara. Here is how the environmental NGOs explained the shrinking river problem:

“In the past, the Sepaku 1 river was huge barge could enter the river, so it was huge. Local people used to use small boats to go to the market. So, the boat was public transportation in the past. The price was 5 thousand rupiahs in the 1980s and 1990s. However, when it comes to HTI (industrial plantation forest) and HPH (forest concession) investments, the river finally narrowed, so their boats could no longer be used for transportation” (WALHI East Kalimantan, interview).

Moreover, to contest the capital city relocation and disagreement with the central government narrative about the planning to build a green and sustainable city, the consortium of environmental NGOs published a report to critic the central government. Environmental NGOs criticised the inconsistency of central government's sustainable planning; the government said they do not want to repeat the same mistake in Jakarta, and the government is planning to build a smart-forest city. The report was also published to increase the awareness of public and transparency on environmental problems and extractives in East Kalimantan.

For instance, the environmental NGOs challenge the government's commitment to the smart-forest city to focus on zero-emission and renewable energy. However, the NGOs consortium published that the government continue to extend their commitment to fossil fuels. The two energy sources conflict with one another. Close to Samarinda and Balikpapan, where the new capital city would be located, there are two coal power plants (PLTU). Seven projects are planned for construction in Kalimantan (WALHI et al., 2019).

Also, the government said moving the capital city to East Kalimantan would preserve the ecological balance in Java. And then, the NGOs consortium contests that statement with this explanation:

“The lack of effective environmental governance and law enforcement is to blame for Java's ecological degradation. Legal compliance is necessary to eradicate ecological issues like forest loss, wildlife extinction, erosion, industrial pollution, and mountains of plastic waste. Environmental preservation has no logical connection to relocating government buildings to another island. It will take work to save Java's ecology, and shifting the capital will not help. If the government is unaware of this, the ecological degradation in Java will just be carried over to Kalimantan, which is already under strain from mining, palm oil, and timber industries” (WALHI et al., 2019)

So, the environmental damage discourse is applied to delegitimise the plan to build a new capital city in the East Kalimantan, specifically Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara areas. The narration that is used is the historical exploitation in East Kalimantan that has not been taken care of the environmental impact by the government or private sector that has operated in those areas. Due to this condition, the challenger of the capital city development questions how the new project can be built if the current environmental condition is damaged and how about the future, is it getting worse or how the plan will improve the condition.

### 7.3 Translocal Development Impact Discourse

The challenger of the idea of capital city relocation is trying to mainstream the project's impact to a broader area in Indonesia beyond the location of the new capital city. They want

to increase the awareness of people that the new capital city could be green and sustainable, but to achieve that, other areas will be exploited, and many materials needed to support the new city, which will damage the ecosystem in other areas, furthermore will impact the welfare of the local people on that location.

The situation described by the challenger stakeholder is suitable with the translocal development impact discussed by Otsuki, Westen, & Zoomers (2020); translocal development is the concept that globalisation and development in one area would result in the flow of investment, knowledge, people and transform the livelihood in many areas due to connection and interaction.

During the interviews, the stakeholder did not use the term translocal development when they described the environmental risk, economic exclusion and loss of livelihood due to new city development impacting other areas. The stakeholder usually explains that the “new capital city in East Kalimantan will destroy other areas outside the city or peripheral areas and islands in Indonesia, like Sulawesi or North Kalimantan due to material and energy supply to the city”. They discuss that the new city would be sustainable but not in other areas supporting the material.

So, this translocal development impact is a minor discourse that contests the smart-forest city discourse produced by the government. This discourse wants to show the public that the new capital city would apply high technology such as electric vehicles. In the meantime, it will destroy another area in Indonesia.

The environmental NGOs give an example of the ambition of the government to build a green city which zero emissions. They will need much material from other places to support the zero-emission facilities in the Nusantara. For example, for an electric vehicle, some stakeholders bring discussion about how significant the impact of a new city development project is on other places in Indonesia. Here are how some organisations frame the translocal development impact:

“For example, later the capital city area will be environmentally friendly because he uses electric cars, electric motorbikes, right? Yes, in the electric car, it turns out there is a battery. Where did the battery come from? The battery, if I am not mistaken, is nickel. Which areas of Sulawesi are being dredged up the most, for example Maluku, then Bangka Belitung, NTT. How to build facilities, they need cement, and these materials will destroy another region. For example, cement in Berau already has a permit, so sand is not only from East Kalimantan but also from South Sulawesi. Then the stone is from Palu because there is an MoU with the government. We are talking about this capital destruction in other areas. It is no different from Java-centric” (WALHI East Kalimantan, interview).

In the mainstream media, the NGOs also start discussing the impact of capital city relocation that people need to move and the environmental impact. For example, the project of PT. Kayan Hydro Energy (KHE) is also present in BUMN in the physical construction of the dam, along with PT. Waskita Karya (Persero) and PT. Hutama Karya (Persero). The 12,000 hectares of land to be acquired require an in-depth study and a complex permit process. Because the dam will flood several villages and relocate hundreds of people, the dam construction area

includes two villages containing 619 hectares and 800 people. Before seven years of the dam's first phase, two villages were relocated (Zulkarnaen, 2020).

This discourse is also confirmed by the researcher from Universitas Gadjah Mada, Ari Susanti (interview), that the battery factory will be in North Kalimantan, not the new city area. There will be ramifications in another area.

#### 7.4 Rehabilitation Discourse

The most striking finding during the interviews is that all participants agree that East Kalimantan's environmental condition is in danger and needs to be rehabilitated. Interestingly, different stakeholders have different points of view on how rehabilitation should be done.

The environmental organisation stated that the government should focus on recovery and not on new projects. On the one side, for the challenger, the environmental problem should be taking care of to bring it back to the original forest and recovery from exploitation. For example, here is the statement from one of the participants:

“What we want is that East Kalimantan needs restoration first because an ecological crisis has occurred. This should be the focus to be restored, before talking about the new capital” (WALHI East Kalimantan, interview).

Another participant also challenges the idea of the smart-forest capital city. They worry about how it will look if the forest has been exploited. Furthermore, they compared it with the original forest that has biodiversity. Hence, the solution is to increase the protected status and sign that land clearing is prohibited (Pokja Pesisir, interview).

On another side, the new capital city's supporters believe that reforestation and the new capital city can be done simultaneously. Moreover, the rehabilitation discourse produced by the supporter is that forest city is the solution to the environmental problem in Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara. It is because the smart-forest city will take the concession of plantation and convert the area into a forest. The participant from the House of Representatives describes the rehabilitation in the mining area make them support the project:

“We pay attention to environmental conservation. The IKN was built on mining land, which is good. Usually, the former mine is left alone. However, now our president wants to break what is a myth (build city in the former mining are)” (Zulfikar Sadikin, interview).

Other participants also have big hopes that tree plantations will be converted into the forest. Secretary of District Sepaku (interview) elaborated that the location of most of the plans for the state capital is related to the land being concessions from industrial tree plantation, and they have cycled every six years of planting and harvesting the tree. However, the new capital city will restore the forest's function. Furthermore, the Head District of Babulu (interview) described a misunderstood public that thought the new capital city would destroy the original forest. Meanwhile, the area is now controlled by a private company, so if the government takes the concession and builds forest there, it will preserve the forest.

Rehabilitation discourse was also brought out by President Joko Widodo when he visited the new capital city on June 22, 2022. He stated: "We want to show that we are serious about environmental issues, that is serious. In fact, we do not build here, the environment is getting more and more damaged. That is all that must be underlined", and he invited several editors of the national and regional mass media to visited the seedbed centre in Penajam Paser Utara. (Sitoningrum, 2022). According to the Secretary of District Sepaku (interview), the Mentawir Seedbed in Sepaku District develops seeds of various native trees of Kalimantan. It will be planted on critical lands of the new capital city.

## 8. Economic Sustainability Discourse

Economic sustainability discourse is quite strong in Indonesia's new smart-forest city development. The result of the policy documents shows that many terms related to economic development have been used. Figure 8 shows that the terms economy (Ekonomi), industry (industri), business (Bisnis), and vacancy (lapangan kerja) are mentioned so many times. And the discourse of economic sustainability is surrounded by some topics and visions, such as economic development and production, job creation, and prosperity distribution due to inequality between the west and east area of Indonesia.

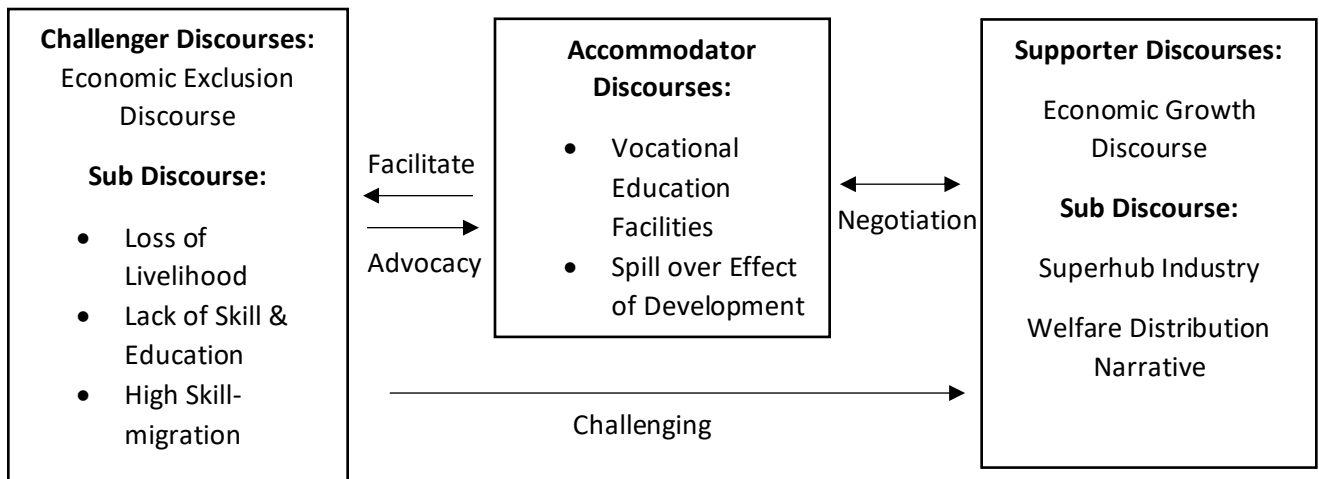
Figure 8 Economic sustainability Word Search Query Result



Source: Author

Furthermore, the policy analysis, interviews, and visual analysis resulted in discourses surrounding economic sustainability in the new smart-forest city Kalimantan. Figure 9 presents the relation of different discourses. The main discourses produced by the supporter of new smart-forest city are economic growth discourse and welfare distribution narrative. Meanwhile, the challenger discourse is an economic exclusion with several sub discourse, such as loss of livelihood, lack of skill & education and high-skill migration. Moreover, in the middle, the accommodator discourses are vocational education facilities and spill-over effect of development.

