

## CONFRONTING THE FRONTIERS OF NUSANTARA CAPITAL CITY: PLACE, SPACE, AND PEOPLE

Indonesia plans to relocate its capital city from Jakarta to Nusantara Capital City. As development intensifies it begins to impact the livelihoods people its vicinity and also alter social economic and environmental aspects. This book analyzes the effects of the Nusantara Capital City of Indonesia and focuses on place attachment, displacement, local actors, and investments within the concept of frontiers. Beyond the construction, potential consequences exist that may disrupt the inhabitants, invironment, and locale of Nusantara Capital City.

This book is a product of a multi-year research initiative conducted by Universitas Gadjah Mada, Kalimantan Institute of Technology, Lambung Mangkurat University, Utrecht University, IHE-Delft, Peat and Mangrove Restoration Agency, Regional Research and Innovation Agency for East Kalimantan Province, and Royal Haskoning DHV. Under the grand title of "Following frontiers of the 'Forest City': Towards sustainable and inclusive urbanization in Kalimantan and beyond," the consortium aims to produce knowledge on the process of developing of developing new capital city in frontier area. Additionally, the consortium will establish a multi-stakeholder platform to co-design a formula for ensuring sustainabilty and inclusivity in Nusantara Capital City.



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# Preface

**WE ARE DELIGHTED** to present this book, which presents the results of a multi-year study conducted by a research consortium consisting of Universitas Gadjah Mada, Kalimantan Institute of Technology, Lambung Mangkurat University, Utrecht University in the Netherlands, IHE-Delft in the Netherlands, Peat and Mangrove Restoration Agency of the Republic of Indonesia, Regional Research and Innovation Agency for Kalimantan Timur Province, and Royal Haskoning DHV. As a continuation of prior research, this study investigates the impact of Nusantara Capital City on place attachment, displacement, local stakeholders, and investments in the frontier context. The objective is to stimulate renewed discourse on the impact of large-scale infrastructure in Kalimantan Island's frontier region.

It is important to note that the location of the new capital city has always been inhabited, despite its frontier status. People have lived and developed a meaningful connection with the surrounding environment for generations. Nonetheless, as the construction of Nusantara Capital City progresses, the impacts on the surrounding community intensify gradually. The development of the new capital city has physical, ecological, and socio-economic consequences that directly affect the local space and place.

The space and place surrounding Nusantara Capital City have been shaped by human interventions and exploitations. This area boasts abundant natural resources such as coal, timber, oil, and, most notably, land. The government chose this area primarily for its vast land resources, in addition to

considering issues related to disaster risk and economics. We have found that people, space, and place are interwoven in an intricate sphere, constantly configuring and reconfiguring one another. In this interaction, individuals are tethered to the ecological, historical, and political setting of the area. From these circumstances, several classifications arise, such as transmigrants, migrants, and Indigenous communities.

To gain a deeper understanding, our research team conducted interviews and analyzed the urban landscape to explore the relationship between Nusantara Capital City and its surrounding areas. This publication presents the collective findings of our multi-perspective investigation, providing insight into the intricate complexities of the new capital city.

The completion of our work would not have been possible without the invaluable assistance and cooperation of all parties involved. We are grateful to The Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Higher Education for providing financial support for this research. We also extend our thanks to the Faculty of Geography UGM and all of our partners for their support. Special thanks to the individuals in the research location for their assistance, hospitality, and warmth. We hope that this book will facilitate inclusive and sustainable development for Nusantara Capital City. ●

*Buen penurui, buen lou penguat (A good beginning for a good ending)*

November 2023,  
The authors

# List of Glossary of Terms and Abbreviations

**Glossary (Quoted definition means a direct quotation from the resources)**

Adat	A set of shared traditions, customs, regulations, and values in a particular indigenous community (Hauser-Schäublin, 2013)
Balik	A local community of Borneo living on Borneo Lands.
Banjar	A South Kalimantan-originated community resides on Borneo.
Batak	A community originated from Sumatera living on Borneo.
BAPPENAS	Badan Perencanaan Nasional (the Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency)
Beyond Nusantara Capital City	Area beyond the Nusantara Capital City
BRWA	Badan Registrasi Wilayah Adat (Adat Land Registration Agency)
BUMN	Badan Usaha Milik Negara (the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises)
Bugis	A Sulawesi-originated community resides on Borneo.
Dayak	A local community of Borneo living on Borneo Lands.



Desa	The Smallest Aliance for government in Indonesia
Development Zone	Nusantara Capital City area with an area of approximately 56,180 hectares
Exclusion	“The ways in which people are prevented from benefiting from things (more specifically, land)” (Hall, et al., 2011)
FKUB	Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama
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)
Frontierism	Way of seeing a region as untouched, needing immediate intervention, and most importantly empty
Forest City	“a city whose ecosystem is dominated by forest vegetation and whose ecological constructions have achieved integrated urban and rural development.” (Liao, et.al., 2021)
Haji	In the Indonesian community, a person who has performed the Hajj pilgrimage is entitled to use the honorific ‘Haji’ before their name.
Impact (environment)	Activities can directly cause adverse effects on the environment, including air, land, water, wildlife, and ecosystem inhabitants. It is crucial to acknowledge that these effects are predominantly negative. (Abdallah, 2017)

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 P, 2020)
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)
Jawa	A community originated from Java Island.
Kelurahan	One of the smallest community under law and government.
Lati Tuo	The fields where people live for farming typically range from 6 to 15 years. Trees such as Bengkieng, Ombu, Bekakang, or others are commonly used to mark the borders of these lands.
Lati Burok	Relatively newer field in age 3 - 5 years and could be their field reserve, bordered by shrub, Mengkangsor, Namsam, Mayas, Sungkay trees or the others
Lepembusu	A community originated from East Nusa Tenggara.
Marginalization	A process of diempowering and excluding people from the mainstream of society through a specific process (Abbot & Sapsford, 2019).
Nusantara	The name of new capital city of Indonesia
Nusantara Capital City	Nusantara Capital City Development

Paser	One of the local communities of Borneo living on Borneo Lands.
Pertamina Hulu Mahakam (PHM)	Oil industry in Muara Jawa Ulu
Pertamina Hulu Sanga-Sanga (PHSS)	Oil industry in Muara Jawa Ulu
Spatial Planning	A public sector function with the purpose of influencing future spatial distribution of activities. Its goal is to create a rational territorial organization of land use and linkages between them, balancing demands for development with the need to protect the environment, and achieving social and economic objectives. (Yamagata & Yang, 2020)
Tongkonan	Customary house from Toraja Tribe
Total E&P Indonesia	One of the industrial divisions of the Total Energies group.
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)
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
Virginia Indonesia Company (VICO)	“One of the oil and gas company in Kalimantan Timur which production of coal bed methane” (Ibrahim, et.al., 2020)

## Abbreviations

AMAN	Alisiansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (organization of local community in Indonesia)
KKSS	South Sulawesi Family Harmony ( <i>Kerukunan Keluarga Sulawesi Selatan</i> )
IKAPA-KARTI	Tribal-based organizational group
IKN	Ibu Kota Negara
IHM	PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal; company operating in the industrial plantation forestry (HTI) sector with <i>Acacia mangium</i> and <i>Eucalyptus</i> sp. as its main plantation, with a concession area of ±161,127 ha located in East Kalimantan Province.
ITCI	PT International Timber Corporation Indonesia
PPU	Penajam Paser Utara
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### I.1. BACKGROUND

**T**IRESOME Jakarta has experienced multiple urban problems ranging from environmental to economic to population density. The ancient delta city has suffered from suffocating pollution, endless traffic congestion, land subsidence, and skyrocketing population density over the years (Bappenas, 2019; Saputra, 2020). The history of Jakarta helps us to unearth and reveal the root of these problems. Since settlers built the city, it has attracted travelers and traders from far and wide. Trade and cultural exchange then shaped the socio-cultural landscape and the economic sector, providing a foundation for the development of the metropolis. At present, Jakarta has become the national and regional epicenter. It is a commercial hub for the bustling Southeast Asia region, one of the most rapidly developing regions in the world, connecting industry, services, technology, leisure and entertainment around the globe. Whatever you want, you can find it in Jakarta.

Amid these urbanized celebrations, and the devastation as well, the government seems to be surrendering to Jakarta's uncontrollable development. There seems to be no comprehensive solution to Jakarta's urban problems other than to abolish its governmental function and relocate it far away. In this way, the central government expects to be able to begin to shape the capital city according to its needs. The design and strategies are certainly still tied to Jakarta's



underlying problems, hence the formulated strategies. First of all, a fundamental question needs to be answered quickly, accurately and democratically: Where are we supposed to move it?

And in 2019, Joko Widodo, the president of the Republic of Indonesia, made a monumental announcement: The province of Kalimantan Timur would be the future capital. Experts from all over the country agreed to a certain extent that this location is a perfect fit for the new capital (Bappenas, 2019). One of the reasons is that Kalimantan Timur Province is safe from disasters. It is located far from the main fault and volcano. In a country with frequent tectonic activity, it is important to avoid settling in areas that are at high risk of earthquakes and tsunamis. Additionally, the region still has many untapped land resources. Jakarta's urban development faces challenges due to limited space and competition with other cities and activity centers. The concrete jungle has been constructed, but it is important to note that the government has a certain ambition to bring development closer to the eastern part of Indonesia in the name of decentralisation and social justice (Sapiie, 2019). This region is known for its underdevelopment, limited infrastructure, high poverty rates, and inadequate education and healthcare facilities.

Therefore, it is basic common sense to plan a city that meets local conditions and urgent needs. The Indonesian government is confident that it can do this, and it has indeed come up with a plan. To make it quick, the Indonesian government only needed less than two years with the legal formal framework of the new capital city. Law Number 3 Year 2022 on the Capital City becomes the supreme law that dictates what should and should not be done in the New Capital City. This regulation also creates the obligation to form the new

authority for the New Capital City. Also, we should not forget the main reasons for the relocation of the capital city, and we will be relieved to know that in order to calm the chaos, the government has decided to establish the new capital city as (i) a forest city, (ii) a sustainable city, and (iii) a world city. These pillars serve as the foundation to support the new capital's development concept.

Now that the sail has been set and the course has been set, there is no turning back. A new capital city, later formalized as Nusantara Capital City, must be built no matter what.

## **I.2. A LITTLE PIECE OF HEAVEN (TROPICAL VERSION)**

It is a wide and lush landscape. A carpet of green eucalyptus trees touches the horizon, creating a sense of boundlessness under the blue sky and adorned with the shadow of a chain of hills in the distance. Rivers flow steadily with breezes accompanying the flow of water. The sun shines all day long, with humidity occupying most of the air. Sometimes there are scorching heat waves, while at other times cool temperatures can drop. Birds chirp and twitter, calling each other to mates. Far downstream, mangroves and swamps dominate the environment, providing space for the mud to sit and settle, providing nutrients to nature and nurturing thousands of animals on land and underwater. Silence, tranquility and serendipity embrace all who are present and steal one's conciseness. It is in this place, on a piece of rich land on the island of Kalimantan, that the Indonesian government envisions the new capital (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** The area surrounding Kelurahan Pemaluan, located near Nusantara Capital City, is characterized by lush greenery. The vegetation in the area is diverse, reflecting the impact of human intervention on the natural environment. (Photo credit: Hillary Reinhart and Azis Musthofa, 2023)

When we say it is a tiny tropical paradise, we mean it; at least most naturalists will agree with us. Without exaggeration, this archipelagic country was once called the Tropic of Emerald or *De gordel van smaragd*, as the Dutch colonialists once called it. It is the land of mystery. Endless rivers with impenetrable rainforests keep a mystical and bizarre secret and have cultivated the curiosity of European explorers since the romantic age. The island of Kalimantan holds a special place in the imagination of Western explorers. Expeditions and explorations have been conducted to reveal the charm of this island: Schwaner, Mullers, Knappert, Enthoven and van Walchren (Sellato, 2022). Moreover, the results were stunning: a strange universe as the world had never seen before, filled with strange animals, giant trees, and exotic indigenous

peoples and tribes. The challenges of the terrain and the perilous journeys were nothing more than business as usual for them, the ecstatic spirit of the explorer. This motivation and curiosity were passed down through several generations and shaped a perception for a newer generation: the imagination of the frontier.

Frontierism, or the frontier spirit, has permeated and diffused the current development paradigm. It perceives that the least developed area must pursue the development standard. Frontierism is a way of seeing a region as untouched, in need of immediate intervention and, most importantly, empty. This paradigm is one of the main motives for the Indonesian government's development of the new capital. Under this discourse, as explained by Saputra et al. (2022), the government perceives the location of Nusantara Capital City as an empty space, or at least, it was claimed by Joko Widodo that Sepaku was also chosen because most of the location will take the ITCI land, a corporation and assumed that there would be no private or personal land claimed, significantly reducing the budget for land acquisition.

This book is a continuation of our previous work in Nusantara Capital City. Conceptually, as part of the previous works, it provides a deeper understanding of the underlying factors of marginalization and exclusion. The relocation of the capital city has been and will always be challenging. It is a complex process involving multiple elements, with implications ranging from the daily livelihood of people to the future of a nation. Therefore, we need to pack multiple approaches based on multi-level epistemological grounds. We start from the similar implicitness of place attachment and displacement, but we take a different path as we now incorporate a cultural dimension to enrich our analysis. We

also emphasize our work by examining the tension that occurs in the research site on at least three scales: global, regional, and local. To do so, we introduce investment as the leading factor cum actor that influences most of our findings. We broaden our scope by emphasizing the case of land rushes and how investment is strongly related to them.

In order to understand the above concerns, seven villages (in Bahasa, they are called *desa* or *kelurahan*) were observed and studied. These *kelurahan* and *desa* were selected from three zones of Nusantara Capital City: 1) Nusantara Capital City Zone, which includes the core zone of Nusantara Capital City, 2) Development Zone of Nusantara Capital City, and 3) Zones Beyond Nusantara Capital City. The first zone was represented by Sepaku and Kelurahan Pemaluan, which is just on the border of the Core Zone of Nusantara Capital City. Then, the development zone of Nusantara Capital City was represented by Kelurahan Muara Jawa Ulu, located far from the core zone but in the main corridor of business areas of the development zone of Nusantara Capital City. The last zones beyond Nusantara Capital City were represented by two villages close to Nusantara Capital City, namely Riko and Bukit Subur, and one village far from Nusantara Capital City, namely Babulu Darat. These three villages were crucial to observe because they were buffer and support areas for settlement and food for the new capital city.

Researchers and surveyors were dispatched to seven designated regions to gather data and information. They were separated by specialized areas and spent an extended period of time embedded within the local communities of the observation zones. Numerous techniques were utilized to collect data, such as field observations, participatory mapping, and in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews were conducted

with a total of 473 respondents and 35 key individuals to gather precise information on ground dynamics, specifically on physical and socioeconomic aspects of individuals. Among the participants, 91 respondents were interviewed in the Nusantara Capital City Zone, 246 in the Development Zone of Nusantara Capital City, and 139 in zones outside of Nusantara Capital City. These methods supplemented the information and data collected through the literature review. Before conducting field observations, an examination of maps and satellite images was undertaken to acquire additional knowledge.

### **I.3. WHERE WE ARE HEADING: THE MAIN CONCEPTS OF NUSANTARA DEVELOPMENT**

Nusantara Capital City has been designated as one of the National Strategic Areas in the National Spatial Plan of Indonesia. The regional spatial planning for the National Strategic Area of Nusantara Capital City is regulated by Presidential Regulation No. 64 Year 2022. In this regulation, nine planning areas (*Wilayah Perencanaan* or WP) are designed, which will later become the basis for the preparation of the Detailed Spatial Plan (*Rencana Detail Tata Ruang* or RDTR). There are six planning areas that divide the Nusantara Capital City Zone and three planning areas that are planned in the Nusantara Capital City Development Zone. Figure 2 shows a map of the distribution of the planning areas in the new capital city and the function of each planning area. Unlike the Nusantara Capital City Zone, the Development Zone is currently planned to be divided into only three Planning Areas and does not fully divide all zones. Behind the prepared spatial plan, there are of course many things to consider based on the main ideas for the development of the Nusantara Capital City,

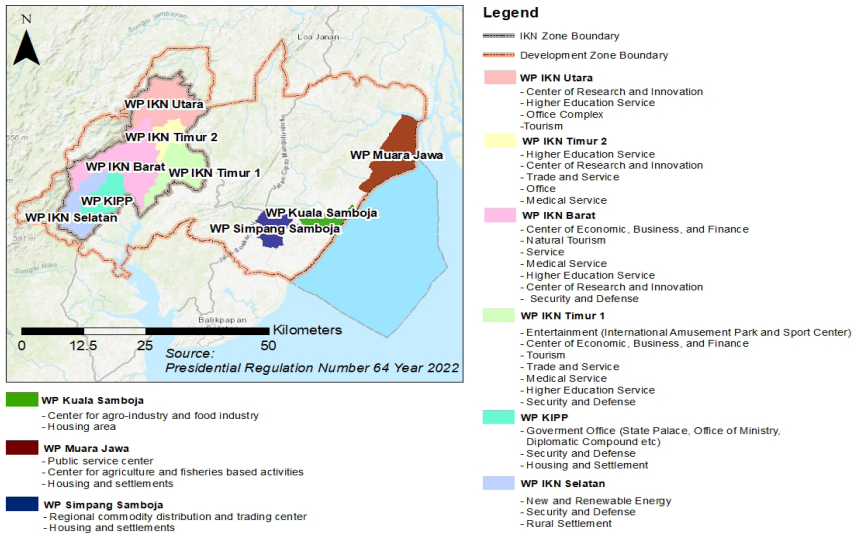


Figure 2. Planning Area Map of Nusantara. Source: Data Analysis, 2023

### Forest City

The main concept of Nusantara Capital City developed by the authorities is Forest City, which was raised as an antithesis to Jakarta as the old city. As the environmental aspect becomes the primary consideration in the relocation of the capital city, the Indonesian government is promoting the Forest City to ensure that environmental problems such as flooding, land subsidence, and air pollution will not occur in the new capital city (see Figure 3). The government built the concept of a forest city around six principles, including no deforestation, carbon storage, biodiversity conservation, sustainable forest management, local community involvement, and improved land governance. The Forest City idea also fits with the island of Kalimantan as the location of the new capital. It is one of the lungs of the earth, with a vast forest stretching for hundreds of kilometers.



**Figure 3.** Designs of Nusantara Capital City, representing forest and futuristic buildings. Source: (<https://www.ikn.go.id/tentang-ikn>)

### **World City**

The concept of World City of Nusantara Capital City is the epitome of the impact and effect of globalization on the global south, where people are beginning to conceive the world as a global village. The inclusiveness of Nusantara is packaged in the global city, where people from all corners of the world are warmly welcomed. To achieve this principle, the authorities designed Nusantara as a super hub under the concept of a world city.

### **Sponge City**

The concept of Sponge City is related to the water resources in Nusantara Capital City. If the Forest City represents the green color of Nusantara Capital City, the Sponge City fills the blue color to it. It deals with water management, including the provision of clean water and the regulation of runoff and water absorption. The forest and land cover protected under the Forest City concept will act as a water regulator, retaining



groundwater and maintaining surface water. To support the vegetation and land cover, Sponge City also directs the built environment to be sustainable, making the city resilient and enhancing its ecological function. It is also expected to keep the watershed and catchment area healthy.

### **Smart City**

Nusantara Capital City sits in the future. This city is designed as a futuristic city and in some cases presents itself as a cyber-utopia space where information and communication technology powers every aspect of its residents. Six smart city initiatives are ready to be implemented, including urban systems, public services, mobility and transportation, security, environment and urban livability.

## **I.4. LITERATURE REVIEW**

To further explore the socio-economic impact experienced by the inhabitants of the research site, we will employ Hofstede's cultural dimension framework. While frequently implemented in business and management contexts, it provides valuable insights into the community's characteristics (Agodzo, 2015). This framework enables a clearer perception of the book's socio-economic impacts, which can be compared to another case study. To better understand the broader and deeper empirical phenomenon at hand, we employed several theories and frameworks, such as coping mechanisms, displacement, and attachment, particularly to comprehend the environment and community response in the Nusantara Capital City area. We conducted a comprehensive study on investment and its impact, as it is a topic that often sparks debates regarding the development of the new Nusantara capital city. In many ways, this investment is a political commodity that will have a

significant influence on the city's development.

### **1.4.1. The Frontiers**

Development does not arise within a vacuum. For instance, the idea and plan of relocating or constructing a new capital city undergoes fluctuations over an extended period, considering multiple factors and circumstances. The development of the capital and its growth are formed by the amalgamation of political aspirations and economic incentives based on ideal and material spheres. The ideal spheres are influenced by the political landscape and the evolution of the authority's vision. On the other hand, the material realms encompass all physical aspects of space development. As a physical entity, Nusantara Capital City will always exist somewhere in this world that is neither vacant nor barren. In other words, it occupies the border's space.

The concept of the frontier holds a rich history. Initially, frontiers were considered synonymous with empty and uncharted territories and were most frequently found in the Wild West region of the United States. As the concept of frontiers developed, there were several studies that defined frontiers as the antithesis of boundaries (Kristof, 1959; Prescott, 2016; Weizman, 2006). Frontiers are typically situated in an uneasy zone where there is a power struggle among various actors in the administration and authority, frequently at an international border (House, 1980). These tensions result in distinctive and unusual behaviors and traits that are distinguished by an unceasing social transformation. Tensions arise not only from the institution, but also from the fluctuation of capital, population, and resources, as their monitoring and control are influenced by the authorities' capacity.

The radical cultural and political changes have compelled

authorities to imagine the borderlands and their resources. An influential work by Fold and Hirsch (2009) has spurred the concept of “resource frontiers.” Frequently, these frontiers are defined by a sense of resource acquisition and cultural imposition by those in power. As the name suggests, the frontiers are situated well beyond the purview of the central authority with partial knowledge. In this setting, the construction of frontiers is driven by the development of investment and capitalism, which require endless resources for capital accumulation.

Situated at the intersection of capital, people, and material flows, the frontier area also serves as a hub for exchanging natural resources. The frontier area can be considered a region with unique resources required for development projects, as noted by various scholars (Roeseler & Azam, 1990; von Malchus, 1982; Otsuki, 2011, 2012, 2021). Such frontiers have direct consequences for development initiatives and are susceptible to deleterious effects, such as ecological degradation and population displacement. Nevertheless, the governance changes resulting from rapid and radical social and cultural changes are what set frontiers apart from other regions. The island of Kalimantan, as a frontier, witnessed several socio-economic, political, and conceptual changes. Notably, the island was extensively exploited for its natural resources, leading to the remaking of the space. Meanwhile, it is located far from the central authority, subject to land transmigration (Fold & Hirsch, 2009), deforestation for its timber (Tsing, 2003), and loss of heritage (Oesterheld, 2020).

The natural frontiers are formed under the imagination of the authority and are influenced by the distance or spatial setting of the boundaries to the central power location. Because of this resource imagination, it is imperative to extract and

exploit the natural resources of these frontiers using technology and devices specially designed to serve and optimize resource extraction through a physicality. Thus, where there exists a frontier of resources, there also exists a parallel infrastructure frontier. Moreover, infrastructure is also considered as the backbone of development as it facilitates economic growth and provides employment opportunities in the development stage.

