

PINCHED BETWEEN

The Impacts of the New City Development on People:
Some Critical Notes from Indonesia's New Capital City

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PUSTAKA PELAJAR

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Contents

Contents – v	
List of Figures – vii	
List of Table – ix	
List of Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations – 1	
Preface – 7	
Chapter I	
Introduction: New City Development and Nusantara Capital City – 11	
Chapter II	
Nusantara Capital City in the National, Regional and Local context – 23	
2.1 Understanding Nusantara – 23	
2.2 Profiling Potentially Affected Communities – 25	
2.3 Development Projections of New Capital City – 32	
Chapter III	
Impacts of Nusantara Capital City Development: Varied and Severe – 39	
3.1. Social Impacts – 40	
3.2. Economic Impacts – 41	
3.3. Environmental Impacts – 43	
Chapter IV	
Marginalization of People and the Formation of the New Class: A Timescape Outlook – 47	
4.1 Marginalization of Indigenous People – 47	

- 4.2. Repeated Marginalization: What Does Society Want? – 49
- 4.3. Forma(liza)tion of New Classes – 51
 - 4.3.1. Pre-Nusantara Capital City Class Dynamic: Agrarian Transformation – 51
 - 4.3.2. Nusantara Capital City Class Dynamic: Symbolic Violence and Intellectual Domination – 56
- 4.4. Land Grabbing in Capital City Development – 63
 - 4.4.1. Land for Development of the Capital City of Indonesia – 65
 - 4.4.2. Foreign Investment in Nusantara Capital City Development – 66
 - 4.4.3. Facts from the Field: Land Ownership and Land Grabbing – 66

Chapter V

Towards and Beginning of Nusantara Capital City Development: Exclusion – 69

- 5.1. New Capital City and the Imagination of Frontier 70
 - 5.1.1. Access to Frontier: A Long and Winding Road – 72
 - 5.1.2. Frontier and the Exclusion Process – 75
 - 5.1.3. Gates, Borders, and Codes of Conduct – 78
- 5.2. Technical Rendering and Depoliticization: Weaken the Weapon – 82
 - 5.2.1. Techno-Political Dimension of Nusantara Capital City and the Discourse Arena – 83
 - 5.2.2. Technical Rendering in Nusantara Capital City – 89

Chapter VI

Conclusion: Critical Notes – 93

- 6.1. (Pseudo) Place Attachment – 93
- 6.2. Potential Land Grabbing in Nusantara Capital City Developmentt – 98
- 6.3. Further Excluding Remarks – 100

References – 103

Authors Biography – 117

List of Figures

- Figure 1. Orientation Map of the Capital City of the Archipelago: The Map Shows the Difference of Relative Location between Jakarta and Nusantara within Indonesia Archipelago – 13
- Figure 2. Locations Used for Observation to Analyze the Impact of Nusantara Capital City Development on the Community 18
- Figure 3. Map of Distribution of Respondents in 2021 and 2022 – 20
- Figure 4. Basis Sector and Commodities in IKN and Beyond – 28
- Figure 5. Projected Population of Nusantara Capital City 2022-2045 – 35
- Figure 6. Sources of Financing for Nusantara Capital City Development – 36
- Figure 7. Local Community Rained Reservoir in Sepaku – 44
- Figure 8. Image of Residential Areas Along the River and Some Survey Documentation – 45
- Figure 9. Agricultural Transformation in the Location of Nusantara Capital city – 52
- Figure 10. Settlement Development in Several Areas of Nusantara Capital City Location. 53
- Figure 11. Palm Oil Plantations at The Location of Nusantara Capital City. Data was Collected from Biopama Programme from 2019 Sentinel Imagery (Adrià, et al., 2021) – 55

- Figure 12. Smallholders Palm Oil Plantations at the Side of the Main Road – 56
- Figure 13. Informant P2's House. It is on the Side of the Main Road Near Agro Inc. A Massive Road Upgrade for the Access of Nusantara Capital City was Done, Spraying Ashes to Its Settlement. Most of the Houses in This Area belong to the Paser Community. 73
- Figure 14. Road Construction at the Location of IKN – 74
- Figure 15. Signages to Show the Border for the Forest Area (Red) and Nusantara Capital City Core Zone (Yellow) – 80
- Figure 16. Distribution of Signages in Nusantara Capital City Location – 81
- Figure 17. Ronggeng Dancer Preparing to Perform. The Traditional Dance is Commonly Staged as A Welcome Ceremony to Government Elites – 89

List of Table

- Table 1. Number and Distribution of Key Informants – 19
- Table 2. Number and Distribution of Respondents – 19
- Table 3. Plan of Two Activity Centers in Nusantara Capital City Zone – 25
- Table 4. Total and Distribution of Population in Nusantara Capital City – 26
- Table 5. Natural Resources at the Observation Site – 27
- Table 6. Types of Households (Respondents) in Nusantara Capital City Zones – 29
- Table 7. Main Job of the Communities in Nusantara Capital City Zones – 30
- Table 8. Mean Years School (MYS) of the Communities in Nusantara Capital City Zones – 31
- Table 9. Percentage of Pre-Prosperous Families – 31
- Table 10. Projection of Nusantara Capital City Population in 2045 – 33
- Table 11. Social Impacts of Nusantara Capital City Development – 41
- Table 12. Economic Impacts of Nusantara Capital City Development – 42
- Table 13. Environmental Impacts of Nusantara Capital City Development – 43

- Table 14. Differences in Community Assessment of Nusantara Capital City Transfers – 58
- Table 15. Attitudes and Knowledge towards Transfer of Nusantara Capital City – 62
- Table 16. Economic and Political Dimension of Nusantara Capital City Frontier – 71
- Table 17. The Dimensions of Exclusion in the Location of Nusantara Capital City – 75
- Table 18. Power of Exclusion in Location of Nusantara Capital City – 78
- Table 19. Development Stages for Nusantara Capital City – 83

List of Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations

Glossary (Quoted definition means a direct quotation from the resource(s))

- Nusantara : The name of new capital city of Indonesia
- Nusantara Capital City : Nusantara Capital City Development
- Zone/IKN Zone : Area with an area of approximately 199,962 hectares
- Development Zone : Nusantara Capital City area with an area of approximately 56,180 hectares
- The Central Government Core City : Part of the Nusantara Capital Area area, covers an area of approximately 6,671 hectares
- Outside the Zone : Area beyond the capital city area
- Land grabbing : The contentious issue of large-scale land acquisitions: the buying or leasing of large pieces of land by domestic and transnational companies, governments, and

- individuals.
- Urbanization : “the process wherein urban living patterns supersede rural living patterns” (Murayama & Estoque, 2020); “the transformation of lightly populated open-country or rural areas into dense concentrations of people, characterized by the expansion of population from central cities and the migration of people from other areas” (Grolier, 1987)
- Spatial planning : “a public sector function with the purpose of influencing future spatial distribution of activities. The aim is to create a more rational territorial organization of land use and the linkages between them, to balance demands for development with the need to protect the environment, and to achieve social and economic objectives” (Yamagata & Yang, 2020)
- Transmigration : “the transfer of population in Indonesia from the central islands of Java, Madura, Bali, and Lombok to the outer islands under government sponsorship” (MacAndrew, 1978)
- Indigenous communities/people : “distinct social and cultural groups that share collective ancestral ties to the lands and natural resources where they live, occupy or from

	which they have been displaced” (World Bank, 2022)
Adat	: a set of shared traditions, customs, regulations, and values in a particular indidenuous community (Hauser-Schäublin, 2013)
Swidden agriculture	: shifting, slash-and-burn cultivation agriculture (Geertz, 1963)
Impact (environment)	: “changes in the natural or built environment, resulting directly from an activity, that can have adverse effects on the air, land, water, fish, and wildlife or the inhabitants of the ecosystem.” (Abdallah, 2017)
Marginalization	: “to define them (people) as falling short of the norm and so disempower people and exclude them (people) from the mainstream of society” (Abbott & Sapsford, 2019)
Green revolution	: Dramatic agricultural yield increase by introduction of, pesticides, artificial fertilizers, mechanization of agriculture, and high-yield seeds
Symbolic violence	: violence which is exercised at a symbolic level and operates on stigma and paradigm constructed and imposed by the ruling class (Southerton, 2011)
Actors	: “individuals who have obtained at least some measure of political

- power and/or authority in a particular society who engage in activities that can have a significant influence on decisions, policies, media coverage, and outcomes associated with a given conflict” (Wolfsfeld, 2015)
- Frontier : “transitional spaces where political authorities and social and environmental relations “of the recent past are currently being challenged by new enclosures, territorializations and property regimes” (Peluso and Lund, 2011 in Hein et al., 2016).
- Exclusion : “the ways in which people are prevented from benefiting from things (more specifically, land)” (Hall, et al., 2011)
- Rendering technical : “a set of practices concerned with representing ‘the domain to be governed as an intelligible field with specifiable limits and particular characteristics ... defining boundaries, rendering that within them visible, assembling information about that which is included and devising techniques to mobilize the forces and entities thus revealed” (Rose, 1999 in Li, 2011).
- Inclusive city : Inclusive city is a city which without prejudice to economic

status, gender, race, ethnicity, or religion provides equal access to social, economic, and political opportunities for a wide variety of urban residents (Elias, 2020)

Abbreviations

BAPPENAS	:	Badan Perencanaan Nasional (the Ministry of National Development Planning / National Development Planning Agency)
IKN	:	Ibu Kota Negara (The New National Capital City)
Kemenristekdikti	:	Kementerian Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi (the Ministry of Research, Technology, and higher education)
RTR	:	Rencana Tata Ruang (Spatial Planning)
RDTR	:	Rencana Detail Tata Ruang (Detailed Spatial Planning)
WP	:	Wilayah Perencanaan (Planning Area/Region)
ASEAN	:	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ITCI	:	International Timber Corporation Indonesia
HGU	:	Hak Guna Usaha (Cultivation Rights Scheme)
SKT	:	Surat Keterangan Tanah (Letter of Land Ownership)
SDGs	:	Sustainable development goals

Preface

In various parts of the world, the emergence of a new city, which also becomes the new capital of a country, has always been controversial. Despite the pros and cons of building a new city, and under the shadow of the failure of various countries to move the capital, the Indonesian government has decided to move the nation's capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. Nusantara, the Capital City (in Bahasa Indonesia it is called Ibu Kota Negara - IKN Nusantara), was chosen as the name of the new city-- the decision the government believes is the right decision and has been carefully planned. However, based on various critics, it is considered a hasty decision and does not become a solution to solving the problems that underlie the government's decision. In fact, for some pessimists, the decision is considered as a government blunder that will add to the misery of the community.

One of the biggest concerns of academics and pessimists is that the community is not involved in the planning of Nusantara, the Capital City. However, The biggest concern is the exclusion of local communities from the activities and benefits of Nusantara. Instead of taking part in getting the benefits from the development of Nusantara, the presence of this new city is believed by several parties to marginalize and exclude people from various processes and dimensions; one of which is the land tenure process.

By considering the pros and cons above, coupled with several preliminary studies on cases of capital relocation in several countries such as Brazil, South Korea, Australia, and Malaysia, a group of researchers from universities in Indonesia and the Netherlands agreed to conduct a deeper study of the issue of the new capital city of Indonesia. It's simple: portraits, analysis and contributions. With great curiosity and motivation to contribute to this new city which is predicted to become a modern and sustainable city, these researchers then formed an international research consortium that initially only consisted of academics, then developed into a group of academics, government institutions, and private sectors that have great interests in Nusantara, the Capital City. With a large number of consortiums, namely UGM, Kalimantan Institute of Technology, Lambung Mangkurat University, Utrecht University, IHE-Delft, Peat and Mangrove Restoration Agency, Regional Research and Development Agency for East Kalimantan Province, and Royal Haskoning DHV, the opportunity to contribute to closer to the availability of study funds from each member of the consortium obtained from various parties from outside and within the country.

This book is the yield of the thoughts of the consortium members written in several important notes on the idea of moving the country's capital which is also based on data and information provided by respondents and key informants at Nusantara, (we thank you for the contribution of the thoughts of the respondents and the key persons). As a bridge to creating a sustainable urbanization learning lab, this book is expected to contribute critical thinking to the government's efforts to develop new capital cities. The fear of repeated emphasis on new city development on grey/hard infrastructure compared to social engineering is one of the backgrounds and debates presented in this book.

Arranged in six chapters, this book is expected to provide a comprehensive understanding of the impact of the development of The Capital City of the Archipelago (and several previous mega-

project developments) and the dynamics currently occurring at the micro level of society. The first chapter explains the concept of new city development in the context of Nusantara Capital City. Several concepts of marginalization, exclusion, and land grabbing, as well as explanations of locus which becomes the basis for writing the book are also explained. In the second chapter, the profile of Nusantara Capital City in the regional context, as well as the profile of the affected community at the location of the focus of observation, which is then followed by several projections of the spatial development of the area Nusantara Capital City, will be explained clearly. Then in the following three chapters, the various impacts of Nusantara Capital City development and some previous mega-projects that affect local residents, migrants, and transmigrants will be described in great detail. The explanation is presented in two dimensions of time, namely the period before the idea of moving the capital city and the period at the beginning of the decision to move, and the initial phase of the physical development of the Nusantara Capital City. This book is then closed with concluding remarks which will summarize discussions in the previous chapters.

Yogyakarta

Authors

Introduction: New City Development and Nusantara Capital City

In mid-2019, President Joko Widodo decided to move the capital city of Indonesia from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. The new capital city is designed as a center for government administration, while Jakarta will remain a hub for economic and business activities. On a total land area of 324 thousand hectares, Nusantara Capital City was planned to build an area as a center for government administration, settlements, and facilities for basic needs and technology (BAPPENAS, 2019). The new city with the concept of ‘forest city’ with the Nagara Rimba Nusa master plan will carry the concept of a forest city (The Jakarta Post, 2019), which means that development will take place massively in and around forest areas.

Various problems in the capital city of Jakarta triggered the decision, including a very high population density, worsening environmental and disaster problems, severe traffic congestion, and economic activities that are too centralized in Jakarta (BAPPENAS, 2019; Saputra, 2020). In addition, the desire to place the capital city in a more central location in the Indonesian archipelago and away from disaster risk was another reason for the relocation (Sapiie, 2019) (also

see Figure 1). For those who are against it, the reasons above are not convincing enough to move the country's capital city.

This decision, later strengthened by Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the National Capital, became a controversy amid the community. By carrying out the concept of "forest city", the government believes that moving the capital city will not damage the environment and the survival of future generations (Veno, 2019). Contrary to what the government believes, some previous evidence shows that the construction of new cities can damage ecosystems and cause new problems due to the massive population movement that follows the process (Saputra, 2020). The construction of a new capital city by building mega-infrastructure on a large scale can lead to land speculation and the conversion of forest areas in the planning area. In addition, studies also show that the relocation of the capital city does not only have an impact on the planning area, but also on areas outside it. The construction of new capital cities and large cities with modern city concepts, such as in Brasilia (Brazil) and Africa has led to massive growth around the planning area, followed by rapid urbanization growth. This condition then causes the emergence of various ecological and socio-economic problems (van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2018; Browder, Godfrey & Godfrey, 1997).

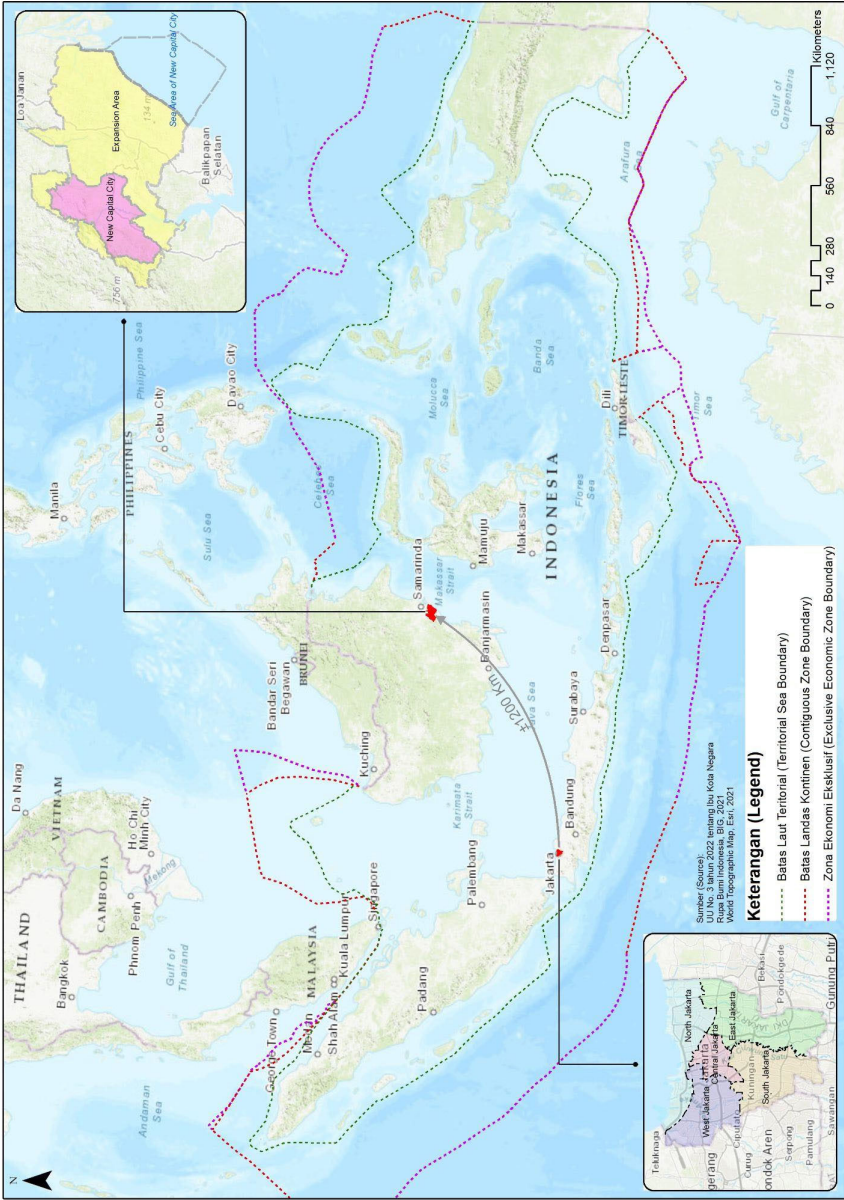


Figure 1. Orientation Map of the Capital City of the Archipelago: The Map Shows the Difference of Relative Location between Jakarta and Nusantara within Indonesia Archipelago

If we look at various parts of the world, the relocation of the capital city is nothing new. There are various reasons behind the transfer. One of these reasons is political reasons, in which state leaders move the capital city to consolidate power and create national unity (Rossman, 2018). In addition, the relocation of the capital city is also related to efforts to grow new centers of economic growth and environmental conservation efforts (White, 2009; Moser, 2010). This reason can be seen from the examples of moving the capital cities of Australia, South Korea, and Malaysia, which show success in balancing economic improvement and environmental conservation (White, 2009; Moser, 2010; Choi & Reeve, 2015).