Figure 9 Economic Sustainability Discourses Map



Source: Author

### 8.1 Supporter Discourses: Economic Growth

The main discourse from the central government reproduces the idea of economic growth induced by capital city relocation and new city development in Kalimantan. This discourse is strongly identified in all interviews, policy documents, visual analysis, and some videos from the central government on capital city discussion. In box 9, the paragraph from the Law Number 3 Year 2022 on National Capital City emphasises that the new city in Indonesia will induce innovation, increase job opportunities and increase

Box 9 New capital city as economic driver statement

"Indonesia's future economic driver" is a city that is progressive, innovative, and competitive in terms of technology, architecture, urban planning, and social aspects. The Capital of Nusantara has established an economic strategy related to the spatial strategy to exceed current potential, ensure productive synergies between workforce, infrastructure, resources, and networks, and maximize job opportunities for all city

Source: Law Number 3 2022 on National Capital City

In detail, in table 12, the economic goal of new capital city can be seen in the pocket book of national capital city relocation published by the Ministry of Development and Planning/Bappenas (2021) to mainstream the economic benefit of the new capital city. The central government wants to illustrate that since the short period, the relocation of the capital city will boost economic activity and open many job opportunities. And then, in the long-term period, the goal is economic growth, decreasing economic inequality, and diversification of the economic sector in east Kalimantan and non-traditional sectors. The rhetoric used to show the target is interesting because the central government targets the public support of the capital city relocation, especially local people in Kalimantan and public in eastern Indonesia. It is because people in East Kalimantan and eastern Indonesia have been left behind for years compared to massive development in Java. So, the central government used this rhetoric to gain support and build a narrative that this capital city development would be different from another development project that only benefits java or the region.

Table 12 Economic Impact of Capital City Relocation on Pocket Book of Capital City Relocation

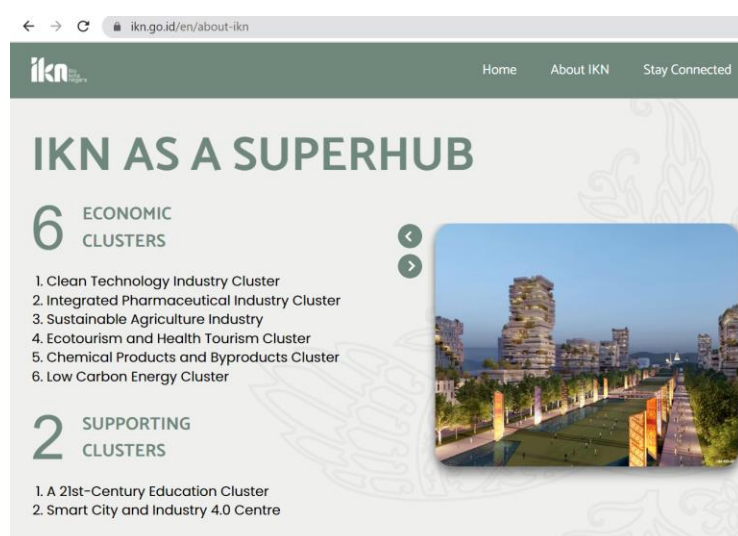
Short Term: Construction Period	Mid Term- Long Term Period
Boosting the economy through infrastructure investment	Increase economic growth
Encouraging inter-regional trade in Indonesia	Encouraging the improvement of non-traditional sectors
Push other sector output	Encouraging economic diversification in Kalimantan
Encouraging the creation of employment opportunity	Increase trade between regions
	Income inequality is decreasing

Source: Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021, p. 17.

The superhub industry is the concept that the central government branding for the new capital city to attract investment, do more jobs, and in the end will, contribute to economic growth. Many participants from the government elaborated on the superhub industry. Mainly they discuss the industry that will be attractive in the new capital city as high technology that will contribute to a sustainable city with environmentally friendly technology. For instance, the Director of Regional II Ministry of PPN/Bappenas (Interview) elaborated that there will be 6 plus 2 industry clusters, and it will accelerate development, so it is hoped that the high-tech industry will not compete with other regions. It will be a pioneer in this industry for high-tech. Moreover, the high-technology industry will support the new city to be green and contribute to economic welfare for Kalimantan and the east area of Indonesia.

Picture 10 illustrated that on the website of [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id), they emphasized that the new capital city will have six economic clusters such as clean technology industry, sustainable agriculture industry, and low carbon energy, which is high technology that needs a considerable investment and transfer of technology.

Picture 10 IKN as Superhub



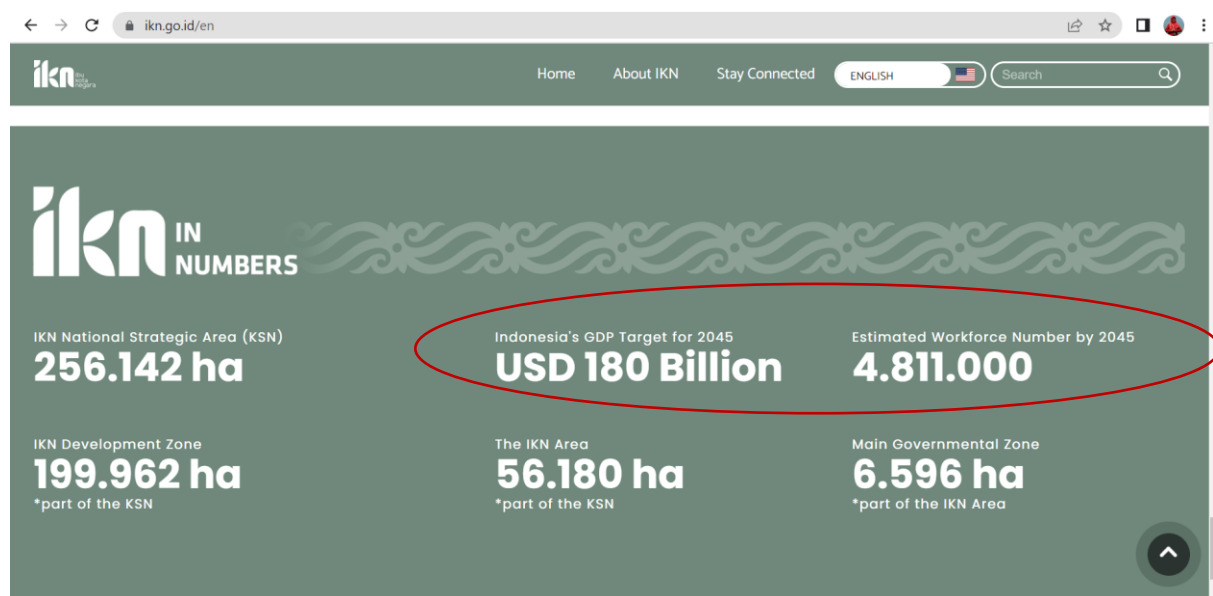
Source: [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)



Some local governments also support the superhub industry in the new capital city. For example, the Secretary of Sepaku District said that the plan for an industrial area would not be precisely in the centre of the capital city. The industry is a bit far from the centre of government in Kutai Kartanegara district; indeed, there are industrial and agricultural centres, and part of the planning area for research centres, education, health, and tourism is in our sub-district provided by the government (interview). Moreover, some participants also realized that capital city development and infrastructure facilities would attract more investors to do business in East Kalimantan, and more economic activities will impact the people. For example:

“Because of the capital city development there will be investment 1000 times more because of ports, roads, facilities, electricity have built, because a factory can't have no electricity, and there will be industry starting from the manufacturing industry, services, trade, the circulation of money will certainly increase” (Head of District Babulu said that Interview).

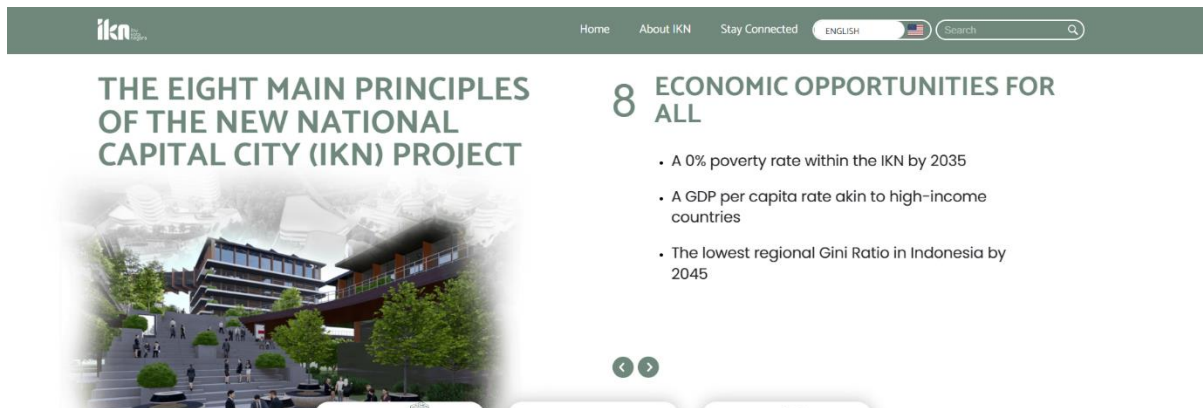
Picture 11 The IKN Number



Source: [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)

In picture 11, that part of the website IKN, they mentioned that the target GDP of Indonesia for 2045 is USD 180 billion, and they estimated the workforce number around 4.811.000. Economic activity in the new capital city is expected to achieve this target. Also, the economic activity in the capital city would induce economic growth in the eastern area of Indonesia. Furthermore, to gain support from the public, the central government also put the eighth principle of a new capital city, which is economic opportunities for all. They also have an ambitious target of a 0% poverty rate within capital city by 2035 and the lowest regional Gini ratio. The economic opportunities for all rhetoric legitimized the development project in new capital city, because the government realised that job opportunity are crucial for local people in Kalimantan.

Picture 12 Economic opportunities for all



Source: [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id)

According to the Director of Regional II Ministry of PPN/Bappenas, the plans for capital city development have attracted foreign investors to support the development in Kalimantan. Here is the statement:

“Companies from various countries are said to be interested, and previously there was Dubai Expo, the coordinating minister said that the Prince of Saudi Arabia wanted to invest. Also, Yesterday I was in Finland. Yes, I have joined the Indonesian Consultant Association (Inkindo). Usually, they have technology that they believe will be able to contribute, but they do not know how to invest. In Finland, several companies provide stairs and elevators. Large industries have Siemens information systems. Then Finland with Nokia and other companies” (Director of Regional II Ministry of PPN/Bappenas, interview).

International investors are interested in investing in Indonesia, precisely the company with experience in city development worldwide. Still, according to the Director of Regional II Ministry of PPN/Bappenas, he said that some companies that want to invest have experiences in Cairo, Canberra, and Nur Sultan, and they want to gain profit because many people and organisations will move to that city, which is a massive market. Furthermore, the questions from the foreign companies around the rule of law, security, incentives, and how the government will facilitate the business in the new area (interview). Thus, it can be seen that the idea of the smart-forest city in the capital city is also a strategy to attract investment and economic activity. It is also can be traced in the academic paper of the capital city that said:

“A superhub that helps put Indonesia in a more strategic position in world trade routes, investment flows and technological innovation” (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021, p. 15)

The source of funds for new city construction is a heated debate during the national capital city’s law draft meeting. Many political parties are questioning the state budget that will be spent to support the capital city's development. Most of them do not agree if the massive amount of state budget supports the relocation. The central government realized that they needed huge funding to build the capital city from scratch; according to Pocket book of Capital City (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021), one of the first official publications on capital city relocation, stated that the budget needed is 466 trillion rupiahs and the majority of the funding come from Government Cooperation with Private Sector (KPBU). So, the

government-private sector cooperation and private and state-owned enterprises become the primary funding sources. Table 13 shows that development sectors that will support without the stated budget thus need support from private and state-owned enterprises.