Infrastructural frontiers are the subject of the study of development, especially the geography of development, because infrastructures are always located on the spatio-temporal frontier (Schouten & Bachman, 2022). In the realms of frontiers, infrastructures march forward, somehow leading the transformation of frontiers under the banner of modernity (Wagner, 2022), transforming essential elements of not only socio-cultural elements but also socio-ecological systems. This transformation has been raised by several researchers, including road infrastructure in the Amazon region (Uribe, 2019), dams and highways in northern Vietnam (Turner, 2022), and new road construction in southern Sudan (Bachmann et al., 2022). The thread that ties all these cases together is the accessibility under the transport of infrastructure, which becomes the main driver, whether for land control in the case of Northern Vietnam or for oil in South Sudan. It shows how infrastructures are the bulk material in reshaping the cultural or natural landscapes of certain frontiers.

#### **1.4.2. New City Development**

Building new cities is one way to meet people's needs for space and activities. Moreover, the construction of new cities is often used as a solution to urban problems (Moser & Côté-Roy, 2021). The occurrence of migration, either spontaneous

or planned, can be the embryo for the emergence of a new city. In Indonesia, the most popular planned migration is transmigration, a program to move people from usually denser places to less crowded places, especially outside Java. This program not only aims to reduce population density on Java, but also acts as a generator of regional development at the destination. Many government programs have been formulated, including the development of infrastructure and agricultural plantations (such as palm oil), with financial support, including cheap long-term loans (Susanti & Maryudi, 2016).

Apart from transmigration programs, other planned new urban development takes the form of urban development with specific functions, such as government functions and community services, economic functions, residential functions, or a combination of various functions and activities with supporting facilities. Cities in Java, Indonesia, such as Bumi Serpong Damai, Alam Sutera, and Kebayoran Lama are some examples of the development of cities into very large cities that started with the emergence of new cities (Firman, 2004; Winarso & Firman, 2002).

Many scholars are also concerned about the emergence of various problems from the development of new cities, such as land grabbing and land rush (Zoomers et al., 2017), engineered social exclusion (Moser, 2020), and spatial fragmentation (van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2018). It is feared that the opening of the country to large-scale foreign investment may accelerate the emergence of these problems (van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2018). The embedding of the new city in the existing ecosystem also means that the city may expand a new land frontier, where speculative activities and mega-infrastructure projects are known to cause a rush for land (Zoomers et al., 2017).

The new city and the associated investments in land, which will undoubtedly attract new migrants, are expected to affect existing labor relations and contest the new urbanization in the new city (Li, 2014; van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2018). Therefore, there may be a struggle between different groups over land and livelihoods, creating “friction” (Tsing, 2005).

Suppose the development of a new city such as Nusantara Capital City needs to be better planned and managed. In this case, it is likely to bring various problems such as physical, environmental, and socio-economic problems to the community. For example, the problems in Jakarta could be repeated in the Nusantara Capital City area if proper regional planning is not anticipated and there needs to be a sustainable and inclusive urbanization process. Jakarta has undergone massive uncontrolled development not only in the urban core area (which in Nusantara Capital City is associated with the Central Government Core Area or KIPP), but also in the outskirts of the city. Regional governments around Jakarta then sought to provide a solution by building new cities and satellite cities with direct access to Jakarta (Kahfi & Sapiie, 2019; Firman, 2004). Ideally, the development of new cities can reduce the pressure on the city core (Tan, 2010). However, the example of Jakarta shows that the development of these cities does not necessarily solve Jakarta’s problems, but instead brings recent problems to these cities (Douglass, 2005; Winarso & Firman, 2002).

### **1.4.3. Marginalization and displacement**

Multiple dimensions of marginalization have occurred in the modern era and continue to be visible on a small scale (Saputra et al., 2022). Marginalization encompasses economic, socio-cultural, and spatial dimensions (Bernt & Colini, 2013).

The impact of this capital expansion, which is connected to the agricultural sector, has been observed in numerous cases globally (Oya, 2013; Hall, 2013; Batou, 2015; Levien, 2015; Zamchiya, 2019). Large-scale investments lead to urbanization controlled by the production of space (Ye et al., 2017; Yang & Qian, 2022; Ye & Zhuang, 2023).

Displacement takes place when people or communities residing in an area have to relocate due to extrinsic forces. Extensive literature confirms that multiple factors contribute to displacement, including government policies, existing residents, land use, and the social economy. For instance, to develop the Banhine National Park in Mozambique, the Mozambican government intends to resettle people, according to research by Dear et al. (2010). Although these areas have been planned and decentralized by district decision-makers, a community already resides in them on a daily, monthly, and yearly basis. Previously, this community was spatially dispersed in society and functioned as an operational community located on the edge of the wetland floodplain without traditional village structures. These circumstances prompted the government to consider developing the area into a national park instead of a residential settlement. Consequently, the community was coerced to relocate to another region. Moreover, there is a positive aspect in the government's efforts to facilitate integrated planning through decentralization and poverty reduction, as the community was solely reliant on floodplain. India is also implementing a similar project for better urban living by inducing urbanization in its cities. Bose (2015) demonstrates that the planning of Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation's (AMC) world city resulted in various issues, including those related to socioeconomic factors.

Urban development resulting in displacement leads to the continuous growth and adaptation of urban areas to enhance communal living. However, such expansion puts those living in peri-urban areas at risk of being displaced due to urban development and urbanization. To accommodate the needs of a growing city, land in peri-urban areas is often converted into construction zones for urbanization purposes (Wubneh, 2018). Farmers in peri-urban areas frequently lose their livelihoods. Market-based economies often experience conflict in these situations. This is also the case in Ethiopia, where farmers often struggle to adapt to urban living and secure employment, leading to marginalization. The displacement of individuals or communities from their homes presents challenges beyond adapting to different lifestyles and social statuses. In Ethiopia, remnants of socialist ideology persist. The government's ideology and regulations can create problems, particularly in La Paz, Bolivia. Politicians in the outskirts of the city hold tenure rights to the land of local communities, leading to issues. Peri-urban areas in La Paz and Bolivia are primarily used by people in the coastal regions for both tourism and regular living in urban centers. However, peri-urban areas also serve as district boundaries (Horn, 2022), leading to excessive regulations. These regulations arise due to inadequate planning by governing bodies.

In addition, regulations for the relocation of large investments, including the education sector, also displace people. In Israel, it happens in education that makes a difference in the neighborhoods (Cohen & Bekerman, 2022). The large-scale investment includes the number of new people who make its diversity. However, only a part of the community can quickly adapt. People in the community can be marginalized, separated from the community and moved to new places.



In conclusion, displacement can be categorized into two groups: one, because they want to move and separate from the community by themselves, or two, because they are forced by the law and regulation that makes them move or displaced from their living space.

#### **1.4.4. Land rush, land grabbing, and investment-led development**

Local land rush appears to replicate the global land rush that has recently become a focus of attention for social researchers (Selod et al., 2011; Oberlack et al., 2016; Scoones et al., 2019; Nalepa et al., 2017; Wengle, 2022; Dell'Angelo et al., 2017). One focus of land rush research is the role of land investment and its impact on surrounding communities (Zoomers et al., 2017; Anku et al., 2022). Initially, the land rush leading to land grabbing is driven by the need for food production. We delve into three areas of the debate between the land rush and the new urban agenda. We look at the impact of urbanization on rural areas and on investment in urban infrastructure.

Investment can be viewed from both a public and private standpoint. Public investment takes precedence over private investment in the development of urban infrastructure. However, public investment is essential as private investment will only materialize with public funding. In public investment, the need for large capital can lead to several risks and conflicts (Short, 1996).

#### **1.4.5. Place Attachment**

The study of place attachment has been examined by Williams et al. (1992) in the context of natural resource management. This research employs a framework of change in sense of place via commodification to analyze the dynamics of place

attachment. Natural resources serve as the foundation for people's attachment to place. The pursuit of profit through commodification profoundly alters and overrides people's emotional connection to their surroundings. Several elements comprise place attachment, which derives from three contexts: personal, community, and natural environment connections (see Figure 4) (Raymond et al., 2010). The combination of these contexts results in four types of attachment: place identity and place dependence in the personal context, social attachment in the community context, and nature attachment associated with natural environment connections.

Crate (2022) shows how climate change due to negative globalization leads to dislocation. The Sakha people primarily rely on *alaas*, a natural resource, for their livelihood and are confronted with climate change, which causes a dislocation. This disruption ultimately impacts their identity, which is grounded in their attachment to the land. The dislocation undermines the cultural diversity of the Sakha people, which serves as the bedrock of their identity. The Sakha people counter the global narrative with their indigenous knowledge. According to Corcoran's (2002) study, people establish connections through social relations and create a "structure of feeling." Corcoran's research focuses on the urban community, whose place attachment is mainly rooted in the social and economic realms, unlike the Sakha people, an indigenous community who base their place attachment on natural resources. Hernández et al. (2007) indicate that place attachment varies depending on the nativity of the community. Nativity encompasses movement and length of residence, factors that determine place attachment, as described by Hay (1998). Hay's research indicates that nativity contributes to the sense of place attachment within the indigenous Maori

community. Hay contends that place attachment comprises spiritual and emotional elements grounded in cosmology, culture, and tribal spirituality.



**Figure 4.** Place Attachment Contexts (*source*: modified from Raymond et al., 2010)

In general, Saputra et al. (2022) have researched the place attachment of individuals in the capital city of Nusantara. According to Saputra et al. (2022) place attachment in the Paser and Balik communities can be sensed through their connection with the land and its resources, albeit at a fundamental level. Additionally, the agricultural method used, and past resettlement have influenced place attachment in the Paser and Balik communities. For the initial time, the Paser and Balik tribes practiced swidden agriculture while persistently relocating to different land areas, looking for better soil fertility. However, their movements were restricted to the same corridor. Eventually, they transitioned to settled agriculture due to various factors, such as displacement and the prohibition of slash-and-burn agriculture. The settlement has experienced gradual changes to its sense of place and

space, despite a strong underlying attachment driven by the dependence on natural resources. Saputra et al. (2022) categorize place attachment into place dependence, place identity, and sense of belonging, which builds upon Taufan et al. (2021) research. The level of attachment reflects the depth of a person or community's roots in their environment.

Place attachment theory acknowledges multiple levels of investment in one's space and environment. In 1991, Shamai presented a model that categorized place attachment into four levels. The first, and weakest, level is the knowledge level, where individuals lack a symbolic connection and do not feel a sense of place. This level is typically experienced by temporary visitors to a specific location. At a higher level, individuals can experience a sense of belonging in which they distinguish between different places and spaces without necessarily fully understanding them. The next level is attachment, characterized by a strong emotional relationship and a unique identity and character. Another level of sense of place involves identifying a place's purpose. At this stage, individuals start to assimilate into a location and align their sense of purpose with that of the place. The following stage involves place commitment, where individuals invest their resources or themselves in the location. The most profound level entails sacrifice for a place. Individuals attain this level when they are willing to sacrifice their own interests for the betterment of the place.

#### **1.4.6. Coping Mechanism**

The cognitive and behavioral attempts to control, minimize, or tolerate the internal or external pressures caused by a stressful circumstance are called coping (Folkman, 1984). It involves the person's efforts to cope with the demands and problems they

face, regardless of how successful those efforts are (Folkman, 1984). It then focuses on the coping methods that individuals use in response to stimulating or unpleasant situations and events in their environment.

The term coping (Folkman, 1984) refers to cognitive and behavioral strategies used to manage stressful situations, without subjective evaluation. Coping efforts are geared toward managing challenges, regardless of the success rate (Folkman, 1984). This concept centers around how individuals utilize techniques to handle unpleasant or stimulating circumstances in their environment.

Two coping mechanisms are commonly used to deal with disruptive events, namely stress, disaster, and technological change: problem-focused and emotion-focused (Kwahk, 2011). Problem-focused coping aims to modify external pressures, obstacles, resources, or oneself (e.g., by learning new skills or procedures) to manage difficulties. On the other hand, emotion-focused coping strives to regulate or alleviate unpleasant emotional distress by changing one's perspective toward the situation, as opposed to addressing the situation itself. Most stressful situations necessitate the implementation of various coping mechanisms, but their respective proportions differ based on the individual's appraisal of the situation (Kwahk, 2011).

The concept of "emotion-focused coping" pertains to practical techniques and strategies used to manage challenging emotions during stressful incidences. Such approaches typically involve altering the perception and interpretation of an event to exert more control over one's distress. Examples of emotion-focused coping techniques include emphasizing positive aspects of unfavorable situations, making favorable comparisons, and diminishing the significance of a situation's

demands. Reducing high emotions that impede cognitive activity vital to problem-solving enables emotion-focused coping to reinforce problem-focused coping. Problem-focused coping entails tactics and measures to control and manage the particular stressor or problem causing distress, comprising the resolution of problems, decision-making, and taking immediate action. The primary objective of this coping mechanism is to identify feasible solutions for the current issue, facilitating control over the individual's relationship with the environment. Emotion-focused coping is distinguishable from problem-focused coping, which aims to manage negative feelings (Folkman, 1984).

Problem-focused coping strategies consist of (a) planful problem solving, which involves making efforts to modify the situation, followed by an analytical approach. For instance, an individual who employs planful problem solving will work with utmost concentration and meticulous planning and will be willing to make lifestyle changes to tackle problems gradually; (b) confrontational coping, or responding to changing circumstances, can describe the level of risk that needs to be taken. For example, an individual who utilizes confrontational coping resolves problems by breaking the rules, even if they may face substantial risks. However, seeking social support or assistance from external sources, such as information, material aid, or emotional support, is the alternate approach. For instance, an individual looking for social support may attempt to address issues by seeking assistance from individuals who are not part of their immediate family, including friends, neighbors, politicians, and professionals. This aid may take the form of tangible or intangible assistance (Maryam, 2017).

Additionally, coping strategies that target emotions may involve positive reappraisal, wherein one responds

by creating positive meaning aimed at self-improvement, including participation in religious activities. For instance, an individual who practices positive reappraisal will always maintain a positive outlook, learn from every experience, refrain from blaming others, and value what they still possess. Accepting responsibility means acknowledging one's role in the problems faced and taking action to rectify them. A responsible individual would observe present circumstances objectively and adapt accordingly. Self-control entails regulating both emotions and behavior. For instance, individuals who use this coping style for solving problems tend to think before acting and avoid making hasty decisions. Additionally, some individuals distance themselves from problems to prevent getting trapped in them. For instance, individuals who adopt this approach to problem-solving may appear indifferent to their problems and even attempt to forget them entirely. Alternatively, some individuals cope by avoiding the problem at hand altogether. For instance, an individual who utilizes this coping mechanism to solve problems can be identified by their tendency to consistently avoid them, and in some cases, engage in undesirable actions, such as prolonged sleeping, illicit drug use, and reluctance to interact with others (Maryam, 2017).

## **I.5. STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK**

This book is structured as follows. Chapter 1 begins the book with a brief explanation of the idea and context of the relocation and development of the new capital of Indonesia, Nusantara. The Indonesian government's dream of a sustainable yet productive capital city is also contextualized. Then, this chapter is completed by considering extensive concepts, theories, and paradigms with respect to the question

of the development process and impact in the new city in the framework of cultural response.

Chapter 2 elaborates on the development of the frontiers of the Nusantara capital. The facts from two zones of the new capital city, namely the Nusantara Capital City zone consisting of the core zone and the development zone, and beyond the Nusantara Capital City are sharply illuminated. This chapter emphasizes the development of the frontiers from seven geographical settings through three resource frontiers, i.e., transmigration, timber corporation and mining. This chapter also shows the role of different actors in the early to current development of the selected frontiers. Storytelling as a way of communicating messages is presented in this chapter.

Then, Chapter 3 is dedicated to the exploration of various impacts of Nusantara Capital City on people and the environment. The impacts are discussed from three points of view, namely economic, social livelihood, and environmental. Numerous impacts of the process of developing the new city, which follow various initial development-related impacts from the past, are discussed in detail. In this chapter, the impacts of the development of Nusantara on the livelihoods of the local people, i.e., indigenous people, transmigrants, and migrants, will be discussed in detail. Following the impacts, this chapter explains how the affected people are responding to the impacts. Lazarus and Folkman introduce two types of response strategies: problem-focused coping and emotional-focused coping; these two are elaborated and addressed in the local context.

Following the above chapter, the following four chapters discuss aspects of the dynamics of the development of the capital city, particularly how different types of development and their consequences affect different groups of people and



their livelihoods. Chapter 4 begins with a comprehensive overview of the space and place attachment of two indigenous communities, the Paser and the Balik, who coexist with transmigrants. Chapter 5 elaborates on how the construction of the new capital city generates investment not only within the Nusantara Capital City zone, but also in surrounding areas, resulting in the creation of developed regions via micro and macro-level investments. Unfortunately, the rush to acquire land and engage in land grabbing started along with the investment, both during the Nusantara development and before. The dynamics on the land have also increased tensions among the people and in some ways created land and social conflicts (Chapter 6). For those unable to cope with the impacts of development, the best response may be to retreat from their land. For some indigenous communities, this seems like *déjà vu*, as their past experiences tell the same story (Chapter 7).

The concluding chapter of the book summarizes the findings and discussions of the previous chapters, focusing on how the development of Nusantara Capital City affects some groups of people. As we question the inclusiveness of the development of the new capital city, inclusive development is still in its infancy. This chapter offers the involvement of different strategic actors in the development by illustrating the positioning of each actor at the beginning. This chapter proposes a more comprehensive approach to the development of Nusantara Capital City by combining human, physical-environmental and infrastructure development aspects. In addition, inclusive development is undoubtedly necessary to achieve a sustainable forest and smart city of Nusantara. ●

## Chapter 2

# The Tales of the Frontiers: Nusantara Capital City and Beyond

**T**HIS book took the Nusantara Capital City area as the initial starting point as the resource frontier. The construction of the frontier in this way stemmed from how the central government primarily viewed the island of Kalimantan and the existing planned location for its vast and abundant land resources. The government believed that this land would be the foundation for the development and expansion of the capital city of Nusantara. It is hard to find in Jakarta because the city has nowhere else to expand. The existing areas in the Nusantara Capital City had experienced the consequences of being resource frontiers: exploitation of natural resources accompanied by marginalization, exclusion, environmental degradation, and spatial and social injustice. The new capital was concerned about repeating this process.

Several villages occupied the planned site and were scattered in the core zone of the Nusantara Capital City Zone and the Development Zone (Figure 5). We referred to these areas as the Nusantara Capital City Zone for those within the core zone and the zones beyond the capital city. Both are similarly located in the liminal or, as Oesterheld (2020) coined it, the “not yet” zones. The liminality of these areas causes people and communities to always nestle into ‘wait and see’ strategies, shadowed by anxiety. The resource frontier of the Nusantara Capital City areas could be distinguished by the

type of natural resources exploited, as it directly affected the type of institution that ruled over these frontiers. In short, we discovered three resource frontiers in Nusantara Capital City: the transmigration frontier for its land and food resources, the timber company frontier for its timber resources, and the mining frontier for its coal, gas, and oil.

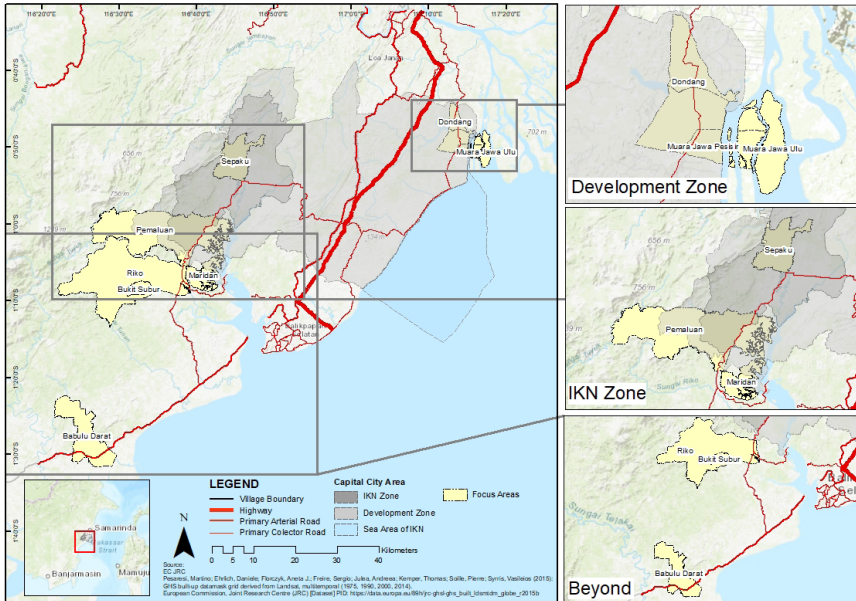


Figure 5. Map of Focus Areas. Source: Data Analysis, 2023

## 2.1. THE TALES OF THE FRONTIERS

### 2.1.1. Nusantara Capital City Zone

#### a) Sepaku: Corporation-Transmigration Frontiers

Kelurahan Sepaku was once a small village in the Sepaku district which required traversing hilly and bumpy roads. The village could become inaccessible during heavy rainfall when the floodwaters blocked the road. Additionally, the road was often muddy and slippery, requiring caution. This village is situated in the western part of Balikpapan city and

the northern part of Penajam city. There is a road linking these two hubs of activity, and based on travel time, it takes roughly three hours to drive from either location. If approaching from the Balikpapan direction, you will travel through the Bangkirai Reserve, a rainforest ecosystem characterized by low altitude.

In the 1970s, the Indonesian government under the New Order regime initiated the transmigration program in this village, resulting in the gathering of thousands of people from all over the country. This program aimed to address the issue of overpopulation, which had made Java the most populous island not only in Indonesia but also in the world. Additionally, it was believed that transmigration would promote development by redistributing the workforce from Java. However, the Indonesian government determined that agriculture was the most suitable sector for development, as the country was considered agrarian at the time. Meanwhile, the development of manufacturing and industry sectors was ongoing.

In addition, the government aimed for food self-sufficiency (*swasembada pangan*) and achieved it through the Green Revolution. The transmigration program was also a driving force behind this ambitious policy. The initial wave of transmigrants came in the 1980s. Saputra et al. (2022) noted that this influx of transmigrants had socio-economic ramifications for land administration in Kelurahan Sepaku, resulting in the establishment of a new frontier.

The Sepaku frontier's history dates back a few years before the initial transmigrant influx. SITA, a timber company, had a substantial department operating in the region and extracting the wood. SITA's operations were relatively smaller in size than ITCI's and involved fewer staff in the area. Although only a limited number of workers were initially brought to the Sepaku

area, those who worked for the SITA company eventually became the residents who still reside in the area today. The transmigration program implemented by the government and the logging industry's presence have contributed to the diverse composition of the Sepaku community. Even the presence of a few workers from the company is capable of shaping the area's unique spatial structure.