On the other hand, failure to relocate the capital city is also not uncommon. The emergence of a new city certainly attracts residents closer to the city. The construction of a new city has attracted migrants to occupy the city, creating friction with various existing groups (Tsing, 2011). New cities built on a large scale with significant investments in mega-infrastructure will undoubtedly become new magnets for regional growth. Various experiences of urban development have shown that planning for a new city must be carried out with extreme care if it is not to fail. The closest example is learning from the case of development in Jakarta. The city has grown massively and uncontrollably, both within the urban core and on the outskirts of the city. The development of new cities around Jakarta by local governments around Jakarta as satellite cities that have good access to Jakarta has not succeeded in reducing the burden on this city (Kahfi & Sapiie, 2019; Firman, 2004). Ideally, the construction of new cities can reduce pressure on the city core (Tan, 2010). However, the example from Jakarta shows that the development of these cities is not only unable to solve problems but also brings new problems to the city (Douglass, 2005; Winarso & Firman, 2002).

Developing a new city as the nation's capital, especially involving the construction of massive facilities and infrastructure, has attracted global and domestic investment (Power, 2019). The emergence of investment and economic activity has increased spontaneous

uncontrolled urbanization and caused various marginal groups (e.g., the poor) to be forced to leave their homes because of inability to compete with migrants and or big economic powers (Batubara, Kooy & Zwarteveen, 2018). Along the outer side of the development area, where infrastructure development and infiltration occur on a large scale, the development of the capital city not only causes marginalized communities to be forced to move but also causes various problems of environmental change (Enns, 2018; Rasmussen & Lund, 2018).

As with other new city developments, Nusantara Capital City development can not only cause the area as a core area and the surrounding area to develop but can also harm the two zones of the area. Zoomers et al. (2017) show that new city development activities can cause a 'rush of land' with various forms of activity, including speculation on land and mega-infrastructure development. In other words, the development of various mega-infrastructures is possible for a land-grabbing process that leads to land foreignisation in investment activities that bring in foreign investors (Zoomers, 2010). The land-grabbing process in several countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is no longer only triggered by governments and foreign investors, but also by local investors (Zoomers & van Westen, 2013). The emergence of land rushes and land-grabbing activities can trigger land conflicts among investors, migrants, and indigenous people who have been living on the land for a long time (Zoomers et al., 2017; Zoomers & van Westen, 2013).

Infrastructure development to support Nusantara Capital City will also increase the price of land in the vicinity. For land included in Nusantara Capital City plan, land prices doubled within three months after the government announced plans to move the capital city to Kalimantan (Daton, 2020). This price has been increasing since the laying of the first stone for constructing the National Palace, which encourages people to sell their land in large sizes up to hectares (Darmawan, 2021). As with infrastructure development, rising land prices are also at risk of increasing speculative activities on land that can lead to changes in

environmental and social conditions (Rasmussen & Lund, 2018). If the land price is higher, then the competition in controlling the land will increase in line with the decrease in available land (Zoomers, et al., 2017; Susanti & Budidarsono, 2014; Zoomers, 2011). In the long term, this condition can lead to land contestation and escalation of conflict between communities.

Land conflicts, environmental damage, economic problems, and social conflicts often occur due to the emergence of new cities and migration. In the history of development in Indonesia, the emergence of new cities on a small scale in the transmigration process is enough to become a valuable lesson in predicting the possibility of potential conflicts because of the development of Nusantara Capital City (see O'Connor, 2004; MacAndrews, 1978; Barter & Cote, 2015). The emergence of transmigration areas as transmigration activities launched by the government, especially on lands that have the potential for oil palm plantations, has led to increased conflicts between migrant communities and local communities. Conflicts that occur from time to time have caused economic and social inequality. Susanti and Maryudi (2016) shows that inequality in access to resources and knowledge between migrants and local residents has become one cause of these problems.

The various conditions above show that developing a new city is not easy and without problems. To anticipate these problems while creating an inclusive urbanization, namely urbanization that considers the needs of all parties, it takes a huge number of efforts and interventions over a very long period of time, especially for various affected groups (Zoomers & Otsuki, 2017). For example, suppose within the development of Nusantara Capital City and the presence of new arrival, local communities are forced to be moved out from Nusantara Capital City area. In that case, the transfer process must consider the actual needs of the community and their ability to improve their livelihoods by providing suitable employment opportunities (Oliver-Smith, 2010). Participatory mapping activities and focus group

discussions can be a way to make an inventory of the actual conditions of affected communities to be included in planning (Cadag & Gaillard, 2012; Krueger & Casey, 2014).

This book was written to provide a comprehensive overview of the impacts and processes of local communities (indigenous peoples, migrants, and ex-transmigrants) as a result of the emergence of ideas and the start of the development of Nusantara Capital City. This information is essential as a supplementary to the political ecology debate of urbanization activities through a comprehensive analysis between the study of the socio-economic impact of new urban development represented by Nusantara Capital City and the development that occurs outside and within the planning area (Angelo & Wachsmuth, 2015). This book is expected to increase understanding of the various impacts of new city development in several locations with diverse geographical phenomena and different community groups through a trans-local perspective (Zoomers, et al., 2021). Contributions will be presented in a detailed, clear, and straightforward discussion on two things, namely: 1) profiles and maps of community groups that are socially and economically affected by Nusantara Capital City plan and development and other development practices prior to Nusantara Capital City plan, 2) the land tenure process for Nusantara Capital City and its impact on society, especially indigenous people, ex-transmigrants, and spontaneous migrants.

This book is very relevant to the National Research Priority on the need for knowledge based on multidisciplinary and cross-sectoral research in the environment, mitigation, and disaster risk reduction in urban area development. Written based on the results of research, discussions, and various scientific meetings held for two years (2021-2022), this book provides an overview of the impacts caused by various large-scale developments inside and outside Nusantara Capital City zone. The four study locations that form the basis of writing this book are located in the villages within Nusantara Capital City Zone, Nusantara Capital City Development Zone, and the area outside

Nusantara Capital City (Beyond the City), namely Pemaluan, Sepaku, Teluk Dalam, Babulu Darat, and Babulu Laut. (see Figure 2).

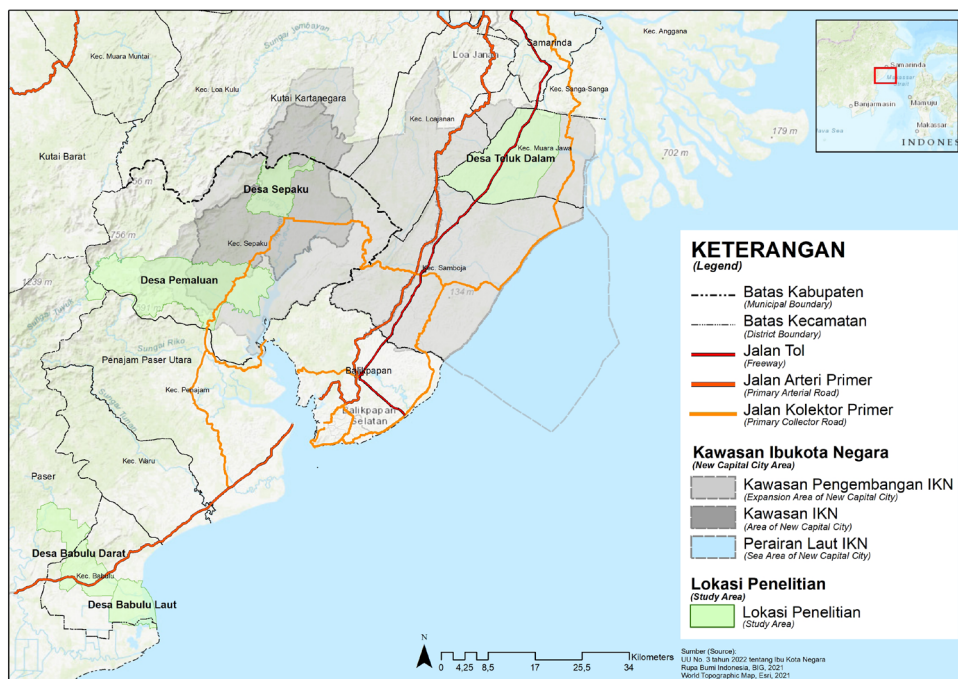


Figure 2.
Locations Used for Observation to Analyze the Impact of Nusantara Capital City Development on the Community

Various methods were used to complete the contents of this book. The information based on research results was obtained using qualitative and quantitative approaches. The data were obtained from five methods or techniques, namely: 1) desk/literature study, 2) analysis of maps and satellite images, 3) field surveys, 4) in-depth interviews, and 5) focus group discussions. First, desk/literature studies were used to develop conceptual methods and operational models and derive variables according to research objectives obtained from various books, journals, government policies and official reports, non-government agency documents, websites, and printed and online newspapers. Furthermore, the data obtained were used as the basis for

analyzing maps and satellite imagery. This analysis was used to obtain and identify spatial patterns and relationships among geographical phenomena, including the distribution of local population settlements, transmigrants, and spontaneous migrants. After knowing the spatial distribution of settlements and population distribution, field surveys and in-depth interviews were conducted (the number and distribution of key informants in the in-depth interviews can be seen in Table 1). Field surveys were carried out at the beginning of each research year at points potentially affected by Nusantara Capital City development inside and outside Nusantara Capital City Area.

Table 1.
Number and Distribution of Key Informants

No.	Zone	Village	2021	2022
1	Nusantara Capital City Zone	Sepaku	3	4
2	Nusantara Capital City Zone	Pemaluan	2	3
3	Development Zone	Teluk Dalam	-	9
4	Beyond the City	Babulu Darat	3	1
5	Beyond the City	Babulu Laut	-	4

Then in-depth interviews and semi-structured interviews were conducted in the households to understand in more detail the condition of the households affected by Nusantara Capital City development (see Table 2 for the distribution and number of respondents).

Table 2.
Number and Distribution of Respondents

No.	Zone	Village	2021	2022
1	Nusantara Capital City Zone	Sepaku	45	45
2	Nusantara Capital City Zone	Pemaluan	41	41
3	Development Zone	Teluk Dalam	42	15
4	Beyond the City	Babulu Darat	134	89
5	Beyond the City	Babulu Laut	-	63

There are two types of respondents, namely new respondents and former respondents (i.e., respondents who were visited in the first year and then revisited in the second year to get more detailed information) (see Figure 3 to see the distribution of the respondents). In the last stage, focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted to understand the existing conditions and the impact of Nusantara Capital City development on various community groups obtained from various stakeholder representatives, including local leaders, transmigrants, parents, farmer groups, women, youth, religious leaders, and local governments.

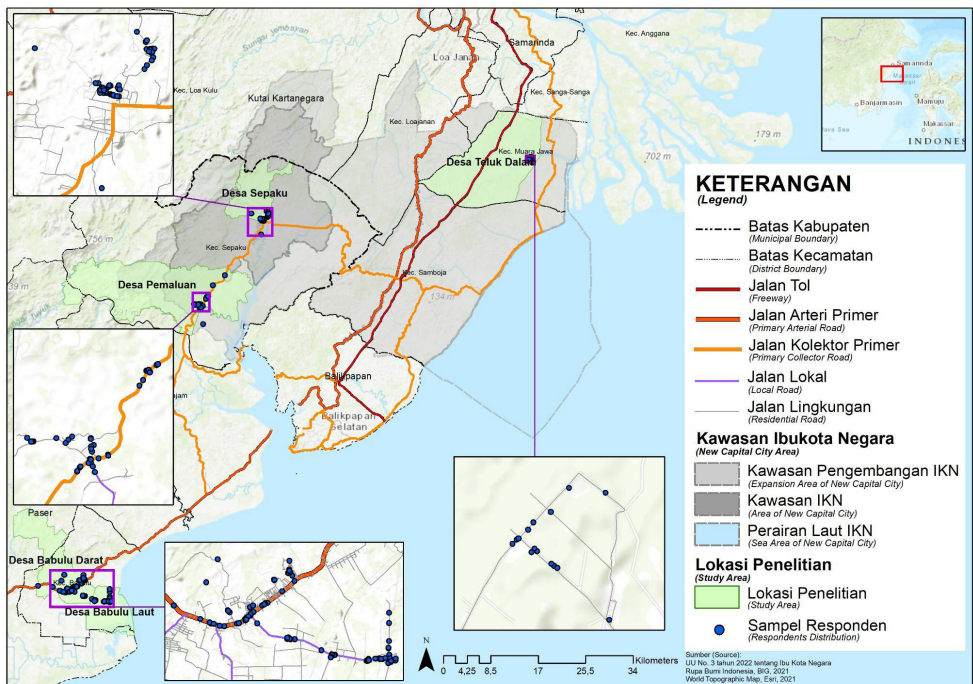


Figure 3.
Map of Distribution of Respondents in 2021 and 2022

With a comprehensive approach, method, and observation location, this book can open a discussion about the thoughts and praxis of new city development. In the end, this book is expected to also contribute to sustainable development goals (SDGs), especially SDG

11, which focuses on creating inclusive, sustainable, and resilient cities, as well as SDG 15.9 and SDG 13.2, which are related to efforts to create sustainable ecosystems across urban administrative boundaries.

Nusantara Capital City in the National, Regional and Local Context

2.1 Understanding Nusantara

Nusantara Capital City was built to become a sustainable city in the world and become a driver of Indonesia's economy in the future, as well as a symbol of national identity that represents the diversity of Indonesia. "Nusantara" is the name chosen to be Indonesia's new capital city. When referring to the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia/KBBI*), Nusantara is the name or designation for the entire Indonesian Archipelago. Initially, the name Nusantara was used in political contestations around the XIV century during the Majapahit kingdom. Some island groups in Asia and Australia, to the Malay peninsula, are categorized as Nusantara. The name Nusantara has also been debated among experts because the name actually shows the centrality of the island of Java, considering that the Majapahit Kingdom was then located in Java and referred to the archipelago as an area outside Java. At the same time, Nusantara was chosen because it represents the Indonesian Archipelago. In addition, one of the transfers of Indonesian new capital is also based on equitable development so that it is not concentrated

in Java. The name Nusantara is chosen because the definition widely known today represents the geographical area of the Archipelago of Indonesia.

Nusantara Capital City will later become a super hub and inclusive in the context of national development. It is also expected that the relocation of the capital city to Kalimantan can be an initial effort to distribute development evenly throughout Indonesia, which is currently still very concentrated on Java Island. The state capital on Kalimantan Island is expected to trigger more and more even spreading and trickle-down effects; the flow of population, capital, goods, and services from activity centers can affect all corners of the country. The concept of Nusantara Capital City development that carries a forest city is also the government's effort to keep Kalimantan functioning as one of the world's lungs. In addition, the smart city concept is also expected to facilitate various activities in the capital city in the future.

The relocation of the Indonesian capital also becomes one of the relocations based on environmental reasons. The condition of Jakarta, which functionally overlaps with one another, has caused a severe negative impact on the environment. The relocation of the capital city had previously been discussed by several Indonesian presidents before Joko Widodo. Ir. Soekarno discussed moving the capital city to Palangkaraya; Suharto discussed moving the capital city out of Jakarta; Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono discussed moving the capital city to Kalimantan; and the last Ir. Joko Widodo chose North Penajam Paser and Kutai Kartanegara as candidates for the new capital city of Indonesia.

Geographically, the location where the capital is being built has a relatively strategic position. Its relatively central position in the Indonesian Archipelago has had a major geopolitical and geostrategic impact. In addition, the position passed by Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Lanes II increasingly provides high accessibility to the center of government. The position of Nusantara Capital City, which is between two growth centers in East Kalimantan Province, namely Balikpapan

City and Samarinda City, impacts ease of access and logistics. In addition, its function as a supplier of energy and oil and gas is expected to support the capital city’s needs. North Penajam Paser, as the area that will become the central government’s location, is expected to be able to contribute to the success of the capital city development and grow together with Nusantara. The area around the Nusantara Capital City will likely become an area affected by urbanization. The urban corridor will be formed as a result of the constellation relationship of three cities (*Trikota*), namely Nusantara, Balikpapan, and Samarinda.

Based on the Nusantara Capital City Law, the Nusantara area will be divided into two zones, namely Nusantara Capital City Zone and the Development Zone. The Central Government Core Area will be within Nusantara Capital City Zone. The Detailed Spatial Plan is currently still under preparation along with the Strategic Environmental Assessment. However, in the planning, it has been stated that Nusantara Capital City Zone will be developed into two activity centers, namely the primary and secondary. Table 3 shows that the two centers will develop various activities that can trigger the emergence of other (allowed) activities.

Table 3.
Plan of Two Activity Centers in Nusantara Capital City Zone

Center Type	Hub
Primary Activity Center	Central Government Core Area
	West Nusantara Capital Activity Center
	East Nusantara Capital Activity Center
Secondary Activity Center	East Nusantara Capital Activity Center
	Muara Jawa Administration Center
	Samboja Administration Center

2.2 Profiling Potentially Affected Communities

The affected communities in the five observation villages represent three zones in the Nusantara Capital City development. Sepaku and Pemaluan are sub-districts within the Nusantara Capital City Zone with a population of 1,913 and 1,716, respectively. This zone is a location that

will become the center of government and the center of activities for the future capital city. Then Teluk Dalam becomes a location within the Development Zone and relatively far from Nusantara Capital City zone. Teluk Dalam is in the administrative area of Kutai Kartanegara Regency and is in the northern coastal area of Nusantara Capital City Area. The population of this location is 1,137 people. Locations outside the Nusantara Capital City area must also receive serious attention to see the dynamics that occur and measure the intensity of Nusantara Capital City's influence on the surrounding area. Finally, Babulu Darat and Babulu Laut Villages represent locations outside the zone with a total population of 10,886 and 4,122 people, respectively (see Table 4).

Table 4.
Total and Distribution of Population in Nusantara Capital City

Zone	Village	Male	Female	Total Population
Nusantara Capital City Zone	Sepaku	979	934	1913
Nusantara Capital City Zone	Pemaluan	935	781	1716
Development Zone	Teluk Dalam	620	517	1137
Beyond the City	Babulu Darat	5606	5280	10886
Beyond the City	Babulu Laut	2139	1983	4122

(Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Districts in Figures 2022)

Each village has different resource characteristics. Sepaku and Pemaluan, located in the Nusantara Capital City zone, have agricultural, forestry, and fishery resources which are the primary sources of income for the population. Commodities developed in this area were oil palm and partly rice. Ex-transmigrant communities in the Sepaku area mostly developed rice commodities. In contrast to what was found in Teluk Dalam, the people in this region had the primary income from the mining sector. The existence of mining companies was one of the sectors driving the economy in this region. Babulu Darat and Babulu Laut were areas that were developed as rice granaries. Rice became the main commodity developed by the community. In addition, oil palm plantations had also become a commodity developed in Babulu Darat.

In contrast, for Babulu Laut, the aquaculture and capture fisheries sector became a highly developed (see Table 5). Its position in the coastal area is very supportive of this activity.