*Table 13 Capital City Funding Based on Pocket Book of Capital City Relocation*

<b>Government Cooperation with Private Sector (KPBU) Scheme</b>	<b>Private Sector &amp; Stated Owned Enterprises Scheme</b>
Basic infrastructure and utilities (Other than those already covered in the state budget)	Public housing
Housing for civil servants, police, and army (Other than those already covered in the state budget)	Higher education development private educational institutions
Executive, Legislative and Judiciary Building	Science-techno Park
Improved connectivity (airport, ports, and highway/non-highway roads)	Private health facilities
Educational facilities, museums, and health facilities	Shopping malls, Meetings, Incentives, Conventions, and Exhibitions (MICE)

Source: Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021, p. 23.

To attract this considerable investment, the central government also have key performance index number seven which is security and efficiency through technology in the masterplan. So, the branding is IKN Nusantara will obtain a very high ranking in the united nation's e-government development index, 100% digital and IT connectivity for all residents and businesses, and more than 75% satisfaction with digital services (National Capital City Masterplan, 2022, 17). This approach also served the investor and gave a good impression so they would invest and support the development of IKN Nusantara.

## 8.2 Challenger Discourses: Economic Exclusion Discourse

The main discourse from stakeholders who are critical of economic sustainability in new capital city comes from the previous economic exclusion from previous industrial activities in Kalimantan. They have personal and communal memory of how local people lost access to land and their livelihood, and due to lack of education, they cannot compete with the migrant to work in the company. The main idea of this discourse is that people remember how they cannot participate in the economic activity when the tree plantation and palm oil build in their region and mining company. Economic exclusion is a multidimensional system that prevents some people from participating and equitably engaging in the economy of their city or regional territory. It is the incapacity to modify an individual's economic conditions or help one's children escape from them due to prolonged exposure to severe economic poverty (Greene et al., 2016).

Many participants worry about economic exclusion; according to some participants, this discourse also mainstreams around local people when they talk about the new city development. Head Village of Babulu Darat (Interview) elaborated that later on, the outskirts of society will be eliminated because many do not have sufficient education. Some still farm and people are not ready for a smart city. That is my thoughts too. Furthermore, the Head of

AMAN, Penajam Paser Utara (Interview), also worried that they would not be able to compete with immigrant communities because they are more backward in human resources than those who will come to the new capital city. So, they try to pressure the local people to get bachelor's and master's degrees so that if the new capital city starts to build, the next generation will be ready to accept it.

Some NGOs also discuss this public discourse and compare the capital city development project with what kind of jobs local people could get. Here is an example of the statement:

“I often ask students, what do you expect from the development of this IKN? What kind of job opportunities do you expect to become a civil servant? They will come from Jakarta; these construction projects are short-term. So, it is the same as when we enter the extractive economy, we will use local people as workers, but it turns out that it is only 10% sometimes not up to 10%. Only 10% are grateful because they will bring people from everywhere. After all, there are insiders and graduates from well-known universities. So, the only open job opportunities are security, household assistants, labourers, and office boys” (WALHI East Kalimantan, interview)

The same discourse also discussed by Secretary of District Sepaku (Interview), they concerned about education because to get a decent job, for example, to be able to become a civil servant, become a soldier, become a policeman, or work in state-owned enterprises, the minimum requirement is a bachelor's degree. According to the data, local people have been dominated by job seekers with a high school education level.

### 8.3 Accommodator Discourses

Economic activity is a critical aspect for local people, especially because many people lose their livelihood due to previous extractive industries such as mining, palm oil, and tree plantation that they lack access to involved in that economy. Furthermore, in the new capital city project, many stakeholders actively negotiated to access and gain a positive impact. According to interviews and online video discussions between stakeholders, two main discourses attempt to accommodate the interest of supporter of the new capital city project and are still aware of the challenger discourse. The first discourse is vocational education facilities, and the second is the spill-over effect of development.

#### 8.3.1 Vocational Education Facilities

The first discourse produced by stakeholders to accommodate the interest of local people is asking to participate in capital city development project, for example, in the construction sector, service sector, trade, or other sectors related to the project development. Referring to interviews, the main problem of many local people who could not work on that sector is lack of certification, which is why most of the participants talked about the urgency of vocational facilities that have been discussed with other stakeholders. Head of Research and Development Agency East Kalimantan (interview) stated that the main problem in capital city development project is if the government is looking for workers only from outside East Kalimantan, even though there is nothing wrong with looking for migrant workers. However, local workers must be prioritized, take a competency test immediately and then be certified to be registered with the workforce.

The Head of Babulu Darat Village (Personal communication, 2020) elaborated that many people are happy to hear about the development project. However, they also lack certification, and the government needs to provide training. He predicts that if this is not done, social problems will arise. They convey that East Kalimantan needs a lot of Job Training Centers (BLK) and the same opportunities for working as other migrant workers. Also, the Secretary of Sepaku District (Interview) described that the government carries out various breakthrough programs to strengthen human resources, support skilled workers, and get the certification. Because according to the policy, all workers in the service sector must be certified, especially those who become workers in heavy equipment. He said that the local community have the skill to operate heavy equipment but does not have a certificate as a formal requirement that must be fulfilled.

Additionally, the Head of North Penajam Paser AMAN (Interview) also emphasises that indigenous people really need vocational education and certificate and have asked the government to help them with education and certification. Syarifuddin HR (Chairman of Kerukur Bubuhan Banjar) feels the same, and they hope that the central government will pay attention to the next generation by providing the job training centre in Penajam Paser Utara so that they can compete with people who will come to the new capital city (IKN Indonesia, 2022).

The national government also acknowledges this discourse. The Director of Regional II Ministry of PPN/Bappenas (Interview) said that this topic always emerged in every consultation, precisely how to involve as many workers as possible. So, the Job Training Center program has also started in surrounding areas in East Kalimantan. He said that the government also had been pushed to implement the initiatives. Box 10 also emphasized the commitment of central government to accommodate local people's expectation to get training so they could be involved in the development project.

*Box 10 Capacity building for local people commitment in the masterplan of the capital city*

Beyond the sectors that local people are already involved in, comprehensive skills development and skills development strategies are pursued to ensure inclusive and equitable employment opportunities. IKN is also expected can explore the potential to strengthen affordable technical and vocational education and training for the community to ensure accessibility and inclusiveness, especially for members of the community who are underprivileged, unemployed, elderly, have special needs, or are illiterate.

Source: National Capital City Masterplan, 2022, p.39.

The statement of implementation of training has been confirmed by the lecturer and researcher from Universitas Gadjah Mada, Erlis Saputra (Interview). He stated that local people want to be involved in economic activities, and they need to compete with migrant workers from outside east Kalimantan. He said that there were 1000 workers joining training last month. And the Authority Agency had conducts training to an indigenous community as worker in the new capital city development.

### 8.3.2 Spill over Effect of Development

The following discourse about economic sustainability is the spill-over effect of development expected by many stakeholders. Spill over effect is the condition in which development programs stimulate many economic activities that relate directly and indirectly with the program and give new job opportunities. Based on the interviews, it is known that the stakeholder and some signs expect many spillover effects that the economic activities are increasing.

The first spillover effect discussed among stakeholders is the agriculture sector. According to the Head of Research and Development Agency (Interview), East Kalimantan still imports food from surrounding areas, such as Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, and other areas in Indonesia. Therefore, the goal of the local government is to be independent in terms of food security. Therefore, currently, they are trying to map which land can be used for agriculture. Besides, the Head of AMAN, Penajam Paser Utara (Interview), said they expect to be involved in agriculture and facilitate renting, lodging, restaurants, and other local and small business.

The second spillover effect discourse is the tourism sector that is growing in East Kalimantan, especially in Penajam Paser Utara as the location of the new capital city. The Head of Research and Development Agency (Interview) elaborated that to improve the economy, the tourism sector would be improved and provide tourist areas that support the economy. The priority is in the northern region but East Kalimantan and the coast of the Mahakam River that divides East Kalimantan. He said that new capital cities in their buffer areas have their tourism destinations and are currently working hard to attract visitors. In the coastal marine of the new capital city, several five-star hotels have purchased the land, which they prepare for later arrivals of tourists. They expect that tourism can boost the economy.

*Box 11 Economic activity around IKN Nusantara will benefit from capital city development*

- a. entrepreneurs and tour guides as well as wildlife guides, rangers, and community and cultural ecotourism;
- b. artisans, entrepreneurs, and workers at local gift shops, and handicraft workshop organizers;
- c. employers and workers in health/fitness centres, local spas, clinics beauty, and traditional healing;
- d. entrepreneurs, managers, and workers in the accommodation and culinary fields;
- e. entrepreneurs and workers in agriculture-ecotourism, agricultural cooperatives, and markets agriculture; and
- f. entrepreneurs and workers in retail, food and beverage, and arts and entertainment.

Source: National Capital City Masterplan, 2020, p.38

The national capital city masterplan also accommodates the expectation of local people to get spill over on local industry, for example, on the sector mentioned in the box above.

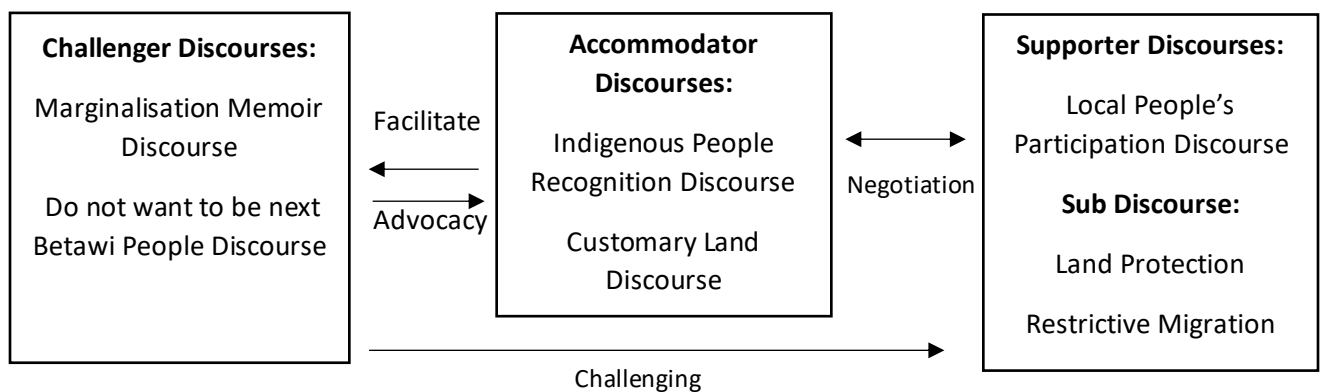
The third spill-over discourse discussed how investors and new businesses would open more job opportunities. Secretary District Sepaku (interview) said they would support the investors

who want to build a business such as hotels or hospitals as long as there are many job opportunities for local people.