The Sepaku transmigration program was implemented during the 1970s and 1980s, attracting people from varying regions, including Java and Sulawesi Island. Upon arrival, the transmigrants were provided with rudimentary instructions on where to locate their designated houses and farmland. Typically, if the transmigrants adhered to the government's directives, the local indigenous residents resided near the rivers. This cannot be separated from the rivers' role, which was crucial for the people's livelihoods at that time as it served as their only means of transportation.

From the start, the Sepaku community has tended to cluster, with transmigrants residing in specific areas, other migrants gathering with their herds, and local communities living along rivers. This pattern of grouping serves as a foundation for assigning numbers to Neighborhood Associations known as *RT-Rukun Tetangga*. The distribution emerges among the indigenous communities, explicitly the Balik and Paser tribes, who occupy RT 3, the migrant communities, where most Bugis tribes reside in RT 1 and RT 2, and the government-funded transmigrant communities, largely originating from Java Island and dwelling in RT 4 through RT 9 (refer to Figure 6). Consequently, discrepancies in the use of regional languages persist in daily life circumstances. Immigrants generally use Bahasa Indonesia, while the majority of Paser, Balik, and Javanese still use their regional language as their primary

means of communication. However, Bahasa Indonesia and other regional languages are still utilized for inter-tribal and intra-tribal communication.



**Figure 6.** Settlement of Kelurahan Sepaku (Photo credit: Afifah Neneng N, 2023)

The Sepaku community's cultural and ethnic diversity and their tendency to live in groups do not hinder the maintenance of amiable relations, particularly among the various tribes. In fact, the fragmentation and heterogeneity of society strengthens communal ties. This is evident in the community's self-help initiatives, including road construction and repair. Inter-community relations and self-help activities are key factors in the successful development of Nusantara Capital City thus far. Additionally, the diversity of the community promotes the preservation of various cultures in Sepaku, including the art of Kuda Lumping. Young people with similar interests make up most of the art and cultural groups formed. The Larik Pacitan Community is an intriguing example. Initially, it was established due to the youth's interest in Kuda Lumping art. Later, it flourished into a group that also engages in the social sector.

Additionally, the majority of Sepaku community members work in plantations, specifically palm oil and rubber, while others engage in rice farming. Gardening and farming continue to be perceived as the most promising occupations among the Sepaku community. In fact, farming groups can be found in every RT in Kelurahan Sepaku. However, it is possible for individuals to pursue careers in other fields by becoming company employees or starting their own businesses. On a smaller scale, the MSMEs in Kelurahan Sepaku are presently advancing. This is linked to the role of women, many of whom are housewives seeking extra income and meaningful pursuits, thus engaging in MSME activities across sectors such as culinary and fashion. Since the establishment of the Nusantara Capital City, there has been public acknowledgment of the prospect for economic progress through MSME development. Recognition that the vast number of migrants affords an even greater opportunity for MSME growth has become apparent.

During Sepaku's development, the community acknowledged the importance of enhanced local competitiveness amid numerous prospects arising from the expansion of the Nusantara Capital City. Education is one area where progress can be made, as evidenced by parents' desire to send their children to high school and support their continued education at higher levels. However, economic conditions and the agency of young people often impede progress. The Sepaku community demonstrates awareness of education's crucial nature exceeding formal education, extending into non-formal education. This awareness manifests in the community's robust participation in training, workshops, and socialization sessions held by both government and private sectors.

The status of the community and the development of Sepaku ought to conform to the aims of PT ITCI Manunggal

Forest (IHM). Founded in 1993 as a collaboration between PT ITCI Kartika Utama and PT Inhutani I, PT IHM focuses on planting acacia and eucalyptus in industrial plantations for timber production, with a concession area of around 161,127 hectares. Currently, the logging operations of PT IHM may proceed without interruption due to Nusantara Capital City's development activities. PT IHM employs the primary port in the Sepaku region as a conduit for importing and exporting timber. It is a routine occurrence for several heavy-duty company vehicles to traverse the Sepaku area, and company barges sail through the Sepaku River (refer to Figure 7).



**Figure 7.** Logistics activities for PT IHM's wood products (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

The presence of PT IHM in Sepaku has undoubtedly benefited the community by providing more job opportunities. It is evident that a majority of the Sepaku population is employed by PT IHM. Furthermore, the area is experiencing infrastructure development, including the construction of roads and harbors. Moreover, PT IHM's presence enhances community development through collaborative initiatives and



outreach efforts, including the Integrated Agricultural System program. This program provides basic agricultural instruction to local communities in horticulture, animal husbandry, and aquaculture, and training on composting and organic waste recycling. Additionally, PT IHM is collaborating with the local community to establish a Fire Care Community, which offers fire management education, training, and equipment support.

During the past decade of coexistence, PT IHM and the local community have not encountered any noteworthy issues. In 2019, over 5,000 PT IHM employees were at risk of losing their jobs. This was due to the capital's relocation to East Kalimantan, where part of the new capital area falls within PT IHM's concession area. The total area of the concession is 47,644 ha, with a government center covering 5,644 ha. As a result, PT IHM will need to surrender some of its land for the development of the Indonesian capital, and over 5,000 of its employees' statuses are still being determined.

The construction of Nusantara Capital City in Sepaku commenced in 2022 and is currently ongoing, irrespective of its advantages and disadvantages. Pursuant to Law Number 3 Year 2022 on the National Capital, the development efforts are being carried out to relocate the Nusantara Capital City by 2024. To date, the city's development process has reached 38%. Construction details for the Sepaku Semoi Dam are nearly 100% complete, while toll road completion ranges from 12% to 30% depending on the segment. The construction of the Presidential Palace has reached 21%, and the Presidential Office is around 22% complete. Additionally, construction of office buildings for Coordinating Ministries 1 through 4 is currently in progress. Coordinating Ministry 1 has progressed to 11.7%, Coordinating Ministry 3 has reached 8%, and Coordinating Ministry 4 has reached 12.5%. However, delays

in auction activities have caused the construction progress for the Coordinating Ministry 2 office to only reach 1-2%. Apart from the office areas, the main construction focus on Nusantara Capital City is the Ministerial Office Site House (RTJM). As of August 3rd, the development progress has reached 20.1%. Along with physical development initiatives, the Nusantara Capital City Authority is promoting human resource development by organizing training programs that can involve the Sepaku community. In collaboration with entities like the Ministry of Manpower, Ministry of Public Works and Spatial Planning, and others, the Nusantara Capital City Authority offers instruction in diverse sectors, including construction worker training and certification, coding training, and coding for individuals with disabilities.

### **b) *Pemaluan: Corporation Frontiers***

Kelurahan Pemaluan is situated in a Central Government Core Area (KIPP), bordered by Binuang to the south, Desa Bumi Harapan to the north, Mentawir to the east, and Kelurahan Riko to the west. Kelurahan Sepaku and Kelurahan Pemaluan share unique demographic and cultural dynamics, attracting attention from various sectors. This region hosts both indigenous communities and numerous migrants who coexist in harmony. The primary distinction, however, is evident in their distribution patterns, with migrant communities being distributed more evenly, rather than forming contiguous groups.

The Pemaluan indigenous community comprises some members of the Balik Tribe, followed by the Paser community, the largest group in Kelurahan Pemaluan. Although the population is small, consisting of six Neighborhood Units (RT), the diverse community in Kelurahan Pemaluan fosters

a multicultural environment. This diversity is reflected in various traditional institutions, such as the Indigenous leader *Sentuon* and *Tuok Kampung*. *Sentuon* is responsible for extensively managing traditional territories and solving the issues faced by the Balik Tribe. Meanwhile, *Tuok Kampung* assists *Sentuon* in organizing community order within the Balik Tribe. Additionally, Pamaluan established *Bawe Pamaluan*, a traditional institution for women that advocates for their rights in a cultural context.

The Balik tribe is an indigenous community with a longstanding history in the Pemaluan area. It began in Balikpapan, formerly known as *Tanjung Gonggot*, where the Balik tribe cleared land as they travelled by river. While the Balik people are reputed to be introverted and keep to themselves, they are also known for their benevolence and openness to other tribes within their territory.

The Balik community has opted to cultivate mountain rice (*padi gunung*) among their crops, along with fruit crops (such as banana, *cempedak*, and cloves) and annual trees (such as ironwood or resin). Mountain rice is pivotal in their subsistence as it has become their primary food source. The Balik community has acquired an in-depth comprehension of the plant's planting, tending, and harvesting cycles. Ironwood and resin also demonstrate the Balik people's traditional expertise in constructing materials, fuel, and other crucial materials for their everyday lives.

The Balik tribe has a strong attachment to the river, as it serves as a vital transportation route to various destinations. Consequently, it is unsurprising that the tribe has established settlements near the river. The Pemaluan River, the primary river for the Balik community of Pemaluan, bears witness to the Balik tribe's historical movement. The river is accompanied

by many tributaries, and specific locations are named according to local toponymy. At least three primary rivers hold significance for the Balik and other local communities: the Pemaluan River, the Lulup River, and the Mangkubiang River. The tribe's interactions and perceptions of the river highlight its importance, with certain parts of the river deemed sacred, and the Balik people's dedication to preserving them.

These attitudes extend to the Paser tribe, as well as to Balik people from Tanah Grogot. These two local tribes in the Pemaluan area assert their origins within the region. Although differing in social characteristics and language, both communities initially depended on swidden agriculture and led a nomadic lifestyle. The shift toward permanent agriculture for the Balik and Paser peoples occurred in response to the presence of companies that prohibited land cultivation in their concession areas.

The companies introduced the local communities to a new way of life, which involved permanent residence on the land and land ownership rights. PT SITA, PT ITCI, and PT Weyerhaeuser were among the first three companies to enter Pemaluan, specializing in forest product logging and processing, specifically timber. Companies regularly log tropical rainforests in East Kalimantan to meet global and domestic timber demands. These activities impede the mobility and workspaces of nearby communities.

Additionally, the activities undertaken by large corporations were not limited to forest product extraction, such as timber. In 1976, PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal (IHM) established a presence in the area. PT IHM concentrated on industrial plantation forestry (HTI) with acacia and eucalyptus plants as their primary commodities. As illustrated in Figure 8, PT IHM converted a biodiverse forested area into a monoculture crop forest.



**Figure 8.** Industrial Plantation Forest (HTI) Area of PT IHM (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2021)

The establishment of oil palm plantations can be traced back to the arrival of PT Agro Indo Mas in Kelurahan Pemaluan in 2007 (Figure 9). The company's presence has significantly impacted the local economy by providing employment opportunities, thereby increasing the income of the residents.



**Figure 9.** (a) Oil palm plantation area of PT Agro Indo Mas, (b) Processing plant of PT Agro Indo Mas (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

The activities of different corporations have transformed the means of subsistence of the locals. Previously, inhabitants of this region cultivated mountain rice, fruit trees, and seasonal crops but now they grow palm oil and rubber. As a result, the vast majority of residents residing in Kelurahan Pemaluan have become rubber and palm oil farmers. Meanwhile, a few individuals work as day laborers for local companies such as PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal (IHM) and PT Agro Indomas - EK Bumi Jaya Division.

### 2.1.2. Development Zone

#### **a) Muara Jawa Ulu: Organic Newcomer Frontiers**

A vast expanse of barren land, dotted with bushes and grass, welcomes you to Muara Jawa Ulu. The scorching sun casts its heat unrelentingly, while in the distance, the sound of earth movers echoes through the area, revealing the mining industry's economic engine. Towering machines relentlessly mine the coal, loading it onto mammoth-sized trucks. This coal is ready for shipment to the nearest port for national distribution that powers both rural and urban communities.

The coastal area of Muara Jawa encompasses the administrative zones of Teluk Dalam, Muara Jawa, and Sanga-Sanga. The area is well-known for coal mining, oil, and gas

production. Located near the Mahakam Alluvial Fan, in the zone that lies between the urban areas of Samarinda and Balikpapan, the residents in this region enjoy wealth and prosperity. The high population density and proliferation of shops and vendors along this road indicate significant economic activity. People frequently engage in the exchange of primary and tertiary goods and commodities, often involving common electronic devices. Shoppers frequently visit fashionable stores for the latest styles and trends.

This region flourishes due to favorable geographical conditions and abundant resources. Many raw materials in this small area await processing and exploitation. In addition to the high value of coal, oil, and gas, Muara Jawa boasts abundant marine fishing resources that supply fish, shellfish, crab, and shrimp to the local community and surrounding areas. Moreover, the plantations yield a variety of agricultural products, including palm oil, rice, vegetables, and fruits.

These development activities have a significant impact on the social and economic well-being of individuals in the region. Children have access to quality educational opportunities, while their parents have the means to provide adequate nutrition. Stable health facilities and services receive support from corporate healthcare providers. Additionally, economic and business centers equipped with thriving markets and reliable banking services are easily accessible and fully operational.

All these circumstances relate to the history and accounts of immigrants from outside the island of Kalimantan, which primarily sparked the development of Muara Jawa. Nonetheless, Muara Jawa also features a narrative of political economy instigating environmental degradation and the ascent of an elite class. These entrepreneurs administer the

coal mining activities, manage some of the mining locations, and operate with dubious legality. The extractive industry is characterized by the excessive accumulation of wealth by elites. Specifically, in Muara Jawa, elites exercised control over the mines and hoarded profits within their own networks. This mining operation also highlights the political and economic influences wielded by elites at the local and regional levels.

It is well-known that numerous coal businessmen have affiliations with high-ranking politicians. This is a typical example of what is commonly referred to as transactional politics, and it remains unavoidable during the early stages of democracy. Several references have been made to this situation. If you aspire to join the political realm, then either join the legislature or, in some circumstances, become a member of the executive. To accomplish this objective, you require individuals to serve you during the electoral process. To capture the voters' attention, candidates often resort to unconventional methods or to buying their votes through various political networks, a costly endeavor that requires stable and strong financial backing. While coal and extractive industries hold economic promise and fulfill societal needs, individuals who successfully attain positions as legislators or regional rulers often seek to recoup their expenses through resource exploitation and maximizing their power.

### *Muara Jawa: History, Development, and People*

The term "Muara Jawa" originates from "Muara" and "Jawa." Its history dates back to a civil war on Java Island before Indonesia's independence. Numerous Javanese people migrated to East Kalimantan, settling and forming a unique residential cluster along the coastal regions of the Mahakam River. The residential area inhabited by the Javanese people



is situated at the mouth of the Mahakam River and referred to by the locals as the “Muara” or estuary of the Javanese people. In Bahasa, it is known as Jawa. The name “Muara Jawa” emerged from this location, which is now adopted as an administrative title.

*Di sini itu kalau saya bahasakan pintu gerbang Kaltim, Muara Jawa ini. Kenapa pintu gerbang Kaltim? Pada saat itu, jaman penjajah tahun... tahun itu ya, Belanda lah begitu saja. Itu kebanyakan keluar masuk Kalimantan Timur itu lewatnya adalah Muara Jawa ini. Kan belum ada sarana darat, udara belum ada, adanya laut. Jadi waktu itu sekitar tahun 73 sampai tahun 80, itu masih aku melihat kapal layar. Wira-wiri di sini itu kapal layar, ada kapal mesin juga, kayu tapi ada kapal layar tu dari Madura, dari Sulawesi... dari Sulawesi ada muat orang, muat sayur, segala itu. Nah di situlah mungkin jaman dulu karena belum ada bahasanya komunikasi, alat komunikasi, dan sebagainya. Umpamanya aku sama sampeyan janji, nanti kita tunggu di sana ya, di Muara sana ya, gitu lho. Di sini Muara ya, Muara itu dalam arti muara Sungai Mahakam. Sungai Mahakam kan ini, muaranya di sini, lautnya. Jadi ditunggu di muara, muara mana? Karena keluar masuk itu muara ini, mungkin namanya jadi Muara Jawa. Orang yang dari Jawa lewat sini, yang mau ke Jawa lewat sini. Yang datang dari Jawa lewat ke sini, yang mau keluar lewatnya sini, bahkan Sulawesi juga lewatnya sini. Nah mungkin dulunya yang paling banyak masyarakatnya yang dari Jawa sana, yang datang ke Kalimantan Timur, mungkin itu. Lah kok apa Muara Jawa ini yang membangun orang Jawa? Tidak. Terus mayoritas penduduknya orang Jawa? Lain. Tidak. Karena saya tahu itu, pada tahun 73 di sini itu justru orang Bugis. Orang Bugis sama Banjar saja yang domisili di sini yang bangun kebun itu. Bukan orang Jawa? Lain. Kebun kelapa dulu. Kelapa sawit belum ada, baru tahun 2000. Baru bikin kelompok-kelompok gitu saja. Kenapa ada nama Muara Jawa? Karena Muara Jawa adalah pintu gerbang Kaltim. Masuk ke Balikpapan ya lewatnya sini juga, apalagi Samarinda, Sungai Mahakam, di sinilah muaranya Sungai Mahakam” [Here I am talking about the gate of East Kalimantan, Muara Jawa. Why the gate of East Kalimantan? At that time, during the colonial era in those years, yes, the*

Dutch were just like that. Most people entering and leaving East Kalimantan went through Muara Jawa. There were no land, air, and sea facilities, so at that time, around 1973 to 1980, I still saw sailing ships. The ships that passed through here were not only sailing ships, but there were also mechanical ships, wooden ships, but there were sailing ships from Madura, from Sulawesi... from Sulawesi, there were people, vegetables, everything. Well, that is probably where it was in the past, because there was no language for communication, no means of communication and so on. For example, you and I promised that we would wait there, in Muara, right there, like that, you know. This is Muara, yes. Muara means the mouth of the Mahakam River. This is the Mahakam River, its mouth is here, and the sea is here. So, we are waiting at the Muara, which Muara? Because this Muara was used to go in and out, the name became Muara Jawa. People from Java came this way, and those who wanted to go to Java came this way. Those who came from Java came this way, those who wanted to leave went this way, even people from Sulawesi went this way. Now, in the past, most people from Java came to East Kalimantan. So, was Muara Jawa built by Javanese people? No. Are most of the people here Javanese? No. Because I know that in 1973 there were Bugis people here. It was only the Bugis and Banjar people who lived here who built the gardens. Not Javanese? Other people. Coconut plantation first. Palm oil did not exist until 2000. Just created groups like that. Why the name Muara Jawa? Because Muara Jawa is the gateway to East Kalimantan, you can also enter Balikpapan through Muara Jawa, especially Samarinda, the Mahakam River, where the Mahakam River comes from]. (Muara Jawa informant number 1, in-depth interview, 2023).

Muara Jawa Ulu is a village located in the Muara Jawa, serving as the sea gateway to East Kalimantan Province given its location at the mouth of the Mahakam River, known as the Mahakam Delta. Handil Port is also situated here, which previously acted as the central hub for sea transportation in East Kalimantan, (refer to Figure 10). During that time, ships

were the sole primary means of transportation, linking East Kalimantan to Samarinda, Balikpapan, and other cities outside the Kalimantan Island. However, as transportation routes and modes developed, Handil Harbor began to experience a decline in activity and changes in function. The construction of the Dondang Bridge, which connects land access from Muara Jawa to Samarinda, contributed to the decline of activities using the harbor. Initially, Handil Harbor acted as a hub for people and goods between Muara Jawa and Balikpapan or Samarinda. Currently, the port solely serves as a transit hub for personnel involved in oil and gas drilling endeavors.



(a)



(b)



(c)

**Figure 10.** (a) Handil Harbor, (b) Handil Harbor Pier, which is used for PT PHM transportation activities, and (c) PT PHM workers going to the oil and gas drilling site on the Mahakam River (Photo credit: Dewi Setianingsih, 2023)

The residents of Muara Jawa are from diverse cultural backgrounds. The population of Muara Jawa is currently composed of 20% Javanese, 50% Bugis, and 30% indigenous

tribes from Kalimantan, specifically Banjar, Kutai, Dayak, Paser, and Balik. Due to rapid urbanization and population growth, Kelurahan Muara Jawa Ulu was divided into two villages in 2008: Muara Jawa Ulu and Muara Jawa Pesisir. Muara Jawa's uniqueness lies in its local toponymy, where Muara Jawa Ulu is named Handil. The Handil area is divided into ten regions, labeled Handil 0 to Handil 9. Handil is an artificial river, used to transport freshly harvested coconuts from plantations to the river mouth. Currently, as land used for coconut plantations is increasingly being converted for development, there has been a significant decrease in coconut production. As a result, the role of Handil has transformed from a transportation medium to a drainage channel. Additionally, due to the growing density of communities and the enhanced quality of road infrastructure, it is now easier to transport plantation products by land.

*The story of the 'elites' of Muara Jawa*

Muara Jawa, being an area with a diverse population, has various community members with high social standing who have a considerable impact on the local society. Indrastuti (2018) establishes that social status is significantly linked with cultural aspects, particularly social systems and organizations, leading to the formation of societal strata categorized by high, middle, or low social status. Social stratification refers to the differences in social status within a society. In Kalimantan, the Hajj pilgrimage serves as an example of how social stratification can increase a person's social standing. Hajj pilgrims often receive preferential treatment from their social circles, particularly in matters related to religion and life events (Syuhudi, 2019). It should be noted that the terms "hajj" or "haji" are not used in this book to negatively label any specific

groups or titles in Indonesian society. Nevertheless, the term “hajj” demonstrates an individual’s superior social standing in society.

In Muara Jawa, individuals who are regarded as having high social status are referred to as Haji A and Haji B (the figures’ names have been altered for discretion purposes). These two individuals possess immense influence and oversee nearly all of the economic sectors in Muara Jawa and the surrounding areas. Additionally, the two Haji figures control most of the mining land in Muara Jawa. The two are of Bugis descent. Originally, Haji B was Haji A’s uncle, who moved to Muara Jawa and established a small fish farming enterprise. Through his perseverance and dedication, the business grew steadily. With the growth of the business, Haji B began to expand into other industries.

This condition is analogous to the land control model identified at the Malaysia-Thailand border, where Haji figures oversaw extensive tracts of agricultural land in the border region (Scott, 1985). Nevertheless, the depictions of the Haji figures are distinct. Specifically, the image of the Haji figure in Muara Jawa is of an affluent individual who is benevolent and munificent. Meanwhile, Haji figures in this border area are reputed for being wealthy yet stingy, as their ultimate goal is to maximize profits. Consequently, they do not invest their wealth in benefiting the surrounding community as Haji figures in Muara Jawa might. Based on Scott’s (1985) research, agricultural land in this border region was obtained through a controversial method of forcefully acquiring it from small communities using seasonal debt activities. These activities charged an interest rate of 150% for each mortgage of agricultural land owned by the small community and given to the Haji figure.

Regarding the two Haji figures in Muara Jawa, numerous

factors have contributed to their high social status. One reason is their close connections to political figures in Kutai Kartanegara Regency, granting them the privilege of accessing exclusive information. In addition, they are prominent and affluent businessmen in Muara Jawa, possessing various assets, businesses including mining lands, tourist attractions, real estate, and ponds. The Muara Jawa business sector is under the control of two individuals. These figures occasionally throw lavish parties and generously distribute gifts to the local community. Consequently, both Haji figures have earned high social status and respect among the surrounding community (refer to Figure 11).