Table 5.
Natural Resources at the Observation Site

	Nusantara Capital City Zone	Development Zone	Beyond the City
The main source of income for most villagers	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	Mining and excavation	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries
Main commodity type	Rice and palm oil	-	Rice

(Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Village Potential, 2021)



(a) Paddy Field in Sepaku



(b) HTI (Industrial Forest Plantation) in Pernaluan



(c) Coal Mining in Teluk Dalam



(d) Oil and Gas Mining in Teluk Dalam



(e) Paddy Field in Babulu Darat



(f) Oil Palm Plantation in Babulu Darat



(g) Fisher Settlement in Babulu Laut



(h) Fisher Activities in Babulu Laut

Figure 4.
Basis Sector and Commodities in IKN and Beyond

(Photo Credit: Ikrima Barrorotul Farikhiyah, Elinda Triawati, Aziz Musthofa)

Based on their characteristics, the population in the sample locations can be divided into several types: indigenous/local people, migrants, and ex-transmigrants (see Table 6). Differences in where people were originally from showed how they tended to cultivate the land and carry out their activities. The ex-transmigrant community is a community that was previously moved based on a government program to develop rice farming land in various parts of Indonesia. The farming culture differed from that of the local community, which initially carried out shifting agricultural activities.

Local people are the local tribal communities and have lived in the location for a long time. The Paser and Balik tribes are local (native) tribes in the sample location area. Migrant communities are people who move from other areas to the sample location. This community was

dominated by the Bugis people who moved from the Sulawesi Island. This shift occurred long ago and is still happening today. At first, they moved to the coastal areas of Kalimantan to take advantage of fishery resources. Then now, they are also entering deeper areas to farm like local people.

The existence of the ex-transmigrant community depended on the location prepared by the government. Sepaku became one of several locations that became a transmigration destination in the 1970s, while the other locations were not transmigration destinations. As time went by, the ex-transmigrants' generation grew and spread to the surrounding area. Rice farming activities in Babulu Darat and Babulu Laut were growing. It was carried out by ex-transmigrant communities, and local and migrant communities also participated in developing rice farming.

Table 6.
Types of Households (Respondents) in Nusantara Capital City Zones

Type of Household	Nusantara Capital City Zone (%)	Development Zone (%)	Beyond the City (%)
Local/indigenous	41	67	46
Migrants	24	33	53
Ex-Transmigrants	35	0	1
Total	100	100	100

(Source: Primary Data Collection, 2022)

* It was considered based on the settlement location, daily language, length of stay, place of birth, and year of arrival.

* Nusantara Capital City Zone comprises 2 villages samples (Sepaku and Pernaluan) with (n)=91, Development Zone comprises 1 village sample (Teluk Dalam) with (n)=15, Beyond the City consists of 2 villages (Babulu Darat and Babulu Laut) with (n)=136

The livelihoods of the household heads in the sample locations showed that the plantation and agriculture sectors became their main occupations (Table 7). Agriculture became the primary job, and even in Teluk Dalam, which was a mining area, most people still worked in the plantation sector. The existence of companies engaged in the plantation sector (Nusantara Capital City Zone and beyond the city) and mining

(development zone) provided employment opportunities for the local community. Therefore, apart from working as farmers, most of the people also worked as company workers (employees and laborers) in their respective locations.

Table 7.
Main Job of the Communities in Nusantara Capital City Zones

Category of Job	Nusantara Capital City Zone (%)	Development Zone (%)	Beyond the City (%)
Farmer	59	40	35
Teacher	1	7	1
Employee	10	27	5
Labour	14	13	31
Entrepreneur	8	13	12
Fisherman	1	0	11
Unemployed	7	0	5
Total	100	100	100

(Source: Primary data Collection, 2022)

The education level of the communities in the sample locations shows that most of the heads of household in the Nusantara Capital City Zone and beyond the city had the last education at the high school level (Table 8). In contrast to Teluk Dalam Village in the Development Zone, most heads of families in that location had elementary school education. However, the percentage of undergraduate or master's education in this location was relatively higher compared to other locations. The need for mining workers was one of the impacts on the education level of the people living in the vicinity.

Table 8.
Mean Years School (MYS) of the Communities in Nusantara Capital City Zones

Mean Years School	Nusantara Capital City Zone (%)	Development Zone (%)	Beyond the City (%)
None/null	5	7	4
1-6 (ES/equivalent)	21	47	23
7-9 (JHS/equivalent)	8	7	23
8-12 (SHS/equivalent)	63	13	43
>12 (Bachelor, magister, etc)	3	26	7
Total	100	100	100

(Source: Primary data Collection, 2022)

* Nusantara Capital City Zone comprises 2 villages samples (Sepaku and Pemaluan) with (n)=91, Development Zone comprises 1 village sample (Teluk Dalam) with (n)=15, Beyond the City comprises 2 villages (Babulu Darat and Babulu Laut) with (n)=136

One of the visions of the Nusantara Capital City development is 0% poverty in 2035. The pre-prosperous families currently in the sample locations showed how the potential for poverty in the Nusantara Capital City area and its surroundings. Village Profile Data (from village government) shows that the number of pre-prosperous families in the sample locations was relatively lower than that of prosperous families (see Table 9). Community members in the Nusantara Capital City Zone and beyond the city had a relatively higher percentage compared to the sample locations in the Development Zone. The heterogeneity of the community in the Nusantara Capital City Zone and beyond the city impacted various household welfare. It differed from the community of Teluk Dalam Village, which was relatively more homogeneous than other locations.

Table 9.
Percentage of Pre-Prosperous Families

Family Prosperity	Nusantara Capital City Zone (%)	Development Zone (%)	Beyond the City (%)
Pre Prosperous	23.42	8.83	26.00
Prosperous	76.58	91.17	74.00

(Source: Village Profile Data, 2022)

2.3 Development Projections of New Capital City

Various regional development projections have been made regarding the potential for future Nusantara Capital City development, ranging from population growth projections and economic contributions to projected financing costs.

The contribution of moving the country's capital to the economic activity of the surrounding area has been projected by the Bappenas since 2019. At the development stage, Nusantara Capital City can contribute to a 0.1% increase in GRDP nationally because of supporting infrastructure development and new jobs (BAPPENAS, 2019a). The relocation of capital can also cause economic development to become more diversified in the labor-intensive sector (BAPPENAS, 2019a). Besides several optimistic predictions, economically, the predicted negative impact of the construction of Indonesia's new capital is an increase in the value of inflation by 0.23 percent. However, inflation is not predicted to affect the national average purchasing power because price increases will only occur in the Nusantara Capital City development area and its surroundings (BAPPENAS, 2019a). This is caused by the improvement in the income of the people around Nusantara Capital City which is followed by an increase in the price of basic commodities. The increase in the average wage of the community around the Nusantara Capital City is predicted to be 1.37 percent (BAPPENAS, 2019a).

To capture the economic potential as a positive impact of Nusantara Capital City development, the government has also prepared a policy mix comprising incentives for business actors who want to invest in Nusantara Capital City, industrial downstream policies, opening trade quotas, and opening new jobs to increase local people's income (BAPPENAS, 2019b). This policy is projected to impact increasing trade flows in over 50 percent of Indonesia's territory (BAPPENAS, 2019b). The strengthening of stronger economic linkages between Nusantara Capital City and other surrounding provinces is also projected to trigger

increased investment in these other provinces.

Meanwhile, Nusantara Capital City population growth is predicted to use a target population approach based on the very low-density urban concept (50 people/ha) (Ministry of ATR/BPN, 2022). The target population is also related to the accommodation of large-scale migration of workers in the government sector from the old capital. The detailed spatial planning team has carried this calculation out in the four urban areas in the Nusantara Capital City area, with details in Table 10.

Table 10.
Projection of Nusantara Capital City Population in 2045

Urban Area	Areas (Ha)	Target Area Built (Ha)	Target Population (Jiwa)
Central Government Core Area (KIPP)	3.083,10	2.248,20	351.750
West Nusantara Capital City Area	6.529,61	3.955,92	461.288
East Nusantara Capital City 1 Area	2.235,82	1.698,86	261.035
East Nusantara Capital City 2 Area	2.477,47	1.840,93	247.212
North Nusantara Capital City Area	4.124,96	2.992,39	144.488
Total of Nusantara Capital City Zone (KIKN)	18.638,50	12.737,40	1.412.800
Simpang Samboja	4.294,59	1.514,95	33.849
Kuala Samboja	2.983,57	1.827,27	62.666
Muara Jawa	9.074,82	2.835,67	78.901
Total (WP) in the Development Zone	16.352,98	6.177,89	188.809
Total Outside the Development Zone	183.403,03	12.306,45	70.244
Total Area of Nusantara Capital City	218.394,52	18.914,19	1.671.853

(Source: Ministry of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/National Land Agency, 2022)

Based on RTR KSN (the spatial plan of National Strategic Area) in Nusantara Capital City (2021) and RDTR (Detailed Spatial Plan?) of 5 WP in Nusantara Capital City (2022), the target population of Nusantara Capital City in the final year of planning is 1.67 million people. This number is dominated by urban areas in Nusantara Capital City Zone, reaching 1.41 million people, and urban areas in Development Zone, amounting to 188,809 people. Meanwhile, the Development Zone,

included in rural or non-urban areas are only targeted at 70,244 people.

The target population is presumed to consist mainly of immigrant communities after the inauguration of Nusantara Capital City, which is planned for 2024. To prove this, an analysis of population projections was carried out using linear, linear arithmetic, and exponential methods, on the temporal data of the existing population (Figure 5). The analysis results show that the target population in each urban area in the final year of planning in 2045 far exceeds the projection based on the trend of movement of the existing population, except for the urban area of East Nusantara Capital City 1, where the projected population will exponentially exceed the target population in 2045. Through the Detailed Spatial Plan for the East Nusantara Capital City 1 Urban Area, the government seems to put more stringent development restrictions on this sub-region to protect mangroves ecosystems and water sources, which moderately dominate the south side of (WP) in East Nusantara Capital City 1 Area.

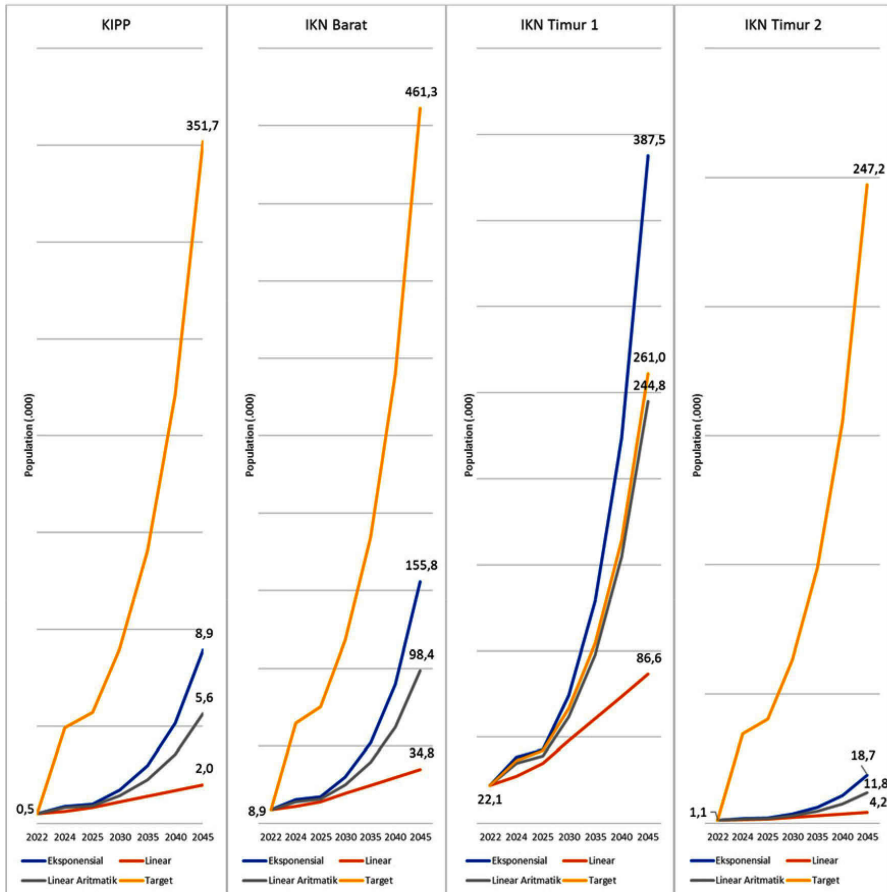


Figure 5. Projected Population of Nusantara Capital City 2022-2045

*KIPP: Central Government Area; IKN Barat: North Nusantara Capital City Area; IKN Timur 1: East Nusantara Capital City 1 Area; IKN Timur 2: East Nusantara Capital City 2 Area

(Source: Author's Analysis Results, 2022)

Nusantara Capital City development does not have a development impact without sacrifice. The most significant sacrifice must be made is development financing, of which value has increased since the initial planning in 2019. At the end of 2019, BAPPENAS published two scenarios for financing Nusantara Capital City development, which depended heavily on the number of state civil servants and government functions planned to be moved (BAPPENAS, 2019a).

Based on the financing component, which includes the development of primary functions, supporting functions, and land acquisition, scenario I (Optimistic), will cost a development budget of IDR 466 trillion. Meanwhile, in scenario II, through the austerity scheme, it is estimated that it will still consume a budget of IDR 323 trillion. In these two initial scenarios, most of the budget portion is for the construction of supporting functions as buildings and houses for civil governments/ police/armies, education facilities, and health facilities. While the main functions are legislative, executive, and judicial buildings, as well as land acquisition needs, it is estimated that less than a quarter of the planned budget, or between IDR 20 and 32.7 trillion (BAPPENAS, 2019c).

Regarding the proportion of the components of the funding sources (Figure 6), most of the cost of Nusantara Capital City development will be through the government-business partnership scheme. Meanwhile, the national budget will be charged with 20% of the total development costs, or IDR 89.4 trillion. The rest will be auctioned off as mega-projects to the private sector, with a budget of IDR 123.2 trillion.

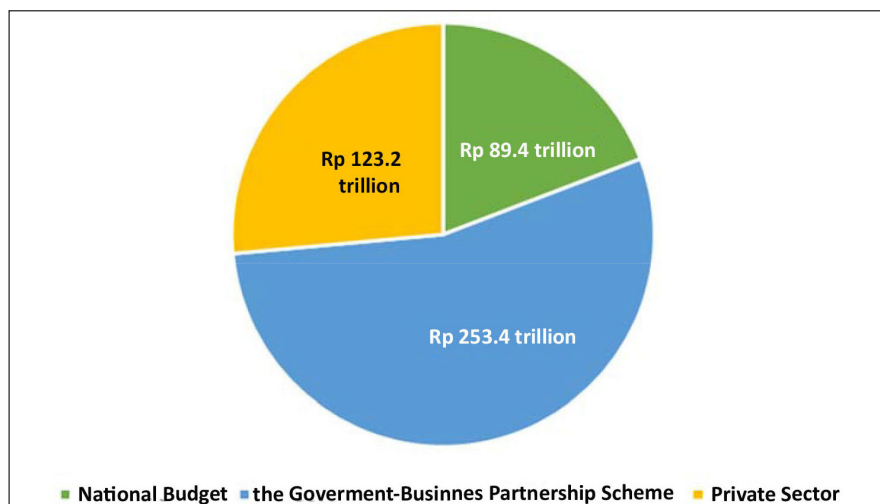


Figure 6.
Sources of Financing for Nusantara Capital City Development
(Source: Ministry of Finance in DataIndonesia.id, 2022)

Meanwhile, in 2022, the budgeted physical development costs through the Ministry of Public Works and Spatial Planning will be IDR 5.1 trillion. This budget aims to develop basic infrastructure for Nusantara Capital City, which is based on the Ministry of Public Works planning and Spatial Planning in the 2022-2024 period; it will cost a budget of IDR 43.73 trillion (Katadata, 2022).

Hence, Nusantara Capital City development requires a considerable and planned effort in population management, movement, and dynamics of the economic sector, and development financing. The projections mentioned above can be used as a reference to look towards the positive or negative aspects of the planning that has been carried out.

Impacts of Nusantara Capital City Development: Varied and Severe

Nusantara Capital City development has both direct and indirect positive and negative impacts on environmental, social, and economic conditions. The positive impact on environmental conditions is that the number of flood disasters had decreased compared to before this area was designated as the Nusantara. In addition, the quality and quantity of infrastructure in Nusantara Capital City area have also improved, especially in the transportation, water, and electricity network sectors. The concept of forest city launched by the government as the basic concept of Nusantara Capital City development can also change the mindset of the community that Nusantara Capital City development can overcome and mitigate environmental problems. The forest city concept carries the principle of low-carbon development by providing green open space in urban areas, including green corridors, and planting green vegetation among buildings, such as green zones for integrated recreation and life. It aims to create a city in which there is an interaction between humans and nature.

Determining the Nusantara Capital City area is also beneficial for the conditions of various aspects of the community. The decision to move the capital city will always be a concern of the central government

that intends to make Nusantara an almost perfect area as the capital of all Indonesians. Even minor problems can attract the government's attention, and action will immediately be taken to overcome these problems.

3.1. Social Impacts

The plan to move the capital from Jakarta to Nusantara has raised various questions and concerns in the community, even at the beginning of the issue. The absence of socialization and an approach to the community that represents various layers, and policies that are entirely top down have led to misunderstandings about the Nusantara Capital City development plan. Currently, the physical construction of the Government Center Core Area and various supporting infrastructures have begun. Dams and clean water channels are the initial infrastructures on which construction has impacted.

In the uncertainty shadow of land acquisition because of the absence of land ownership documents, namely land certificates, infrastructure development on the communities land they recognize as their heritage has begun. One of them is the use of grave lands, which become a sign of the ancestors of the local community. An approach that is unfavorable by playing it safe, i.e., using an approach to traditional leaders at various levels, has increased the potential for conflict. In addition, the manipulation approach (Arnstein, 1969) increasingly shows that development still makes local communities objects and cannot participate in development. This community will be very vulnerable to being marginalized in development.

From the results of field investigations, several social issues have become a concern in development, namely social jealousy of the local community towards the ex-transmigration community, land tenure-related conflicts, and theft and fraud (more details can be seen in Table 11). If not addressed immediately, these issues can potentially become more significant conflicts in the future because these issues are closely related to the goal of inclusive urban development. The process should

also be inclusive.

Table 11.
Social Impacts of Nusantara Capital City Development

No.	Social impacts	Information
1.	Social jealousy of the local community towards the ex-transmigration community	Ex-transmigrant communities owned documents that the government legally recognized in land ownership.
2.	Land tenure-related conflicts	Some land acquisitions were carried out unfairly through land brokers. This conflict occurred because the land was not legally registered, and the consultants were not doing well.
3.	Theft and fraud	The development capital city's development attracted people from outside to enter the Nusantara Capital City area. Various activities centered in this location had given rise to theft and fraud that occurred in the local community.
4.	Land acquisition for infrastructure development	Land acquisition for infrastructure was carried out with an approach that had the potential to cause conflict among local communities.

(Source: Primary Data Collection, 2022)

Land ownership becomes a dominant issue with the potential for conflict. Various policies that have not been in favor of the community have triggered the emergence of social conflicts, both among communities, and the community, against the government.

3.2. Economic Impacts

The capital city's relocation and construction have increased activity within the Nusantara Capital City zone. Sepaku Village has become the most dynamic area with various activities. The increasing and massive movement of goods and people have provided great opportunities for anyone to work, become entrepreneurs, and invest their capital. Even though the provincial and district governments have set a moratorium on the registration, sale, and purchase of land, the economy is still robust. The providing lodging, food, and beverages is increasingly filling the space around the main road to serve various

government work visits, construction contractors, project workers, researchers, and tourists who want to see how sustainable the capital city's development.