## 9. Research result: Social Sustainability Discourse

This chapter will elaborate on the research finding on social sustainability discourse related to green and sustainable urbanism in Kalimantan and some main discourses produced by stakeholders to gain support from the public and other stakeholders at the local and national levels, which is local people’s participation discourse, land protection discourse, and restrictive migration discourse. Also, there is a discourse from stakeholders who are critical of the project and contested the main supported discourse, marginalisation memoir discourse and do not want to be the next Betawi People Discourse. In the middle, there are accommodator discourses that negotiate with the supporter stakeholders so they would gain benefit from the project and negotiate the minor policy or practice that they disagree with.

Figure 10 Social Sustainability Discourses Map



### 9.1 Supporter Discourses

#### 9.1.1 Local People’s Participation Discourse

The most striking observation to emerge from the policy document analysis is that all documents emphasize the involvement of local people, especially the indigenous people, in the project. The first discourse from the supporter of the new capital city, which is the central government, is that the capital city development includes the local people’s participation in illuminating the population context, East Kalimantan, specifically in Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara inhabited by indigenous people and transmigrant from Java and Sulawesi, and another area of Indonesia. It can be seen how many times people’s participation terms are mentioned in the documents. For instance, community or civil society actors are the most stated in the document, which is mentioned 666 times.

Table 14 Actors drive sustainable and green city

Which actors drive the sustainable and green city?	Total Frequencies
Actors: private sector	112
Actors: community / civil society	666
Actors: government	510
Actors: experts	191

Source: Author

Figure 11 shows the actors discussed in the policy documents. It can be seen that the most mentioned is the term ‘masyarakat’ or ‘people’ and ‘pemerintah’ or ‘government’. Alongside the term that mentions a lot is ‘penduduk’ or ‘people’, ‘publik’ or ‘public’, ‘adat’ or ‘indigenous’, also komunitas or ‘community’, and ‘partisipasi’ or ‘participation’. Other actors are mentioned, such as ‘kementerian’ or ‘ministry’, ‘bisnis’ or ‘business’ and ‘perguruan tinggi’ or ‘university’. However, the term related to people or community is the most frequently mentioned.

Figure 11 Social sustainability Word Search Query Result



Source: Author

Furthermore, this research goes more deeply into the document to understand how the actors, especially the people and community framed by the central government who produced the policy documents and the relation with other actors. The result is that two divergent discourses emerged on how people discuss. On the one hand, some statements framed the community and indigenous community as the partner of the government and other stakeholders to support sustainable and green city development. On the other hand, the community is also framed as the object of development, such as the statement of how the new city facilitates the rights of local people, such as heritage protection and how the new city will support the local people to increase their livelihood.

Policy documents that discuss local people’s participation are the Law of The Republic Indonesia Number 3 the Year 2022 On the National Capital City, the attachment of the Law which is Masterplan of Capital City, Presidential regulation number 64 of 2022 about National Strategic Area Spatial Plan of Capital City of Nusantara in 2022-2042, also have mentioned in two versions of academic paper of national capital city.



Community participation is a highlight in policy documents. The policy documents emphasize how local people are essential to the new city's development. For instance, a specific chapter discusses community participation in Law Number 3/2022 on National Capital City Chapter VIII. Box 12 displays one of the statements of article 37 in the Capital City Law that directly discuss community participation in the process of capital city development from preparation until the new city's management. Furthermore, there are some methods of participation.

*Box 12 Community participation on Law No. 3/2022 in National Capital City*

Communities can participate in the process of preparation, development, relocation, and management of the national capital city.

Community participation can be done in the form of: (a) public consultation; (b) discussion; (c) partnership; (d) submission of aspirations; and/or; (e) other engagements in accordance with regulatory provisions legislation.

*Source: Law No. 3/2022 on National Capital City, art, 37.*

Box 13 also mentioned how community participation is included in the spatial planning, space utilization and control of the utilization. Interestingly, the policy also emphasized that the community can participate according to the law and regulations, which gives risks and loopholes on what is allowed and not allowed in public participation.

*Box 13 Community participation in Presidential regulation number 64 of 2022 about National Strategic Area Spatial Plan of Capital City of Nusantara in 2022-2042*

- (1) The role of the community in the spatial planning of the National Strategic Area for the Capital of the Nusantara is carried out at the following stages: (a) Spatial planning; (b) space utilization; and (c) control of space utilization.
- (2) The role of the community is carried out in accordance with the provisions of the laws and regulations.

*Source: Presidential regulation number 64 of 2022 about National Strategic Area Spatial Plan of Capital City of Nusantara in 2022-2042, art, 153 (1-2).*

The documents emphasized that stages 1, 2 and 3 (during 2022-2034) of development need the local community's participation to solve many critical issues, such as overlapping of land ownership, public facilities construction such as traditional halls and public spaces. Moreover, the Masterplan of the new capital city also describes how the social aspect of capital city development stages needs the local people's participation. It also involves the local community in identifying cultural heritage assets.

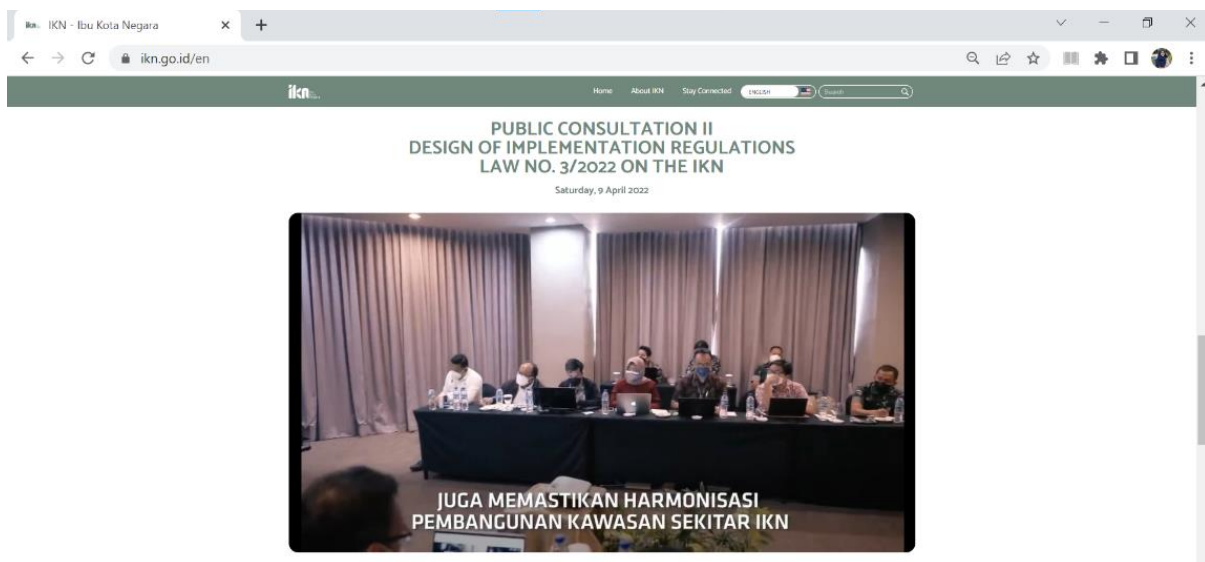
The local people's participation is also framed as an object of development or the recipient. This perspective can be tracked since the new capital city academic paper produced by Kementerian PPN/Bappenas in 2021. The document discusses the principle of the new city,

which is liveability to ensure safety and affordability of the city, and one of the main focuses is **community-based urban design** with mixed-use housing and development concepts **to ensure a safe, healthy and fair environment for the current and future residents (which is including local people)**. Also, the document mentioned the principle of an intelligent city is a smart city concept that is added with efforts **to transform communities to be better, more creative, and involved in smart community development projects** that can encourage the creation of an interconnected city atmosphere through technology support (Academic Paper, Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021, p.21).

Additionally, the master plan of a new capital city (in stages 1,2 and 3) emphasises the importance of capacity building of local communities, creating **economic opportunities for vulnerable groups**, and community involvement in watershed management. Furthermore, capacity building in local educational institutions **to prepare skilled local workforce according to the interests of investors in clusters economy**, as well as the development of world-class educational and research institutions. Moreover, in the fourth stage, the master plan is to **strengthen the socio-cultural resilience community** and development spatial planning, policy development green and sustainable economy for new sectors.

On the official website of the new capital city, they put some pictures of public consultations held by the central government offline and online. Picture 13 illustrates the local people's participation in discourse from the picture. The picture illustrates how the policy documents have been discussed with the public, specifically local people's representatives, to gain support from the public that the process is transparent and many stakeholders have participated.

Picture 13 Public Consultation



Source: IKN.go.id

The Chair of the Legal and Institutional Working Group on Capital City Transfers at the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas Diani Sadiawati expressed the broadest opportunity for the community to provide input for implementing regulations for

the new capital city Law. She emphasized that every process of the Nusantara preparation, development, and transfer must be known to all Indonesians. Here is the statement:

“We are trying as optimally as possible that this public consultation process accommodates what is needed or aspiration of the community, especially in East Kalimantan” (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2022b).

The central government believe that they have involving local people since the beginning of capital city relocation research and discussion, but they also acknowledge that not every stakeholder following the process because there are so many stakeholders and there is organisation did not check the update on the government website. Furthermore, during interviews, the narrative of local people’s participation comes up sometimes by the representative of the national government and representative local government. Here are some examples of the explanation:

“We are open (access of information and consultation), the house of representative (DPR) is open on the stages of capital city law preparation, it can still be traced, but they (refer to people who are questioning the lack of public participation) do not get it, do they not read it. When we say it is on the DPR's website, so please look at the DPR's website, the dynamics of discussion are there too” (Head of Legal of Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, interview).

“I see that the government has been active enough to open discussion spaces several times. The relevant ministries and stakeholders often hold detailed public discussions, such as how the development situation is, they have communicated. However, maybe due to media limitations, some things are not conveyed, but, until now, many stakeholders are still involved” (Head of Babulu District, interview).

#### 9.1.2 Land Protection Discourse

The second discourse that the central government produced to support the idea of the new capital city is the land protection discourse. This discourse is about the local people who live in the capital city area will have access to their land reasonably. If the government needs to relocate people, they will discuss compensation, and people will get resettlement in a fair amount of money. This discourse comes up in the document and interviews, specifically with a government representative.

In the policy document, the land theme mainly discusses land provision, the determination of land, and how to transfer the right of land ownership. When discussing land, the policy document and the central government representative included land protection for local people as the strategy to gain people's support and avoid protests about land acquisition. The central government have predicted that many people will fear losing their land ownership and people need to relocate, so the policy document facilitated that concern. Examples of this land discourse in the policy document are:

Spatial planning, land, and transfer of rights over the land, environment, disaster management, and defense and security are implemented by paying attention to and providing protection for individual rights or communal rights of indigenous peoples and cultural values that reflect local wisdom.

*Source: Law No.3/2022 on National Capital City, art.21*

Land acquisition in accordance with laws and regulations has taken into account the precautionary principle, providing adequate and fair compensation with deliberation on compensation forms as a consequence of the land acquisition process, stages and measurable completion times.

If there is an objection from the party who has the right to own or control the land, the compensation will be deposited in the court (consignment) so that land acquisition can still be carried out and development can continue.