**Figure 11.** The “palace” belonged to one of the haji figures (coal landlord) located in Dondang (Photo credit: Putri Khoirunisa, 2023)

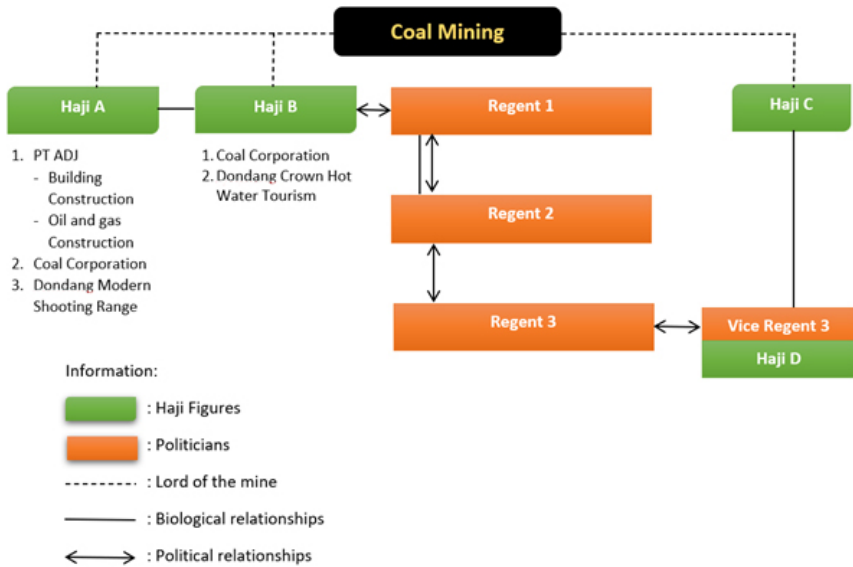
### *Dondang: The Hurting Black Gold Fields*

One village renowned for mining in Muara Jawa is Dondang, also referred to as the “black gold” of Muara Jawa, and a vital source of wealth for Kutai Kartanegara Regency. Coal’s discovery took place during research carried out in one of the forests located in Kelurahan Dondang. Subsequently, the

news spread from a small segment of society to politicians and businesspeople. Before this news became widely known, the political elite and businessmen utilized their affiliation and power to purchase community-owned plantation land that contained vast amounts of coal at low prices. In 2005, a coal mining company was established in Muara Jawa.

There exists a reciprocal symbiotic relationship between political elites and entrepreneurs in Kutai Kartanegara, specifically in the areas of land control and the coal industry (refer to Figure 12). This connection began in the early 2000s after the election of the regent of Kutai Kartanegara. Political elites, businessmen, community leaders and certain military elites are therefore the primary landowners and coal companies.

One of the perpetrators of “black gold” exploitation activities in Dondang came from a community figure with high social status, Haji B. In 1999 Haji B, who at that time was a well-known elite businessman in Muara Jawa, joined the success team for the Kutai Kartanegara Regent candidate to successfully win the election. As a reward, the Regent granted Haji B extensive garden and forest land in the Kelurahan Dondang area. Around 2005 to 2006, Haji B, a member of the political elite, gained knowledge about the coal discovery in Kelurahan Dondang forest. They then proceeded to buy forest land and gardens belonging to local residents on a large scale, noting that at that time, such land was still considered worthless since people did not know about the coal presence. Eventually, several coal companies were established on land that belonged to Haji B in 2007.



**Figure 12.** The ruling actors of the coal industry in Muara Jawa (Source: Data Analysis, 2023)

As in other areas of illegal mining, numerous coal mines in Dondang lack an IUP or operate illegally. The presence of this mine poses several challenges and encounters resistance. As mining activities progress, benefits and drawbacks emerge. Unfortunately, the local communities residing in the area have no authority over the mining activities, whether legal or illegal. According to residents, illegal mining frequently occurs at night. However, mining activities, whether legal or illegal, have significantly disrupted community activities. For instance, mining activities caused the re-routing of a provincial road between Sanga-Sanga and Samarinda, which was constructed two months ago (See Figure 13a and 13b). Additionally, mining has led to the degradation of beautiful, lush forestland into barren and dry land. The significant danger for community activities is the multitude of massive water-filled holes left unattended, as depicted in Figure 13c.





(a)



(b)



(c)

**Figure 13.** (a) Diversion of the provincial road connecting Sanga-Sanga Samarinda due to coal mining in Muara Jawa, (b) Appearance of the new provincial road, which is sandy and bumpy, (c) Giant pool former coal mine excavation (Photo credit: Dewi Setianingsih, 2023)

### *Oil and Gas Mining Exploration*

The abundant resources in Muara Jawa are not limited to coal but also include oil and gas. In the 1970s, Total E&P Indonesia and VICO Indonesia, which are both subsidiaries of the British company Chevron, commenced oil and gas exploration in East Kalimantan. Total E&P Indonesia's drilling operations predominantly span downstream of the Mahakam River, while VICO Indonesia's operations primarily take place onshore in the Muara Jawa (Gunung Mutiara) forest. Chevron, as the holding entity, operates a solitary offshore drilling site in East Kalimantan waters, specifically Muara Badak. The three companies hold a 50-year contract period in Indonesia.

In 2017, the Indonesian government nationalized the two companies resulting in Total E&P Indonesia altering its name to Pertamina Hulu Mahakam (PHM), and VICO Indonesia modifying its name to Pertamina Hulu Sanga Sanga (PHSS).

After the management of the company was taken over by Indonesia, numerous workers from both companies resigned due to the significant reduction in wages, which did not meet their expectations as stated by the workers. The majority of the workers who resigned were from Muara Jawa and the surrounding regions, and they decided to stay in Muara Jawa. They then pursued various alternative job opportunities, such as becoming pond fishermen, MSME entrepreneurs, freelance sea fishermen, and other occupations that were financially more lucrative to them. Currently, the company is providing training to the local communities, including both former employees and the public. The training covers areas such as food processing, soap making, and other MSME products and is offered to organizations such as the Women's Empowerment Organization (PKK). However, the two companies have recently hired new workers from outside of Muara Jawa, resulting in growth and increased vitality in the village.



(a)



(b)

**Figure 14.** (a) (b) Pertamina Hulu Mahakam office located in Muara Jawa Ulu (Photo credit: Putri Khoirunisa, 2023)

At the start of 2018, PT Pertamina Hulu Mahakam (PHM) officially assumed control of the Mahakam Block (refer to Figure 14), marking a new era for the largest oil and gas producer in Indonesia. The transition of the Mahakam Working Area from PT Total E&P Indonesia (TEPI) to PT PHM has been documented. After a half-century, management of the Mahakam field is now under state-owned enterprise (BUMN) companies. As a consequence of PT TEPI's nationalization, PT PHM now operates as a subsidiary of PHI (Pertamina Hulu Indonesia). PHI conducts oil and gas operations and business in the Mahakam working area of East Kalimantan, adhering to ESG (Environmental, Social, and Governance) principles (as reported on [www.pertamina.com](http://www.pertamina.com)).

#### *Kampung Tanggul: Bugis settlement agglomeration*

The Mahakam Delta, situated near Muara Jawa, has been a popular destination for various forms of livelihood. Consequently, settlements have emerged around the Mahakam River's mouth (Mahakam Delta). The majority of the inhabitants in this locality are Javanese and Sulawesi natives, who migrated and established commercial enterprises around the river. The growth of settlements in Muara Jawa began in a small village called *Kampung Tanggul*, located around the Mahakam Delta. As the population grew, settlements in Muara Jawa developed and expanded along the main road corridor. The new migrants steadily increased the village's population. Over time, they chose to settle in Muara Jawa due to the village's potential to improve their welfare.

One motivation for the migration of Javanese and Bugis ethnic communities to Kalimantan was the unstable economic conditions in their areas of origin. These communities primarily relied on agricultural livelihoods, but as their farmland was

progressively displaced by development, they sought better income opportunities in Kalimantan. Kalimantan, particularly Muara Jawa, was selected due to the sizable areas of open land that the immigrants could cultivate. The vast amount of land owned by Muara Jawa made it a favorable choice for settlement.

Upon their arrival, the migrants relied on land-based fishing as their main source of livelihood, achieved through the creation of ponds on islands surrounding the Mahakam Delta. The farmers developed a diverse range of fisheries, including shrimp, fish, and seaweed. Additionally, individuals commonly embark on sea voyages to retrieve fish. Initially, Pak Tahir led efforts to clear land for settlements and businesses on the coast of Muara Jawa. The settlement evolved into a village and is currently referred to as Kampung Tanggul (refer to Figure 15a). Pak Tahir's name was immortalized as the name of the main street in Kampung Tanggul.

The growth and development of Kampung Tanggul has brought forth numerous socio-economic problems, including poor sanitation, irregular spatial planning, inadequate waste management, and the legalization of land ownership in the area. Kampung Tanggul has transformed into a slum area due to various issues that have arisen. Multiple non-permanent structures face the river, causing sewage to be directed into the river. Also, domestic waste is being disposed of the same way (refer to Figure 15b). The waste management system could function better if the habit of polluting the river with domestic waste was curbed. This is due to the necessity of having an adequate fleet and sufficient capacity for transporting waste to the Gunung Mutiara landfill for disposal.

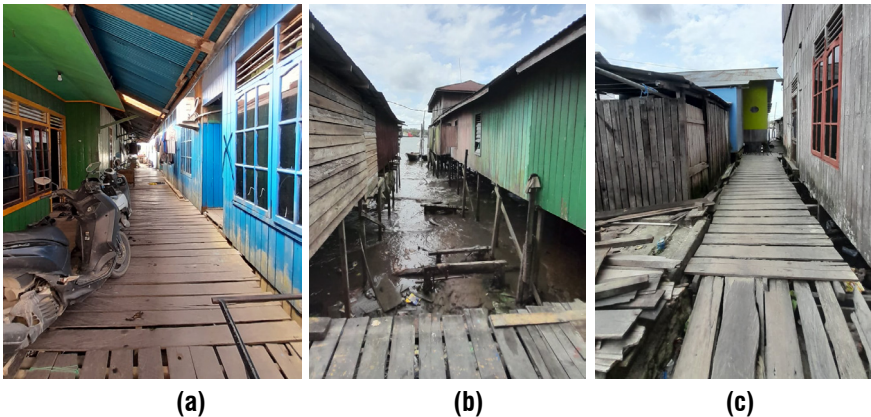


**Figure 15.** (a) Settlements in Kampung Tanggul that back up to the Mahakam River, (b) Garbage piled up under the houses of Kampung Tanggul residents. (Photo credit: Dewi Setianingsih, 2023)

Since 2007, the government of Kutai Kartanegara Regency has initiated a program to organize the Mahakam Riverbanks. The objective of this initiative is to restructure residential areas based on the current state of many settlements, which have deteriorated into slums with multiple environmental, social, and economic issues. If implemented, this program would result in the removal of non-permanent and illegal settlements of the residents along the riverbanks, including Kampung Tanggul.

Many non-permanent structures have been constructed along the Mahakam River boundary (Figure 16), which is a violation of regulations that designate the space as a protected area. The residents of these non-permanent structures generally belong to the low to middle class economic bracket, with some being tenants. Another issue that arises from the program is devising a system to relinquish the buildings that the community has erected on the aforementioned land for an extensive period of time. Furthermore, the buildings have been deemed illegal as they have been constructed on government-owned land. Also, the current inhabitants of the residences are not the original constructors; their property rights are inherited, and thus, they believe they have legal

entitlements to the land and structures. The situation in Muara Jawa is worsened by the fact that many migrants still have unresolved residency statuses in their areas of origin before relocating. As access to fundamental services in Indonesia is ordinarily tied to residency, numerous residents of Muara Jawa experience a sense of disempowerment when seeking to access these services.



**Figure 16.** (a) (b) (c) non-permanent residential buildings in Tanggul Village (Photo credit: Dewi Setianingsih, 2023)

### 2.1.3 Beyond Nusantara Capital City

#### a) *Maridan: Corporation Frontiers*

The rich forests, abundant timber production, and plentiful biodiversity of Kalimantan Island are well-known. The history of the timber and log forestry industry began during the New Order era under President Soeharto. Subsequently, there was a rise in logging companies. As forest exploitation increased, logging companies began to encroach on the native forests of Kalimantan with the goal of seeking profits and fortunes through various means. This activity led to the formation of a town centered around the companies' operations.

The borders of Maridan and Pernaluan were previously

dense tropical rainforests, filled with towering giant trees that provided a canopy for thousands of meso- and micro-ecosystems within the forest and served as a source of sustenance for countless organisms. Humans and indigenous peoples have historically maintained a mutually beneficial relationship with forests. Forests serve as a source of essential resources such as food and shelter, while humans play a critical role in sustaining the forest's existence. Unfortunately, this longstanding balance is threatened by the increased presence of corporate activity that is rapidly altering the forest landscape.

Forestry-based economic activities show promise. However, companies often obtain government permits to exploit what Indigenous people consider their property. Despite this controversy, companies proceed with logging operations and require a significant amount of labor to extract the abundant timber and logs. According to modern forest management models, these companies develop a bureaucratic management system where management functions, structures, and authority are distributed to individuals who meet specific criteria. For instance, companies require skilled individuals to manage and operate effectively, leading them to offer job opportunities and seek out top talent from across the country. This aligns with the desires of the New Order rulers. The New Order government sought to achieve two objectives by welcoming the presence of foreign and local companies: job creation and capital influx. Interactions between the workers and the economic activities, alongside the emergence of capital flows, have spurred the growth of a small settlement named Maridan Frontiers. Consisting of four villages, namely Maridan, Telemouw, Binuang, and Pemaluan, the settlement is gradually expanding.

The presence of forest product management corporations has spurred economic growth in surrounding communities. Kelurahan Maridan provides an excellent illustration of the benefits resulting from corporate development. The company's employees have access to basic infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, markets, roads, and gymnasiums. Furthermore, the company has constructed numerous supporting infrastructures, including a public transportation system and a clean water system that has been integrated into various employee housing complexes. These conditions have resulted in the development of the informal sector in the Maridan area, such as food stalls, shops, and vendors selling produce. The economic growth and dynamism in Maridan are substantial, leading to Kelurahan Maridan being referred to as the "second Balikpapan".

The establishment of companies in Maridan drew the attention of several immigrants from diverse regions, resulting in the settlement of various ethnic groups such as Batak, Bugis, Toraja, Dayak, Javanese, and Bima. Invitations from long-term Maridan residents encouraged families from their native areas to relocate to Maridan. This process occurred gradually, ultimately leading to the prevalence of particular traditional groups in the locale. Despite its dominant position, Maridan is often called Jakarta due to its diverse community makeup.

In Maridan, it is easy to find two different places of worship located close to each other, or various traditional homes or burial grounds with their respective customary decorations located nearby. One of the most striking grave complexes is in the RT 07 area, which contains Toraja graves with the identity of the grave building resembling a traditional *Tongkonan* house (see Figure 17a). However, this cemetery does not only belong to the Toraja tribe, but also to the public, so that different



types of food can be seen in one complex. Ethnic diversity also means religious diversity. There are three dominant religions in Maridan, namely Islam, Christian and Catholic. These three religions have almost equal numbers of followers. Many churches, both Catholic and Christian, are located near prayer halls and mosques (see Figure 17b). It has become a common sight to see people walking to church every Sunday, dressed neatly, or to see people worshipping in the mosque.



(a)



(b)

**Figure 17** (a) Grave in the RT 07 area, (b) Protestant Church in Western Indonesia (GPIB) Canaan Congregation (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

The diversity within the ethnic community of Maridan is also reflected in the identity of specific houses and buildings, which serve as gathering places. For instance, RT 6 shows a secretariat for the extended North Lepembusu Lio family from the Flores area in West Nusa Tenggara (refer to Figure 16a). Besides serving as residents, this location hosts monthly meetings for the Lepembusu community. Another example of the association can be found at the Dayak Paser secretariat in RT 2, and you can spot membership stickers in members' homes (see Figure 18b and Figure 18c). It is worth noting that this association involves many tribes other than Dayak, and individuals from different tribes can also become members of this association. This sense of harmony can be experienced during weddings or funerals, where the community collaborates to support the event through to completion. This remarkable level of acceptance is also demonstrated through the separation of eating utensils utilized by Muslim and non-Muslim communities. The cooking process and utensils are separated to ensure that all attendees feel accommodated and at ease.



(a)



(b)



(c)

**Figure 18.** (a) Secretariat of the North Lio Lepembusu Extended Family, (b) Placing stickers in residents' homes as a sign of membership of the East Kalimantan Dayak Community, (c) Secretariat of the Kalimantan Dayak Traditional Defense Command (KPADK) (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

Migrants of diverse ethnic groups choose to settle in Maridan, and acquire land by purchasing or renting it from local communities. Community interaction enables inter-ethnic marriages and fosters creation of new community organizations that represent various tribes, such as the Kenangan Youth Association. The societal complexities of Maridan do not lend themselves to social conflict; rather, they foster a high degree of social tolerance as a result of long-standing cultural interactions and acculturation.

Economic and social factors in Maridan are interdependent with corporate dynamics, as evidenced during the bankruptcy of the largest timber company, PT ITCI Kartika Utama, which resulted in substantial layoffs in 2007-2008. Residents who previously resided in Maridan relocated to other regions, resulting in a significant decrease in population and a decline in the local economy. Nonetheless, a few ex-employees of PT ITCI have opted to engage in gardening activities by renting or acquiring property in Maridan.

The community's robust economic and social environment

has been established through the company's growth and dynamism. When the largest timber company, PT ITCI Kartika Utama, went bankrupt between 2007 and 2008, there were extensive layoffs. Notably, certain employees who previously resided in Maridan made the decision to relocate. Consequently, this has had a profound impact, resulting in a dwindling populace and sluggish economic activity at the community level. Nevertheless, some individuals have opted to cultivate gardens in Maridan, first purchasing or leasing land.

Following the bankruptcy of the company and the departure of numerous PT ITCI personnel, Maridan appears to have lost its identity. Various public facilities, once constructed, now lay abandoned due to underuse. The annual sports and art events, previously organized by the company and featuring artists from Jakarta, are no longer held. Similarly, the abandonment of several previously occupied housing complexes is depicted in Figure 19a. The primary marketplace at "Kilo 5", which was once the hub for buying and selling transactions and interactions for people from multiple villages surrounding Maridan, has gradually become inactive (refer to Figure 19b). A devastating fire further amplified the situation by destroying numerous kiosks. Currently, merely a handful of kiosks remain functional. Additionally, a fire outbreak in the PT ITCI hospital building caused the suspension of medical services. As a consequence, individuals must travel a greater distance to reach healthcare facilities beyond Maridan, like Balikpapan or Nipah-Nipah in Penajam District, capital of Penajam Paser Utara Regency.



**Figure 19** (a) Former PT ITCI employee residence, (b) 'Kilo 5' Market in Kelurahan Maridan (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

PT ITCI still operates in the Maridan region presently, despite its ownership and management being transferred to the Arsari Group. As the largest forestry company in Indonesia in the past, PT ITCI is now in a different state. The company presently concentrates on agroforestry by establishing various businesses, including livestock, ecotourism, and *orangutan* conservation. However, logging activities are currently conducted on a smaller scale than previously.

As a coastal village, Maridan serves a vital function in distributing goods and services to surrounding regions. The primary public facility in Maridan is Tanjung Maridan Port, which links the western area of Balikpapan Bay to Balikpapan City. Additionally, the distance between the two points is relatively short (refer to Figure 20a). The port is utilized for diverse socio-economic purposes, such as shopping, tourism, medical treatment, and trade. The (main) ship operates a twice-daily schedule, which allows for convenient transportation to and from the city center.

Maridan has served as a significant shipping hub in Balikpapan Bay and houses PT ITCI Port, situated adjacent to Tanjung Maridan Port (refer to Figure 20b). Previously, the PT ITCI port was the old Maridan port, which was intentionally

relocated due to its location in the corporate area (refer to Figure 20c). Presently, PT ITCI Port is utilized for shipping timber and its derivatives domestically and internationally via tankers. The port comprises two piers - one with a barge structure and the other constructed of timber.



**Figure 20** (a) Tanjung Maridan Port, (b) Cargo Port in PT ITCI Area, (c) Passenger Port in PT ITCI Area (Photo credit: Zumrotul Islamiah, 2023)

The strategic location of Kelurahan Maridan in Balikpapan Bay presents an opportunity to facilitate the development of the Indonesian capital. The Maridan area is bifurcated between the Nusantara Capital Authority (*Badan Otorita Ibu Kota Nusantara*) and the regional government of Penajam Paser Utara Regency. The government's moratorium on land transactions prohibits the public from buying and selling assets, including land and houses located in the new capital city.

**b) Riko: Corporation Frontiers**

Riko's forest resources have lured immigrants from different regions since the 1970s. Settlements were established along the banks of Riko River where most of the newcomers engage in logging activities. This pursuit frequently triggers conflicts between the logging factions and pre-existing firms like PT International Timber Corporation Indonesia (ITCI) and PT Balikpapan Forest Industries (BFI). The company deemed the logging undertaken by the community as illegal since they believed it was done within their territory.

In contrast, the Paser tribe, who predominantly engage in farming and horticulture, clear land for the same. The migrants primarily focus on logging activities. The farming and horticulture activities of the Paser tribe commences through pioneering, or what is more commonly referred to as "perintisan." The process of "perintisan" involves cooperation between the landowner and the pioneer. Customary rules are still applied by the Paser tribe today during this process, such as land ownership after establishment. According to Paser tribal customs, the person who pioneers or clears land becomes the owner, even if the land is eventually abandoned or not re-cultivated. The Paser tribe has established customary regulations for limiting the sale of garden land to a maximum of one garden, equivalent to roughly two hectares. The cleared land is identified as private property by planting fruit trees or wood plants, and the river serves as a natural boundary for their land. The collaboration amongst indigenous communities while clearing land fosters relationship building as well as provides transparency for Paser communities regarding the extent of land that has been cleared or cultivated.

In their daily lives, the Paser tribe practices nomadic agriculture, moving their fields from one location to another.

This is due to the belief that using the land repeatedly will deplete its fertility, requiring a prolonged period of time to restore it. In those times, mountain rice and fruits were the primary crops cultivated by the people. Mountain rice planting is carried out by mutual cooperation, which is considered an efficient method to simplify the rice planting process and mitigate the risk of pest attacks. The Paser tribe's swidden agriculture practices have led to significant amounts of previously cleared land becoming idle or unused. To utilize these areas and prevent further idle land, Lurah Sugiyono led the sub-district government to distribute 30x50m roadside plots in the 1990s. These plots were made available to both migrant and indigenous communities seeking to relocate to the roadside. The land that was distributed had previously been cultivated by indigenous peoples with the approval of the local community or prior owner.

The land distribution policy was a factor that drew the Riko people, who previously resided on the riverbanks, to relocate to the roadside. Kaman, one of the regions deserted by the community, is currently neglected, despite the evident ruins of former houses and mosques (refer to Figure 21a and 21b). The appellation of Kaman originates from the Kaman River, which flows through the locality. In the past, individuals resided deep within plantations to monitor their own gardens or land. Since the river served as a primary route for transportation at that time, the settlements that arose were located along its banks.