It is undeniable that development has offered various job opportunities for the local community. Various jobs as construction workers are needed on a relatively large scale. However, these conditions could not accommodate the needs of the local community to find work. Some contractors use construction workers from outside the region (such as Java). Wages are relatively lower than the minimum wage for local construction workers, become the reason why local people do not work on construction projects. Workers from Java (especially West Java) dominate because the minimum wage in Java is relatively lower than the wage in Nusantara Capital City, so the wages for development in Nusantara Capital City are considered higher than wages in the Java region which is very attractive to workers.

Table 12.
Economic Impacts of Nusantara Capital City Development

No.	Economic impacts	Information
1.	Difficulty getting a job	The construction work had a relatively lower wage value compared to the wages of the local community.
2.	Moratorium on land registration and sale and purchase of land	The moratorium caused people to cannot sell their land as their business capital to take part in entrepreneurship.

(Source: Primary Data Collection, 2022)

The government sets a moratorium on the registration, sale, and purchase of land in anticipation of land speculators who can cause a spike in market prices. The land in the Nusantara Capital City zone has a very strategic position considering that this area will become the location of the capital city. People who want to participate in taking opportunities in the location of the prospective capital city do not have access to capital. The moratorium on buying and selling land is one of the obstacles for the community to get capital. In addition, the absence

of land certificates for non-transmigrant communities, especially indigenous people, makes them unable to guarantee their security to access capital.

3.3. Environmental Impacts

Nusantara Capital City development will have an environmental impact from the provision of various large infrastructures. Although the proposed development concept applies the forest city concept and will become a symbol of the most sustainable city in the world, the construction process will not be separated from processes that impact the environment. There are several environmental impacts that have been identified during the observation and survey process, shown in Table 13.

Table 13.
Environmental Impacts of Nusantara Capital City Development

No.	Environmental impacts	Information
1.	Muddy and reduced volume of the river	The construction of the dam (Intake Sepaku) had an impact on the river as one of the community's water sources.
2.	Procurement of drinking water pipes in residential areas	Construction of clean water channels through residential land owned by residents and socialization was not carried out properly.
3.	Air and noise pollution	Vehicle-intensive activities and physical development had a polluting impact on the local community.

The construction of the Central Government Core Zone has mobilized vehicles and heavy equipment through the main road in the Sepaku District area, which is also the main route for local people to move. Traffic in this area has become increasingly congested and should be a concern for the government and local communities to find alternative solutions to this problem.

The construction of supporting infrastructures, such as dams and clean water canals has begun in Sepaku Village area. This development is a concern for the local community. The question of whom this

infrastructure will be built becomes a big question mark. Local people still use water for their daily needs, from collecting rain to using river water (Figure 7). Some use well water and still have to buy water during the dry season.



Figure 7. Local Community Rained Reservoir in Sepaku

(Photo credit: Azis Musthofa)

Several household respondents who live near rivers and use river water stated that during the dam construction, there had been problems with their water source (river) (see also Figure 8). The dirty water and falling water volumes have cut off their access to water sources. It is not yet known whether when the dam is ready for use, the volume of river water will decrease, or there will be previously unimaginable impacts. People only hope their accessibility is not affected and remains the same as before.



Figure 8.
Image of Residential Areas Along the River and Some Survey Documentation
(Source: Google Earth; Photo credit: Azis Musthofa and Rizqi Nur Amin)

Marginalization of People and the Formation of the New Class: A Timescape Outlook

4.1 Marginalization of Indigenous People

Sepaku District, as the core area of Nusantara Capital City, has seen a dynamic tension among the actors in maintaining their access to resources, sustaining their assets, and continuing their livelihood. To reach these objectives, actors and stakeholders frequently cooperate and compete using their strengths or capital. Competition, in particular, inevitably results in win-or-lose situations, and the loose ones become marginalized. The marginalized are in a delicate situation and could be any actor regardless of their background. The indigenous Paser and Balik communities are the most disadvantaged ones. They have suffered from marginalization since the colonial era, done by the newcomers that regarded them as savages or Dayak People.

The 1980s became a massive foreign investment in the forestry sector in Indonesia. As a rising power country in the global economy, Indonesia held a crucial role in Southeast Asia back then. However, the immense economic strength of Indonesia was mainly sustained by the extraction of natural resources such as timber and oil and gas.

It mainly triggered conflicts among indigenous communities over the nation. This process also could be observed in other ASEAN countries such as Malaysia and The Philippines. With its high-dense rainforest, Kalimantan Island underwent large-scale deforestation to maintain Indonesia's economic growth. Not only did it decimate the biodiversity as a direct impact, but deforestation also harmed the indigenous communities on Kalimantan Island in many ways. Eviction, land grabbing, and cultural shifting battered the indigenous livelihood while the authority retained to erode their rights (Tsing, 2011). A significant livelihood alteration happened when many so-called Dayak communities were imposed on the settlement and gradually shifted from moving or swindle agriculture (Geertz, 1963) to conventional farming.

Fox et al. (2009) elaborated that there are several causes of swidden agriculture change, including the stigmatization of the swidden farmers, separation of forest and agricultural land, increasing conservation issues, privatization of land, and the modern and large-scale agricultural global market penetration. The Dayak communities in the Kalimantan Island endured cultural stigmatization for decades, and for better living conditions, sometimes they had to be settled, a trend that happened during the new world order. In this case, the authority argued that this community must be placed near the health and education facilities to help them improve their quality of life. It was proven to be a crucial improvement, but simultaneously, they had to abandon their land to be occupied by corporations, usually forestry corporations.

The swidden transformation shifting paves the way for a greater consequence. Once the swidden farmers settle, they are prone to two threats: social differentiation, which results in marginalization (Cramb et al., 2009; Chan et al., 2021), and the inability to compete in the free-global market arena. This particular marginalization can be categorized as economic marginalization that plagues most of Southeast Asia's swidden farmers, including the Paser and Balik communities in

Nusantara Capital City.

4.2. Repeated Marginalization: What Does Society Want?

“Those that fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it.” This adage from Winston Churchill may be proven again at the location of Nusantara Capital City. The long history of marginalization in several forms may have happened again at the dawn of Nusantara Capital City development. The Paser and Balik communities’ swidden agriculture, along with its traditional and cultural values, had been exterminated by the political economy and market penetration in Sepaku District. The arrival of large-scale corporations, not just one but two in the forestry and large-scale palm oil plantation, pinched this community at the edge of marginalization. Those corporations fundamentally stripped the Paser and Balik community’s strength by establishing boundaries and dribbling the community members away from their land, leading to spatial marginalization. The Nusantara Capital City authority perpetuates the bordering and land privatization at the current time. Nusantara is fundamentally a continuation of the spatial marginalization that was the corporation once exerted. So, what is the difference? This time the government itself leads ahead. Nusantara Capital City did not only use the corporations’ land; it expanded the private border further and wider, devouring more land resources and claiming larger areas.

Land, as a resource, conceives multiple values and may be perceived differently by actors. In Nusantara Capital City, contestation for land is getting intense, with heavy contestation happening among the actors: land speculators, indigenous people, and newcomers. Each of them claimed as the legal owner of the land under various justifications. The indigenous expressed their legitimation through inheritance, and they are the ‘first to be present’ in this area and refer to

themselves as the indigenous community or *pribumi*¹. Identity usually becomes an ace card for the marginalized. In desperation, they tried to put forward their identity to claim what actually belonged to them. At the location of Nusantara Capital City, people from indigenous expressed their aspirations to at least two main expectations: the right to land and human development.

"Jadi kita ini modelnya terkurung sudah (oleh perusahaan), di tengah-tengah ini. Dateng lagi pemerintah, IKN, nah tambah. Mungkin ada ganti rugi kalo merekrut lahan masyarakat mungkin kalo nda. Tapi kita mohon nanti, jangan diambil lah lahan masyarakat, itu aja. Apa untuk masyarakat hidup kan kalo diambil? nda ada tempat nanam-nanam sayur, masa kita beli semua segala sayur segala lombok? Itu aja kita mohon jangan diambil lahan yang ada yang sudah ada tanam tumbuhnya. [We are the model that has been locked up (by the company), in the middle of this. The government, Nusantara Capital City, will come again. Maybe there is compensation if you recruit community land maybe if you don't. But we beg you later, don't take people's land, that's all. Is it good for the living community if it is taken? There's no place to grow vegetables, is it time for us to buy all vegetables, all chilies? That's all, please don't take the existing land that has already been planted]" (Informant P2).

"...cocok dengan ganti adilnya, bukan ganti rugi, bukan ganti untung tapi ganti adil. Entah adil di masyarakat sama pemerintah atau cuma adil buat pemerintah ya kan. Semoga adil buat masyarakat... mudah-mudahan tanah yang diambil sesuai dengan masyarakat. [(the community) should get fair compensation, not profitable compensation but fair compensation. I don't know if it's fair to the people and the government or just fair to the government, right? Hopefully it's fair to the community... hopefully the land taken is in accordance with the community]" (Informant P1).

Land, which for many indigenous peoples becomes self-identity and culture, remains a priority for which clarity is desired. Land use rights, which are currently the pinnacle of land identity for indigenous peoples,

¹ Pribumi terminology is mostly used to distinguish Chinese descendants (see Setijadi, 2019; Chen, 2022). It has a deep and long history in Indonesia as a highly diverse country and is frequently related to ethnical violence. In most cases, pribumi reflects the righteousness of a group in an area and could be a sensitive word.

are expected to turn into ownership rights. Not only during Nusantara's development, but this issue also became important at the indigenous community level since the emergence of the first plantation companies to change their farming arrangements. It is not surprising that the construction of Nusantara Capital City can bring back the trauma felt by the community in several phases of land management conflicts they have experienced so far.

4.3 Forma(liza)tion of New Classes

The timescape of Sepaku District, the location of Nusantara Capital City, was filled with social interaction and the intertwining capital, knowledge, and power, forming the social class. From the study of social formation, we divided the class and period of the class formation into two main phases: the Pre- Nusantara Capital City, when the agricultural dynamics acted as the main driver of the class formation, and the Nusantara Capital city phase, when Nusantara Capital city discourse and knowledge becomes the fundamental aspect in class formation and relation. The class formation then becomes the root of marginalization and exclusion (Dale, 2013) including the location of Nusantara Capital City.

4.3.1. Pre-Nusantara Capital City Class Dynamic: Agrarian Transformation

The decision of Nusantara Capital City relocation is processed. The location of Nusantara Capital City has experienced complex dynamics throughout history. In this timescape sphere, it could be concurred that there was a formation of new classes that triggered marginalization, including the exclusion of a certain community. The first formation of classes occurred during the massive agrarian transformation, from the swidden to settled and then settled to the large-scale corporation (see Figure 9). Each stage of agrarian transformation was related to a particular actor. Bernstein (2015) explains how this transformation inflicts a class dynamic, including forming the new class(es) or social mobility. The class formation in each stage is induced by the

accumulation of capital in various forms including the conditions of production (labor division and modes of reproduction).

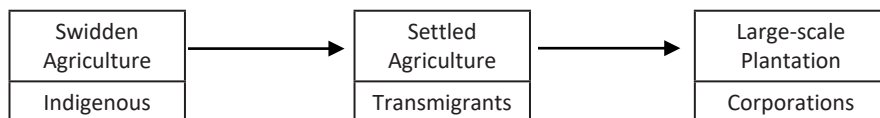


Figure 9.
Agricultural Transformation in the Location of Nusantara Capital city

Sepaku and Pernaluan, the core location of Nusantara Capital City, have gone through each agrarian change and transformation step. The first stage, swidden agriculture was commonly practiced by the indigenous community of Paser and Balik. Both communities cultivated field crops such as *Padi Gunung* and collected fruits from the forest. At this stage, the population density was very sparse, and the land property was asserted by natural signage like fruit trees. State intervention was also almost none. Once in two years, the swidden farmers moved to another place to open a new field. This type of agriculture lasted for decades until the arrival of the transmigrants. Our informant, P2, explained their decision to finally settled.

“Tahun 2007 menetap di sini sudah, dulu berpindah-pindah. Iya, pindah-pindah kadang-kadang di Riko sana, kadang-kadang di sini. Sudah mungkin di sini, tetap sudah di sini karena nda ada tempat pindah sudah, karena sudah dikepung perusahaan, pemerintah kita. Terpaksa, di sini sini aja... di bawah perusahaan, di atas perusahaan dulu kita yang di tengah-tengah nda bisa apa-apa. [in 2007 (we) settled here after we moved around. Sometimes we stayed in Riko, sometimes in here. After that we stayed here because no more place to move around. Unfortunately, we were forced to stay here.. We have been surrounded by corporations, government. Below us corporations, above us corporations, we could not go anywhere.]”

In the 70s, the Indonesian Government enacted a green revolution to revolutionize and drastically increase crop production and agriculture (Hidayat, et al., 2020). The green revolution significantly revamped agricultural sectors in Indonesia by introducing mechanized farming

using heavy machinery and chemical fertilizers. At the same time, the government also intended to relieve the heavy population pressure on Java Island by relocating its residents to other large islands under the transmigration programs while simultaneously exploiting the vast land resources in “outer Indonesia” (MacAndrews, 1978). Both the green revolution and the transmigration program fundamentally modified the agricultural stage in the location of Nusantara Capital City.

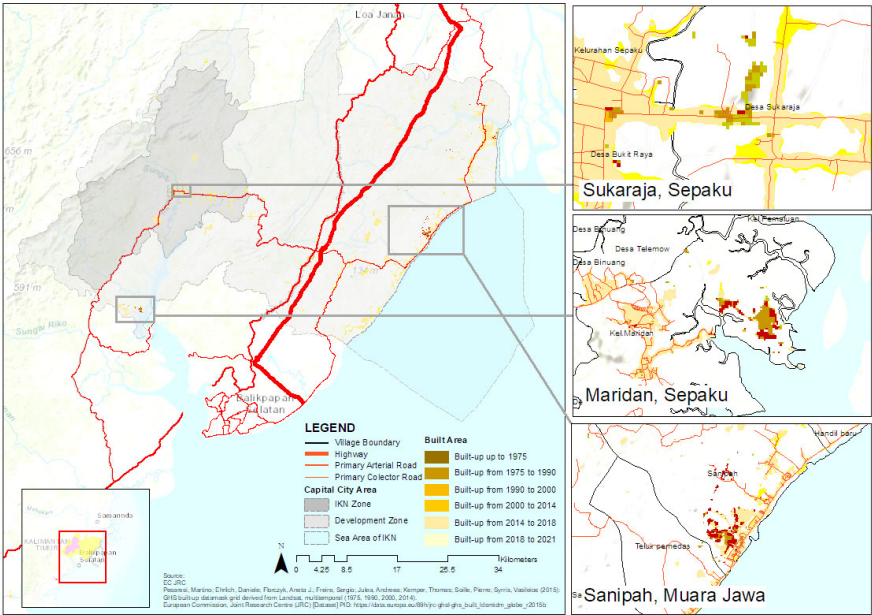


Figure 10.
Settlement Development in Several Areas of Nusantara Capital City Location.
(Source: EC JRC, Pesaresi, et al., 2015)

The transmigration program impacted the development of the settlement in the location of Nusantara Capital City (Figure 10). As the figure illustrates, the growth of settlement occurred at three spots: Sukaraja and Maridan in Sepaku, and Sanipah in Muara Jawa. Maridan was a landing jetty for ITCI (one of the biggest corporations in Sepaku) and became their primary harbor for employees and commodities. The settlement growth that took time since 1975, a period when corporations

started to enter Sepaku District could confirm it. Sukaraja, Sepaku, represented the transmigrant settlement. It grew from 1975 to 1990 when the government initiated the transmigration program.

The green revolution and the transmigration within could be perceived as the initial phase of agrarian industrialization. This phase induced many root impacts in capital accumulation hence the social class formation (Sen, 2017; Duzgun, 2017). The social class formation and the capital differences among social classes are based on access to the land. As Li (2010) scrutinized the highland of Sulawesi, the newcomer perceives land as property, changing the commodities from food into “cash crops”. At the location of Nusantara Capital City, the newcomer and transmigration program imposed the concept of land ownership. Our informant, told us about the land ownership needed at Soeharto’s time.

“Sudah menetap itu, perusahaan tu, mulai zaman-zaman tahun ‘85 kan sudah jalan provinsi kan sudah zaman-zaman kepala desa sudah ada zaman lurah sudah ada. Dulu kita itu nda ada yang ngatur kan. Karena nda ada lurahnya. Kan zaman-zaman era-era Soeharto sudah dibuat harus punya lahan harus punya legalitas. (It’s settled, the company, starting from the era of ‘85, the provincial road has already been carried out, right? In the past, we didn’t have anything to do with it. Because there is no village head. The Suharto eras have been made, you must have land, you must have legality)” (Informant BH1)

Certification of land and the calculation of the land to be cultivated became the technicalization of land management. Apart from the land aspects, the transmigration program also gradually conveyed the local farmers, including the swidden farmers, to the market mechanism and finally entered the corporation era.

The transmigration of agriculture submitted the location of Nusantara Capital City into a larger and more global grab as large-scale corporations enter the arena. Indonesia saw a palm plantation boom in the 2000s as the global demand for palm oil soared. The largest and still active palm oil factory to be constructed in the Sepaku District as

the core zone of Nusantara Capital City is the Agro Indomas, Inc. The arrival of the large-scale corporation brought several consequences for the people in this location. The direct impact that frequently occurs is the tenurial conflict. People in Sukaraja Village, Sepaku District, demanded compensation because of the cultivation of palm oil on their land (Rahayu, 2022). The arrival of corporations also induced the farmers to replace their food with a more profitable commodity, namely palm fruit, which has caused the shift of the commodity. Large-scale corporations and the land resources they exploit are the pinnacles of class formation. In this stage, the small landlord and landowner are succeeded by the stock owner and backed up by a stronger state force. This stage also sees the transnational and neoliberalism ideology facilitate class formation (Plehwe, 2005). The spatial distribution and the picture of the palm oil plantation could be seen in Figure 11 and Figure 12 below.

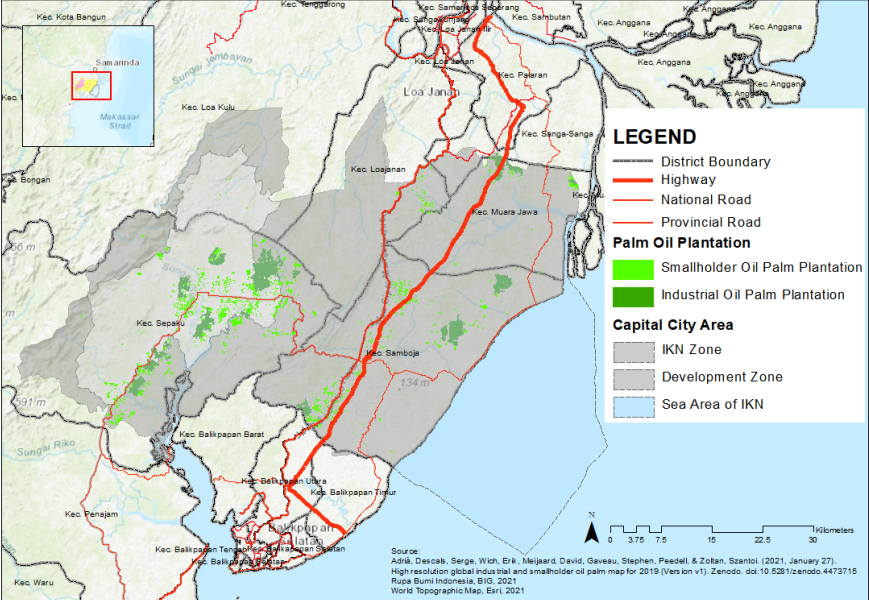


Figure 11.
Palm Oil Plantations at The Location of Nusantara Capital City. Data was Collected from Biopama Programme from 2019 Sentinel Imagery (Adrià, et al., 2021)



Figure 12.
Smallholders Palm Oil Plantations at the Side of the Main Road
(Photo credit: Hilary Reinhart)

As Figure 11 shows, in the (core) zone of Nusantara Capital City, there are three large or industrial-scale plantations, and in their surroundings, smallholder palm oil plantations encircling around. These plantations grow, aligning the main road as the access to harvest and deliver the Fresh Fruit Bunch (FFB) to the palm oil factory or middleman. The smallholders and the large-scale industrial plantations are nearly the same sizes in terms of area. The smallholder plantations cover 5223.4 ha and 5979.1 ha.