*Source: Masterplan new capital city, 2022, p. 46.*

Land protection articles in the policy documents show that the central government take into account the concern of many stakeholders because land rights are one of the main topics during the discussion of a new capital city, for example, during public consultation and high-level government meeting between the house of the representative and central government when discussing the draft of national capital city law. During an interview with the House of Representatives, the land rights topic was confirmed as the main discussion topic, and many political parties emphasized the importance of land protection and fair resettlement. Here are some examples of the statement from a central government representative, the Director of Spatial Planning and Disaster Management of the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas, Sumedi Andono Mulyo, when they get to question and advice on land rights protection in public consultation:

"The government guarantees that there will be no forced land grabbing. Land procurement is carried out following the principles of justice and applicable regulations, taking into account the rights of the community and the rights of indigenous people's land" (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2022)

Furthermore, the interview with the central government representative shows the complexity of land rights protection, especially for the indigenous people. Here is the statement:

"The government recognizes indigenous peoples, yes, in terms of land rights, there is recognition of indigenous peoples according to the regulations for determining indigenous

peoples. If there is a proposal from the indigenous community to get a land certificate and there is approval from the ATR/BPN agency and coordination with the local government and approved by the local Regent” (Head of Legal, Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, interview).

“For land regulation, if the land is recognized by the regional government and can be claimed and proven, this can be a regional government regulation by the regional government “, to the Authority Agency. It is based on a regent and regional office regulation” (Head of Region 2 PPN/Bappenas, interview)

The explanation from the central government shows that the local people who want to claim the customary land or the land that they owned since their ancestors need to propose the certificate to the local government and give proof of their land, which is quite hard to prove because many people do not have a certificate. It is hard to give other evidence of land ownership in the “land certificate” regime. Thus, the central government give the local regent to make the certificate, so it is not the central government's responsibility to give certification, even though the central government is the one who makes the plan and determines the area of the new capital city.

Overall, the central government build the land protection discourse in every public consultation and meeting because land right is the main topic in new capital city development. Local people are concerned about their future in Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara. The land protection discourse produces not only to gain acceptance of new city from the local people, but also get political support from the political parties, and acknowledged the advice form academic community during the public discussion. After all, the land is not only their house but also forest and plantation as a source of their livelihood.

### 9.1.3 Restrictive Migration

The third discourse that supports new green and sustainable cities is the restrictive migration discourse. This discourse is related to Jakarta's situation of a high population. There is concern about massive migration during new city development, which will contribute to high demand for housing, a huge area of land and forest will convert into houses and high emissions due to many people living in the city and commute between the city and another area around the city.

*Box 16 Most populous city of Jakarta and limited population target in the new capital city*

In 2013 Jakarta was ranked 10th city the most populous in the world (UN, 2013). In 2017 it became the 9th most populous city in the world (WEF, 2017). High urbanization Growth impacting high congestion and unhealthy air quality (p.3)

Achieving net zero-carbon emission and 100% renewable energy at installed capacity – the first city in world with a population of >1 million people who will achieve this target (p.19)

*Source: Pocket book, Capital City Relocation, Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021*

Box 16 shows that the central government uses the high population problem in Jakarta as the urgent reason to relocate the capital city and build a more sustainable city with low emissions and healthy air condition. Furthermore, since the beginning of mainstreaming the capital city relocation idea, the central government has already emphasized the limitation of the new city population. In box 16, there is the long-term target to achieve zero emission and a population of around 1 million people.

During the interview, the restrictive migration discourse also comes up as the strategy to ensure the new city will not repeat the problem in Jakarta. The evidence of this discourse is some statements from government representatives:

“There is the plan for the population in 2045, the population is 1.7 to 1.9 million people, which makes us confident about the sustainability of the city” (Head of Region 2 PPN/Bappenas, interview)

The government will set a population limit later. The concept in forest city should not be more than that so as not to disturb the surrounding community, also do not let it be like in Jakarta, in which the buffer areas are full (full of migrants), and the original people will not eliminate” (Head of Research and Development Agency, interview)

Thus, there are two reasons for the restrictive migration discourse essential to gain the support of the new capital city as a green and sustainable city. The first is to show the public that the new capital city is concerned about the environment. For example, the land use for housing, energy, and the mobility of people are under control because the demand is limited to less than 2 million people in the city. The second reason is to assure local people in East Kalimantan, specifically Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara. The local people are afraid that many migrants will come to their area and need land in the buffer zone of the new city and compete with local people in economic activity.

## 9.2 Challenger Discourses

### 9.2.1 Marginalisation Memory Discourse

One of the main discourses that strongly contest the idea that the new capital city will be green and sustainable in East Kalimantan is the marginalisation memory discourse that is mainstream in the indigenous community and environmental organisation. The marginalisation memory is described as the memory of indigenous people in East Kalimantan of the development project in the past that excluded them from their access to land, changed their way of life, destroyed their livelihood and their forest into monoculture plantations and coal mining. The narrative of marginalisation memory is repeated in all interviews with the indigenous community and environmental organisations. Interestingly, the government also recognises this discourse because it is elaborated in the academic paper on the national capital city.

The first narrative on marginalisation memory discourse that is mainstream by the NGOs in East Kalimantan and even at the national level is the three phases of marginalisation. To

illustrate the discourse, here is the statement on the marginalisation phase. Here is the statement from the environmental organisation:

“If the government move the capital city to East Kalimantan, they (indigenous people) will be removed three times from their area. **Firstly**, the community is removed from their land because it is a protected forest area, and they are not allowed to work there. It used to be Forest Cultivation Area (KBK) and Non-Forest Cultivation Area (KBNK), so they were banned and were not allowed to grow crops there. **Secondly** is when the company's permit is entered. "You cannot build fields there. You are not allowed to plant hard crops, fruit and rubber because it is a concession area (HGU) for the company". **Thirdly**, when there is suddenly a new capital city relocation. So, when this capital city builds, they are eliminated again. They never know where they will be then. They are like guessing where they will be moved” (WALHI East Kalimantan, interview).

This discourse is mainstream in environmental NGOs and during the interview with an indigenous community organisation. Also, during an interview with the local government, even though they do not use the term some phase of marginalisation, they describe how indigenous people lost their access to land and changed their livelihood source due to company concession. Also, the discourse of marginalisation confirms by researchers during their field research that local people have discussed. Here is the explanation of the marginalisation phase by the researcher:

There are four waves of activities of big-scale development that triggered marginalization in Sepaku District which are (1) the industrial tree plantation; (2) the newcomers of the transmigration program; (3) the second wave of the industrial tree plantation; (4) the new capital city development. Furthermore, there are four dimensions of marginalization which are the spatial dimension related to resettlement, the economic dimension because they lost land ownership due to corporation, the political dimension because of lack of representation in the government and political institutions, and the cultural dimension because of lack of traditional representation and old tradition diminish for example Balik people cannot speak their language. Paser Balik people depend on agricultural activities and require land to survive (Susanti et al., 2022).

Similarly, the memory of marginalisation experience is emphasized by the consortium of NGOs in East Kalimantan, such as WALHI, WALHI East Kalimantan, Forest Watch Indonesia, JATAM, JATAM East Kalimantan, POKJA 30, POKJA Pesisir dan Nelayan, and Trend Asia to criticize the new capital city idea that constructed as a green and sustainable city. To demonstrate, here is an example of the narrative from the NGOs:

“When timber companies first invaded East Kalimantan in the 1960s, their way of life underwent its first significant alteration. The Balik people’s way of life got rougher and worse. Being left in poverty, some people decided to move. They alter their habits due to their reliance on novel consumption sources. Due to losing their connection to nature, they gradually began to lose some of their customary traditions. The same was true of their common way of life; modern individuality had taken its place” (WALHI et al., 2019).

Interestingly, the government acknowledges the marginalisation discourse in the academic paper on the national capital city. The document is aware that the indigenous people suffered during the national development project such as the migration project because of the high population in Java. The government wanted to utilise the natural resources in East Kalimantan by giving cultivation rights and mining concessions to private companies. Box 17 shows the description of the government's explanation of local people's marginalisation:

*Box 17 Government explanation on indigenous community*

The presence of transmigrants has penetrated customary land areas Dayak community. Transmigration villages were then expanded to become definitive village get a land certification program, basic infrastructure, and village funds. While the Dayak indigenous people who are often isolated in the middle of the forest conservation did not get it. In the 1970s there were resettlement programs that moved the Dayak community from their ancestral homeland and thus this area was called the forest area. With this status, various purposes are implemented such as conservation areas, industrial plantation forests, or mining. This condition blocks the access of the Dayak community to their ancestral land, and if they seek a living in the forest are considered forest encroachers.

*Source: Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021, p. 91-92*

The marginalisation discourse underlined the economic and social exclusion that indigenous people experience. As long as mining and tree plantation companies operate in Kalimantan, there is a gap between people who work and live in the company area and local communities outside the company area, with different facilities and only watching from outside. During the interview, an indigenous community representative said that the indigenous people could not fight back or protest the exclusion in the past. Furthermore, because of these previous experiences, local people still cannot complain about the capital city's development in the area where their ancestors used to have forest access. This statement illustrated how they have oppressed:

“Because they are tired of years of oppression, their land is taken by mines, palm oil and so on. In addition, indigenous people have been a gentle community in front of the government, which is made them bridled. It makes them better to dodge than to fight. So, the braver ones are the mass organizations because they have political support, but if the indigenous people are ordinary people” (AMAN East Kalimantan, interview).

Moreover, the indigenous community organisation and NGOs discuss the previous land grabbing situation as a problem that has not been solved until now, even the repetition of the previous marginalisation. They highlight that the new capital city area belonged to the indigenous community, and the central government took it on behalf of the state's right to manage the forest and land. However, the national government give permission and concession to tree plantations and mining companies to use the land. Thus, the NGOs mainstreaming the narrative that the development of a new capital city is the repetition of the previous marginalisation because the central government has taken the local people's



right to choose and involvement in the development of their area. Here is one of the narratives from the NGOs:

“They (central government) exclude indigenous people, so it is more of the arena of people who own capital. The negotiations are with the companies, not with the community. For example, for IKN locations, the companies get the land concession from indigenous people. Even though the land was previously taken forcibly, it was determined by the state that if the concession period ran out, it should be returned to indigenous people instead of being converted into something else (a new capital city), so if you see the state makes deals more with company owners, not with land owners who are indigenous community” (AMAN East Kalimantan, interview).

This negates the context of the company's land concessions in Indonesia, where there was previous land grabbing in forest areas in Kalimantan, where indigenous peoples who previously accessed land in groups or families had to relinquish their access in the name of developing forestry, oil palm, and coal industries.

### 9.2.2 Do not Want To Be The Next Betawi People Discourse

The second central discourse that contests the sustainable capital city discourse is that many people in the Nusantara area are afraid to be excluded the way Betawi indigenous people in Jakarta are marginalised. All participant of this research discusses the concern of local people about exclusion and always refer to the experience of Jakarta. The narrative of “do not want to be the next Betawi people” is also mentioned by most of the participants, the local government representative, NGOs, and indigenous people. Also, the national government is aware of this narrative during their public consultation. Here is an example of how local people describe that they do not want to be the following Betawi people:

“This indigenous community is worried that they will not be given space, they will be removed, and not allowed to find work for their sons and daughters, and they do not get training and marginalized like Betawi people” (Head of Babulu Darat Village, interview).