**Figure 21** (a) Former bridge in the Kaman settlement, (b) Former mosque in the Kaman settlement (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

The government's encouragement, combined with worsening floods that negatively impact peoples' lives, incentivize relocation. Additionally, construction of infrastructure in close proximity to the development site played a role. Riko Village was established in the early 1990s with the construction of a road. This roadway served as the origin of land transportation, which subsequently prevailed over water transportation as the primary means of transportation.

Kelurahan Riko is currently experiencing growth with the emergence of various companies, which is intricately linked to the involvement of Paser customary figures within this district. During the early 2000s, these leaders and the community recognized the potential for community land development. Therefore, the traditional leaders initiated the search for investors, specifically companies, to invest in Kelurahan Riko. Their role, along with the community, was to provide land. The community and traditional leaders did not play an active role in the companies' operations, but solely as land providers. The companies that later came, all with a focus on the palm oil industry, were PT Dwi Mekar Persada (DMP) and PT Triteknik Kalimantan Abadi (TKA) in 1997, and PT Alam Permai Makmur Raya (APMR) in 2005. The companies in the area offer numerous employment opportunities for

local residents. Furthermore, PT APMR pledged to establish a plasma-based partnership system with the community, which proved beneficial at that time. Additionally, the presence of this company draws in a significant number of immigrants seeking employment opportunities.

From the aforementioned facts, it is evident that companies impact people's livelihoods. While some members of the community work as employees for these companies, others have transitioned from cultivating rice and fruits to planting oil palms due to the belief that it is more financially rewarding. Oil palm cultivation is considered lucrative as it can be harvested twice annually, irrespective of the season, and is less susceptible to pest attacks.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the availability of palm oil companies eager to purchase the crop fuels the community's demand for oil palm plantations. In the period during which Yusran Aspar served as Regent of Penajam Paser Utara beginning in 2003, the regional government identified the potential for developing oil palm plantations. Thus, the government provided oil palm seedlings to the community through farmer groups as shown in Figure 22. The community is receiving fertilizer subsidies to assist with their plantation activities. Nevertheless, the community requires comprehensive support throughout the entire planting cycle and post-harvest process. Currently, individuals are attempting to emulate corporate plantation methods to develop their plantations.



**Figure 22** a) (b) Palm oil plantations owned by communities (Photo credit: Zumrotul Islamiah, 2023)

Living alongside companies does not necessarily benefit communities. Conflicts between communities and companies are expected. For instance, in the plasma-based partnership case, PT APMR failed to fulfill its promises, leaving the community without any benefits or compensation. The community has attempted various methods to obtain information from the company, including mediation and protests aimed at the company (refer to Figure 23a).

The Paser traditional leaders have also attempted mediation numerous times, but the company's response has not been satisfactory. Additionally, a dispute over land exists. The community discovered that their land overlaps with the land owned by PT APMR. Due to being under the management business permit of the company, the land cannot be certified (see Figure 23b). This has increased anger and depression amongst those demanding clarity from PT APMR. Furthermore, the community has requested assistance from the Penajam Paser Utara Regency government, but the matter has not yet been resolved.



**Figure 23.** a) Installation of banners by the community at the entrance to the PT APMR plantation, (b) Files and documentation of community-owned land included in the PT APMR's business permit (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

Conflicts arise not only between companies and communities but also between communities and sub-district governments. PT APMR provides special housing for its employees located in the plantation area, far from the main road access. As a result, accessing the sub-district office to register their moves poses access issues, particularly for employees from outside the region. The sub-district government is uncertain about the number of Kelurahan Riko residents residing in PT APMR company housing because not all individuals have registered or reported their relocation. This situation presents a challenge for officials to optimize their roles, functions, and responsibilities.

### c) **Bukit Subur: Corporation-Transmigration Frontiers**

Bukit Subur is a transmigration area initiated in 1994 and officially referred to as the Sungai Riko HTI Transmigration. The establishment of Bukit Subur Village was prompted by PT Belantara Subur's presence, which required a transmigration program to facilitate the operation of HTI sector units in the vicinity (refer to Figure 24a). Initially, Bukit Subur Village was established with the participation of 300 families, including

150 families from West Nusa Tenggara, 50 from West Java, 50 from East Java, and 50 other families of local residents from Balikpapan, Sotek, and Sepaku. The families are members of different tribes, namely Paser, Bugis, Banjar, and Kutai. PT Belantara Subur, an HTI company, motivated the formation of this village. Approximately 95% of the inhabitants are employed by the organization.

In 1998, PT Belantara Subur declared bankruptcy, leading to the layoff of numerous employees. Consequently, former employees shifted to rubber and oil palm plantations, the leading commodities. Previously, they cultivated mountain rice (*padi gunung*); however, governmental regulations against land burning resulted in the gradual disappearance of the crop. The ban on planting mountain rice resulted from the customary practice of using land burning to enhance soil fertility and harvest better rice.

The Sungai Riko HTI transmigration area was merged with the Riko Village region before the establishment of Bukit Subur Village. The area was then administered by Tanah Grogot within the Paser Regency. This distance from the government center made it challenging for the community to effectively manage administration affairs. Finally, in 2000, community leaders took the initiative to separate themselves and establish an administrative area in the form of a village. The name Bukit Subur was derived from the hilly topography of the area and the presence of the Belantara Subur company, which were combined to form 'Bukit Subur' (see Figure 24b). During that year, Bukit Subur village was still part of the government area of Paser Regency until the regency was divided in 2002. After the division, Bukit Subur Village became part of the Penajam Paser Utara District's new administrative area. Currently, the village is comprised of two Dusun, each with five RTs, totaling ten RTs.



**Figure 24.** (a) Information board for the PT Belantara Subur area, (b) Welcome gate to Desa Bukit Subur (Photo credit: Maulidia Savira Chairani, 2023)

In the past, Belantara Subur focused on managing HTI with commodities like *seigon*, *waru*, acacia, and eucalyptus trees, so its activities were outside the realm of plantations. Concurrently, the East Kalimantan provincial government's palm oil plantation program introduced palm oil commodities to the community gardening activities, which were unsuccessful at the time. As time passed, palm oil companies, specifically PT APMR and PT DMP, entered the Kelurahan Riko area in 2005. PT APMR additionally operated a palm oil processing plant. The local community recognized the opportunity to sell their palm oil plantation production to this company.

The transmigrants at HTI Riko River received an initial house plot of 20x25 meters and a building area of 6x6 meters. They were later assigned a secondary plot of approximately 2000 square meters, four times larger than a basketball court, for vegetable and secondary crop cultivation purposes. Additionally, a third plot measuring 1000 square meters (twice the size of a basketball court) was specifically designated for rubber cultivation. The second plot was designated as secondary land, while the third plot was utilized for arable land. In the initial year, the transmigrant community acquired food

security for an entire year. A substantial transmigration area was accessible to bolster agricultural practices via a shifting land system, which was excluded from the distribution quota to optimize the community's use. As a result, individuals who diligently cleared and maintained the land for agriculture could reap significant benefits through land ownership. Previously, the community's undocumented land significantly overlapped with the company's area, requiring the community to learn the company's boundaries. Recently processed land titles have resulted in overlapping land, including plantation land cultivated by the community within the company's area. This is believed to be a contributing factor to social conflict.

The government of Desa Bukit Subur has established a program to receive Nusantara Capital City as a provider of produce, including seafood, vegetables, and various secondary crops and fruits. Desa Bukit Subur's fruit selection is customized to its soil conditions. Currently, the community is testing the cultivation of mangosteen, durian, and jackfruit. In the future, the mangosteen fruit is expected to become a hallmark of the village and serve as the primary source of supply for the Nusantara Capital City area and its surrounding regions.

#### **d) *Babulu Darat: Corporation-Plantation Frontiers***

The Babulu Darat region welcomes visitors with expansive rice fields, oil palm plantations, and numerous stalls. The vastness of the plantations and fields attests to the extraordinary fertility of the soil, while the prevalence of shops points to a flourishing economy. The name Babulu comes from two sources: local beliefs and the historical crops that were cultivated in the area. The first suggests that it originated from the local legend of "Datuk Bulu", a figure

whose body was covered in feathers, thus earning the area the name “Babulu” or “hairy”. The area known as “Babulu” has two proposed etymologies. The second theory derives the name from “Bebuluh”, a word referring to the abundance of reeds and small bamboo plants in the area, especially in the forested regions. Over time, “Bebuluh” eventually evolved into “Babulu”, which is the name of the district as well as the two villages it encompasses. Babulu Darat and Babulu Laut are located in the district.

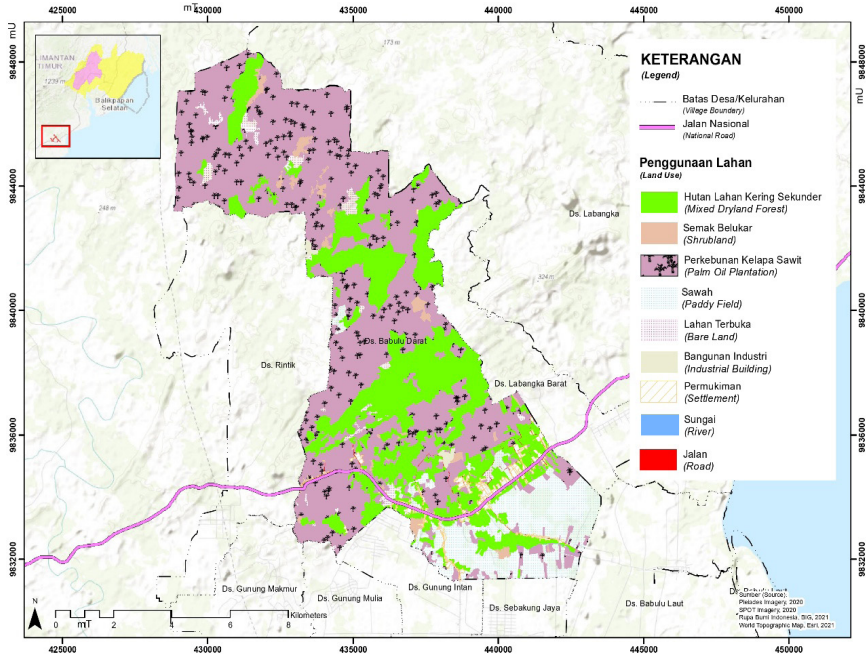
Initially, Babulu Darat was a typical traditional village in the Kalimantan region, with traditional agriculture practices yielding food crops such as rice, vegetables, and fruit, as well as forest products like rattan, resin, and timber. In the late 1970s, the Indonesian Government launched a transmigration program that relocated numerous transmigrants from Java to the Babulu area. The arrival of transmigrant communities promoted land cultivation and settlement creation, thereby contributing to the area’s development. In 2004, pests significantly impacted crop production on plantations, including cocoa, bananas, and rubber. As a measure, Yusran Aspar, the then Regent of Penajam Paser Utara Regency, initiated the People’s Palm Oil Program by distributing oil palm seeds to those interested in growing the crop on their land. Nevertheless, due to the low price of palm oil, some individuals remained uncertain. When PT GMK, a palm oil company, commenced operations in Desa Babulu Darat in 2005, numerous individuals transitioned to oil palm plantations due to its perceived higher profitability compared to other crops. Subsequently, Desa Babulu Darat underwent rapid expansion. Moreover, the expansion of Waru District resulted in the recognition of Babulu Darat as the Babulu District capital.

The development of the Babulu Darat region has drawn



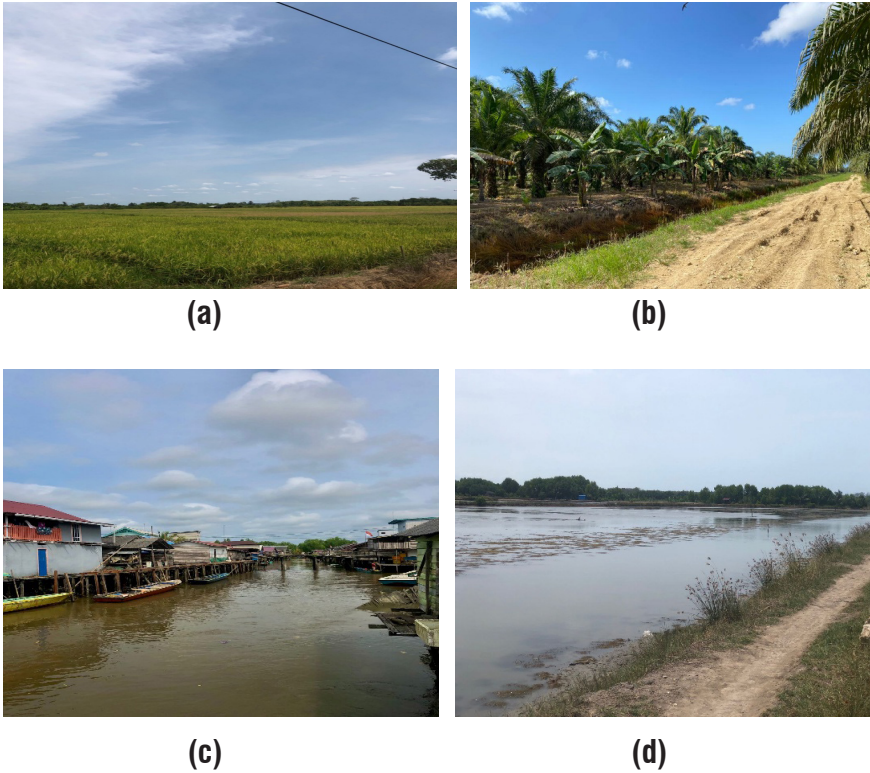
a diverse population, making it a hub of multicultural communities from various areas. The indigenous Paser tribe settled in the Babulu Darat zone first, followed by the Javanese, Bugis, Banjar, Batak, Chinese, and other tribes from the Kalimantan region. Although the population is multicultural, inter-ethnic conflicts are rare. The residents of Babulu Darat are mostly employed in the informal sector, specifically in agriculture and trade. It has been noted that most of these residents have only completed elementary school education. Although education is provided at all levels in the village, there is a need to raise public awareness about its significance.

Due to its fertile land, especially in agriculture, Babulu Darat has been dubbed the “Rice Granary of East Kalimantan.” The area is expected to supply essential food items, mainly rice and vegetables, to Nusantara Capital City in the future. Its counterpart, Babulu Laut, is projected to provide seafood to the city. It is anticipated that both regions will offer skilled and unskilled labor to Nusantara Capital City. Nonetheless, the area’s ambition to become a significant rice-producing region and a possible primary supplier of rice to the city is encountering obstacles. The transformation of agricultural land (rice fields) into palm oil plantations and residential areas has jeopardized the Babulu Darat region, presenting a dilemma. Furthermore, the existence of palm oil plantation corporations has resulted in social and environmental concerns in the neighboring community.



**Figure 25.** Land Cover Map of Desa Babulu Darat (Source: Data Analysis, 2023)

Figure 25 displays the land cover map of Desa Babulu Darat, while Figure 26 exhibits the view of the land use-land cover. Based on the land cover map, palm oil plantations are the predominant land cover type in Desa Babulu Darat, accounting for around 55.5% of all land cover categories. Moreover, secondary dry land forest approximately occupies 26.6% of the area. These two land cover classes are widely distributed throughout the Desa Babulu Darat area. Land cover consisting of rice fields is predominantly found in the southeastern area of Desa Babulu Darat, south of the National Road. Conversely, land cover comprising of industrial structures and residential zones is dispersed lengthwise along the National Road and gathered at various points within the palm oil plantations' interior.



**Figure 26.** (a) Rice fields in Babulu Darat, (b) palm oil plantations in Babulu Darat, (c) fishing villages in Babulu Laut, and (d) ponds in Babulu Laut (Photo credit: Dhia Aufa Salsabila, Muhammad Yuda Aditya, and Resty Annisa Kusnadi, 2023)

## 2.2. UNPACKING LOCAL ACTORS OF THE FRONTIERS' DEVELOPMENT

Until now, the development of Nusantara Capital City remains a noteworthy subject. Notable issues include the process used to select the site, the rushed development procedures, and the failure to consider inclusiveness in the development process (Saputra et al., 2022). Reports analyzing the advantages and disadvantages, parties favoring or opposing the project, and the influential actors behind the decision to relocate the capital city are also prominently debated. The relocation of the

Indonesian capital has been debated historically since the first President of the Republic of Indonesia, President Soekarno, expressed interest in transferring the capital to Palangkaraya on Kalimantan Island. Several decades later, his aspiration was realized during the administration of President Joko Widodo.

The relocation of the capital city began with the construction of numerous large-scale infrastructures. The resultant development generated excitement among supporters of the decision. Subsequently, several interests aligned and a variety of actors—collectively known as stakeholders—were present at this momentous occasion. The presented facts of this chapter illustrate how society is divided into two sides when faced with the process and effects of Nusantara Capital City development. These divisions were triggered not only by the development of the new capital city, but also by the emergence of transmigration, plantation activities, and mining activities that preceded it. While some communities benefit from the development, others are burdened by it. Generally, communities collectively responded to various development activities on a small scale. However, a small number responded individually while also taking advantage of these development activities. As a result, several individuals emerged with recognized roles, irrespective of their role - either carried away by hegemony or building hegemony themselves.

The individuals mentioned in this book are referred to as actors. An actor is not just an individual or elite within a power circle, but also a group that can participate in a movement (Tornquist, 2016). As such, different actors emerged, starting from central and regional governments, local communities, private and business parties, academics, and NGOs, with the support of the media (*Penta helix*). The identification of actors

in the seven locations was carried out randomly, considering various aspects that could occur in the community. Kelurahan Sepaku and Pemaluan were chosen as core zones for the development of Nusantara Capital City. The construction of intake and water pipe infrastructure is already underway in Kelurahan Sepaku, while Kelurahan Pemaluan is slated to remain a progressive and plural district in the heart of Nusantara Capital City. Various actors with different backgrounds have played varied roles and made contributions in the development of the frontiers, particularly in Nusantara Capital City. Dominant and alternative actors have emerged in every focus area.

Several individuals have emerged as prominent actors who have been vocal in expressing various concerns at the community level. The Nusantara Capital City has had severe impacts at the community level, resulting in a compilation of difficulties for several communities due to exclusion and marginalization from previous development activities in their area (Saputra et al., 2022). Individual anxiety aside, societal anxiety often leads to a sense of helplessness rather than action. Traditional and emerging figures, including women and young people, assume roles in expressing concerns.

The connection between a character's behavior type and their motivation has been analyzed in various literature. If the values associated with a particular ethnicity or group become stronger, they are likely to shape the behavior of individuals who identify with that group. This influence can extend to the patterns of relationships between communities, particularly in cultural, economic, and political domains. These relationship patterns also impact the nature and extent of connections among individuals or elites who possess resources and hold influence in society.

Relationship patterns have a significant influence on the

actions of actors and ruling elites. When these behaviors intersect with economic and political factors, they impact the development of economic activity and the respective region. Consider the development of Nusantara Capital City. The effects of relationship patterns are evident through three factors: land tenure patterns, ruling elites, and social control. These three factors interact with and are influenced by one another, as well as by internal dynamics (Barlan et al., 2014). In theory, gaining control over important economic sectors may trigger heightened ethnic sentiment, while the presence of prejudice can cause conflict to spread to other sociological realms. Competitiveness between immigrant and native ethnic groups can fuel social envy (Habibi et al., 2017).

From a variety of perspectives and ongoing development efforts, different types of actors can be found in each region. In Kelurahan Sepaku, actors emerged due to community heterogeneity and conflicts that arose from development. The Sepaku intake's construction, with the objective of providing clean water to Nusantara Capital City, serves as a prime demonstration of the actors' development. The call for increased transparency in development plans and processes cultivated the emergence of community leaders, many of whom were indigenous. Concerns typically expressed by indigenous communities revolve around the precise location of the intake, potential impact on their territory, potential displacement, and compensation for profits. The Indigenous community opposed the implementation of the Sepaku intake. The intake was constructed adjacent to sacred graves and sites owned by the Paser Indigenous community, which is of notable significance. However, society's developmental objectives necessitate rejection by Indigenous peoples. Subsequently, tensions escalated as the water pipe to and from Kelurahan

Sepaku's intake, which was also on community land, began construction. Initially, this development was turned down because it was deemed too proximate to settlements and situated on local lands. However, this development had a considerable impact on the rush for local land. The acquisition of land was marred by community dissatisfaction with compensation, but ultimately, the community could only accept the amount offered.

The development of Nusantara Capital City has indeed elevated the prominence of indigenous leaders' role. The continuous media coverage of the Nusantara Capital City development, specifically the presentation of community figures, has contributed significantly to the strengthening of their role. The increase in public awareness of the existence of Indigenous people is a positive outcome. There remain uncertainties about the communication between Indigenous leaders and policy makers, as well as doubts about the alignment of indigenous leaders.

The current status of indigenous leaders is under scrutiny: are they genuinely promoting shared values? Additionally, in Sepaku District, there is a traditional figure who holds two conflicting opinions about the construction of Nusantara Capital City. While some chiefs in Sepaku and Kelurahan Pemaluan back its development, they also occasionally oppose it. This inconsistency has caused confusion among their people.

From an alternative perspective, some view the efforts of Indigenous leaders as self-serving. Additionally, their struggle was initiated only after receiving compensation for lost land. Consequently, the prioritization of traditional lands owned by Indigenous peoples in their struggle is perceived as impure. Nevertheless, despite these concerns, the importance

of Indigenous leaders cannot be understated. The presence of such actors plays a pivotal role in enabling Indigenous communities to cope with external interference and satisfy internal demands. Moreover, their strong positions within these communities are reinforced by their extensive networks. These leaders are also affiliated with organizations that stand to benefit from the Nusantara Capital City development project. However, the organization has failed to acknowledge the validity of the actions taken by their Indigenous members. According to representatives of the organization, the actions were not carried out under the organization's orders or directives. Utilizing Theo van Leeuwen's (2012) critical discourse analysis theory, it is apparent that Actor X, an Indigenous leader, is marginalized in his position. According to one theory of inclusion and social action, this indigenous leader has been marginalized by some opinions. However, there are also those who view him positively, as he fights for the common good.

Returning to the original question, by whom and for whom is Nusantara Capital City Development? In terms of physical development, it was also found that only a few (local) actors were involved. It is common knowledge that Nusantara Capital City Development has been criticized for its inability to provide equal participation of parties, especially those who do not have direct access to decision makers or who have little capital. To be involved, there is still a need for certain groups that are influential and able to support them to participate in the development of Nusantara Capital City. For example, it is as simple as a supplier of construction raw materials for Nusantara Capital City, which must go through a certain channel, such as an organization. The existence of these organizations has a significant impact on the inclusive



development process, especially in two outputs right at the core of Nusantara Capital City, namely Sepaku and Pemaluan. This organization is composed of people representing various cross-sectional figures, from entrepreneurs to indigenous leaders. This organization was later transformed into a forum for the “new elite” for the development of Nusantara Capital City. It started from fertilizer for plants planted in Nusantara Capital City, building raw materials, namely stone, to other plans that benefit those in the organization. Of course, the development of Nusantara Capital City remains a strategic project for those who can enter and have the capital. Based on the interviews, one of the members and suppliers of building materials in various developments for Nusantara Capital City, a businessman as a member of the organization, felt a significant impact in increasing their activities and welfare, which boils down to “money and personal gain”. This then raised questions among local communities about the motivations of these actors to participate in the construction of Nusantara Capital City. Is it only motivated by significant economic and financial benefits, or for the benefit of society? It is common knowledge that other elites certainly make more profits. However, without ignoring the actors who really think about the welfare of society, there are still many actors who really see the development of Nusantara Capital City as an economic field to gain profit.