4.3.2. Nusantara Capital City Class Dynamic: Symbolic Violence and Intellectual Domination

Violence is common in a space, especially urban space, and even an inseparable part of the presence of a city (Jaelani, 2020). The violence took various forms, both physical and symbolic. In Pierre Bourdieu's thought, symbolic violence is using power over symbols to commit violence so that it is subtle and not even felt because it has become a habit of society (Suyoga, 2021). Cases of marginalization that have occurred so far involve physical violence and symbolic violence. In eviction and land-grabbing cases, physical violence is often more in the spotlight than the symbolic violence that occurs in it. However, this does not negate the symbolic violence reflected in the process, for

example, in classifying indigenous peoples, migrants, immigrants, and transmigrants. The Paser and Balik indigenous people are known to have characteristics of living in groups or communally and prefer to live in the hinterland with an inherent stigma, such as the Dayak people destroying forests because of their shifting farming system, being rough, harsh, and possessing magical knowledge. The strength of the stigma can still be felt when interviewing migrant communities by describing that indigenous person as a scary people through stories about fights between customs, land conflicts, and customary law. In addition, indigenous peoples are usually considered to have a lower quality of life than migrants. One of the informants described this condition.

“Makanya kemarin saya berharap, saya sampaikan kemarin di PT, saya berharap pak, nanti 1-3 tahun lah pak ada putra Teluk Dalam yang bisa mengambil kebijakan di sini gitu. Selama ini yang saya lihat itu pak sebagai helper, security, cleaning service. Siapa yang mengambil kebijakan? ya orang-orang luar Kaltim pak. [That’s why I expected, I said yesterday at company, I hope sir, in 1-3 years, sir, there will be a son of Teluk Dalam who can make policies here. So far what I have seen is that they were only as a helper, security, cleaning service. Who makes the policy? Yes, people outside East Kalimantan, sir]” (Informant TD1)

This stigma triggers various development discourses that can end in marginalization. One example is when one of the Main Experts at the Office of the President of the Republic of Indonesia (Usep Setiawan) tried to convince indigenous peoples about Nusantara Capital City by saying “indigenous peoples will become heroes of the nation and state by simply letting their traditional territories go for Nusantara Capital City development” (Media Indonesia, 2022). This statement affects how the community reacts to the new capital city. Our study shows that affected people mostly expect an increase in population density and economic status. At the same time, they also worry about the potential marginalization of indigenous people and the increase in the crimes that will follow the development of the new city (see Table 14). Here, the vulnerability of the position of indigenous peoples has been

recognized since before the existence of Nusantara Capital City and has the potential to be even more vulnerable during the development of Nusantara Capital City.

Table 14.
Differences in Community Assessment of Nusantara Capital City Transfers

Attitude	Nusantara Capital City Zone (n=86)	Development Zone (n=42)	Beyond the City (n=134)
Community Assessment of the Good Impact Generated on Local Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Population Density Increase: 27.06% Economic Improvement: 14.12% Employment Increase: 22.35% Infrastructure Development: 18.82% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Population Density Increase: 35.71% Economic Improvement: 7.14% Employment Increase: 16.67% Infrastructure Development: 2.38% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Population Density Increase: 15.67% Economic Improvement: 44.03% Employment Increase: 7.64% Infrastructure Development: 11.94%
Community Assessment of the Bad Impact Caused on Local Communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crime Increase: 32.95% Environmental damage: 18.18% Land Acquisition: 14.77% Conversion of agricultural land: 9.09% Marginalized Indigenous People: 23.86% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crime Increase: 5% Environmental damage: 5% Land Acquisition: 0% Conversion of agricultural land: 5% Marginalized Indigenous People: 77.5% 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased Crime: 12.69% Environmental damage: 0% Land Acquisition: 2.24% Conversion of agricultural land: 18.66% Marginalized Indigenous People: 31.34%

n = total respondents

(Source: Primary Data Collection, 2021)

Again, symbolic violence was reflected in the development of Nusantara Capital City. When the government, as a policy maker, showed itself superior to civil society, it complied with the various policies. When the government stated that East Kalimantan Province was designated as the location for Nusantara Capital City was the lack of social conflict and the wide availability of state land in the area, the statement had a stronger influence because the government delivered

it. However, disputes regarding land ownership status among private, customary community land, company concession land, and local government land were unavoidable. Aware of the existence of relations among disputing groups, various symbolic strategies were carried out by the government, such as through the installation of regional boundary signs, certificates, as a proof of the legality of recognized land which was previously based on historical ties, as well as security forces and various government officials who officially suddenly and unceasingly became a sign of symbolic violence even without physical violence. Various forms of symbolic violence had been reflected, starting from the use of language in the concept of development, the approval process for moving the capital city, the entry of migrants with various new cultures and symbols, which were not only carried out by government groups.

Symbolic violence occurs because of the symbolic power that arose because of the dominance of a group or class. The existence of symbolic power in using language has been realized by Bourdieu, in which power (and symbolic violence) is central to language, and language is a way for human beings to control one another (Jaelani, 2020). The class in Bourdieu's thought is not limited to capital ownership alone but can have other meanings that are more contextual and can be seen from various points of view (Jaelani, 2020). If the class dynamics in the period before the development of Nusantara Capital City were based more on ownership of economic capital and means of production, then during the development of Nusantara Capital City the class dynamics that occurred were more varied because there were more actors involved with various forms of capital. Class classification and its dynamics were seen in every process of Nusantara Capital City development induction, in which the Nusantara is a contested space. Because in fact, there is no space (city) that is completely "ideal" because space itself is spatial in modern capitalist society and is an area of battle that will never be finished to be fought over (Lefebvre, 2000). Various forms of capital showing the class hierarchy are at stake to win each level of the battle.

The construction of Nusantara Capital City was projected to cost IDR >466 trillion with a development vision as a “World City for All”, one of which becomes a symbol of the country’s identity. This development can be seen as an arena (field) in Pierre Bourdieu’s thought, in which the planning of developing various types of capital (capital) including economic, social, cultural, and symbolic are at stake. In the process, there are various agents or groups with different habits and capitals who have various interests so that they compete for space and position in the discourse of Nusantara Capital City development. Habitus itself is defined as a characteristic of a cultural group (Lee, 2015). However, the group with the largest accumulation of capital will always dominate.

At the beginning of the determination of the relocation of the national capital in 2019, class dynamics have been reflected in the debate about the pros and cons of moving the capital city and its development concept. Implementing a competition that is said to be intended to invite the involvement of the general public but is accompanied by special requirements is one of the subtle ways to get rid of certain groups (who do not meet the qualifications). In the end, various discourses about the design of the new capital city only came from the intellectual side, namely technocrats, scientists, architects, urban planners, technicians, and social engineers. Various groups of experts compete through their language and concept of discourse to win the match. The results of the competitions of these groups play a role in determining the future picture of Nusantara Capital City. When a certain discourse can dominate the market, that discourse can become a standard for defining reality or other discourses (Jaelani, 2020). Here, the winner of the 2019 new national capital area design competition is the concept of “Nagara Rimba Nusa” which tries to synergize between the government (*nagara*), forests (*rimba*), and islands (*nusa*). The concept continues to be formulated and developed in various urban planning discourses. Terms related to smart city, forest city, green city, sponge city, sustainable city, and others are now heard more often. In the end,

the result of the battle of discourse about the concept of a new capital city with the use of these languages brought a utopia about the future of Nusantara Capital City. These agendas are especially sustainable cities, there are always unclear aspirations that are flexible to adapt to the urban elite's agenda (Robert et al., 2009). In addition, the language in the discourse used in the development of Nusantara Capital City has a bigger role than just the term of a development concept, which can show a class struggle. Language can function as an instrument to gain power, that contains mechanisms for seizing or maintaining power, domination, and hegemony (Karman, 2017). In this context, the intellectual group with knowledge capital has dominated the battle.

Then, what about the roles of other groups? When a group can dominate, of course, there is a group that becomes secondary. Here, the government and intellectual groups become the dominant class, and non-intellectual groups become the secondary class. Local and indigenous people are mostly in the secondary class, which economically, socially, and culturally have limitations in accessing education and information. If the measure is intellectual level, about the average length of schooling of the population in the study area, which shows that the number of people with >12 years of education is still low. Even based on data obtained from villages or sub-districts, there are still illiterate residents. In Nusantara Capital City Zone there are still 58 illiterate residents, namely in Sepaku Village 23 people (1.35% of the total population) and Pemaluan Village, 35 people (2.27%). In Nusantara Capital City Development Zone there are 156 illiterate residents in Teluk Dalam Village (13.86%). While in the outer zone, there are 143 illiterate residents, namely 86 people in Babulu Darat Village (0.87%) and 57 people in Babulu Laut (1.37%). The low average number of years of schooling can be correlated with the attitude and knowledge of the community towards the discourse of Nusantara Capital City development, in which >50% of the community agrees to the transfer of Nusantara Capital City to East Kalimantan, but the percentage of public knowledge of Nusantara Capital City concept (in

this case a sustainable city) is only <30%, see Table 15. Indeed, the low average length of schooling is not the only factor to see the population’s knowledge of Nusantara Capital City. There are still many variables such as the frequency of hearing and reading information related to Nusantara Capital City, direct involvement in Nusantara Capital City discussions, and others. However, this factor can be a differentiator when we assume that society independently seeks ways to understand Nusantara Capital City.

Table 15.
Attitudes and Knowledge towards Transfer of Nusantara Capital City

Attitude	Nusantara Capital City Zone (n=86)	Development Zone (n=42)	Beyond the City (n=134)
People’s Attitude (agree) About Transferring Nusantara Capital City	85.00	61.90	61.90
People’s Attitude (agree) About Moving Nusantara Capital City to East Kalimantan	87.21	59.52	59.52
Knowledge of Sustainable Development	22.09	28.57	12.69

n = total respondents

(Source: Primary Data Analysis, 2021)

The above conditions show that Nusantara Capital City’s development is an arena of struggle/battle among classes. The dominant class tries to build a concept of the nation’s capital so that it can be trusted and accepted. Meanwhile, the secondary group tries to understand and follow the concepts built without fully understanding what is meant. The influence of the dominant group on various Nusantara Capital City discourses was finally accepted without question. This is reflected in the results of interviews conducted with the community in several areas (Sepaku, Pемaluan, Teluk Dalam, Babulu Darat, and Babulu

Laut villages). When people were asked about their response to the relocation of the nation's capital, they often found statements showing their fear, obedience, and resignation, such as "yes, we as fellow people just follow it, if the government has said this, what can we do?" and other similar statements.

The above conditions can provide opportunities for the dominant group to monopolize the mastery of knowledge and class relations for specific purposes. Thus, anyone who can master the discourses in Nusantara Capital City development will win various battles in this city development. In the development of Nusantara Capital City, economic capital is no longer the only determinant; the socio-cultural capital of knowledge has a large enough role so that if local and customary communities do not increase their knowledge capital, they will be vulnerable to being marginalized again. Despite this condition, it still requires the active involvement of all groups, especially indigenous and local communities, as groups become objects and are directly affected by Nusantara Capital City development.

4.4 Land Grabbing in Developing Nusantara

Land grabbing has become a global issue which is also very interesting if the phenomenon is explored in the development of Nusantara Capital City. Land grabbing has become a global issue concerning social justice and environmental conservation. This phenomenon often occurs in developing countries such as Africa (Ahmed et al., 2019; Lavers, 2012) and Southeast Asia (Hall, 2011) due to the global crisis that occurred in 2007-2008. This phenomenon relates significantly to developed and developing countries' international relations. Capital-rich countries such as China, Japan, and Qatar are heavily involved in land grabbing in investment recipient countries. The global market demand for certain natural commodities encourages purchasing or leasing land in various resource countries. Resource-owning is usually a developing country that cannot afford to sell technology. Developing countries in global trade sell a lot of natural

resource commodities to developed countries.

The term land grabbing is used in this phenomenon because the acquisition or process of land acquisition occurs through illegal means, even though the process is carried out in a legal way (Zoomer et al., 2017). The process often begins with the active role of a country's government in offering investment land to investors. Investment is the effort to improve the economy of developing countries. Through investment, it is hoped that socio-economic growth may lead to national prosperity and welfare. However, poor land management, culminating in a non-comprehensive land feasibility study, means that the land offered for investment is not fully ready to be managed.

Local communities own or manage vacant or state-owned land prepared for investment. Poor preparation led to social conflicts as mutual land rights claims. Local communities are often the most disadvantaged parties. Investment activities displace local communities without involvement in delivering discourse, information, and consent. Local communities are also powerless to defend their rights. Ideally, development through investment in local community land is one of the triggers for local-scale development. However, in reality, local communities are relocated and marginalized.

Global actors have a vital role in land-grabbing (Zoomers, 2010). The supply of global goods causes various impacts other than social conflicts, such as deforestation, food security, land use change, biodiversity reduction, and climate change, as long as there are no efforts to control investment and protect local communities. The problem is not only land grabbing but also the underlying forces for land use (natural commoditization) for global market needs (Brenner & Theodore, 2007).

In addition, there is also the foreignization of space, a process showing that more and more lands are legally owned or leased by investors or business groups on a large scale. Zoomers (2010) presents seven processes that contribute to the foreignization of space as a form of foreign direct investment (FDI), namely

1. foreign investment in food products,
2. foreign investment in non-food agricultural commodities and biofuels,
3. development of protected areas, nature reserves, ecotourism, and hideouts,
4. special Economic Zones,
5. large-scale infrastructure works,
6. urban expansion, large-scale tourism complexes, retirement migration residences, and
7. land purchases by migrants from their home countries.

Nusantara Capital City development owns other more complex phenomena because apart from special economic development, various other activities within the Nusantara Capital City area can have a more massive impact.

4.4.1. Land for Development of the Capital City of Indonesia

Indonesian Capital Law has stipulated that the capital city is located north of Balikpapan City and south of Samarinda City. The area of development is divided into the land area and seawater area. The land area is approximately 256,142 ha, while the sea area is approximately 68,189 ha. The land area will be limited to the Nusantara Capital City Zone ($\pm 56,180.75$ Ha), the Nusantara Capital City Development Zone ($\pm 199,961.95$ Ha), and the Central Government Core Area will later become part of the Nusantara Capital City Zone with an area of about 6,671 Ha.

The designated Nusantara Capital City area overlaps with two regencies: North Penajam Paser Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency, which covers 51 villages. Referring to the boundaries of this planning area, the selected area is an area in which community authority has the authority to regulate and manage government affairs and the interests of the local community based on community initiatives recognized by the nation. Although part of the area to be built is also in plantation areas that third parties use through the *Hak*

Guna Usaha (HGU) – Cultivation Rights scheme for a certain period, some areas, such as the Central Government Core Area, are built on non-settlement areas and state land which are still under construction. No more detailed policies are related to Hak Guna Usaha development in residential areas.

4.4.2. Foreign Investment in Nusantara Capital City Development

Based on the examples of land grabbing in various countries, the government's invitation to foreign investors became one of the entry points for the occurrence of foreignization of land. The Indonesian government also fully opened opportunities for domestic and foreign investors to invest in Nusantara Capital City. Of the total Nusantara Capital City financing, the government only fulfilled 20% of the financing, while the rest was given to investors. The central government has submitted various schemes, through the Ministry of Investment and the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning or National Land Agency, such as super tax deduction, import duty exemption, and import value tax exemption facility, to granting rights to cultivate in the long term.

In its development, the Nusantara Capital City zone is planned to become a super-hub comprising six economic clusters (clean technology industry cluster, integrated pharmaceutical cluster, sustainable agriculture industry cluster, ecotourism and health tourism cluster, chemicals cluster and chemical derivative products, and low carbon energy cluster) and two supporting clusters (21st-century education cluster, and smart city and industrial center 4.0). The various regional plans prepared can accommodate a variety of complex activities. From the various examples of cases in the land grabbing phenomenon, constructing a new Nusantara Capital City city might produce a more extensive and faster impact.

4.4.3. Land Ownership and Land Grabbing

Residential land and community plantation land become inseparable units. Most people in Nusantara Capital City development

areas work in the primary sector, either as a main or a side job. Cultivating land has been the main activity of the community in Nusantara Capital City for a long time. The local community (Paser Tribe) has cultivated the land in a shifting manner until now. They are settled. Then, migrant communities, especially from Sulawesi and transmigrants from Java Island, who use the land as a source of income and livelihood, add to the importance of the existence of land. The two initial conditions of the community above show that cultivating land becomes a key source of livelihood for the community, even though it is now more diversified in the trade and service sectors, plantation workers, and jobs in the government sector. The presence of companies supported by the government through the legality of HGU-Cultivation Rights and HGB-Building Use Rights became the beginning of the land-grabbing process, as stated by one of the informants as follows:

“... sangat besar pengaruhnya. Kalau dari perusahaan itu namanya, pengakuannya, pengakuan perusahaan itu sebelum, selama selama kita di sini kan belum tahu namanya HGU kan atau HGB kan. Tahu-tahunya, tiba-tiba datang HGUnya perusahaan itu di pemerintah sampai ke pinggir laut. Pokoknya masuk di dalam masyarakat itu kan tahu-tahunya HGU, ada HGB. Jadi banyak sekali pengaruhnya. Sehingga lahan kita yang sudah kita kelola berapa tahun kita tinggal diambil sama perusahaan tanpa adanya ganti rugi. [From the corporations, the legalization for the corporations, we did not know what so-called HGU-Cultivation Rights or HGB-Building Use Rights. What we knew was HGU-Cultivations Rights from corporations reached the shore. The land we once cultivated for years were grabbed away by corporations without compensation]”
(Informant BH1)

Three community groups have been successfully mapped about land ownership at the current Nusantara Capital City location: local communities, i.e., local tribes, Paser, Balik, migrant communities (from Sulawesi), and transmigrant communities (a government program in the 1960s- 1970s). Of these three community groups, there are two groups of land titling: groups of people with land certificates and those who do not have land certificates. Concerning land ownership, until

now, there has been no more detailed information from the government for community lands that are included in the zoning (settlements and plantations). Legally recognized land ownership in Indonesia must be demonstrated by ownership of certificates that are still not owned by local communities and migrants. Until now, most of the land ownership documents owned by indigenous peoples are certificates (*SKT*) or often referred to as seals. Based on the community's acknowledgment, this document does not show land ownership but only usufructuary rights, so the land is state-owned.