The discourse of “do not want to be the next Betawi people” has come up in 2019 since the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, announced the capital city relocation, and the consortium of NGOs (WALHI, WALHI East Kalimantan, Forest Watch Indonesia, JATAM, JATAM East Kalimantan, POKJA 30, POKJA Pesisir dan Nelayan, and Trend Asia) published the report on capital city relocation. The report has underlined the risk of indigenous people's relocation to the new capital city relocation:

*Box 18 Statement from Consortium NGOs on Betawi People*

The Betawi were made to reside in a marginal area on the peripheries of the city after being displaced from their villages during the construction of DKI Jakarta. The native populations of Paser Balik may experience what the Betawi had. A second significant development that could further endanger the life of their neighbourhood is the establishment of a new capital city (WALHI et al., 2019).

Besides, it is essential to understand the idea of comparing indigenous people in East Kalimantan to Betawi people in Jakarta. Moreover, during the interview, the participant explains how this discourse comes up:

“What they say is "we do not want to be Betawi people" the strange thing is what we (NGOs) ask, have you ever been to Jakarta or have you seen Betawi people or what? He (indigenous people in East Kalimantan) said: no, we watch on television. Our grandchildren and we do not want to be like the Betawi people” (WALHI East Kalimantan, interview).

According to the interviews, the local people have three main narratives: they do not want to be the following Betawi people and how the new capital city relocation would risk their existence. Firstly, the locals fear losing their land rights and being endangered in the capital city area. Also, The Paser Balik people are only written as the capital city's symbol, but no one lives inside the city because they cannot afford it.

“We do not want to be the second Betawi people who were detached from our village. Suppose later investors start to come and bid for our land at a high price. In that case, we are who have low levels of capacity and education, will be tempted to sell our land, and we are afraid that it will get worse for us” (Head of AMAN Penajam Paser Utara, interview).

*Picture 14 The sign of land acquisition in local people's house*



Translation: PROHIBITED. The boundaries of the core area of the central government.  
People are prohibited to enter the area.

Source: Pokja Pesisir

Picture 15 The sign of land acquisition in the forest area



Translation: PROHIBITED. This area is a state forest designated as the territory of the state capital of the archipelago. It is prohibited to enter, carry out activities, use or occupy this forest area illegally.

Source: Pokja Pesisir

Pictures 14 and 15 illustrate that the central government already claims some areas in Penajam Paser Utara as the capital city area, and local people are not allowed to enter the area. Even though there is a house inside the area, there is a lack of coordination between central government, local government, and local people regarding the planning of the capital city Nusantara. The Chairman of AMAN Penajam Paser Utara explained that they hope that the central government would accommodate their concern and give socialisation on the planning because they are the native of Penajam Paser Utara. Thus, the indigenous people expect to be involved in the capital city's development during the planning process to ensure they will not relocate from their homeland.

Secretary of Sepaku District explained in the interview that they worrying about not being able to compete with the newcomers and the people do not want to be like the Betawi people to be “slaves” (refer to working with low wage) in their land. The second reason they do not want to be the next Betawi people is that local people are afraid they cannot compete with the migrants because of a lack of high education. Furthermore, the Head of Babulu Darat

Village also underlined the risk of conflict between local communities and migrants. When local people feel pressured and marginalized, thus social problems might arise. So, they wish the government take the local people's concerns seriously.

The third narrative is about how fishermen in Jakarta suffer because of the massive industrial development, and the city does not have a harmonious relationship with the fishermen. In the area of the new capital city near Balikpapan Bay and many fishermen are dependent on the sea to meet their livelihood. The interview with the representative of the fisherman organization, Pokja Pesisir, expresses the fisherman's concern that they are afraid they will end up like the fisherman in Jakarta. It is because the fishing area in Jakarta is polluted, and many big ships operate around the harbor. Thus, the impact to the fisherman is they need to find the fish further than the usual area, which increases the quality of fish they could get, is also high risk and needs more gas to fish.

### 9.3 Accommodator Discourses: Indigenous People Recognition Discourse

The first discourse that tries to accommodate the concern of the stakeholder from the indigenous community and NGOs is how the indigenous people would recognize the new capital city development. The challenger discourse discusses how indigenous people have been marginalised since the central government conceded the forest and land in East Kalimantan to timber companies and mining. So, in this new project that the central government claims will be a green and sustainable city, the local people asked the government to acknowledge the existence of indigenous people and their rights.

The Chairman of AMAN East Kalimantan explained how they were being critical about how the government has not honored the local culture, and the government must be aware of the local value. For example, there is development in historical areas like old cemeteries and forests with no inhabitants. The provincial government representative also discussed this issue during the interview, Head of Research and Development Agency, East Kalimantan, confirmed that the government did massive development in the cemetery. Furthermore, he said that whether the local people like it or not, the East Kalimantan government and the people must support the need for new capital city development. Thus, the main goal of this discourse is to get recognition from the central government that has political and law power so the indigenous people's culture, values, and rights will be protected from exclusion due to massive development in the new capital city in the future.

There are two themes that the local people negotiate with the central government regarding indigenous people's recognition in the capital city development. The first theme is recognizing indigenous people's identity, and the second is acknowledging the customary land. Many participants in the interview have described both themes, especially the representation of indigenous people organizations.

The first sub-discourse of indigenous people's identity recognition has been mentioned by AMAN East Kalimantan, AMAN Penajam Paser Utara, Head of District, and WALHI. One of the studies from AMAN East Kalimantan found that the local people in the new capital city area need to be acknowledged, such as recognizing the identity that they are Dayak people

because they are afraid of becoming extinct like Betawi people. Moreover, this issue has been delivered to the central government by the representative of the indigenous community. Furthermore, the response is that they will have a traditional house and some ornament from the local people's tradition in the new capital city area. Furthermore, this response was also criticized by the indigenous people's NGOs. Here is the statement:

"The plan is to build a traditional house. Nevertheless, it is just a symbolic form, not for indigenous people to live in. What do you do after it is made? Nothing, because the traditional house is supposed to be a gathering place, a place to stay in touch with the people, a place for people to solve traditional problems, but later it will only become symbolic" (AMAN, East Kalimantan, interview).

The concern about indigenous people's identity recognition has a response by the government, and it can be seen in one of the academic papers recommending how to recognize the indigenous people in the new city. Here are some strategies that recommend in the academic paper, which is the base of the policy of national capital city law:

*Box 19 Indigenous people's recognition*

1. Representation of cultural identity in capital city development, such as using Dayak symbols/ornaments on buildings, developing cultural zones, and preserving cultural sites through museums or parks in major cities.
2. Cultural understanding
3. Cultural synergy and local wisdom are needed with technology and innovation to sustain local people's livelihoods
4. Human resource improvement must begin with IKN planning. Starting in 2020, it is hoped that vocational education, higher education, and job preparation activities will increase students' and youth's capacity in the IKN area and its supports. Consider quotas for improving marginal group skills (Dayak tribe, youth women's group, disabled groups, etc.) to participate directly in IKN development.

*Source: Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2020, p.92-94*

The second theme the indigenous community is trying to negotiate is customary land, which is very sensitive for all stakeholders because of the long-term agrarian disagreement between local people and the government. The central government is aware of the complexity of the land certification in East Kalimantan. This situation has been described in the second version of the academic paper on the national capital city. The strategic environmental studies group has compared the land tenure data with IP4T data (Inventory of Land Tenure, Ownership, Use and Utilization) to find out the proportion of how many people have land tenure but do not have proof of certificate ownership and the result can be seen in the box 20.

Around 31% of the 75,968 land blocks in the IKN area are owned by the community and have proof of ownership certificates. While 66% of them are controlled by the community but do not have proof of ownership. The remaining 3% is owned by legal entities, and the government, and there is no land tenure. It should be noted that the number and percentage only show the land block, and do not reflect the size of the area, it could be a small proportion of government territory control, representing a very large area.

*(Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021, p.115-117).*

In the interviews with a central government representative, they state that they will acknowledge the customary land and will not relocate local people who belong to the area. For instance, The Head of Region 2, Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, said they highly anticipated the protection of indigenous community land in the master plan. Also. The House of Representatives (in interview) emphasized that if the land goes into the customary forest and they need to convert into the capital city area, it will be replaced by the state in another area. So, the government will not take the local people's land and will change the location.

## 10. Discussion

This chapter discusses the research finding in broader context of green urbanism and sustainable city discourse and the implication of the insight to the academic community. Also, some recommendations for further research related to new city development and green urbanism. Overall, some findings validate previous research on green urbanism with some additional insight. Also, there are nuances in the new city debate in Indonesia and South East Asian countries, such as the neo-Malthusian perspective and ecobordering discourse that usually arise in the context of European right-wing politics, translocal impact of the new city, and the reforestation debate.

### 10.1 Top-Down New City Development: Territorialization & Governmentalizing

One of the main results corroborates the hypothesis that the central government mainly drives the green and sustainable discourse with support from many stakeholders and legitimation of politics and law. This phenomenon can be explained by a long period of territorialization in East Kalimantan that still exist in Indonesia's development. Peluso & Lund (2011) explain that a state would make a territorial claim or collective and generate a 'collectively' in some sense, even if it would not be wrong to claim that landed property held by an individual is also a territory. It can be interpreted as an overt step toward 'governmentalizing' space as what Foucault describes as "control" by claiming the power to govern territorially.

Moreover, the territorialization in East Kalimantan has appeared since the colonial era, also in New Order when President Soeharto, the second president of Indonesia, concession many timbers' plantations and mining in East Kalimantan. Murray Li and Semedi's (2021) analysis found that a "vast array of coercion" re-emerged with the New Order and still exists in various

networks and behaviors. The land certification regime shows that the local people cannot be snatched today, corporate presence is safeguarded by law, and crony-capitalist conspires.

So, when the new capital city came up in East Kalimantan, according to the research result, the land provision was negotiated between corporations who had a concession with the central government, without consultation with indigenous communities who lost their access during the first period of plantation invasion. Thus, this research confirms that territorialization since the New Order Era is still one of the issues of the new capital city related to the indigenous community. Due to the government's "control" of the territory, it is become the legitimation of the state to make the top-down decision on new city construction, and all stakeholders should accept the process.

It is related to research finding in Konza Technopolis (Van Noorloos et al., 2019) that the government and political stakeholders support the new city development without considering public participation in planning due to 'high national interest' and a high risk of fast-tracking procedures. It also occurred in Indonesia's capital city relocation case because of the political power, the storyline of nation building, and smart-forest city support economic growth, the government used the term "national strategic project" to legitimize the "fast-track" policy planning and implementation. Furthermore, this research also asserted insight into the state's narratives on the sustainability and green discourse on behalf of national development, such as solving economic inequality between the west and east area of Indonesia, solving environmental problems in Java, and building sustainable development in East Kalimantan, which is part of national interest.

Meanwhile, the lack of local people's participation has become a prominent discourse in the top-down capital city relocation project. As discussed in the result of the social sustainability discourse, indigenous people's agency in a new capital city is limited due to long history of marginalization. This result validates that indigenous people are vulnerable to new urbanism even though green and sustainable discourse is trying to accommodate the challenger stakeholder. This finding support what Syarifuddin et al. (2020) found on how the Dayak Paser indigenous community negotiated with the central government on the preservation of traditional standards, protecting the indigenous people's right, and they will not become extinct in the area. This research adds new insight that indigenous people have suffered from marginalization. As Syarifuddin et al. (2020) called subordinate communities economic, there are some agencies to negotiate, and the central government accommodates their expectation.