The issues of workers and contractors involved in the physical construction process are also interesting topics. According to one of the directors of a company involved in the Nusantara Capital City project, this project is considered unfair and unprofitable for companies in Kalimantan. The problem of limited capital and human resources remains the main obstacle for various companies in Kalimantan to get

directly involved. Contractors from the island of Java, who have more enormous capital and higher quality workers than Kalimantan contractors, have excluded many Kalimantan companies from the bidding process for development. In addition, the presence of state-owned enterprises, which also participated in the construction, is becoming increasingly important. The extent and significance of the impact of the development of Nusantara Capital City on local companies in Kalimantan must also be understood in order to determine the size of the share gained by the actors.

Amidst the hustle and bustle of development in the community of Kelurahan Sepaku and Pemaluan, the emergence of women as an alternative actor has become apparent amidst the various conflicts. Not born from any political privilege or public official, female actors in Kelurahan Sepaku are able to play a significant role in society. Enthusiasm for preserving social values and protecting the future of the younger generation, who cannot compete with immigrants, became the motivation for one of the female characters to become more active. Among the several existing female figures, there are two local female champions identified based on the motivation for their participation, i.e., female figures based on social motivation and female figures motivated by traditional background. The social motivation that makes this female figure active is also influenced by her active role in other institutions at the village and district levels. Meanwhile, the female figures who appear with identity motivation belong to the female figures as members of the Alliance of Indigenous People of the Archipelago (AMAN) in Kelurahan Sepaku and Pemaluan. Their current movement continues to focus on the empowerment of indigenous women. As actors who have only emerged in the last year or so, the women's movement

still needs to be visible compared to other figures in AMAN.

In addition, the development of new cities, including Nusantara Capital City, must be kept in the role of human resources and youth. In the case of Nusantara Capital City core area, the role of youth in Kelurahan Sepaku and Pamaluan is more oriented to the role of organizations, including youth organizations and institutions under the neighborhood association. Interestingly, the role of youth is still centered on sports and arts activities. They have only provided an empowerment role in these areas, although it is understood that the existence of Nusantara Capital City will have a significant impact on the younger generation. When observing the expectations of young people regarding the existence of Nusantara Capital City, they tend to think only about facilitating sports and arts activities. The role in the development of the new capital city has yet to be felt. There are no young people who can really take significant steps to prepare themselves for the new city.

Furthermore, suppose actors are related to the degree of their role in the existence of Nusantara Capital City. In this case, the role of actors as cultural figures has transformed them into important actors. In this context, cultural figures in Kelurahan Sepaku, for example, play a significant role in aspects of traditional culture and arts. Traditional arts are increasingly promoted, culture is explored, and even old sites owned by indigenous communities are now increasingly discussed. Although the existence of these cultural figures is still less significant than that of traditional figures in terms of their role in mobilizing society, these two actors support each other and work together to preserve the cultural values of indigenous communities.

The role of education in improving the quality of human

resources to support Nusantara Capital City has also become a concern. The exciting thing is that the preparation to increase the capacity of human resources is also supported by third parties as alternative actors. This actor plays an important role in bridging the development of Nusantara Capital City and preparing the community in Kelurahan Pemaluan. The existence of this actor has quite a significant impact. Many community empowerment programs, especially to improve the quality of human resources, are accompanied by these actors. The cooperation of the actors with educational figures in Kelurahan Pemaluan had a significant impact. Not only the cooperation in the field of formal education, but also the arts and cultural education are improved. This collaboration then becomes a way to strengthen relations and synergize the culture of the two main local tribes in Kelurahan Sepaku, namely the Paser and Balik tribes. The development of the Nusantara Capital Authority, with limited concern for the affected communities, has also shown the need to increase the capacity of communities through education and stakeholder collaboration. The cooperation that exists between Nusantara Capital Authority, third parties and Kelurahan Pemaluan has developed quite synergistically in efforts to prepare human resources. This can be seen in the various programs that have been implemented by several interrelated parties.

Public space is never free of power relations and ideology. Struggle is an important word for those who sense injustice. Rights that have been denied, a fate that has been played with, and a bleak future loom over the community around the capital city of Nusantara. The struggle that has been going on for so long has become a common topic of conversation. For whom have the actors been fighting for their rights? The motivation for the struggle cannot really reveal its purpose; only the

actors really know their purpose. However, from several roles that have been played and shown by several actors so far, we can draw several views. Some of the land rights fought for by the indigenous people are for the common good, for example in terms of culture, which of course is related to the indigenous tribal culture of the *adat* community. However, it is imperative to acknowledge that there is a personal agenda involved since it relates to the usage and ownership of private property, particularly land. Furthermore, it is evident that the struggle of women is primarily driven by social goals and a desire to safeguard their children's future. The struggle that starts from the closest line, which is the family, as the first social structure of community life, cannot be separated from the role and territory of women, whether traditional or not.

Several other figures also appeared in the development process of Muara Jawa, not only as an impact on the development of Nusantara Capital City, and they consciously or unconsciously influenced the communities around Nusantara Capital City. As an area in the Nusantara Capital City development zone, Muara Jawa has a network of actors who play an important role, especially in controlling the economy through their assets and resources. These actors come from the political elite, prominent businessmen and figures who have significant influence in society. Muara Jawa, as part of the Kutai Kartanegara Regency, is known to be rich in natural resources in the form of oil, gas and coal. In addition, the potential for the aquaculture and fisheries sector here also has a variety of commodities. This is undoubtedly the main attraction for these actors, who in fact have the privilege of controlling some or most of these potential areas.

Some of the community figures in Muara Jawa with high social status are the so-called Hajis, namely Haji A and Haji

B. These two figures are known as very influential figures and control almost all economic sectors in Muara Jawa and its surroundings. These two Haji figures also control most of the mining land in Muara Jawa. Based on the information obtained, the two figures are known to be of Bugis origin. Initially, Haji B was the uncle of Haji A who migrated to Muara Jawa and started a small fish farming business. Then, gradually, this business grew as a result of his efforts in the business. With the development of his business, Haji B increasingly expanded his business into other areas.

One reason for the elevated social status of these two individuals is their familial ties to or close relationships with political figures in Kutai Kartanegara Regency. As a result, they enjoy access to privileged information not readily available to the public. Additionally, these figures are prominent and prosperous business figures in Muara Jawa. This wealth is derived from various assets, including companies, mining land, tourism properties, land, and ponds. As a result, the economic sector in Muara Jawa is predominantly controlled by these individuals. Occasionally, these figures host grandiose events, such as community celebrations, and generously distribute gifts to the surrounding area. This is why the Haji figures hold high social status within their community.

The account of Muara Jawa demonstrates how numerous individuals can emerge as significant actors who influence other communities. These individuals may pursue personal or public interests. Such actors play a crucial role, as even their minor decisions can have significant effects on those around them. In the case of Muara Jawa, the established entities had a financial influence on the neighboring community.

The yielding and conciliatory measures taken by the regional governmental officials (deemed native) were utilized to

broaden and encompass the political and social representatives of non-native communities. This phenomenon can occur because certain ethnic immigrants hold a strong social and economic position that is perceived as a serious threat to the local population, thereby maintaining political power and influence (Lampe & Anriani, 2016).

Several areas outside the Nusantara Capital City have been undergoing development for some time, leading to the emergence of various actors. Kelurahan Maridan is a key area for examining the emergence of actors involved in development activities from the early 1970s onwards in the context of Nusantara Capital City development. This region is renowned for its industrial area, which has grown due to ITCI Company. The presence of PT ITCI is a key factor contributing to the diverse ethnic population composition of Maridan. Specifically, the area is home to three Kalimantan tribes, namely the Dayak, Paser and Balik, as well as Batak from Sumatra, Bugis from Sulawesi, Java, and Flores. Each of these indigenous communities has established a customary institution and a chairman to represent them.

The traditional institution's primary function is to ensure order among its members, both internally and externally. When one traditional institution arranges an event, others assist in their respective ways. Additionally, traditional institutions are financially autonomous, as they collect dues from each member to secure necessary equipment and fund social activities. The diverse socio-cultural life in Maridan fosters a strong sense of tolerance among ethnic and religious groups. Settlements are not segregated based on tribe or religion. This open-minded attitude is also evident in the cemetery where Maridan's entire population is interred in a single complex. They coexist amicably, promoting a harmonious,

tranquil, and all-encompassing lifestyle. Therefore, there are no conflicts between tribes or religious groups, and they do not place restrictions on certain groups joining traditional institutions. Anyone can become a member of any existing traditional institution, regardless of their background. The only requirement is to follow and enforce the rules set by each institution.

Traditional institutions' heads, aka actors, significantly influence the development of Maridan. Each traditional institution's head affects community life's social control in Kelurahan Maridan, highlighting their decisive role and influence on social life. These heads are looked upon as individuals with valuable skills and noble values worthy of emulation and exemplification in social life. Soemantadiredja (2014) found that indigenous leaders, specifically those within traditional institutions, possess a certain quality that distinguishes them from others. This quality is often exemplified through a leader's charisma, which enables individuals to follow and comply with their directives. A traditional leader's actions are characterized by their position, which dictates their rights and responsibilities within their local indigenous community, particularly regarding local customs. This study suggests that an individual's social position signifies their place in society, while roles pertain to their function and adaptability as a process (Sonia & Sarwoprasodjo, 2020).

PT ITCI has had a significant impact on local communities and economic development. The presence of PT ITCI extends beyond just Maridan, including the sub-district of Riko, located north of Penajam District and south of Nusantara Capital City. While Riko was once a peripheral area of PT ITCI, multiple companies have established operations in the



area, particularly in logging and palm oil industries. Despite the fact that both areas are progressing and expanding due to industrial activities, Maridan and Riko exhibit varying dynamics. Although Riko has a greater variety of companies, the negative effects are manageable. The perceived advantages in Riko are comparatively inferior to those of Maridan. Therefore, the impact of the presence of multiple corporations in Riko is relatively insignificant.

The local actors' role is clearly evident in Riko. Paser and indigenous village leaders played crucial roles in addressing the conflict between the Riko community and PT APMR over plasma-based partnerships and land ownership. The community felt betrayed by the agreement between the two parties. The community had the right to manage one-fifth of the plasma forest area, but this was not realized. Moreover, landowners adjacent to PT APMR face difficulties in obtaining land titles due to the company's plantation business permit encompassing their land. Essentially, PT APMR was indirectly seizing uncertified community land, resulting in a disadvantage for the affected community. The community grew increasingly frustrated when their demands for justice were disregarded and left unaddressed, even by the regional government of Penajam Paser Utara Regency.

Beyond that, the role of indigenous leaders persists. The Paser indigenous leaders are vital in organizing settlements in Kelurahan Riko. Historically, the Paser resided in remote forested areas, away from noise and street accessibility. The Paser community was persuaded by the local indigenous leader to relocate outside of the forested area, which was closer to the road and more accessible to public facilities. Initially resistant, they ultimately agreed due to continued persuasion and the promise of receiving a piece of land and

their corresponding title deeds. It can be inferred from the tale of the Kelurahan Riko that indigenous leaders play a key role in mitigating internal and external conflicts within their respective communities.

Another village, Babulu Darat, is rich in potential natural resources, particularly within the agricultural sector and is considered the rice granary of the East Kalimantan Province. In the future, Babulu Darat is anticipated to serve as a food supply area (rice and vegetables) for the Nusantara Capital City region. Meanwhile, Babulu Laut is expected to serve as a seafood supply area for the Nusantara Capital City in the future. As one of the villages encompassed by the Beyond Nusantara Capital City development area, Babulu Darat hosts influential individuals who play essential roles in the socio-economic life of its community.

These local actors are typically indigenous leaders, village institutions, or village elders who have a revered status among the local people and a deep understanding of the history and growth of Desa Babulu Darat. They include Mr. Aco, who served as the head of Desa Babulu Darat from 1985 to 2006, Mr. Abdul Zais (the current head of Desa Babulu Darat), and Mr. Panggi. Mr. Aco and Mr. Panggi are considered village elders because of their significant contribution to the development of Desa Babulu Darat. They have been closely involved and have observed every step of the development process over a long period of time. In addition to his role as village elder, Mr. Aco, a respected Paser traditional figure, currently serves as an advisor to the Paser Traditional Institute. In addition to his advisory role, he was a member of the Penajam Paser Utara Regency Expansion Team in 2002, drawing on his experience and expertise as a village elder and respected Paser traditional figure.

When the announcement of the development of Nusantara Capital City was made, it elicited different reactions from the indigenous and local communities living in the area. The community expressed their different opinions, some for and some against the development, even through opposition. This was due to concerns that the development would pose a threat to the well-being of the neighboring indigenous communities. Indeed, conflicts between the government and indigenous communities are widespread, with a notable example in the Sepaku region. Local actors emerge and develop naturally as a consequence of regional dynamics. Although they may appear randomly, particular actors gain notoriety through individual dominance within a certain group or activity, ultimately becoming the most influential figure at the local level. Then, in addition to the development process, several alternative actors assume a more active role as intermediaries between actors and local communities.

The preceding accounts of the emergence of local actors demonstrate that the creation of local actors with a significant impact on the social and economic life of the community is influenced by a variety of internal and external factors. Internal factors include self-esteem, wealth, ethnicity, and lineage, as they are inherent to the individual. On the other hand, external factors consist of support from the surrounding environment and other outside influences.

In this case, the emergence of local actors is primarily a product of community interest. Therefore, local actors in diverse regions arose due to the trust, support, and encouragement of the community, enabling them to become representatives of the community. Thus, in this context, a local actor is an autonomous figure who is trusted to express the community's aspirations and interests without influence

from other actors. For instance, there are indigenous leaders in Kelurahan Sepaku and Pemaaluan, traditional institutional leaders in Kelurahan Maridan, Paser indigenous leaders in Kelurahan Riko, and the governments of Desa Bukit Subur and Desa Babulu Darat.

Local actors can emerge through organic processes, attracted by pre-existing actors. This can be due to various types of relationships, including political, economic, biological, or others. For instance, in Muara Jawa, local actors emerged and formed a network due to their existing connections. Not only the primary actors, but also the additional actors that have arisen are a result of the robust, positive relationships that exist among them. These relationships encompass family, political, and business ties, and they mutually benefit all parties involved. •

## Chapter 3

# Nusantara Capital City Development: Complex Socio-Economic Impacts and Diverse Responses of the Affected People

**T**HE RELOCATION of Indonesia's capital from Jakarta to Penajam Paser Utara continues to accelerate, both in physical and non-physical aspects. The complexity of the Nusantara Capital City development process cannot be denied, and it may bring several positive impacts that can be identified. One of the most prominent positive impacts is the stimulation of regional economic growth. Massive infrastructure development such as roads, ports and other public facilities will create new opportunities for investment and local businesses. The development of the new capital city can increase employment opportunities, reduce unemployment rates, and improve the welfare of local communities. In addition, the construction of a new national capital can improve access to public services such as education and health care by improving road accessibility.

Relocating Indonesia's capital can also provide opportunities for environmental conservation. With good planning, development can be carried out with attention to environmental sustainability, including reforestation and preservation of the natural ecosystem around the new area. Thus, although the development of Nusantara Capital City

may cause many problems, there are also significant positive impacts that can stimulate economic growth, improve access to public services, and support environmental conservation.

On the other hand, the development of Nusantara Capital City, which is expected to pay attention to the conditions and development of socio-economic values of society, creates new problems. The massive development has affected the socio-economic changes in local communities. It is coupled with the diverse conditions of society, not only indigenous groups, but also ex-transmigrants and migrant groups. These conditions make the impact of the development of this capital increasingly complex, both directly and indirectly.

### **3.1. DISTRIBUTION OF IMPACTS**

The relocation of the capital of Indonesia marks a new chapter in history that has had a significant impact on various social groups, including indigenous or local communities, migrant communities, and transmigrant communities. The impacts resulting from this relocation include three main aspects, namely economic, social and physical, which have changed the social and geographical landscape of the region. In this context, the changes are not only material, but also affect aspects of identity, interactions among the population, and their impact on the environment. Therefore, in order to better understand the consequences of the capital's relocation, this book details and thoroughly examines its impact on these three aspects.

#### **3.1.1. Impact of Nusantara Capital City Development in the Nusantara Capital City Zone**

The foremost development stage of Nusantara Capital City is prioritized for the central government core zone, com-

prising strategic elements and national assets. A huge scale deployment of various construction equipment is underway towards achieving its development goals, prepping for habitation by 2024. The initial densely packed production forests and plantations will be converted into sparsely populated land prepped for construction. Plantation workers are encountering unprecedented job and business prospects. The resulting impact on the community is immediate and significant. **Table 1** illustrates the effects of the Nusantara City Development within the Nusantara Capital City Zone.

**TABLE 1.** Impacts of Nusantara City Development in the Nusantara Capital City Zone (Sepaku and Kelurahan Pemaluan)

	<b>Local Community</b>	<b>Migrant Society</b>	<b>Transmigrant Society</b>
<b>Economic aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There has been an increase in the price of food commodities</li> <li>• New job and business opportunities</li> <li>• Inclusion of government training</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New job and business opportunities</li> <li>• Inclusion of government training</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New job and business opportunities</li> </ul>
<b>Social aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exposure to local culture and traditions</li> <li>• Increasing crime cases and drug problems</li> <li>• Disputes among themselves over land price exemptions</li> <li>• Concerns about not being able to compete with newcomers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased crime and drug problems</li> <li>• Disputes among themselves over land price exemptions</li> <li>• Livelihoods have not changed or have not diversified</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased crime and drug problems</li> <li>• Disputes among themselves over land price exemptions</li> </ul>

	<b>Local Community</b>	<b>Migrant Society</b>	<b>Transmigrant Society</b>
<b>Physical aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Air pollution from construction dust</li> <li>• Increased intensity of vehicle traffic</li> <li>• Land release due to physical development of various infrastructure supporting Nusantara Capital City</li> <li>• Increased risk of flood disasters, especially during the rainy season</li> <li>• Increased road accessibility</li> <li>• Expanded coverage and network of national drinking water company</li> <li>• Increased aid funds or CSR from various parties</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Air pollution from construction dust</li> <li>• Increased intensity of vehicle traffic</li> <li>• Land release due to physical development of various infrastructure supporting Nusantara Capital City</li> <li>• Increased risk of flood disasters, especially during the rainy season</li> <li>• Increased road accessibility</li> <li>• Expanded coverage and network of national drinking water company</li> <li>• Increased aid funds or CSR from various parties.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land release due to physical development of various infrastructure supporting Nusantara Capital City</li> <li>• Increased risk of flood disasters, especially during the rainy season</li> <li>• Increased road accessibility</li> <li>• Expanded coverage and network of national drinking water company</li> </ul>

In order to support the establishment of a Nusantara Capital City Area, the availability of land is one of the primary factors in development planning. As stated on the Nusantara Capital City Authority's website, a 6,596-hectare area is currently being prepared to serve as the core area for the central government. This area is composed of land owned by the company and by the local community. The release of community-owned land will be one of the direct impacts of the establishment of the Nusantara Capital City. However, further studies are needed to determine the location and extent of land development in the core zone of Sepaku and Pernaluan. The current amount of information available to the public about the development



of Nusantara Capital City is limited, and it is often discovered after its implementation. During this process, it is widely understood by locals, migrants, and transmigrants that their land, gardens, or houses will become subject to development plans following the installation of measurement benchmarks. The government carried out the fixing unilaterally, without any prior outreach or approach.

*“Kami sangat terdampak miris jadi gini. Masyarakat yang ada di lingkungan utama ini kan merasa miris yang tidak tahu, tau-tau udah ada pembangunan, udah ada patok, tau-tau sudah ada ini nanti masyarakat yang terkena dampak dipanggil ke salah satu ruangan. Harga kan enggak transparan ya, seharusnya kan, saya juga sih sudah pernah mengalami ya di Tangerang (We are sorry that such things have happened. The people in this main area are sad that they do not know. The next thing you know, there is a development, there are already stakes, and the next thing you know, there is this: the affected people are called into one of the rooms. “The prices are not transparent; they should be. I have also experienced this in Tangerang).” (Sepaku informant number 14, in-depth interview, 2023).*

Currently, the community’s process of acquiring or releasing land for the Nusantara Capital City is generating fresh social conflicts. In the indigenous (local) communities of Sepaku, certain conflicts have arisen owing to differing selling prices for land acquisition (Saputra et al., 2022). This occurred due to misunderstandings among some individuals who believed that their land’s value was divergent from that of their neighboring parcels impacted by the development.

Land disputes occur among not only communities and governments, but also community groups. Land has significant meaning for people’s lives, making it a valuable asset. Community members depend on land for their residence, employment, and final resting place. Additionally, land holds significant cultural

importance for many indigenous communities, such as the Paser and Balik communities in the Sepaku District. This has led to conflicts between local indigenous community members and ex-transmigrant communities over land ownership, resulting in a longstanding dispute. Thus, apart from the cost of land acquisition, disputes also arise from disagreements over the cultural ownership of land. This has led to conflicts between local indigenous community members and ex-transmigrant communities over land ownership, resulting in a longstanding dispute. However, the development of Nusantara Capital City has led to heightened land conflicts among community groups.

The presence of Nusantara Capital City in the Sepaku and Pemaluan areas is alluring to investors and developers seeking economic prospects in the future. Consequently, several parties have purchased land in these areas, causing a surge in the cost of land. The local community perceived this as a chance to enrich themselves with property investments. There are different approaches within the community to address this issue, including selling one's land to purchase land in other areas, utilizing land as a long-term investment, or converting assets from land to vehicles, homes, or other investments.

Apart from land, local communities will play a vital role in supporting the readiness of Sepaku and Pemaluan areas to become the new capital. The central and regional governments have introduced various job opportunities and training for the communities to welcome Nusantara Capital City. Through this training, the communities aim to improve their resources and competitiveness.