Unlike the case with transmigrants, they legally owned the land accompanied by land ownership documents. The transmigration program facilitated people willing to move from Java and Bali to various locations with incentives for residential land and gardens and certificates of legally recognized ownership. This difference made the indigenous people restless and jealous, which unfortunately had not been confirmed by the government. The absence of land acquisition processes, both gardens, and residences, became a major concern for people who did not have land certificates. "Are we going to be evicted"?

Until now, the dynamics of discussion and land use still occur within the Nusantara Capital City zone. Other zones, such as the development zone and areas outside the Nusantara Capital zone, have not experienced significant fluctuations. Shocks to local people's livelihoods are still in the realm of residential land and plantations (Oberlack et al., 2016). However, it is not impossible, land grabbing on a large-scale and even ocean grabbing will occur soon (considering that the Nusantara Capital area also includes sea and river water areas). People's access to the sea might be hampered by the dynamics of development (Bennet et al., 2015).

Towards and Beginning of Nusantara Capital City Development: Exclusion

“O Fatherland, Troy, home of Gods, Trojan bulwark famous in war! Four times on the gate’s very edge it stopped, four times arms rang from its belly! But we paid no heed and, blind in our madness, put the cursed portent in our hallowed citadel. Even then Cassandra opened her lips to coming doom, by divine decree never to be believed by the Trojans. We, wretches whose final day that was to be, garlanded the shrines of the Gods with gay boughs through the city.” -Virgil, The Trojan Horse enters the city, Aeneid Book 2

The poem of the trojan horse was a solid metaphor to illustrate how development may bring into a marginal community. Some may praise the development of the trojan horse as a savior, while behind and beyond it, many detrimental forces were ready to create havoc. The hidden interest and unintended consequences from the development of IKN are obscured behind the development discourse. This chapter will briefly intertwine those and focus on the exclusion process.

5.1 New Capital City and the Imagination of Frontier

Nusantara Capital City presents itself as a mega-infrastructure cum techno-political urbanization sphere. Beyond its physical construction lies vehemently intricate socio-political elements, power relations, and governmentality modes embodied in the regulation and daily practice among the involved actors. Execution of the Nusantara Capital City plan inevitably significantly impacts the ground, particularly the people whose livelihood depends on the resources, land, and the environment. The significant impacts of the development process have transformed the location of the Nusantara Capital City into a frontier. Historically, the location of Nusantara Capital City has undergone several radical changes. This chapter provides a transformation process of the location of Nusantara Capital City through the decades. From the timescape journey, the imagination of the frontier constantly clings to the policy toward the location of Nusantara Capital City, especially the central government ones. A similar process happens in many places in Southeast Asia, from spontaneous settlement to transmigration (Fold & Hirsch, 2009).

The first frontier process at the location of Nusantara Capital City happened through the transmigration policy during the '60s to '70s (Maloney, 1987; Hardjono, 1988). Transmigration manifested the separation of inner and outer Indonesian (Geertz, 1963), radicalized the concept of geographical borders, and simultaneously facilitated cultural interaction between newcomers (mostly from Java Island) and the indigenous. The transmigration frontier reflects how the government perceives outer Indonesia, especially the Island of Kalimantan, and, ultimately, the location of Nusantara Capital City: abundant land resources, sparse and unpopulated, and lagged in economic development (Tsing, 2011). The habituation of transmigration and the impacts caused by it also signified that it has become an ideology (Tirtosudarmo, 2018). Transmigration recreates the concept of border, people's movement, and interaction, piercing the economic aspects into the political ones.

Frontier operates in two dimensions: the economic and political (Fold & Hirsch, 2009), and essentially refers to the transition region (Table 16).

Table 16.
Economic and Political Dimension of Nusantara Capital City Frontier

Economical dimension	Political dimension
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Underdeveloped with chronic poverty. This dimension was built on regional disparity and facility availability. ● abundant resources, especially land resources. Indonesia, in the 1980s, heavily relied on natural resource exploitation for its economic growth. The massive agricultural transformation under the green revolution project boosted this dependency. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Spatial governance: border, territorialization (Thaler, et al., 2019). Space was configured using economic consideration and often overlapped with the conservation area. ● Imposed regulation.

The economic and political dimensions of the frontier would be the underlying logic for the development program at the location of Nusantara Capital City. The development agendas that address the frontier were designed to increase productivity through infrastructure and human resources development. It was implied that the New Order policy was focused on infrastructure development and the distribution of wealth equally since Indonesia saw great inequality (Tadjoeddin, 2020). However, the policy and strategy still ignored the disadvantaged group and fell into gender, education, ethnicity, and rural/urban categories.

The Government of Indonesia is forced to relocate the capital city due to the overpopulated Jakarta. That reason causes an underpopulated region which the government allegedly seeks. The need to find the condition ultimately turned into an urge, creating a perception of empty space in the location of Nusantara Capital City, misleading the development by overlooking the existing people in the targeted location. They are already marginalized and shortly will perish (or be perished?) in the urban realm of Nusantara Capital City.

5.1.1. Access to Frontier: A Long and Winding Road

One of the efforts to open the frontier and marginalized areas in Southeast Asia is constructing the road. At the location of Nusantara Capital City, the main roads mainly wire to two regional centers: Balikpapan and Tanah Grogot. These roads functioned as a connector and highly supported the economic interaction between the city and the depth of the region. The road's presence helped transmigrants sell their crop to satisfy the demand. The main road in the Sepaku District also attracted the Paser Community to settle in. They felt the road was a manifestation of economic development and facilitation to elevate their quality of life. Informant P2 and informant B1, both Paser People, admitted that they abandoned the nomad lifestyle and the river access and built a house near the main road.

"Kepengen rame, kan. Dulu kan sungai untuk anu, untuk anu kita, anu jalanan ini modelnya. Ini kan jalanan ini nih tahun e 93, pembukaan jalanan ini. Cari yang enak kan kalau di sana (di dalam) nda ada, dayung aja pakai perahu aja kalau di sungai itu." [We want the hype. The river once was used as the access like this road. This road was built on 93 and we seek for a more comfortable place. There (in the deep), we have to row in that river] (informant P2).

"Kayaknya sejak itu kan belum ada jalan provinsi kan, begitu ketemu jalan provinsi kita harus mendekati jalan provinsi, mau rame kan. Karena akses kita udah pakai motor, pakai mobil. Dulu kan aksesnya cuma pakai ketinting, pakai perahu. Mana yang belum punya ketinting pake perahu aja, bedayung. Kita ke Balikpapan itu satu hari satu malam baru sampe. Setiap sungai itu adalah akses orang pribumi." [It appeared in that time, there had not been a province road, once we met the province road, we went closer to it because we want the hype because our access had used motor, used cars. Long time ago, the access was only a boat, rowing. Those who did not have long boats, used small boats. We went to Balikpapan for one day and one night. Each river was the access for the locals] (informant B1).



Figure 13.

Informant P2's House. It is on the Side of the Main Road Near Agro Inc. A Massive Road Upgrade for the Access of Nusantara Capital City was Done, Spraying Ashes to Its Settlement. Most of the Houses in This Area belong to the Paser Community.

(Photo credit: Hilary Reinhart)

Source: Google Earth

As a means of modernization, a modern market and lifestyle penetrated the life of the Paser Community in Sepaku District through the construction of the main road. When modernization infiltrated the life of the indigenous, it radically altered the lifestyle and shifted the livelihood challenges from natural challenges such as weather or pests to modern ones like market failure. It also could be stated that roads *integrate* modern livelihood and traditional ones (Rigg, 2002). With Paser and Balik Communities and the indigenous people of Kalimantan as the river people, the road construction became a life-changing turn point. The river culture and tradition were slowly vanishing as the road construction crawled into many areas.

Rahmanto (2015) emphasized how the road construction by the corporation in the depth of Kalimantan changed the agriculture and economic structure and shifted the value and orientation of many Dayak communities. His study at Kihambatang revealed that the road, as the spearhead of the development, not only provided access for people but also eased the process to circulate the commodities. The road may enhance people's options and choices in their daily life. However, it may impact the social fundamentals, such as kinship and the potency of horizontal and vertical conflict.

Currently, connectivity between the centers of growth appears to be a top priority of the government. Under the Ministry of Public Works, President Joko Widodo imposed an ambitious infrastructure plan to wire up Indonesia. Highways and trans-highways in most of Indonesia's large islands were being constructed or elevated to an optimal level. In the Nusantara Capital City location, roads, besides water reservoirs, became the priority to be upgraded (Figure 14).



Figure 14.
Road Construction at the Location of IKN
(Photo credit: Hilary Reinhart)

Road widening eased the heavy machine traffic for building construction and facilitated the visiting authorities. Sepaku District was frequently visited by government officials from the head of regency (*Bupati*), the chief of the army, minister to the president himself. The road became a stage for government parades. It shaped the importance of this region in people's minds but simultaneously caused anxiety. One of our informants admitted she was bothered by the convoy of elites, mostly because the convoy was always hasty and to some degree, intimidating. The roles of the road at the Nusantara Capital City as the economic vein and the stage for the elite to show their force had satisfyingly reflected the objective of the Nusantara Capital City: the economic growth pole and the pride of the nation.

5.1.2 Frontier and the Exclusion Process

During the pre-construction of Nusantara Capital City, the supporting infrastructure was built. It appeared to offer promising development outcomes: abrupt income from land selling, accessibility, crowded newcomers, jobs, and employment. Meanwhile, the government still cautiously prepared the appraisal and mitigation of negative impact. This condition succumbed to the people at the location of Nusantara Capital City in liminal condition (Thomassen, 2018). In that in-between liminal area, the community and people in the location of Nusantara Capital City experienced the exclusion that stemmed from the agrarian and symbolic violence of the Nusantara Capital City development.

Table 17.
The Dimensions of Exclusion in the Location of Nusantara Capital City

Space of exclusion	Real/material	Abstract
Main drivers	Agrarian sector	Nusantara Capital City Discourse, the imagination of frontier area
Impact	Landlessness	Nonparticipation in Nusantara Capital City planning
Periods	Pre-Nusantara Capital City until recent	Since the planning and decision of the Nusantara Capital City location
Basis	Capital, material and land ownership	Knowledge

The agrarian transformation and the class (re)formation changed the human-environment relation by reconfiguring land management. It eventually intersected with the exclusion of the indigenous and local people. Since the land becomes the basis for the agricultural sector hence the foundation of people’s livelihood, land-based exclusion was diversified into other types of exclusion. Exclusion as the excess of development may take several forms. Hall et al. (2011) identified four types of power exclusion: the market, regulation, force, and the legitimation of the state.

Each of those four elements paved the way for another and interweaved a complex chain of reactions that ended in multi-dimensional social exclusion. In the conventional definition, exclusion cut the people's access to their resources and hindered the benefit they might extract. In the location of Nusantara Capital City and the development process of Nusantara Capital City, not only the material resources for production and society sustainability were deterred, but also the right to participate in the development process was limited through symbolic violence.

In the location's example of Nusantara Capital City, the state made regulations, especially the central government, through several legal products, including regulations, decrees, policies, and planning and programs. All of those regulations, in terms of land grabbing and exclusion, were employed to relieve the pressure from the land rush that happened when the location of Nusantara Capital City was announced, including elevating the participation degrees and executing the concept of Nusantara Capital City. Hein et al. (2016) pointed out that the regulation also formed social exclusion in the frontier area in Jambi as it raised the competition fostered by the local political figures.

The regulations issued by the government were also used to facilitate the market regulation of Nusantara Capital City through the investment scheme. As mentioned in subsection 2.3, the financial source for Nusantara Capital City came from the investors that invested their money or capital in it. In pursuing the investment from foreign or domestic, the government offered an incredible easement such as the duration of the land rent and the tax deduction. This scheme appeared to strengthen the neoliberalism logic behind the development of Nusantara Capital City. This becomes development for sale in the name of investment. In smoothing the development agenda, the authority employed hard and soft enforcement. Nevertheless, the government favored weak enforcement in Nusantara Capital City by enacting regulations and approaching the people using *adat*/indigenous custom instruments and legal work.

State legitimation, in this case, arguably took the largest portion of the frontier imagination, the exclusion it entailed, and the most intricate one. State legitimation operated both at the discourse and empirical dimensions. It pervaded most of the development process since the state authority in Indonesia, and Nusantara Capital City, in particular, was highly dominant. Sutter et al. (2016) pulled the concept of state legitimacy into the interrelation between the political sphere and social practice and perception. State legitimacy comprises several dimensions (Gilley, 2012; Sutter et al., 2016), such as elementary legitimacy, inherent legitimacy, acquired legitimacy, and ecological sustainability. Within those four dimensions of state legitimacy, the state, proxied by the Nusantara Capital City Authority, processed the governmentality to maintain the Nusantara Capital City development. Within the two dimensions of exclusion and class formation, state legitimation was utilized to conduct the resource grabbing and the production of the development discourse.

Further, Hall et al. (2011) also identified six steps of exclusion that have already or potentially happened in the location of Nusantara Capital City. The steps began with licensed exclusions, ambient exclusions, volatile exclusions, post-agrarian exclusions, intimate exclusions, and counter exclusions. From the observation in the location of Nusantara Capital City, each stage could be captured but not necessarily put in such order. For example, the volatile exclusions built on conservation and agricultural limitation had not been done. Sepaku District, with the agrarian transformation and the development of Nusantara Capital City, skipped this phase. Until recently, the people in the location of Nusantara Capital City had undergone the license and were volatile.

Table 18.
Power of Exclusion in Location of Nusantara Capital City

Modes of Exclusion	Details
Regulation	Regulations, decrees, spatial planning and configuration
Market	Corporate-owned land, land exchange between corporation and state
Force	Ideological apparatus and soft force, including <i>adat</i> council
Legitimation	The regime of truth, state legitimation, development discourse

The licensed exclusion took time at the initial stage, where the territorialization, bordering, and ownership was formalized through the green revolution and transmigration programs. The state fully supported these programs, and the provincial and regency government and in the location of Nusantara Capital City built upon the imagination of the frontier and the “will to improve” the hinterland and outer Indonesia in general (Li, 2012). Furthermore, volatile exclusions happened during a particular crop shock, exploding the number of commodities. Sepaku District and its people suffered this type of exclusion in the monoculture era between the transmigration program and the large-scale corporation, resulting in massive commodity shifting. It also triggered the changing livelihood modes from subsistence to market-driven ones. Not only change the lifestyle, but this exclusion also altered the relationship between people and their land.

5.1.3. Gates, Borders, and Codes of Conduct

The physical development of Nusantara Capital City required a safe and clean space and land. It had to be ensured that there were no activities that might disturb the construction process for the residents’ safety. To begin that process, the area for construction had to be gated away. During the observation period, people from Paser and Balik and later the transmigrants and newcomers had fronted with much territorialization expressed by the signage and line. The first massive territorialization and the border process could be traced back to ITCI Inc., which blocked a large area for their concession forest, followed

by the lot bordering back then in the transmigration program. This territorialization also brought along the permission or the code of conduct of what was allowed or not within the line and exercised by the legal land owner.

One of the codes of conduct, or in this case, a prohibition within the area of the territory became the regulation of not burning the land under the slash-and-burn method. This regulation significantly impacted the swidden agriculture, and the commodities it sustained since the slash and burn technique was the main method both in land clearing and in providing natural fertilizer for the soil in which, in Kalimantan, the soil fertility could be easily washed away because of its pedological formation in which the process was dominantly controlled by sedimentation. The ashes from the burning process could help the crops to grow. Informant P2 explained how the corporation imposed the regulation even using force.

'Ga bisa sudah kita nanam-nanam, masih enak kita membakar. Padahal masyarakat itu ndak pernah membakar sampai kebakar hutan; tetap saja tidak boleh karena masyarakat itu dijaga betul-betul hati-hati. Luasnya paling 2 hektar... nda bisa berkebun kalau berkebun ditangkap dianu sama brimob segala [We can't have it planted, it's still good if we burned it. In fact, the community never set fire to the forest; still can't because the community is very carefully guarded. The area is at most 2 hectares... you can't do gardening if you are caught gardening by police and others.]'

Currently, the authority of Nusantara Capital City has installed the signage for the Core Zone of the Governmental Center along the main road and extended it to two villages: Pemaluan and Bumi Harapan. These signages asserted the border of the core zone of Nusantara Capital City. Besides the core zone, the signage also showed the forest area authorized by the Ministry of Forestry and Environment (see Figure 15).



Figure 15.
Signages to Show the Border for the Forest Area (Red) and Nusantara Capital City Core Zone (Yellow)

(Photo Credit: Hilary Reinhart)

Although they acted as a signage and border, the area either for the core zone or the forest had different play rules. The regulation was not confirmed yet, as told by our informant.

“Makanya kalau ada larangan membangun tidak bisa walaupun dia petugas kan karena masih punya masyarakat. Pak Camat juga terus membolehkan masih membangun Bu Dirjen juga bicara masih boleh. Memang tanah ini sebagian punya masyarakat baru HGU itu kan punya perusahaan kan... Pak Camat sendiri bilang jangan dihalangi rezekinya masyarakat karena dari pemerintah belum ada keputusan pasti. Belum ada larangan apa-apa.” [Therefore, if there any construction restriction, the officers could not enforce it since it is still owned by the people. Camat also keeps allowing us to build and the Director General said the same thing. Indeed, part of this land belongs to HGU-Cultivation Rights... Camat himself said that the people cannot be refrained from their luck because the government has not firmly decided. There are no prohibitions whatsoever] (Informant P1)

The forest area has stricter rules since it was enacted far before the core zone. Back then, when the swidden farmer still roamed the forest, they frequently encountered the officers and evicted them away. Informant BH1 stated

“... sangat mengalami. Sering kali kan profesi kita secara berkebutan ini pakai mbakar diusir. Kita bekerja di hutan itu diusir. Kalau zaman Soeharto kan mungkin seram kali. Kita aja masuk di hutan diusir. Kita sudah merasakan... Pokoknya tidak ada toleransinya kalau sudah masuk hutan, kalau zaman era Soeharto tidak ada toleransi sama sekali.” [Frequently, our profession of farmer usually used to burn but then (we were) expelled away. We worked in the forest then we were expelled. The Soeharto era was terrifying. Once we entered the forest, we would be expelled at once. We had experienced... Absolutely zero tolerance once we entered the forest, Soeharto era did not tolerate at all] (Informant BH1).