## 10.2 Green Capitalism: Urban Greening & Technological Fixes

Several findings support such green capitalism in the new capital city Nusantara. There are some storylines, narratives, and pictures on the official website that confirm how the government employs 'green,' 'sustainable,' 'high-technology,' and 'economic growth' narratives to gain the support of new city construction. Also, the "green" term used to invite foreign capital and exploit natural resources in East Kalimantan and other areas in Indonesia. This result confirms the concept of sustainable development discourse by Dryzek (2005) that have basic entities on the capitalist economy and believe the relationship between environmental protection and economic growth will go together.

It also accords with earlier research on new city development in China (Chang and Sheppard, 2013; Caprotti, 2014; Cugurullo, 2017), Swedia (Bardici, 2014), African new city (Keeton et al., 2011), Malaysia (Koh et al., 2021) showed that the government constructed green city frequently on behalf of economic development in national level and attracting foreign investment. They apply green terminologies as marketing strategies beside constructed the new city as aesthetic and green area. In Indonesia's new capital city, the national government has similar perspectives on greening the city by creating green space and investing in renewable energy and electric transportation. The phenomena of urban greening in Indonesia confirm what de Vries (2021) explains as a metaphorical vision for preserving the existing environment while adapting it to the needs of urban residents.

The nuance of urban greening in the new capital city in Indonesia is the genealogy of smart-forest city discourse is quite different from other countries. It is because the landscape condition of the new city development in Nusantara is destroyed by former coal mining and timber plantations. So, this former condition contributes to how the new city Nusantara perceived what a forest city is. This condition differentiates the finding from former research on reforestation and forest city. As a result of this research, the Smart-forest city discourse shows that all stakeholders have acknowledged the rehabilitation and reforestation of the damaged tropical forest in East Kalimantan. All stakeholders agree that the new city development should consider rehabilitation. But the way rehabilitation and reforestation should apply is different.

Compare to the previous study by de Jong (2009) explain that forest rehabilitation is the collaboration of initiatives supported by policy agents to restore forested areas on formerly forested grasslands, brushlands, scrublands, or barren areas through planting, seeding, and assisted natural regeneration to produce industrial timber, sustaining livelihoods, or restoring forest ecological functions. Furthermore, according to Larsen & Madsen (2012), urban forest landscapes are characterized here as forest environments of natural, semi-natural, or man-made origin that may also include water, wetlands, and semi-open and open nature types, with recreation and nature conservation as the primary functions and wood production as a secondary one. Meanwhile, Emborg (2012) explain that there are several concepts and meanings of forest landscape restoration constructed by multiple stakeholders according to their interest and perspective.

Related to all of those studies, the reforestation in the smart-forest city Nusantara was constructed by the government as “bringing back” the original tropical forest in 70% area of a new city, and the strategy is making seedbeds to replant the original tree in Kalimantan. However, the central government still wants to combine the forest with high technology, new skyscraper that is illustrated in the picture. Therefore, the idea of the smart-forest city illustrated also has similarities with forest cities in other countries like Malaysia. This research adds new insight on how the main discourse of smart-forest city in the case study of Nusantara Indonesia tried to cover up the environmental damage and “controlling” the forest in the new city that would be clean attractive to people, tidy, and aesthetically pleasing.

Moreover, the technological fixes perspective strongly appears in the new capital city Nusantara and is consistent with the previous research. Bibri (2020); Rapoport (2014);



Cugurullo (2017); Koh et al. (2021) explained that the government constructed green cities usually with the smart city concept to emphasize the high technology application to achieve environmental goals like renewable energy, data-driven smart technologies, smart technology to monitor the energy used. In the new capital city, Nusantara also stressed the smart-forest city discourse to show that the green city will apply high technology to attract investment in technology and people to live in the modern city.

The nuance from the technological fixes discourse in Nusantara is that the national government constructed the discourse that they will not only focus on utilizing the high technology, but they want to build the green industry in the new capital city area or around the new capital city. This result has elaborated that the Indonesian government wants to attract investment from high technology companies to build their factory in Indonesia, precisely in new city areas. According to the narrative of the Indonesian government, they want to build a “superhub” of sustainable industry. The implication of this result is new insight on how green capitalism in the context of new city development does not only consume the technology but also, they want to produce the technology.

Green capitalism in some countries has shown a paradox in the implementation that the Indonesian government needs to consider. Rosol et al. (2017) have found that some countries that brand their city as “green cities” go into “economizing the green” instead of greening the economy. This condition is due to growth-oriented and the “sustainability agenda” established to strengthen the growth dynamic and competitiveness, while the green part is only subordinate to the economic growth. Thus, the green city discourse strengthens green capitalism. To illustrate, Malaysia’s forest city project shows environmental problems due to reclamation and landscape changes. Rahman (2017) found that negative impacts include decreased fishing revenue, increased navigational risks, shallower and more polluted rivers, noise and dust pollution, and dangers from contractors and heavy construction trucks traveling at high speeds.

### 10.3 Neo-Malthusian and Ecobordering in Restrictive Migration Discourse

One of the unique findings of this research is the discourse of restrictive migration promoted by the central government as a strategy to protect the environment and avoid social and economic exclusion of local people in the area of the new capital city due to high migration. There are several possible explanations for why Indonesia's central government produces this discourse. The first reason is that the central government does not want to repeat the high migration in Jakarta. It can be seen in how the government uses the term high population and cites the UN data that said Jakarta is one of the most populated cities in the world to justify the restrictive policy on migration.

The second reason is to gain support from local people in East Kalimantan that they do not want to experience exclusion like what Betawi people in Jakarta experienced. Because local people in East Kalimantan worry that they need to compete with the migrant to meet their livelihood, get space and protect the untouched area such as forest, and avoid the environmental problem in Jakarta like pollution. It is essential to recognize that indigenous people in Penajam Paser Utara identified themselves as the next victim of mega-city

development like Jakarta. In addition, they used the knowledge of Betawi people's marginalization and their memory of the long period of marginalization to challenge the smart-forest city branding as sustainable and inclusive.

An important thing to note is that this reason is associated with neo-Malthusian about dystopia that the environmental damage is caused by overpopulation that consumed so much resources. This neo-malthusian perspective bring out the ecobordering perspective in European countries, but the ecobordering in new capital city Nusantara is in totally different context on how ecobordering theory have explain in European countries. In Turner & Bailey (2021) explain the genealogy of ecobordering, which is culmination and sanitization of a constellation of Malthusian, conservative, and eco-fascist beliefs from the 19th and 20th centuries. In order to "greenwash" anti-immigration policies at a time of increasing climate migration, Ecobordering transforms these imaginaries to portray migrants from the Global South as direct risks to environmental sustainability. Malthusian projections of population increase and resource consumption. It made it possible to attribute environmental degradation and climate change to overpopulation rather than industrialization.

Furthermore, restrictive migration in the new capital city, Nusantara, is an additional phenomenon on ecobordering theory because the causes of restrictive migration also due to avoiding the ecological problem that already happened in the previous capital city, Jakarta, and "protecting" the buffer zone in Nusantara, as a result, shows that the central government wants to control the city population and how many people would come to the city. However, the policy maker who wants to restrict migration in Nusantara must also consider the speculation of land and housing, contributing to environmental damage in Jakarta. Colven (2022) reveals how financial speculation causes flood risk and the overexploitation of water resources, resulting in unequal socio-spatial risk distributions. Consequently, these changes in Jakarta's hydroscope endanger the city's viability as a location for speculative investment.

In addition, there is a minor discourse that brings out by environmental NGOs on the translocal impact of the new capital city that needs to take into account. The new city development impact is not isolated only to Penajam Paser Utara, Kutai Kertanegara or East Kalimantan. Many areas in Indonesia support the construction of Nusantara, as mentioned in the result part. Even though the Authority agency might be restricting people from migrating inside the Nusantara areas, but the buffer zone of the new capital city would be hard to control. Furthermore, as Van Noorloos et al. (2019) explained that the primary issue with a new city is the refusal to recognize "informal" growth. It is because urban frontiers in the new city development are also part of the new city dynamic.

#### 10.4 Further Research

This research shows that there is abundant room for future research on green and sustainable urbanism in the case study of new smart-forest city Nusantara Indonesia, research on discourse analysis, stakeholder power dynamic on city development in the global context. In the case study of capital city relocation in Nusantara East Kalimantan, there is plenty of research potential along the development of the city that important to development studies and policy on green and sustainable city, for example, the agency and adaptive strategy of local people, migrant, indigenous community during the construction and development new

capital city, how they negotiate with the dominant stakeholder and how they challenge not only discursive discourse, but also advocacy and action.

Moreover, there are research gaps on translocal development due to new city development. For example, there are land grabbing, relocation, and the new concession for mining to support “green” development, such as the battery industry in Kalimantan (outside the Nusantara area), Sulawesi, and other areas in Indonesia. Also, it is crucial to research how the policy on the new city of Nusantara changes because so many things happen in a short period. So many factors involve and influence the central government. For instance, to what extent is the influence of international consultancies, foreign investment, academics, experts, and local government and non-governmental organizations advocate their interests and influence the high-level governmental policy. Also, in creating new cities, the local interpretations and adaptations of “imported” urban green models.

Additionally, recognizing the connections between new city sustainability challenges and social justice. Last but not least is the research on how the implementation of the discourse constructed by the dominant stakeholder, how the practice of the accommodation discourse that the accommodator trying to facilitate, and what is the challenge and opportunities to achieve the goals.

#### 10.5 Contribution to International Development and Policy Implication

In the context of international development, this research asserted the context of a new city in a degraded area due to the history of extractives in East Kalimantan and capital city relocation because of climate change in the previous city, Jakarta. Furthermore, the evidence of the research adds the smart-forest city discourse produced to gain the support of the public because of previous environmental problems and marketing strategy to “green” industry, which is also problematic due to translocal impact that endanger the buffer zone and other islands in Indonesia to support the construction of the new city.

There are some policy recommendations for the green and sustainable development of the new city Nusantara. The first policy recommendation is to strengthen meaningful participation. Involving local government, especially at the district and village level, is not only representative of the new city area but also surrounds the city, such as the coastal area that is also impacted by the construction project. According to this research finding, local government is the accommodator of ordinary local peoples who lack information access to the project. So, if the Authority agency involved these local governments during consultation and participation in capacity building and development, the project would be more transparent and not too elitist. Furthermore, involving local environmental NGOs and indigenous communities, together with local universities, to negotiate and accommodate concerns on rehabilitation and risk of exclusion is essential to take into account. Moreover, the policy on restrictive migration needs to do carefully, so it is not trapped on ecobordering that discriminates against vulnerable and poor communities in the new city and only accommodates high-skilled people and investors.

## 11. Conclusion

New city development in developing countries has been a trend for reasons like nation building, connecting the countries, economic reasons, and many other reasons. Capital city relocation and new city development from scratch are essential to observe due to the significant impact on the area and the country. This research aims to understand the stakeholder dynamic and discourse used to fulfil the stakeholder's interest and drive the development project. The case study of this research is the new capital city Nusantara in East Kalimantan, Indonesia, that will replace the previous capital city, Jakarta, due to environmental issues such as flooding, risk of sinking, high density, and many other issues. So, this case study is significant to understanding one of the first new capital cities that replace the previous city for climate change reasons. Additionally, the branding as a smart-forest city stated as being sustainable for the residents and will consider the environmental issues. This research analysed the policy documents, interviews, and visual analysis from the official website of the new city and found some interesting findings on the green and sustainable urbanism discourse, especially in the early stage of new city development.