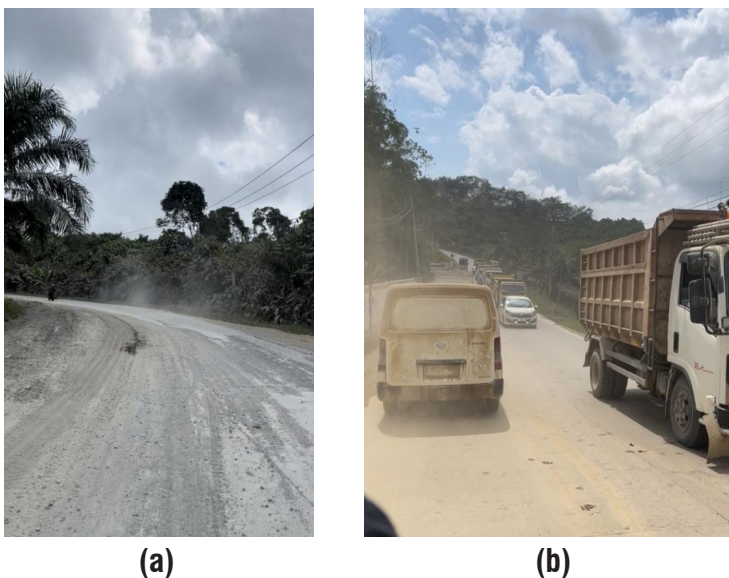
The emergence of migrants and migrant workers in the Sepaku and Pemaluan areas due to the development of Nusantara Capital City has resulted in increased demand for essentials such as clothing, shelter, and food. The local

communities have responded by establishing various businesses, including laundry services, food stalls, rental houses, and boarding facilities. This development has had a beneficial effect on the economic well-being of residents in the Sepaku and Pemaluan regions. The influx of new people has led to a sense of insecurity, felt among both the local communities and the migrants. Crime rates have risen with theft of motorcycles becoming a particular concern. Security was initially a sensitive issue for the Sepaku and Pemaluan communities. For instance, the habit of leaving motorcycles and keys plugged in was a clear marker for locals that both areas were safe. However, since the construction of the Nusantara Capital City, the situation has undergone change.

Additionally, people have expressed concerns about the rising costs of day-to-day essentials. Housewives residing in the Sepaku and Pemaluan regions have borne the brunt of the escalating food prices. This circumstance has altered the way households manage their food expenses and necessities.

*“Kalau sebelumnya nggak mbak, normal-normal aja, setelah ada IKN naiknya melonjak, biasanya sayur sayur itu kan murah, kadang sayuran kacang itu harganya cuma lima ribu sekarang dua puluh ribu. kalau beras memang kebanyakan naik. kemarin kalau nggak salah saya beli itu tiga puluh delapan. kalau sayur memang mahal, ikan lebih mahal lagi. biasanya lima belas ribu dapat dua kilo, sekarang satu kilo dua puluh lima ribu (The condition was not like this before; it was normal. After Nusantara Capital City, there was a sharp increase. Normally vegetables were cheap, sometimes the price of bean vegetables was only five thousand rupiah, now it is twenty thousand rupiah. If the rice really goes up a lot. Yesterday, if I am not mistaken, I bought thirty-eight. If vegetables are expensive, fish is even more expensive. Fifteen thousand used to buy two kilos; now one kilo is twenty-five thousand)” (Sepaku Informant Number 2, In-depth Interview, 2023).*

The movement of heavy trucks and the transportation of building materials have become a regular occurrence for inhabitants of Sepaku and Pemaluan. The rise in airborne dust and vehicle noise has raised concerns among local communities, as illustrated in Figure 27. Before the planning of Nusantara Capital City, the areas were covered by forests with accompanying plantation logging vehicles. The current state of these areas has transformed with the increase of construction equipment activities such as excavators, bulldozers, cranes, asphalt pavers, diesel hammers, and rollers. The thick dust generated leads to air pollution, which is felt directly by the people, especially those who reside closer to the main road of the new city development. Construction activities that generate substantial dust also decrease driver visibility, increasing the likelihood of accidents.



**Figure 27.** (a) Thick dust along the road from Sepaku to Pemaluan, (b) Increased vehicle intensity in the Sepaku-Pemaluan area (Photo credit: Afifah Neneng N, 2023)

At the next stage, the interaction between the development of Nusantara Capital City and the community may have long-term or indirect impacts. Although these impacts may not be consciously felt by society, they have the potential to create significant and sustainable changes in social and economic conditions. A concrete example of these impacts is the training provided to help local communities and migrants prepare to become part of the new Capital City community. In this context, there will be a diversification of livelihoods for local communities and migrants, such as catering, laundry, administration, and even the development of hydroponic farming. In this way, changes with long-term impacts can create sustainable and diverse economic opportunities for local communities. This condition allows for a shift in livelihood orientation from the agricultural or plantation sector to trade and services.

Unfortunately, some of the training proposed by the government has been poorly received by the community. The lack of socialization of this training is one of the reasons. People who wanted to attend the training did not have enough information about the objectives of the training and other detailed information. To solve this problem, information was distributed through the village or sub-district government, which was then sent to the head of the neighborhood association to register people who were willing to participate in the training. However, there is another reason for the lack of enthusiasm, which is that there are people who think that the training held is different from their interests and passions. In addition, additional land or space is needed to start a land-based business, for example. At present, the price of land and building rental is high. The community also believes that these trainings cannot necessarily provide jobs related to the development of Nusantara Capital City, because those who

can get these jobs are only people with strong power relations or people who have higher skills and education compared to the local communities, who are believed to be laborers from outside Sepaku and Pemaluan areas.

Massive land clearing for the development of Nusantara Capital City indirectly affects the environment. One of the basic problems is water related. The water absorption capacity, which was previously in good condition in the upstream area with sufficient vegetation cover, has been transformed into open land in a short period of time. During the rainy season, the open land causes water that could be absorbed to flow directly into the river. As a result, the risk of flooding increases. In addition, the communities were concerned about the lack of water availability for their households due to the construction of the new capital city. The construction of the Sepaku intake cannot solve the clean water crisis at the community level. The community has submitted a request to the national drinking water company to fulfill their water needs by providing domestic water supply infrastructure. For now, the Sepaku Intake only provides water for the development of Nusantara Capital City; only a limited number of local people have benefited from it. Therefore, there is still an urgent need to meet the water needs of the community.

In addition, the presence of Nusantara Capital City also indirectly affects the education sector in the Sepaku and Pemaluan area. The limitation of educational facilities is one of the problems. This forces students who want to continue their high school or higher education to seek education outside their village or subdistrict. However, people's awareness of the importance of education is increasing. This spirit is strengthened by the active participation of the Sepaku and Pemaluan youth in organizing various cultural programs

such as food festivals, Ronggeng dances, and the martial art “Kuntau” as the cultural heritage of the Paser tribe.

Nusantara Capital City also attracts investors, donors and non-governmental actors. They come for human resource development programs and supporting infrastructure for the surrounding community. This can be seen in the Sepaku and Pemaluan areas, where donors from the private sector, universities, and certain groups have come in succession over the past two years. The forms of assistance are varied, such as fertilizer, flower plants, seeds, and training for horticultural development. There is also assistance in the form of basic infrastructure development, such as that carried out by PT Pupuk Kalimantan Timur.

*“... karena yang baru dirasakan hanya jalan bertambah bagus. (... because (so far) the only thing I feel is that the road is getting better)”* (Sepaku Informant Number 13, In-depth Interview, 2023)

Massive infrastructure development is indeed becoming the main agenda for the development of Nusantara Capital City. It is undoubtedly a blessing for the surrounding communities. Road infrastructure is the first infrastructure developed to welcome the relocation of Nusantara Capital City. The main roads in the Sepaku and Pemaluan areas have been repaired and widened, as shown in Figure 28. In addition to facilitating community mobilization, the road improvements are also intended to facilitate the mobilization of logistics and heavy vehicles during the construction of the city. The people of both Sepaku and Pemaluan also admit that there has been an increase in road accessibility where the roads have become better because they have been asphalted or concrete; compared to before, many of the roads had holes and were just rocks.



**Figure 28.** Improved road quality in Sepaku and Pernaluan (Photo credit: Afifah Neneng N and Erlis Saputra, 2023)

### **3.1.2. Impact of Nusantara Capital City Development in Zones Beyond Nusantara Capital City**

The impact of the Nusantara Capital City development extends beyond the core and development zones to various locations outside the area. In this book, the focus is on four sub-districts or villages located around the Nusantara Capital City zone as core activity areas, including Riko, Maridan, and Bukit Subur. Meanwhile, Desa Babulu Darat is located just outside the southern boundaries of Nusantara Capital City. Nevertheless, the villages are connected to Nusantara Capital City directly via the national road. Although the development of this area is yet to take place, the upcoming development is widely known to the public. Our aim is to evaluate the extent to which the development of Nusantara Capital City has affected the livelihoods and area of the community by combining information obtained from informants and direct field observations.

It should be noted that the context of local communities, migrants, and transmigrants in the development zones of the new capital city differs slightly from that of the core zone. The community of transmigrants is situated in two villages: Desa Bukit Subur, which was formerly the transmigration area of HTI Sungai Riko, and Desa Babulu Darat, which is adjacent



to the transmigration areas of Gunung Intan and Gunung Makmur villages. The local communities and transmigrants are located in four villages: Maridan, Riko, Babulu Darat, and Bukit Subur.

The economic impacts on local communities, migrants, and transmigrants are evident. The creation of new job opportunities is a crucial economic impact, and it is highly regarded by various groups in Maridan, Riko, Bukit Subur, and Babulu Darat. Primarily impacted are individuals who have completed various training programs, including security guards and construction workers. The communities in the vicinity of Nusantara Capital City possess significant potential to contribute to the development of the city. Traditional institutions play a crucial role in this by facilitating job opportunities for residents and supporting their participation in city development projects. Additionally, a number of construction companies offer letters of recommendation from traditional institutions to streamline the process of securing employment and contributing to the city's development. Additionally, a number of construction companies offer letters of recommendation from traditional institutions to streamline the process of securing employment and contributing to the city's development. Apart from local communities, some migrant communities also bring over family members from their home regions to work in Nusantara Capital City. For instance, a villager in Maridan invited his nephew to work and reside with him.

*“Saat ini IKN ada buka lowongan kerja tapi harus ada ketrampilan tertentu, ada keponakan yang kerja di IKN. Setiap hari berangkat kerja pakai sepeda motor dan pulang ke Maridan (Currently, Nusantara Capital City has job vacancies, but you must have specific skills. There is a nephew who works at Nusantara Capital City. Every day,*

I go to work on a motorbike and go home to Maridan.)” (Maridan, informant number 32, in-depth Interview, 2023).

The construction of the new capital city has created opportunities for Desa Bukit Subur’s transmigrants. Some have been given the chance to work at Nusantara Capital City, despite the village’s distance from the development site. Nonetheless, the transmigrants are enthusiastic about the opportunity. The extended traveling distance and influx of non-local workers to Nusantara Capital City have prompted new business opportunities in the vicinity. These business prospects primarily focus on rental housing options for commuters and project workers.

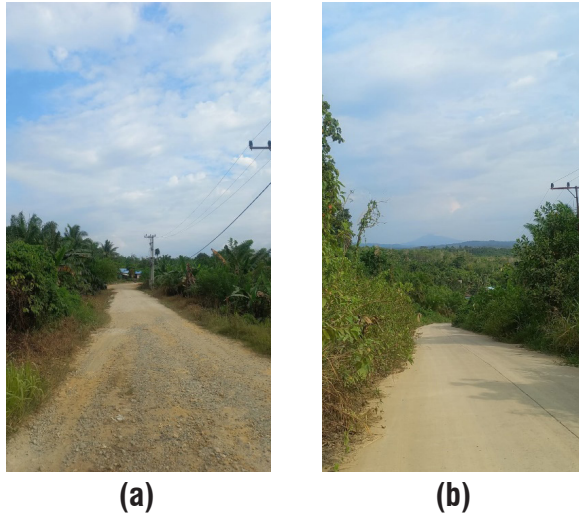
In addition, the progress of Nusantara Capital City has also stimulated a rise in immigration numbers to Babulu Darat, further enhancing the development of local businesses. The surge in demand for basic goods and services has contributed to the growth of local businesses. Overall, this development holds great potential for sustainable economic growth in the area. Additionally, the construction of Nusantara Capital City has attracted both investors and industrial companies to establish their presence in Babulu Darat, further bolstering the local economy. The surge in demand for basic goods and services has contributed to the growth of local businesses. These companies rely heavily on the local workforce, providing ample opportunities for community members to contribute and boost their income. On the contrary, companies also require skilled workers, resulting in competition between migrants and local communities in the job market.

The development process of Nusantara Capital City does not garner interest from the majority of Babulu Darat residents, who do not view it as a potential employment opportunity, mainly due to lower salaries in Nusantara Capital City

compared to those in Babulu Darat for the same type of work.

The intense vehicular traffic has negatively affected the local communities and migrants residing in Kelurahan Riko and Kelurahan Maridan. Improved roadways have provided more manageable access, resulting in an increasingly busy highway. However, this condition has led to the emergence of roadside businesses offering goods and services to passing traffic. Business opportunities can present themselves in various forms, such as food and tire repair establishments along with other enterprises. Nonetheless, improved road conditions also raise worries among residents, particularly about the high number of speeders. Such circumstances elevate the risk of accidents and create anxiety within the community. Therefore, individuals must exercise extra caution, even though the development of Nusantara Capital City remains unfinished.

Conversely, the residents of Desa Bukit Subur have not yet experienced any effects from the highway's increasing traffic flow. While repair work has been ongoing, as depicted in Figure 29, local drivers remain the primary users of the road. However, it is possible that if Desa Bukit Subur successfully develops as a food supplier, particularly in specialty commodities, it could attract outside participation and development, potentially increasing the area's busyness and population.



**Figure 29.** (a) Riko-Bukit Subur Road before repair (b) Riko-Bukit Subur Road after repair (Photo credit: Maulidia Savira Chairani and Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

The privilege of land ownership inherited from their ancestors has a unique impact on local communities. These communities claim ownership of multiple, often sizable areas of land spread across various locations. As a result, investors frequently engage in buying and selling transactions of lands belonging to said communities. The geographic location of Maridan and Riko subdistricts lies outside the core zone and is distant from the center of Nusantara Capital City. However, numerous investors have begun to recognize the potential for business expansion within these areas. Notably, land transactions occurring outside the development zones are affected by a current moratorium on land transactions within Nusantara Capital City.

**TABLE 2.** Impacts of Nusantara City Development in the Zones Beyond Nusantara Capital City

	<b>Local Community</b>	<b>Migrant Society</b>	<b>Transmigrant Society</b>
<b>Economic aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New job opportunities at the Nusantara Capital City construction site</li> <li>• Facilitating job registration in the Nusantara Capital City area</li> <li>• Increase in vehicle traffic intensity</li> <li>• Development of small and medium scale economic activities along the main road</li> <li>• Land transactions for investment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New job opportunities at the Nusantara Capital City construction site</li> <li>• Facilitating job registration in the Nusantara Capital City area</li> <li>• Increase in vehicle traffic intensity</li> <li>• Development of small and medium scale economic activities along the main road</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New job opportunities at the Nusantara Capital City construction site</li> </ul>
<b>Social aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exposure to the local culture and traditions</li> <li>• Opportunity to participate in skills training and be sent abroad</li> <li>• Crime rates increase</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opportunity to participate in skills training and be sent abroad</li> <li>• Development of small and medium scale economic activities on the side of the main road</li> <li>• Crime rates increase</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opportunity to participate in skills training and be sent abroad</li> <li>• Crime rates increase</li> </ul>
<b>Physical aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Easier access due to road construction</li> <li>• Land acquisition due to plans to build a toll road</li> <li>• There is an increase in demand for buying and selling land</li> <li>• Change in land use from agricultural to residential</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Easier access due to road construction</li> <li>• Land acquisition due to plans to build a toll road</li> <li>• There is an increase in demand for buying and selling land</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Easier access due to road construction</li> </ul>

Another effect of the Nusantara Capital City's expansion into surrounding areas is its impact on the social aspects of the region (refer to **Table 2**). Due to its location within Penajam Paser Utara Regency, the construction of the city has spurred local communities - particularly indigenous communities - to share their culture and traditions. Consequently, there has been an increased recognition of the value of preserving local cultures and traditions. Some of the showcased cultural practices include Ronggeng Paser dance and *Gambus* music (refer to Figure 30). Numerous local artistic performances have taken place since, including invitations to perform at specific events hosted at the "zero point" of Nusantara Capital City. Consequently, the new capital development has bolstered cultural identity as a favorable outcome.



**Figure 30.** Wak Pagi as a Paser artist preserving traditional Gambus musical instruments (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

In addition, the establishment of Nusantara Capital City has created opportunities for individuals to engage in skills training and obtain promotions abroad. Training is not only accessible to local residents, but also migrants and transmigrants. Sub-district or village organizations and external organizations carry out training programs. Several outcomes of the training program have been integrated and have contributed to the progress of Nusantara Capital City. However, there are also programs, such as hydroponics de-

velopment, food stalls opening, and printing and convection businesses, that are not directly connected to the development of Nusantara Capital City.

Initially, the matter of Nusantara Capital City development raised concerns among the immigrants. Some residents fear they may face eviction from their homes to make room for the Nusantara Capital City development project located in Kelurahan Maridan and Kelurahan Riko, where numerous development plans are in progress. However, some local communities seem less affected by this situation as they consider themselves landowners in the area and possess family properties in other regions. The situation of the transmigrant community differs significantly between Bukit Subur and Babulu Darat. There is no development plan for these areas, resulting in no social implications on the transmigrant communities regarding the new capital city's development. Conversely, the locals, migrants, and transmigrants in Babulu Darat express feelings of insecurity due to migration's economic competition and escalated crime rates in the community.

Furthermore, the physical and environmental impacts of the Nusantara Capital City development extend beyond the development zone to affect local communities, migrants, and transmigrants. Notably, the construction of roads in Kelurahan Riko, Kelurahan Maridan, and Bukit Subur Village has positively affected community access and mobility (as shown in Figure 31), directly or indirectly. The development and improvement of infrastructure, including roads, bridges, and markets, are expected to bolster economic activities and facilitate community engagement at the local level. However, the establishment of a new capital city may lead to unintended negative consequences, such as changes to Kelurahan Riko's spatial plan, both in structure and pattern. Currently, the

construction of the Balang Island - Simpang Riko Segment Toll Road affects Kelurahan Riko area, which will eventually connect to the IKN VVIP Airport. The project requires taking over at least 9.12 hectares in Kelurahan Riko for the toll road corridor to be built. The lack of information provided to the people of Riko regarding this plan creates a sense of dilemma. While the Riko community is in favor of the corridor's construction, they express apprehension towards potential habitat loss and insufficient reparation.



**Figure 31.** (a) Repairing the road connecting Riko-Bukit Subur, (b) Repairing plan of the road connecting Riko-Maridan (Photo credit: Maulidia Savira Chairani and Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

The development dilemma also affects the Maridan community, especially those residing in RT 1, RT 2, and RT 3 near the Tanjung Maridan port. The transfer of management authority over the Maridan area from the regional government to the Nusantara Capital Authority has exacerbated the dilemma. However, the community is concerned about potential displacement resulting from plans to construct an Indonesian Navy headquarters near the port. A significant number of houses belonging to residents were built on water and thus lack title deeds. Moving these houses requires clarification on the location and compensation that will be offered for their property.

The relocation of the capital has attracted investors who are buying land around the core area of Nusantara Capital City. The community has responded by selling or renting



their land, as seen in Figure 30. Some individuals sold only a portion of their land while others sold their entire property. In terms of land sales, there are two categories: those who sell their complete land directly to buyers and those who sell the land as smaller plots through real estate companies. The cost of land plots was higher than that of large tracts of land. Prior to the development of plans for a new capital, there was no established system of selling land as separate plots as the land prices were too low.



**Figure 32.** (a) Banner for sale of land in the form of plots in Maridan, (b) Banner for sale of land in the form of plots in Babulu Darat (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi and Resty Annisa Kusnadi, 2023)

Land transactions involving plots of specific sizes indicate the extent of land conversion from agricultural or plantation land to residential or commercial use. In Desa Babulu Darat, this conversion was driven by the need for additional space due to an influx of immigrants. In response, there has been an increase in the sale of land plots at the community level. The existing plots were developed into settlements and further construction took place. Additionally, land transactions occurred between the local landowners and investors. This suggests that the local community in Desa Babulu Darat also facilitated the physical changes to the land, which was originally a large area until it was divided into plots for easier transactions with immigrants or investors.

### **3.1.3. Impact of Nusantara Capital City Development in the Development Zone of Nusantara Capital City**

The impact of the development of Nusantara Capital City has not yet been widely felt in the Muara Jawa development zone. This is because Muara Jawa is located far from the Nusantara Capital City area. It also falls under a different regency, Kutai Kartanegara, which is in close proximity to the Mahakam Delta, unlike other areas in the core zone. However, Muara Jawa has the potential to serve as a support hub for the Nusantara Capital City, given its abundant natural resources and strategic location.

The local population is supplemented by migrants from regions such as Java and Sulawesi. There is no evidence that Muara Jawa has historically been a transmigration area, and the initial influx of migrants was not primarily economically motivated. They moved to the region in search of a safe place away from the war zone. However, the migrants saw opportunities for economic growth in Muara Jawa's abundant natural resources. The large size of the region encourages activities such as land clearing for plantations, while fishing has emerged as a promising livelihood sector. Furthermore, the migrants chose to establish permanent residency and encouraged other family members to do the same. Later, the discovery of coal, oil and gas mines served as a new source of economic prospects for Muara Jawa.

The new capital city is located 90 km from the Muara Jawa area and can be easily accessed via the national highway. The community of Muara Jawa is aware of the capital's relocation and has recognized opportunities for development in various sectors. One noticeable impact is the rising land prices since the commencement of construction for the new capital. The Muara Jawa area has potential as a development hub for

establishing Nusantara Capital City. Nonetheless, the public must comprehend that Muara Jawa will serve as a hub for energy supply and industrial development. This circumstance impacts how land is perceived as an asset for the future. Consequently, numerous individuals are purchasing land with the intention of constructing, investing, or reselling.

**TABLE 3** Impacts of Nusantara City Development in the Development Zone of Nusantara Capital City

	<b>Local Community</b>	<b>Migrant Society</b>	<b>Transmigrant Society</b>
<b>Economic Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is an increase in public investment interest in buying and selling land</li> <li>• There are new job opportunities in the development area of Nusantara Capital City development area</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• There is an increase in public investment interest in buying and selling land</li> <li>• There are new job opportunities in the development area of Nusantara Capital City development area</li> </ul>	-
<b>Social Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Given the opportunity to participate in skills training and be sent abroad</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Given the opportunity to participate in skills training and be sent abroad</li> </ul>	-
<b>Physical Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased demand for buying and selling land</li> <li>• Easier access through road construction</li> <li>• Massive land clearing for settlements in the form of plots</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased demand for buying and selling land</li> <li>• Easier access through road construction</li> <li>• Massive land clearing for settlements in the form of plots</li> </ul>	-

Table 3 shows the impact of the new capital city on Nusantara Capital City’s development zone, with a particular emphasis on Muara Jawa. The relocation of the capital city has generated various job opportunities for the neighboring com-

munity, encompassing Muara Jawa's local inhabitants and migrants. Muara Jawa's people showed high interest in working in Nusantara Capital City initially but had their hopes of a decent livelihood and salary shattered. The research concluded that salaries for the construction sector in the Nusantara Capital City region were comparable to those in the Muara Jawa area. The majority of laborers were recruited by small-scale contractors to work in the construction industry. These contractors are hired by the tender winner to execute the project at a reduced budget. Lower wages and subpar work quality are the outcomes of this spread of responsibilities amongst contractors.