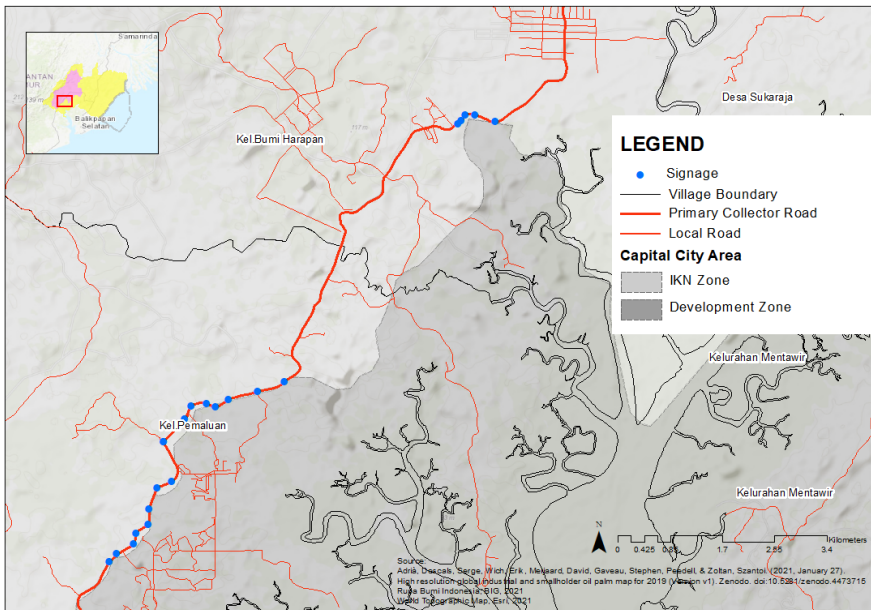


Figure 16.
Distribution of Signages in Nusantara Capital City Location

5.2. Technical Rendering and Depoliticization: Weaken the Weapon

Regardless of their background, many people at the Nusantara Capital City location were not invited to several socializations of the Nusantara plan. The local authority also admitted the obscurity of planning and the announcement. Many of them were not involved in the relocation process, let alone its detail and implementation. We argued that, at this point, people at the Nusantara were imposed into a technical exclusion that happened where they were not involved in the decision-making process.

Since the beginning, the authorities and the Government of Indonesia appeared to hide the plan for Nusantara Capital City. Behind the obscurity of the IKN plan lies an exclusion in the decision-making process where many people got no information about Nusantara Capital City. Many of them had just figured out that Nusantara would be relocated into North Penajam Paser when Joko Widodo announced it on television.

The root of this technical exclusion stemmed from the technical rendering. Li (2012) explained that the separation of the people's representative (*wali masyarakat*), including government, NGOs, and intellectuals, from the people at the grassroots is necessary for the "technical rendering". A process where the sociocultural phenomena of the society are translated into technical matters solely to bracket and simplify what happens to the local people. This is justified and determined by the governing capability of the authority.

The technical rendering involves several processes, including identification, filtering, translation, and program formulation. Much capital, including social, economic, and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Huang, 2019; Swartz, 1997; Reinhart, 2017), is incorporated into a field or arena to justify the mean or the outcome. In this sense, a decision-making process is an arena for the decision-makers, through the technocratic and democratic process, to battle with each other to

determine what is the best. To get involved in this arena, each participant must have a passport qualification. Otherwise, they would be excluded.

As stated earlier, a decision-making process could be simplified into two stages: the technocratic and the democratic (see Table 19). In the stage of technocracy, intellectual capital with the ability to technically identify what is happening and complemented with scientific logic plays the most significant role. This process may result in the program and manifest through reports, research, planning, and policies. What has been formulated in a technocratic process is transferred into a democratic process to be challenged by the people. In this process, the role of cultural, economic, and state apparatus holds a more crucial role.

Table 19.
Development Stages for Nusantara Capital City

Stage	Paradigms	Capitals	Actors
Technocratic	Sustainability, economic growth	Intellectual	Intellects, planners, national and regional authorities
Democratic	Participation	Cultural, Economical	<i>Adat</i> (Indigenous customs) elite, the local leader

One would ask by then: what type of capital do the local and indigenous people not have to be excluded? Constant marginalization for decades and the competition among people disarmed most of the local and indigenous people’s capital from entering the decision-making arena. Although each group experienced different marginalization processes, the outcome remained the same, namely the inability the inability to step into the decision-making arena.

5.2.1. Techno-Political Dimension of Nusantara Capital City and the Discourse Arena

We can imagine an urban area and the lifestyle it carries as a unique realm. It encompasses numerous aspects and elements, including the environment, human relations, technology, and even paradigm. In short, a city has its techno-political governmentality. This imagination was emphasized by Karvonen (2020) and Foley and Miller

(2020). They state that the techno-political aspect of the city is the basic concept of urban planning and management. Karvonen conveys that the techno-political aspects are the ingredients of the imagination while the imagination is fundamentally a material for development. City as a techno-political realm is also strengthened by implementing technology within the notion of a Smart City.

As the manifestation of the future cities, the Nusantara is established as the melting pot for technology, society, and the environment. The evidence for this vision could be seen from Nusantara Capital City titles that constructed above three key concepts: forest city, sponge city, and smart city. The forest city addresses the acquaintance of land cover quality and urban life. The authority envisages Nusantara as a lush city covered with trees. This image also comes from the Kalimantan image of the lung of the planet. Sponge city title is required to convince the public that Nusantara Capital City seriously takes water management into account. The government ensures that the rainwater is directly infiltrated into the ground and contained, just like a sponge. This imagination is conceived by the perpetual hydrological disasters in Jakarta, such as floods, spring tides, and land subsidence (see Saputra, 2020). Lastly, the smart city is an obligation. It is reckoned as a ticket to enter the future realm of urban life.

This ambitious dream emerged to answer the urban challenges of Jakarta, the previous capital city. It is also rooted in the spirit of correction. As the previous chapter has elaborated, the planning and construction of Nusantara Capital City were done through the technicalization of the natural world because it was also regarded as the smoothest way to make the techno-political agenda at Nusantara Capital City come true.

A. Urbanizing Indigenous

By the end of this century, 60% of humans will dwell in urban areas. Massive development, technological advancement, and the constant growth of population force humans to apply the modern city

lifestyle. Consequently, urban areas sprawl more and more, devouring the rural and hinterland through land conversion, human migration, or urbanization. Scrutinizing the impacts of Nusantara Capital City means scrutinizing the urbanization process of the people at the Nusantara.

Towards the indigenous, Nusantara Capital City provides no other choices besides being urbanized. Indigenous people are always associated with rural life, which, in the case of South America, excludes them from development (Horn, 2018). As Stephens (2015) puts it, urbanization may affect the indigenous communities directly or indirectly and could be advantageous or disadvantageous. At the first instance, urbanization would shock the indigenous communities or even the newcomers that have dwelled in the Sepaku and Pemaluan for decades and emulated their worries:

“Kami, selaku masyarakat tentu saja resah kan dengan datangnya ibukota. Kami belum tahu, apa, pemerintah itu ada kearifannya dengan masyarakat atau enggak kan seperti itu. Alhamdulillah selama ini kami sering berdiskusi atau berdialog dengan pemerintah. Ya mungkin mereka itu mudah-mudahan betul kan semoga mereka itu ada kepedulian dan kearifan. Terutama ya kita memang resah cuma di dalam resah itu namanya aturan negara kan tidak boleh kita ganggu gugat kan begitu.” [As the community, we surely are worried with the incoming capital city. We have not figured it out yet whether the government has wisdom or not. *Alhamdulillah*, we frequently discussed with the government. Hopefully, they really have concern and wisdom. Especially, although we are anxious, the regulation from the central government cannot be complained] (Informant P1)

However, the urbanization process for the indigenous, particularly the Paser and Balik did not come from scratch. They had been imposed and exposed to many aspects of rapid development through industrialization, both from forestry and large-scale agricultural industry. They had suffered from spatial exclusion, marginalization in multiple forms, and several cases of land dispossession. All of those gave them the lesson of how important it was to mimic the modern strategy in the contestation. From their experience, some people seemed interested in relocation due to the prospect of being marginalized and

unable to endure the crowded nuisance of the city.

“kayaknya kalau kita ini kan nda terbiasa di tengah-tengah kota. Kami berprinsip itu takut takut kami ini kalau tidak dipedulikan sama pemerintah nanti, takut-takut kami menjadi noda di IKN. Jadi noda anu di, kok ada masyarakat yang anu miskin begini di tengah-tengah ibukota kan. Itu yang sudah dari dulu kita bayangkan. Dengan teman-teman juga cerita jangan-jangan kita jadi noda di sini dilihat nanti ngapain orang miskin di sini kan kok ada orang di tengah kota ada rumah-rumah gubug begini, itu yang kita takutin. Jadi makanya kami memilih untuk jauh dari sini. [I think, we are not used to it in the middle of the city. We have the principle that we are afraid that if the government doesn’t care about us later, we are afraid that we will become a stain on National Capital City. So, there’s such a thing, why are there such poor people in the middle of the capital, right? That’s what we’ve always imagined. My friends also tell us that we might be a stain here, see what the poor people are doing here, how come there are people in the middle of the city with huts like this, that’s what we’re afraid of. So that’s why we choose to stay away from here]” (Informant BH1)

B. The Backlash: State Reinventing Adat (Traditional Customs)

The authority’s responses to the indigenous community’s demands and concerns consisted of a structural and pragmatic approach. Utilizing the participation and representativeness principles, the authority immediately formed an *adat* council at the level of the Sepaku District and embraced all of the heads of adat at each village within the Sepaku District. This council was headed by Hasanuddin, a Long Ikis Paser community living in Bumi Harapan village. In general, regarding Nusantara Capital City construction, the council announced their willingness to cooperate, and their consent, in particular, was land redistribution and legalization.

This measurement of forming a conformist *adat* council appeared to be an effective strategy for dealing with indigenous issues. The same strategy was also deployed when the Adat People Council of Papua, constituting 61 representatives from various indigenous groups, was invited to come to Jakarta when the Special Autonomy Act of Papua was

formulated. Adat council is a structural product rather than a cultural one. It exhibits how the authority or the central government reinvented *adat* for their interest. Furthermore, the *adat* term got more and more attention amid the Nusantara Capital City construction. Many civic societies were formed under the flag of *adat* or ethnicity and utilized to force the people's interest.

The council also expressed an interest in preserving the Paser and Balik traditions and heritage, tangible and intangible, in the form of a cultural reserve. They imagined this reserve could be a showroom for the global community to see how the Paser and Balik cultural attributes, including house architecture, rites, dances, and arts, would be exposed. Hasanuddin also asserted that this reserve could also generate revenue from the tourism sector.

"... minta perhatian khusus kalau memang lahan dari masyarakat adat ini nanti diambil oleh pemerintah, harus diambil, maka dari kami itu minta lah perhatian khusus dari pemerintah ni bisa direlokasikan tempat warga-warga Paser aslinya dulu ini lah dibina oleh pemerintah, ini lah tempat relokasi mereka yang dikhususkan pemerintah. Nanti ketika para-para tamu itu datang kan (seperti) "oh, ini nih suku asli ya orang-orang Paser"; betul-betul diperhatikan oleh pemerintah begitu. nah, dampak-dampak itu kan nanti lihat di sini, ada suku-suku asli juga dibangun oleh pemerintah kita juga minta dibangun juga lah Lamin Adatnya khususnya Orang Paser itu kan. nah, kami minta direlokasikan di sini adatnya mungkin ada istilahnya itu permukiman kota, tempat wisata nah bisa seperti itu" [... (We are) asking for government attention. If the government must take the land from the adat community, we ask the government to relocate us into a dedicated area. Whenever visitors come, they would be like "oh, so this is the local people of Paser", we would also ask the government to build a Lamin Adat for Paser people. The relocation is probably called city settlement, a tourism site; it could be like that] (Informant BH2)

"Karena dulu kan kita ada konsultasi dengan sultan. Nah begini bilang Pak Sultan: "Bagaimana pak bapak kepala adat minta kalian-kalian yang kena terdampak anu ibu kota nanti, kan kita kan bilangnyanya buat istana kesultanan nanti. Bagaimana bilangnyanya bagaimana kalian memohon ditempatkan, dibuatkan perumahan sesuai desain-desain dari Paser supaya bilangnyanya jikalau

kalian betul itu dibina secara adat Paser atau secara desain-desain Paser nanti kalian buat wisata.” [We had a consultation with the sultan (of Paser). He said like this: “what if you, adat leaders, that would be impacted by the capital city, we ask for a sultanate palace in the next time. What if all of you demand to be settled, built a settlement based on the Paser’s design hence if it would be appropriately supervised according to the Paser’s design, it could be used for tourism] (Informant BH1)

The cultural or indigenous reserves in Indonesia are not new. Bestowed by vibrant cultural diversity, many cultural hubs were established in Indonesia. Jakarta, as the capital city, also had a similar concept to Setu Babakan, a Betawi cultural village that became a tourist attraction in the capital city. This idea, indeed, maybe a prompt and temporary solution for cultural and heritage preservation. By gathering all of the Balik and Paser communities at a dedicated spot, it was expected that their culture and value would be preserved well.

The reinvention of *adat* by the government also made up the symbol of *adat*. As the technicalization and the exclusion per se eliminate the political strength of *adat*, for example, as the weapon to organize the resistance, *adat* was then reduced into a set of symbols, leading to structural and symbolic violence. Springer and Billon (2020) elaborated that this violence is exercised through “standardized development schemes the privilege dispossessing modes of extraction and accumulation.” Symbolic violence in the case of Nusantara Capital City relocation occurs in how the state legitimizes identities (Sapiro, 2015).

Identity also became a distinguishing feature of a class or group. In this case, Savitri (2014) pointed out that the feudal elite could override the state’s formation and formalization of the adat council to reestablish their domination. The imposed identity may exclude the ‘other’ groups, which are fundamentally unrelated to the grassroots movement. The *adat* elite, including the sultanate and monarch, aim to secure their interest. Indonesia, which is still constituted by a tiny sultanate, is prone to these counter-exclusion sabotages. The Paser community was once a

monarchy, and nowadays, some Paser members still submit under the Paser Sultanate at Tanah Grogot.



Figure 17.

Ronggeng Dancer Preparing to Perform. The Traditional Dance is Commonly Staged as A Welcome Ceremony to Government Elites.

(Photo Credit: Hilary Reinhart)

5.2.2. Technical Rendering in Nusantara Capital City

Development, in this case, Nusantara Capital City relocation, was built on imagination. The government of Indonesia envisaged a utopian city free from choking problems as the previous capital city: heavy congestion, full of pollutants, annual flood, land subsidence, and socio-cultural problems. This imagination was technicalized into spatial planning, technical report, scientific study, and policies. Government and certain people at Nusantara Capital City seemed to have consented to one thing: this new city would become economic leverage. It was expected that Nusantara Capital City would attract more and more newcomers and simultaneously bring the flow of capital to the Sepaku

District. Leveraging the regional economy requires one thing: the target is economically lagged. This construction has been well-compounded. The hinterland in Indonesia is notoriously known for its poverty, social problems, and laziness. A short report from ISEAS, stressed the importance of 'growth,' 'development,' 'environment impact,' 'participation,' and 'involvement.' (Nugroho & Adrianto, 2022).

A. Participation

Participation as a development process got more and more attention. It is praised to be the most appropriate approach to execute the development. Nevertheless, "participation" undeniably befell into a technical rendering trap. The urge to include participation in the development process gains more and more attention as the complexity and uncertainty increase. From the technical point of view, participation could be seen in several degrees, including socialization and collaboration, depending on how the information and interests are circulated (Newig & Fritsch, 2009).

Table 19 shows two steps in the development process: the technocratic and the democratic. Both are fundamentally different, but the government, as it is also practiced in most development processes, imposes that two steps must be applied. However, in the case of Nusantara Capital City, participation was preceded by the technocratic process as the primary step of technicalization. In several cases, the technocratic stage as the technicalization process was antagonized with the democratic-participative stage (van Ast & Gerrits, 2016; Sager & Mavrot, 2021).

The technocratic stage, as the technicalization of Nusantara Capital City development, was fueled by expert knowledge, and this particular type of knowledge also habituated the democratic process. It could be seen at the public consultation for Detailed Spatial Plan, organized by the Minister of Agrarian and Spatial Planning in Samarinda on September 13th, 2022. The participants were mainly the experts and elites.

In a more profound and broader sense, participation was born from the politics of recognition (Savitri, 2014). To be included and seen as equal in participation, at least two preconditions must be satisfied: the objective and the intersubjective condition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). However, in the case of Nusantara Capital City, these two preconditions were hard to be achieved. In imbalance, knowledge capital disrupted the process, and internally the political arena within the discourse of Nusantara Capital City also hampered the equality in the participation process.

B. Sustainability

Sustainability, especially sustainable development and the SDGs as its praxis, has become the dominant paradigm in development. This concept was imposed and obligated on the global and national scale. The hegemony of sustainability in Indonesia was formalized through several laws and decrees. Sustainability ruled out the concept in the development process and was technically integrated into the development process facilitated by the Strategic Environmental Analysis or KLHS (*Kajian Lingkungan Hidup Strategis*).

Spatial planning devised Nusantara Capital City as one of the instruments that rectified the space configuration and comprised spatial structure and pattern. Nusantara Capital City planners, as the technocratic elites and the Minister of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/ National Land Agency, decided and filtered several priorities issues to be addressed in the spatial planning, which none of them appeared to be related to the exclusion and marginalization of the people that plagued Nusantara Capital City location for decades.

The sustainable issues to be addressed, according to the planner, were¹:

1. Land Conversion
2. Disaster Risks

¹ Taken from the material of Detailed Spatial Planning Public Consultation, September, 13th 2022

3. Labors and Human Resources Disparity
4. Energy
5. Water resources

The land reformation? Seemed to be none.

Sustainability as the hegemony was owned by the elites. It was reflected in the knowledge of the people at Sepaku and Pemaluan as the core zone of Nusantara Capital City. Less than 20% of people knew about sustainability, let alone sustainable development. This gap amplified the technical exclusion that had already been repeated. The bottom-up planning and development did not stem from the grassroots but from the elite's imagination and grandiose ambition instead.

Conclusion: Critical Notes

6.1 (Pseudo) Place Attachment

Place (space) is a space that has a specific meaning for the humans living there. This meaning is vital in describing, developing, and maintaining the identity of the location and the people who live in it (Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008). The existence of the locality of the area, the provision of activities and public facilities, and giving an identity to a location make the space more known and invite other people to come (Sesunan, 2014).

The relationship between human attitudes and their place of residence affects the nature of the relationship formed, where this concept will affect the quality of the assessment of an area (Bakar et al., 2017). The study of human perception of where they live is packaged in place attachment. This place attachment affects the emotional relationship and sense of ownership between humans and their place of residence (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015).

The place attachment's strength affects the benefits the location provides. Place attachment consists of place dependence, place identity, and sense of place, which are influenced by physical and socio-cultural aspects, time, and experience (Taufan et al., 2021). Place dependence is an attachment relationship that arises when the environment can accommodate the needs of human life in it, generally related to

the availability of resources in that place, so when a location offers guarantees of protection and security, guarantees for meeting needs, and increasing welfare, a strong bond between humans and the place will be formed. Generally, this will be related to the physical condition of the area and the availability of resources (Ujang & Shuhana, 2012). Place identity is a form of manifestation related to emotional attachment to a place. The uniqueness of a location and the existence of a particular perception from the community towards a location strengthens the concept of place identity (Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008). Meanwhile, a sense of place is a dimension that is quite difficult to measure because its definition is quite abstract and complex. Sense of place not only defines the emotional attachment of humans to their place but also creates dependence and pride in their inherent identity and distinguishes the characteristics of a place from others (Ujang, 2012).

The existence of a relationship of attachment and a sense of pride between humans and their place of residence further strengthens the characteristics and identity of a place (Bakar et al., 2017). It then becomes essential to be maintained in Nusantara Capital City. Based on the results of field observations, the people there generally already had awareness regarding the concept of place attachment, although some were still at a basic level.