The main research question is "What is the stakeholders' framing of sustainable and green city discourse, and how does this relate to power dynamics in new city development in Kalimantan Indonesia?". In general, the power dynamic of stakeholders of the new smart-forest city in East Kalimantan is dominated by a central government that influences the primary green and sustainable discourse. The central government has the power to legitimize its discourse by employing consultants and academics and controlling the rule of law. Moreover, the majority of political parties in the house of representative is a coalition of the current President's party, so a "fast track" policy on new city development has passed. This primary research question is answered in detail by four sub-questions.

*Sub question 1: Which stakeholders are given a voice, and which stakeholders are excluded from debates on new city development?*

In conclusion, the stakeholders that have voiced the idea follow up in the policy document is that of the central government. The central government produced the idea of new city development as a smart-forest city. This idea is also brought out by some stakeholders, especially experts and academics from universities. As noted in chapter 5 and chapter 6, it is explained the domination of the central government on the decision making, planning, and construction process of the new capital city of Nusantara. According to the interviews, it is known that the policy document is mainly influenced by research and discussion conducted by the Ministry of Development and Planning/Bappenas as the new capital city agenda coordinator. Meanwhile, other stakeholders, such as indigenous communities and environmental NGOs, did not participate fully or are informed about the decision-making and drafting of the capital city law, masterplan planning, or partake in the discussion of the consequences of capital city development in East Kalimantan. Moreover, stakeholders like the indigenous community, environmental NGOs, and local government perspective are not fully accommodated in the early stage of the new capital city Nusantara policy making.

*Sub question 2: What are the main themes of sustainable and green new city discourse?*

There are many discourses related to green and sustainability produced by the stakeholder to gain support, to challenge the supporter discourse, and accommodate the excluded voices. Some main discourses dominate the development of the new city. The first main discourse is the smart-forest city produced by the central government as the branding of the new city Nusantara that considers environmental issues due to degradation of land in East Kalimantan and legitimized the project and got support from the public, local stakeholders, future residents, and potential investors. The second discourse is economic growth that is mainstreamed by the government. It is widespread in every policy document, interview, and illustration of new city development to justify the benefit of new city development because the new city will attract “green” and “high technology” investment and bring many job opportunities for the people.

In addition, there mainstream discourse between local people and NGOs that challenge the idea of new city development and acknowledge other stakeholders, including the central government. The damaged ecosystem is one of the main discourses. The narrative of the damaged ecosystem emphasizes the long history of extractives of East Kalimantan’s Forest by timber plantation and coal mining. So, the challenger delegitimized the smart-forest city discourse and stated that it is not the solution to the environmental problem. Another main discourse is “do not want to be the next Betawi people”, local people in East Kalimantan are comparing themselves to Betawi people in Jakarta, who have been marginalized because of mega-city development. Moreover, local people remember the marginalization history they experienced before and try to negotiate to be included in the development of the new city of Nusantara.

*Sub question 3: What are the points of view and interest of the stakeholders on new city development?*

Chapters 7, 8, and 9 have explained the interest of the stakeholders in green and sustainable discourse. Generally, there are three categories of stakeholders that support new city development, challenge, and negotiate to accommodate their interests. The supporter of the new smart-forest city is mostly the central government, provincial government, political parties, experts, and some indigenous communities. They believe that green capitalism, through the smart-forest city concept, invites “green” investment, and technology will boost economic growth and impact prosperity for the people.

In contrast, the challenger to new city development are primarily environmental NGOs that worry about environmental problems in East Kalimantan and indigenous communities who suffered from marginalization in the past; Thus, they are scared that the new city will worsen existing environmental problems and exclude local people more than before. So, their interest is canceling the capital city relocation and asking for rehabilitation of the damaged environment.

Besides, the accommodator's stakeholders consist of local government, some indigenous people, and some academics. They are concerned about the environmental issues and negative consequences of new city development. However, on behalf of their perspective or community they said to represent, they are trying to negotiate with central government to

participate in the new city development so their concern would be accommodated. Furthermore, they hope the rehabilitation and local people's participation in social economy activities are included in the new city development.

*Sub question 4: What strategies were applied to mainstreaming and contest the discourses?*

Chapter 6 discusses the strategies that stakeholders employ to make their discourse mainstream. The supporter stakeholder is the dominant actor and has many approaches to mainstreaming their framing, for instance, inviting experts and academics to do research and contribute to the planning process of new city development, legitimation of the project by law and political procedure, and reminding the historical idea of capital city relocation. Moreover, the accommodator stakeholder, like the indigenous community- and local governments-representatives participate in dialogue with the government and actively coordinates with the high-level government for example with ministries and president. Meanwhile, the challenger stakeholder strengthened their NGOs network to criticise the new city development, published a report on environmental problems, advocacy and public discussion.

By way of conclusion, discourse analysis is to understand the text from documents, statements, and pictures. Furthermore, the text is not neutral because it is written with specific concepts, interests, and objectives influenced by politics, culture, and social context. This research found that green- and sustainable-discourse is not always driven by an environmental factor or poverty alleviation but also by the economic factor driven by the government, academic community, private sector, or even the elite of indigenous people. This research contributes new insight about damaged ecosystem discourse and marginalization history to contest the smart-forest city discourse. Which is the marketing strategy to boost economic growth. Besides, some strategies are employed by stakeholders to support, challenge, and accommodate the excluded stakeholders from the new city development project.

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## 13. Annex

### 13.1 Interview Guide

#### **Introduction**

Good morning/afternoon. My name is Nitia Agustini Kala Ayu, I am a student in International Development Studies at Utrecht University and this research is part of my master thesis. Let me tell you a bit more about this interview. The research is being carried out to get to know what the stakeholders in the new capital city in Kalimantan think about the sustainable and green city. This interview will serve the purpose of a master thesis at Utrecht University, this research is also embedded into the research collaboration between Indonesian and Dutch universities, namely "Following Frontiers of the Forest City: Towards Sustainable and Inclusive Urbanisation in Kalimantan and Beyond". Thank you for your time.

#### **Consent**

I would like to confirm your willingness to participate in this interview. Your participation is completely voluntary. And are you fine if I will be recording this interview so that it can be transcribed word for word and then used in the analysis stage? Would it be fine if I cite your statement with your name and your position in the research paper? But if you are not comfortable with that, I remind you that all the information you give me will be kept anonymous. The interview will last about an hour. If at any moment you feel uncomfortable, you may withdraw from the interview. Do you have any questions?

**[TURN ON THE AUDIO RECORDER]**

#### **Background information**

No. of Interview:

Name:

Position:

Institution:

This semi-structured protocol serves as the basis for the interview. The interviewer will ask the following questions and vary and/or extend them as necessary to obtain more information or ensure that the participant understands what is being asked.

#### **Opening questions:**

1. Would you tell me what you do in your work on a daily basis? And how does your position involve the new capital city project?  
Probes: this question adapts to the background of the participants such as government representatives, social activists, community leaders, etc.
2. What sources of information and media do people access about new city development in Kalimantan?
3. What do you think about the capital city relocation and new city development in Kalimantan?

Probes: factors, the urgency of relocation, obstacles, critics, impact, the process of relocation

4. Can you tell me a bit about what you know about the progress of new city development in Kalimantan?

Probes: current policy/policy change, infrastructure building, challenges in development, the role of the stakeholders (the participant's institution)

#### **Key questions:**

5. What do you think about the new city in Kalimantan will be? What kind of city will be built according to your understanding?

Probes: national symbol, forest city, smart city, ecocity, development hub, industrial city, sustainable city, examples, and stories about new city development, why they think like this, and what have they seen/experienced about it that makes they think like this.

6. What do you think about the sustainable aspect of the new city in Kalimantan?

Probes: environmental sustainability, social sustainability, economic sustainability, SDGs

7. How do you think the new city authority will build the city and manage the environmental issue? And how do you think other stakeholder roles?

Probes: preserve the forest, deforestation, wild animals' protection, forest city, green city, energy (renewable energy or fossil fuel energy), climate change, technology to manage the environment

8. What do you think about social issues and the social benefits of the new city development? What do you think of the stakeholder response to those issues?

Probes: Land acquisition and certification issue, local community reaction to a new city, public participation, communication between stakeholders, vulnerable groups, culture, and tradition, inequality (indigenous community and immigrant)

9. What do you think of economic development through the new city development?

Probes: industry hub, economic inequality, economic growth, job opportunities, poverty, economic distribution, investment

10. What have you seen as the current impact of the new city development project? And what do you think is the impact in the near future?

Probes: social (poverty, socio-economic segregation), environmental issues, economic issues

11. Who are the stakeholders in the new city development in Kalimantan? Which are the most active in discussing the green and sustainable aspects? How is your organization communicating or collaborating with other stakeholders?

Probes: national government, local government, civil organization, local community, which company involve and what is their view, what topic they talk about

12. What is the role of your organization in new city development in Kalimantan? What is your organization has been done and is doing around the new city development issue?

Probes: Sector of the organization, responsibility, reason to engage or not, the relation with green and sustainable city development

13. What are your organization's challenges in participating in new city development in Kalimantan?  
Probes: bureaucracy, politics, funding, access to information, and participation
14. What do you think are the overall challenges of sustainability and green development in the new city in Kalimantan?  
Probes: National or local policy, planning, environmental issues, civil society criticism, timeframe, politics, coordination, and bureaucracy
15. What topic do you think that less covered in the new city development discussion?  
Probes: environmental impact, economic issues, vulnerable groups (poor, indigenous community, people engagement, the change of discourse, and the change in the future.

**Closing questions:**

16. Do you have documents about new city development that are important for more knowledge about the development process?
17. Do you wish to add anything else to this interview?

13.1 Sustainability Words Search Query Document Analysis

Type of Sustainability: economic, social, or environmental?	Capital City Law and Masterplan	Pocket book of Capital City Relocation	Academic Paper 2020	Academic Paper 2021	Presidential Regulation Number 64 2022	Total Frequencies
Environmental sustainability	335	21	214	221	266	1057
Social sustainability	215	14	109	270	97	705
Economic sustainability	361	55	165	161	88	830
<b>Which actors drive the sustainable and green city?</b>						0
Actors: private sector	38	13	23	27	11	112
Actors: community / civil society	239	11	146	216	54	666
Actors: government	130	12	188	171	9	510
Actors: experts	100	10	28	26	27	191
<b>Behavior changes as a solution or technology and technology design as a solution?</b>						0



<b>Type of Sustainability: economic, social, or environmental?</b>	<b>Capital City Law and Masterplan</b>	<b>Pocket book of Capital City Relocation</b>	<b>Academic Paper 2020</b>	<b>Academic Paper 2021</b>	<b>Presidential Regulation Number 64 2022</b>	<b>Total Frequencies</b>
Behavior changes as a solution	393	9	105	115	626	1248
Technology & design as a solution: production-focused	280	24	99	103	115	621
Technology & design as a solution:consumption-focused	127	2	25	33	19	206