The relationship between the community and its most important place of residence, place dependency, could be seen from its dependence on resources and livelihoods carried out by the community. Indigenous people in the Sepaku area, identified as the Paser and Balik tribes, had a long history of establishing links with their territory. The Paser and Balik tribes initially had a lifestyle of moving from one region to another (nomadic). The community became accustomed to the shifting cultivation system with mountain rice as a commodity. Cultivated land could only be planted once a year, so people moved to find other fertile lands for planting. However, the Paser and Balik tribes did not dare to take other people's land, even though there was no written letter or claim of ownership.

Over time, the life pattern of the Paser and Balik tribes changed to a sedentary life pattern. This process began when the company and the transmigration area program appeared. The recognition of land ownership boundaries by companies and the government limited the movement space of indigenous peoples. The boundaries of ownership forced the community to determine their life in only one area, namely the Sepaku area. Indigenous people also depended on their livelihood by utilizing existing resources in the Sepaku area, such as farming, gardening, or being fishermen. This then developed to form a place of dependency in the community.

Place attachment was identified through a sense of ownership and community pride in their place of residence and community pride in Nusantara Capital City determination policy. The Paser and Balik tribes, as indigenous people living in the Sepaku area for a long time, had great attention to the determination of Nusantara Capital City in their area. The Paser Balik people concerned about their involvement in Nusantara Capital City development process later.

“Jika pemerintah memperhatikan, untuk IKN kami tidak akan menolak, kami akan membantu, Tapi kalau hak-hak kami diabaikan, di situ yang menjadi gejolak ke depan. Tidak usah-lah muluk-muluk, disamaratakan saja sudah senang. Karena kami yang punya tanah, kami yang punya rumah, kok malah kami yang ditelantarkan. [If the government has attention to Nusantara Capital City, we will not refuse, we will help. However, if our rights are ignored, there will be turmoil in the future. No need to be grandiose, just generalize (we are) already glad. Because we own the land, we own the house, why are we being abandoned?] (Informant S1)

Community involvement was essential in political and social processes in various Nusantara Capital City development agendas, so they got support from them. If this could be achieved, a sense of shared ownership could be developed in the community to help maintain the existing development process. However, until now, the government’s presence is still just a formality in accommodating the rights of indigenous peoples. Input from the community was only accommodated without

any clear follow-up or implementation. However, the community still hoped for active involvement in the development of Nusantara Capital City. Even if their rights were heard, the indigenous people were fully committed to supporting the existence of Nusantara.

On the other hand, the development carried out in North Penajam Paser Regency was still quite limited. In addition, the construction of supporting facilities and infrastructure also had a negative side that was quite disturbing to the community. Since the main road in Sepaku District was widened and repaired, now the road has been dominated by newcomers' vehicles moving at high speed. This made people uncomfortable with the crowds caused by the road construction, and they even became afraid to drive on this main road. Communities whose homes were on the main road were also disturbed by air pollution and the resulting noise.

The development agenda, which will be more massive in the future, will undoubtedly attract the presence of immigrant communities. This was also a concern because local people feared that the area became as crowded as Jakarta today, raising various social problems and increasing the crime rate. In addition, local communities also had significant concerns if they could not compete with immigrant communities, especially in terms of the quality of education and competition in finding jobs.

"Orang-orang baru ini kan orang-orang pintar, orang dari Jakarta, orang dari mana-mana kan orang pintar. Kalau kami disini cuma bawa parang, bawa cangkul, pakaian compang-camping, mana mereka memperhatikan... [These new people are smart people, people from Jakarta, people from everywhere are smart. If we are only here carrying machetes, carrying hoes, tattered clothes, how do they pay attention?]" (Informant S1)

This competition between local communities and immigrants had been slightly anticipated, especially for the younger generation. This was also reflected in the mindset of the younger generation, in which, after leaving school, they continued their education to college by wandering.

This was also validated by a master's degree informant working as a vocational school teacher in North Penajam Paser Regency. He said that the most important essential learning to be carried out at this time was to strengthen mental education for students and shape the perception of parents so that they would not feel inferior in the current conditions. This became a vital spotlight to emphasize to students since they were in school. Hence, students had great motivation to continue their studies at universities, whether they could be in Balikpapan, Samarinda, or migrate to Java. When this was successfully implemented, the next step was to instill a sense of love in students for their homeland. When they were successful overseas, they would return to their homeland and try to build Nusantara Capital City to be even better in the future.

On the other hand, the younger generation's perception regarding the policy of determining Nusantara Capital City received many positive responses; the younger generation was quite happy with the many development activities entering their area at this time. This policy of determining Nusantara Capital City made the community more familiar with North Penajam Paser Regency, especially in Sepaku District. Hence, along with the development of Nusantara Capital City later, the local community expected that the government could carry out an agenda of building adequate facilities and infrastructure like other big cities in Indonesia.

The response of young people's readiness regarding the determination of Nusantara Capital City was also explained by a doctoral informant, one of the representatives of the younger generation in the Sepaku area. Most of the young generation currently studying and generally migrating strongly desire to return and advance their homeland. The awareness that their place of residence would one day become a big city with many promising job prospects ultimately strengthened the public's perception of place identity. Of course, this positive mindset had more or less become evidence that the mental formation of students had been successfully formed for the current

generation. Thus, this mindset should be re-emphasized and had to continue to be preserved and passed on to the next generation.

6.2 Potential Land Grabbing in Nusantara Capital City Development

Inclusive urban development became one of the visions of Nusantara Capital City development, a city that is open and welcoming to all walks of life. This noble goal formed the basis of every plan drawn up. However, in the process, the goal of inclusive urban development was carried out in a way that was not inclusive. The processes carried out by the government in land grabbing showed the same stages in the process of land grabbing in various cases (Wolford et al., 2013). The development of a new city politically carried out by the central government accommodated various sectors and interests that openly offered large-scale investment to foreign parties.

The non-inclusive way was shown by not involving all levels of society, especially people who had the potential to become vulnerable and marginalized groups (Otsuki et al., 2017). During the approaching process, the Government of Indonesia employed a 'soft method' by putting forward the adat elite, including the head of the adat, on multiple levels. The customary head was considered to have represented all elements of the local community. The government's socialization efforts had not yet reached all levels of society. In this case, customary heads could become agents in land grabbing, as happened in the development of crop production areas in Southeast Asia, in which small farmers became agents in land grabbing (Hall, 2012). Smallholders or migrants acquired land in a process that was not legally strong. From the various processes carried out, it became evident that at this time, there were symptoms that emerged. Conflicts over land for the construction of dams, clean water canals, and land ownership began to be found in the field, and indigenous community groups had the potential to be marginalized.

The location of Nusantara Capital City, between the activity

center of Samarinda City and Balikpapan City, would impact urbanization (urban expansion) and the development of settlements around the Nusantara Capital City area (including surrounding cities). Urban growth in Asia and Africa was taking place on an unprecedented scale. This process would continue in the coming decades. The world population in urban areas will continue to increase in the future. The land investment that was currently happening did not only occur in agricultural land and forests but also in urban areas. However, land investment in rural areas was strongly influenced by urban areas or urbanization. The agenda of SDGs 11 to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable would be discussed concerning urban land grabbing. According to Zoomers et al. (2017), four urban areas need to be considered for land investment: intra-city dynamics, peri-urban dynamics, the emergence of new cities, and new infrastructure corridors.

Ultimately, the various possibilities of land grabbing needed more profound attention. The reason was that the government widely opened investment with various incentives such as tax reductions and land use rights. In addition, the development process that did not cover all levels of society through the symbolic approach of traditional leaders was shown to cause several symptoms of conflict and environmental impacts. The ownership of land by non-transmigrant communities had not yet been clear. Whether the compensation scheme could be implemented, there seemed no clear legality, accompanied by a moratorium on land registration and buying and selling activities. Policies that became very strategic worried local people about what would happen in the future. The local community became the most vulnerable community to be marginalized by the development of Nusantara Capital City. This group should have been included from the start of development. Although in previous experiences, affirmative policies such as job allocation could not replace their lost livelihoods entirely due to the lagging quality of human resources (Levien, 2012).

Compared to the land-grabbing phenomenon in various countries, the potential for land grabbing in Nusantara Capital City

could be more massive and occur in parallel. Given the complexity of existing activities, political support, significant investments, and their location in the constellation of growth centers, it was not impossible that inclusive development goals occurred from non-inclusive processes.

6.3 Further Excluding Remarks

The development of Nusantara Capital City was accomplished through various modes and maneuvers, bringing along exclusion processes through time. In sub-section 5.1.2, the phases of exclusion that had already happened and were happening consisted of licensed and volatile. Further development of Nusantara Capital City would expand the exclusion dimensions into, not indeed in order, the intimate, ambient, post-agrarian, and counter-exclusion of the people in the location of Nusantara Capital City (Hall et al., 2011). Each type of exclusion needed to be examined deeper briefly.

The intimate exclusion mainly concerned the indigenous people's dispossession and landlessness. The depoliticization process, including technicalization, commenced the dispossession of land. It regarded the class struggling and the dialectic it followed into an intimacy including romanticization of class and social relation. The development of Nusantara Capital City had already reduced the political values, power relation imbalance, domination, and symbolic violence in technical terms. Further, ambient exclusion was strongly related to conservation programs. Within Nusantara Capital City, the concept of forest city, including sustainability, hegemonized the development in the location of Nusantara Capital City and could lead to eviction or blockage under the name of forest conservation.

Nusantara Capital City would also induce the leap and accelerate the development phase in the city's location. The area, which was an agricultural area, compacted with swidden farmers and transmigrants, would be radically transformed into urbanized, with service and information sectors taking the lead. This type of exclusion would be the starkest type since it required capable human resources, and at the

current time, it was already occurring. In addition, the post-agrarian and urbanization with the service and information sectors also necessitated the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) infrastructure. Ultimately, the land and discourse exclusion would arrive at the reaction of the excluded and the counter-exclusion. It was the phase where the community or the collective organized a movement to seize back the modes of production. This movement would be articulated through self-organization and the formalization and structuralization of people or mass power.

Thus, the development of the new capital city of Indonesia remains to happen. Still, people are divided into two poles: those who agree with the plan and those who are against it. Apart from the dilemma, people on the ground face severe impacts of this capital development. People who cannot follow the ship tend to be left behind or ignored. Even if they try to deal with the plan they were not invited to, they are still excluded as they do not know what is happening in their land. So, the development of the new capital city of Indonesia, Nusantara, must be inclusive. Nobody is allowed to be left.

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Ikrima Barrorotul Farikhiyah (Rima) was born in Demak, September 29, 2000. She is bachelor sains from Regional Development, Faculty of Geography, Gadjah Mada University. She has an interest in social justice issue, environment, and agriculture. She is actively involved in various surveys and research around geography issue. As a junior geographer, she has learn how all phenomena in the earth are correlated as well as how space is formed, defined, and represented. It would be interesting if we could find the relationship of others and how it affects each others. Rima can be contacted via ikrimabarrorotul@mail.ugm.ac.id or rima.farikhiyah@gmail.com



INGE SATNA ARIYANTO

Inge Satna Ariyanto (Inge) has finished her bachelor degree at Regional Development Study Program, Faculty of Geography, Universitas Gadjah Mada. She has an interest in research topic of Urban and Region Geography, Spatial and Regional Analysis, Regional Planning, Land and Environmental Law, Disaster Risk Reduction, and Management of Disaster. She has made a several publication related to tidal flood and land subsidence. Until now, she is still active in survey and mapping activities, drafting spatial planning and development plans, and also writing articles and books.



ELINDA TRIA WATI

Elinda Tria Wati is currently a master student at Universitas Gadjah Mada majoring Master of Science in Geography (Regional Development Specialization). She obtained her first degree from Geography Department, Universitas Negeri Malang in 2018. She has a great interest in the field of development studies focusing on rural development studies. Her master's thesis is about rural development strategy using capability approach in the era of UU Desa implementation.



MOH. SYAHRUL IRFAN FAHMI

Moh Syahrul Irfan Fahmi (Irfan), studied at the Regional Development Study Program, Faculty of Geography, Gadjah Mada University. Irfan has an interest in research topics of urban geography and environmental conservation. In 2020, Irfan won a silver medal in the Scientific Work Presentation Class for the Student Creativity Program- Community Service at the 33rd National Student Scientific Week (PIMNAS). Until now, Irfan is still actively involved in various

surveys and research, student organizations, community service, and interdisciplinary collaboration.



MAULIDIA SAVIRA CHAIRANI

Maulidia Savira Chairani was born in Mojokerto, August 23, 2000. She is a student of Study Program of Regional Development, Faculty of Geography, Universitas Gadjah Mada. She has an interest in research topics of community empowerment and gender in regional development. She also participated in the Smart City, Village, and Region Summer Course in 2021. Until now, she is still actively involved in various student organizational activities, community service, and interdisciplinary collaboration.



PUPUT WAHYU BUDIMAN

Puput Wahyu budiman is a Researcher of Urban and Regional Planning in Research and Development Agency of East Kalimantan. He graduated as a Bachelor of Engineering at the Faculty of Engineering, Brawijaya University, Malang, followed by a Masters Degree in Department of Architecture and Planning at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta. He has a wealth of, research and development experience in the fields of Urban and Regional Planning, Sustainable Settlement, and Geography Information System. His research interest in finding the living concept in traditional settlement, spatial Housing pattern in local Community, relationship between human and their environment and indigeneous community in living. He finding the concept using deductive inductive approach, mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative) and other tools which allow us to understand the broader context of local,urban and regional planning. As a planner and researcher, he focuses on finding the spatial concept in

local community to enrich the knowledge of sustainable development concept.



ARI SUSANTI

Ari Susanti is a lecturer and researcher in the Faculty of Forestry, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia. She is a forester by training and her research interest stems from my curiosity to understand the linkages between natural and human systems that include the relationships between human and their environments. She studied these relationships using a system approach, mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative), and tools which allow us to understand the broader context of forestry. As a forester, she focuses on the relationships between forest ecosystems, livelihoods, and governance systems to understand the process of achieving sustainable forest management in particular and sustainable development in general.



ROSALINA KUMALAWATI

Rosalina Kumalawati was born in Bantul Regency on May 4, 1981. She graduated in 2003 from the Faculty of Geography, Regional Development Planning Study Program. He obtained a Master's degree from Physical Geography, Faculty of Geography, UGM in 2005. Education at the Doctoral level in Regional Development Planning for Disaster Mitigation was completed in 2014 from the Faculty of Geography UGM. Research in the area of Regional Development Planning has been actively carried out since 2002 through BPKS UGM and PSBA UGM. In 2015 until now, he is still actively writing about disasters. In 2016 cooperation with several agencies related to disaster mapping. Since 2017, he has been actively involved in research and community service with the Peat Restoration Agency and the

Environment Agency. Until now, Rosalina Kumalawati is still active as a lecturer at the Geography Study Program, FISIP ULM Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan. The works that have been written are *Bunga Rampai Penginderaan Jauh* (ITB, 2012), *Pengelolaan Bencana Lahar Gunung Api Merapi* (Ombak, 2014), *Penginderaan Jauh Pemetaan Daerah Rawan Bencana Lahar Gunung Api Merapi* (Ombak, 2014), *Modul Pelatihan Pembangunan Infrastruktur Pembasahan Gambut Sumur Bor Berbasis Masyarakat* (BRG, 2017) and many written books will be produced until 2022. From 2021 to 2022 there will be collaborative research with the South Asian-European Joint Funding and Cooperation Indonesia-The Netherlands, BPN and World Bank. Author can be contacted via email rosalina.kumalawati@ulm.ac.id



RAHMAT ARIS PRATOMO

Aris is a lecturer and a researcher in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at Institut Teknologi Kalimantan, Balikpapan - Indonesia. He did his first master's program in Urban and regional development at Diponegoro University with a focus on land use and planning information systems and his second master in applied sciences at ITC-University of Twente with a specialization in natural hazards and disaster risk management. He has been involved in many research projects on sustainable urban development, disaster risk assessment, risk management, and planning support systems. His current research focuses on developing a pro-poor land development model for improving the quality of life of local communities. Aris has been involved in many organizations: IAP (Indonesian Association of Urban and Regional Planners), IABI (Indonesian Disaster Experts Association), and APDI (Indonesian Drone Pilots Association).



JANY TRI RAHARJO

Jany was born on 13 January 1982 in Grobogan, Central Java Province, Indonesia. He completed his bachelor degree from Faculty of Forestry, Universitas Gadjah Mada for Bachelor of Forestry. He also completed his master degree from Faculty of Economics and Business, Universitas Gadjah Mada for Master of Economics of Development and National Graduate Institutes for Policy Studies for Master of Public Policy. He works at the Indonesian Peat and Mangrove Restoration Agency since 2017 and now serves as Head of Working Group on Peat Restoration in Kalimantan and Papua. Previously he worked at the Ministry of Environment and Forestry. His research interest covers natural resources and environment such as peatland, mangrove, and forest. The combination of his position, work experience, and educational background enables him to formulate various policies and programs to restore peatland from an environmental and socio-economic perspective.



BEKTI LARASATI

Bekti Larasati (born 1990) studied forestry at Faculty of Forestry, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia and Graduate School of Agriculture, Kyoto University, Japan. She has been working as lecturer at Faculty of Forestry, Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM), since 2017. She is belonging to Laboratory of Spatial Information System and Forest Mapping, Department of Forest Management, Faculty of Forestry, UGM. Her main research interests are in forest monitoring, land surveying, remote sensing, and geographic information system. Currently, she is a Ph.D. candidate at Faculty of Geo-Information Science and Earth Observation, University of Twente, the Netherland. Her research topic is to use various multi-scale remote sensing data to

enhance forest inventory techniques.



WADATUTTOYYIBAH

Wardatutthoyyibah was born in Pontianak, April 14, 1993. She currently works as a Knowledge Coordinator at PT. Ekosistem Khatulistiwa Lestari, a private forestry company in West Kalimantan. She finished her bachelor degree at Faculty of Forestry, Tanjungpura University, Pontianak, in 2010. Then She continued her master and doctoral degree at Gadjah Mada University on the acceleration scholarship program of the Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education PMDSU (Program Magister Menuju Doktor Sarjana Unggul) in 2015-2021. She has an interest in wildlife conservation, especially the proboscis monkey. She has made a publication related to the prediction of the distribution of proboscis monkey in Kalimantan. She was a trainer in training program “Species Distribution Modeling using an open-source software” which held by Wildlife Laboratory, Faculty of Forestry, UGM.



ASTINANA YULIARTI

Astinana Yuliarti, a Sulawesi’s woman who was born in Ujung Pandang on July 30, 1989, she has completed her undergraduate education at Hasanuddin University in Makassar City, then resumed her Masters education at the same campus by taking a specific field of Communication Science and graduated in 2016, the author joined as a lecturer in the study program communication studies, faculty of social and political science, Universitas Lambung Mangkurat since the middle of 2019. Author can be contacted via email astinana.yuliarti@ulm.ac.id or Instagram; [astinanayuliarti](https://www.instagram.com/astinanayuliarti).



INU KENCANA HADI

Inu Kencana Hadi is a lecturer and researcher in the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Lambung Mangkurat University. He is a young geographer with research interest in the study of geographic information systems and remote sensing. As a young geographer, he is focus on the geography of disasters, especially forest and land fires. On the other side, he is also part of several environmental communities in Banjarmasin.