Skills training programs are available in the Muara Jawa area to support the establishment of Nusantara Capital City. However, the training solely focuses on the construction sector, which primarily attracts male participants. Individuals who participate in the training will secure employment opportunities in the development of Nusantara Capital City. As a result, public interest in the program is relatively high. Unfortunately, the minimal wages associated with the new jobs have left the people dissatisfied, prompting them to return to Muara Jawa.

The skills training for women and mothers was initiated by the local Family Welfare Empowerment (PKK), a small organization organized and established by women. At present, there is an absence of skills training opportunities for women that cater to Nusantara Capital City. Fortunately, companies in Muara Jawa, including Pertamina Hulu Mahakam (PHM) and Pertamina Hulu Sanga-Sanga (PHSS), can provide such training activities. To date, the companies continue to offer training to local communities, including instruction on food processing, soap making, and other MSME products.

The number of individuals seeking livelihoods in the informal sector has risen due to numerous company employees

resigning. Since Indonesia took over management of the company, many workers employed by PHM and PHSS have resigned because the wages offered did not align with the diminished demand for labor. They transitioned to jobs such as fishing in ponds, developing MSMEs, freelancing as sea fishermen, and pursuing other more lucrative opportunities (refer to Figure 33). Currently, the employees of these two companies originate from outside of Muara Jawa.



**Figure 33.** (a) Seaweed pond products, (b) MSME Amplang chips, residents of Kampung Tanggul, processed milkfish in Muara Jawa (Photo credit: Dewi Setianingsih, 2023)

The construction of Nusantara Capital City has affected the physical landscape of Muara Jawa. Starting in 2000, the land in Muara Jawa began to be extensively used, previously occupied primarily by coconut plantations. With the arrival of a large number of migrants, the land use in Muara Jawa has gradually transformed into new residential areas. As a result of the influx of people, there has been a shift from plantation land to urbanized land for residential use. Land ownership in Muara Jawa is limited for both local residents and migrants. The Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning has prohibited sub-districts from issuing land certificates due to the rise in land prices and the development of Nusantara Capital City. This measure is intended to prevent the abuse of land buying and selling opportunities by individuals who

seek to control land in Muara Jawa, which is a concern of the government.

Sub-district authorities should avoid issuing land ownership certificates to the community to prevent large-scale land trading practices following the construction of Nusantara Capital City. Instead, they may issue SKPT (Land Tenure Certificates) or grant land use rights to the community. This regulation was implemented by the sub-districts due to a moratorium from the Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning and is still in effect. Currently, buying and selling land in Muara Jawa is permitted with certain conditions. These conditions include residency, limited land area, and the intention to build a residential dwelling without commercialization. The implementation of these conditions aims to reduce the number of land sales and purchases in Muara Jawa and prepare for a potential influx of outside land ownership.

*“...mekanismenya untuk bisa memiliki sertifikat itu kita harus memohon di kelurahan untuk mendapatkan SKPT diajukan ke kecamatan. Kecamatan yang mengeluarkan sebetulnya, kami cuma buat e... apa namanya ya e... format-formatnya mengisi kolom-kolom yang, ada ada apa namanya ya semacam formatnya, ini ini ini. Jadi akhir kecamatan, awalnya dari RT dari pemohon, nah dengan persyaratan tertentu. Bisa orang luar boleh, tapi ada catatannya lagi: kita lihat luasannya, misalnya sampai hektaran kalo orang luar dibatasi. Ya, kalau yang lokal kan, kalo kami kebanyakan kaveling saja, 10x20, yang sudah kaveling saja. Kalau yang luas-luas itu karena kami kan daerah pesisir, tidak terlalu banyak ke arah timur sana sudah laut, ke gunung sana bukan wilayah kami, kalau selatan bukan wilayah kami juga (... the mechanism to get a certificate is that we have to apply to the sub-district to get a land tenure certificate, which is submitted to the sub-district. The sub-district that issues it, we just... what is it called, uh... the format is to fill in the columns, what is it called? It is a format, that is it. So at the end of the sub-district, first*

from the applicant's neighborhood association, now with certain requirements. Outsiders are allowed, but there is another note: we will look at the area, for example, up to acres, if outsiders are limited. Yes, for locals, in our case we have mostly plots, 10x20, which are already plots. If it is wide, it is because we are a coastal area, not too much to the east, there is the sea. If it is in the mountains, it is not our territory. If it is in the south, it is also not our territory)." (Muara Jawa, informant number 7, in-depth Interview, 2023).

### **3.2. THE PUBLIC'S RESPONSE TO COPE WITH PROBLEMS CAUSED BY NUSANTARA CAPITAL CITY DEVELOPMENT**

Relocating Indonesia's new capital city will result in numerous changes and problems affecting society and the environment. This process is highly complex, presenting significant social, economic, and environmental challenges. Mitigating and responding to these challenges as a community is integral to the development process of Nusantara Capital City. This study aims to examine community responses to issues and challenges arising from the relocation of the capital city, focusing on two coping strategies. The two main types of coping strategies, as described by Lazarus and Folkman (1984), are problem-focused and emotion-focused. The former promotes concrete efforts to overcome obstacles. In contrast, the other form is a coping strategy focused on emotions, aimed at managing emotional responses that arise from significant changes. We will explore how both approaches can help society confront and adapt to the significant changes brought about by the development of the Nusantara Capital City.

#### **3.2.1. Problem-Focused Coping Strategies**

Problem-focused coping strategies are essential for enabling the community to manage issues that arise during the planning

process for the transfer and development of Nusantara Capital City. The community has devised coping mechanisms in response to the difficulties that come with the development of the new capital city, which are often urgent, arduous, and beyond their capacity. To overcome difficulties, problem-focused coping strategies aim to modify external demands, obstacles, or oneself so that societal responses, actions, and even adaptations are known. We investigated comparable and distinct problem-focused coping strategies utilized by communities across diverse regions. Problem-focused coping strategies are shaped by the impact of economic, social, and environmental factors in each region. The coping strategy presented focuses on issues in the Nusantara Capital City area, the development zone, and the zones beyond Nusantara Capital City.

#### ***a) Response of People in the Nusantara Capital City Zone***

In managing community conflicts surrounding the development of the Nusantara Capital City Zone in Sepaku and Pemaluan subdistricts, communities have established different coping mechanisms that prioritize solving problems. Regarding economic problems, various coping mechanisms have been used by local migrants and transmigrants. One such mechanism is direct registration with companies operating in the Nusantara Capital City, seeking social support. Some members of the community have registered with the companies partaking in the Nusantara Capital City project directly. This step assists them in finding employment and unveils a clear communication channel with the company. This way, individuals may seek social support and attain a more comprehensive understanding of the relocation process and its consequences.



Several residents have taken the initiative to establish small businesses along the national highway linking the region to the capital city of Nusantara, which is a planned approach to problem solving. This generates extra economic prospects and assists them in surmounting the financial hurdles encountered while advancing. Meanwhile, entrepreneurs who previously owned businesses are endeavoring to expand their operations (Planful Problem Solving). This may include areas such as commercial agriculture, light industry, or services that cater to the needs of Nusantara Capital City. By adopting this planful problem-solving approach, society demonstrates its ability to adapt and turn obstacles into opportunities. Also, the presence of Nusantara Capital City garners interest from many parties. Numerous individuals intentionally visit the construction site or ground zero of Nusantara Capital City for official visits, business trips, or tourism. In this scenario, souvenir shops and businesses encounter high demand from tourists, employees, and visitors to the new capital. A demonstration of a community embracing opportunities for the development of Nusantara Capital City resides in migrant communities that trade souvenirs or small items exclusive to Nusantara Capital City, including T-shirts, hats, pants, tote bags, and key chains, as exhibited in Figure 34. This approach embodies a methodical problem-solving strategy in which individuals, particularly migrants, pursue economic solutions by exploiting current developments.



**Figure 34.** Nusantara Capital City souvenir shop in Kelurahan Sepaku (Photo credit: Resty Annisa Kusnadi, 2023)

From a social standpoint, communities are using various coping mechanisms to address the significant changes stemming from the establishment of the new capital. A key strategy is planful problem-solving, which entails actively planning and solving problems. Additionally, they seek social support from external sources, such as information, practical assistance, and emotional support.

Land and social conflicts have escalated since the initiation of the Nusantara Capital City development. The Sepaku community has established the FKMS, or Sepaku Community Agreement Forum, to address these conflicts. The forum's objective is to accommodate community aspirations and provide assistance to individuals or groups facing issues linked to the Nusantara Capital City's development. The Indigenous Peoples' Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) serves as a forum for mediating, supporting, and advocating for the aspirations and issues of indigenous communities, and is one of the organizations managing the conflict in Sepaku and Peraluan.

Communities in Kelurahan Sepaku, formerly transmigrant areas, have employed a confrontational coping strategy to respond to changes in development areas. They adopted a

non-confrontational strategy by voicing their concerns and communicating with the local community association. This approach yielded some positive results. Specifically, when modifications were made to the water pipeline development plan, which would have had an impact on residences within the community, they were able to compel the developers to allocate more resources to underutilized land, such as garden plots. This is a prime instance of community initiative towards influencing development policies, based on their knowledge and interests. The peaceful approach taken in this case reflects the community's capability to actively engage in the decision-making process that has an impact on their lives.

In the Pemaluan area, the community, particularly women, responded to the development of Nusantara Capital City by forming "Women AMAN", an organization that aims to safeguard and advocate for the rights of women impacted by the new city, and to mitigate any adverse effects that may arise.

Several former transmigrant communities in the Sepaku subdistrict are presently introducing the kuda lumping culture, which is upheld by young individuals (refer to Figure 35a and 35b). This strategy exemplifies astute and well-considered problem-solving. Communities are actively seeking solutions to bolster their regional identity and adapt to significant changes. Moreover, promoting local culture has the potential to enhance the region's appeal to tourists, generate extra income streams and diversify the economic foundations of these communities.

The community endeavors to uphold and safeguard its indigenous culture amidst the substantial transformations brought by the establishment of Nusantara Capital City. The community acknowledges that their cultural heritage can serve as a steady basis or even a defense against drastic

social alterations. Therefore, the communities in Sepaku and Pemaluan actively advertise their local arts, traditions, and heritage through cultural events, art exhibitions, ronggeng dance studios (refer to Figure 35c), and festivals that present the richness of their cultures. They aim to objectively showcase their cultural identity without incorporating subjective evaluations.



(a)



(b)



(c)

**Figure 35** (a)(b) Kuda Lumping Performance, (c) Ronggeng Dance Performance (Photo credit: Afifah Neneng N, 2022)

Physical aspects are integral in comprehending coping mechanisms within society. Road construction has enhanced accessibility and encouraged the construction of roadside rentals, boarding houses, and businesses. This decision generates economic opportunities, allowing individuals to overcome economic obstacles associated with development. This approach exemplifies a deliberate approach to problem-

solving where individuals seek practical solutions to their housing and economic problems.

On the other hand, people living near the roads who may face eviction because of road expansion have chosen to postpone building their homes. This way, they can avoid eviction, which could jeopardise their settlement. This reflects a deliberate problem-solving approach in which individuals strive to find solutions to safeguard their residences from potential evictions. Moreover, some individuals residing at the roadside have opted for non-permanent materials during the construction of their new housing units. The project incorporates lightweight materials that are simpler to relocate or substitute when work commences on the road. This strategy employs a planned approach to problem-solving, in which the community seeks adaptable solutions for dealing with infrastructure alterations.

**TABLE 4.** Coping Strategy of People in the Nusantara Capital City Zone

	<b>Local Community</b>	<b>Migrant Society</b>	<b>Transmigrant Society</b>
<b>Eco- nomic Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many people register directly with companies involved in Nusantara Capital City (<i>seeking social support</i>)</li> <li>• Many people develop businesses on the side of the highway (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> <li>• Many people develop their businesses on a large scale (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many people register directly with companies involved in Nusantara Capital City (<i>seeking social support</i>)</li> <li>• Many people develop businesses on the side of the highway (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> <li>• Many people develop their businesses to a large scale (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> <li>• People seize business opportunities by selling souvenirs (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many people register directly with companies involved in Nusantara Capital City (<i>seeking social support</i>)</li> <li>• Many people develop businesses on the side of the highway (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> <li>• Many people develop their businesses to a large scale (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>Social Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community protested peacefully to the Neighborhood Association which then went to the sub-district and sought help from existing organizations (<i>confrontative coping; planful problem solving; and seeking for social support</i>)</li> <li>• The community took the opportunity to participate in skills training and was sent abroad (<i>seeking social support; positive reappraisal</i>)</li> <li>• Community promotes local culture to strengthen regional identity (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community took the opportunity to participate in skills training and was sent abroad (<i>seeking social support; positive reappraisal</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community protested peacefully to the Neighborhood Association which then went to the sub-district and sought help from existing organizations (<i>confrontative coping; planful problem solving; and seeking for social support</i>)</li> <li>• The community took the opportunity to participate in skills training and was sent abroad (<i>seeking social support; positive reappraisal</i>)</li> <li>• Community promotes local culture to strengthen regional identity (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> </ul>

	Local Community	Migrant Society	Transmigrant Society
<b>Physical Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access becomes easier with the construction of roads, so many people start building roadside guesthouses and businesses (planful problem solving).</li> <li>• People living on the roadside move their houses back to avoid being evicted due to road widening (planful problem solving).</li> <li>• People living on the roadside choose non-permanent materials to construct new buildings (planful problem solving)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access becomes easier with the construction of roads, so many people start building roadside guesthouses and businesses (planful problem solving).</li> <li>• People living on the roadside move their houses back to avoid being evicted due to road widening (planful problem solving).</li> <li>• People living on the roadside choose non-permanent materials to construct new buildings (planful problem solving)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access becomes easier with the construction of roads, so many people start building roadside guesthouses and businesses (planful problem solving).</li> <li>• People living on the roadside move their houses back to avoid being evicted due to road widening (planful problem solving).</li> <li>• People living on the roadside choose non-permanent materials to construct new buildings (planful problem solving)</li> </ul>

**b) Response of People in the Development Zone of Nusantara Capital City**

The coping strategy implemented in Kelurahan Muara Jawa Ulu comprises three main strategies: self-control, seeking social support, and planful problem-solving. The first strategy, self-control, involves the active participation of various societal levels, including residents and migrants who strive to improve their skills relevant to the development of Nusantara Capital City. These efforts entail continuing education in college and attending training courses organized by the local government. The objective of this decision is to enhance Nusantara Capital City’s competitiveness among both local and migrant job seekers. Upon completion of the training program, participants specializing in construction or other disciplines will obtain a skills certificate. The certificate can be utilized to apply for work on Nusantara Capital City’s

development initiatives and even to seek employment in other regions with projects that align with their expertise.

Furthermore, training reflects the strategy of seeking social support by providing assistance to individuals who aim to contribute to the development projects of Nusantara Capital City. Therefore, training serves as both a self-improvement tool and a means of social support to the community. In this case, Muara Jawa residents had a favorable response to the training laid out by Nusantara Capital City. Despite this, inadequate management caused individuals to lose interest in the output received from previous training.

The community's final goal is to enhance the legitimacy of their landownership by following the land certification process. This can be accomplished systematically via the Complete Systematic Land Registration program or occasionally with singular undertakings at the local land office. This approach can be classified as planned problem-solving and seeking social support, given its intention to preserve landownership and preclude the government's potential land confiscation. Thus, this action guarantees that the community will receive just compensation if their land is required for the development of Nusantara Capital City.



**TABLE 5.** Coping Strategy of People in the Development Zone of Nusantara Capital City

	Local Community	Migrant Society	Transmigrant Society
<b>Economic Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community increases employment opportunities and competitiveness by improving skills in accordance with Nusantara Capital City development (<i>self-control</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community increases employment opportunities and competitiveness by improving skills in accordance with Nusantara Capital City development (<i>self-control</i>)</li> </ul>	-
<b>Social Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community has the opportunity to participate in skills training and be sent abroad (<i>seeking social support</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community has the opportunity to participate in skills training and be sent abroad (<i>seeking social support</i>)</li> </ul>	-
<b>Physical Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community increases land legality in the form of land certification to avoid land conflicts (<i>planful problem solving; seeking social support</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community increases land legality in the form of land certification to avoid land conflicts (<i>planful problem solving; seeking social support</i>)</li> </ul>	-

**c) Response of People in the Zone Beyond Nusantara Capital City**

Individuals in various areas outside of the Nusantara Capital City have responded to the recent urban development by implementing various strategies. In Maridan, Riko, Bukit Subur, and Desa Babulu Darat, a coping mechanism utilized was planful problem-solving, which involved collaborative efforts to analyze and resolve issues. This can be observed through the actions of residents in Kelurahan Riko and Kelurahan Maridan, who aim to legitimize their land by obtaining independent land certification, enrolling in the Complete Systematic Land Registration Program (PTSL), or reporting their land ownership to the local village or district. These initiatives are community-driven, serving to uphold land ownership and prevent land disputes. These efforts are expected to serve as the foundation for receiving adequate

compensation upon the acquisition of land for the construction of toll roads and other infrastructure.

Meanwhile, skill enhancement programs such as training and continuing education are being implemented in all areas outside Nusantara Capital City to develop skills related to the city's growth and development. Previously, individuals typically only received education until junior high school. The purpose of these efforts is to enhance their competitiveness in the job market against both local communities and immigrants. Participation in training has equipped these communities with skills necessary to work on development projects in Nusantara Capital City. This includes utilizing coping strategies such as seeking social support from construction companies within the city.

The intensifying traffic on the highway has prompted individuals to recognize a chance for supplementary revenue by means of establishing businesses along its path. This trend is increasingly prevalent in Kelurahan Riko, where local entrepreneurs are expanding their operations. This has become a deliberate strategy for problem resolution within the communities. This strategy was implemented solely by the local and migrant communities in Kelurahan Riko, and was not observed in Maridan and Desa Bukit Subur. The main roads' proximity poses a challenge.



**Figure 36.** (a) Business developments on the roadside, (b) Semi-permanent roadside dwellings (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

Meanwhile, the government of Desa Bukit Subur has implemented a unique strategy to contribute to the development of Nusantara Capital City by focusing on developing the village's role as a food supplier for the new capital. This initiative is aimed at utilizing the agricultural land and establishing the village's reputation. Ultimately, the goal is to stimulate the creation of additional business opportunities and draw external interest to Desa Bukit Subur. This strategy involves intentionally addressing existing difficulties through thoughtful problem-solving. It also involves accepting responsibility for issues related to Nusantara Capital City, as well as other ongoing developments within Sepaku District.

Holding a cultural festival is a proactive problem-solving strategy that local communities employ to raise awareness of local culture among the prevalent immigrant population. Furthermore, seeking social support is integral to guaranteeing the festival's successful execution. Typically, local government entities and unofficial sponsors provide the necessary support. Social initiatives are undertaken by local communities and immigrants to preserve environmental security and prevent crime. A plan can be implemented in a mutually beneficial cooperation with immigrant or migrant communities to seek social support for the common goal of environmental peace.

The seeking of social support strategy was also implemented by all indigenous communities, migrants, and transmigrants. This strategy was selected because it offered opportunities for skills training and overseas placement. The government recognized the necessity of human resources to aid in the development of the Nusantara Capital City and surrounding regions, making this opportunity available.

The government provided local communities with facilities for participating in skills development. Community members

seized the opportunities to develop skills in response to the increased demand for workers during the development of the new capital city and other projects.

Meanwhile, the migrant community in Kelurahan Maridan is implementing a strategic approach to address concerns related to the development plan for Nusantara Capital City, specifically regarding the eviction risk of certain residential areas. Some residents have opted to purchase land outside the Nusantara Capital City zones, which are not earmarked for any other development activities, to build their homes. Some individuals have already purchased or acquired property in Kelurahan Riko and Babulu District to establish their future residences in response to the effect of the new city development on their land, resulting in their displacement. The community selected this area due to alike socioeconomic conditions and its proximity to their original homes. The existence of families in this location aids in their adjustment and integration.

Physically, communities employ only two types of coping strategies. The first strategy involves planful problem solving, which includes constructing dwellings and shops adjacent to highways. Additionally, establishing a business on an already-under-construction highway presents an advantageous opportunity for the community to benefit from potential consumers, which will steadily increase over time. The local community and migrants in Kelurahan Riko are experiencing the impact of settlements located on the side of provincial roads.

Meanwhile, planful problem-solving strategies are being implemented in communities affected by toll road construction. These communities have been invited to participate in socialization and active discussions to determine compensation plans. Since the community participated in the socialization, they obtained immediate clarity regarding the development

plans and the compensation that would be offered. This is beneficial because the community can promptly decide on future plans such as purchasing land in other locations with the allocated compensation funds. Subsequently, they can work on the acquired land, establish a business, or even construct a home. This approach is further reinforced by seeking social support from toll road construction companies and local government officials as a coping mechanism. To properly inform the public about land conditions that may be impacted by the construction of toll roads, regional and sub-district governments have a vital responsibility. Thus, the community can approach the government as a mediator for toll road construction plans.

Furthermore, the community is utilizing systematic troubleshooting measures and seeking help from peers to obtain land certificates for lawful land possession, in order to minimize the risk of land disputes. The nationwide land legality management initiative must be implemented in all regions of Indonesia.

Managing the legality of land in regions beyond the Nusantara Capital City can provide benefits and streamline land transactions or the assessment of land value for compensation. The involvement of authorities is crucial in ensuring the effective management of land legality, underscoring the necessity for the community to receive guidance and assistance from the government.

**TABLE 6.** Coping Strategy of People in the Zone Beyond Nusantara Capital City

	<b>Local Community</b>	<b>Migrant Society</b>	<b>Transmigrant Society</b>
<b>Economic Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many people register directly with companies involved in Nusantara Capital City (<i>seeking social support</i>)</li> <li>• Many people develop businesses on the side of the highway (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> <li>• Many people develop their businesses on a large scale (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many people register directly with companies involved in Nusantara Capital City (<i>seeking social support</i>)</li> <li>• Many people develop businesses on the side of the highway (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> <li>• Many people develop their businesses on a large scale (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Many people register directly with companies involved in Nusantara Capital City (<i>seeking social support</i>)</li> <li>• The village government is trying to develop its role as a food supplier for Nusantara Capital City (<i>planful problem solving; accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>Social Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community took the opportunity to participate in skills training and was sent abroad (<i>seeking social support; positive reappraisal</i>)</li> <li>• The community often holds social activities to build and strengthen positive relationships between local communities and immigrants (<i>seeking social support</i>)</li> <li>• A cultural festival is held once a year to introduce local culture to immigrants so that they can respect cultural differences (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> <li>• The community forms a security group per Neighborhood Association in the form of a security guard to keep their area safe from crime (<i>seeking social support</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communities buy land in areas that are not included in Nusantara Capital City Authority and that are not planned for Nusantara Capital City development as assets in case of eviction (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> <li>• The community took the opportunity to participate in skills training and was sent abroad (<i>seeking social support; positive reappraisal</i>)</li> <li>• The community forms a security group per Neighborhood Association in the form of a security guard to keep their area safe from crime (<i>seeking social support</i>).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community took the opportunity to participate in skills training and was sent abroad (<i>seeking social support; positive reappraisal</i>)</li> <li>• The community forms a security group per Neighborhood Association in the form of a security guard to keep their area safe from crime (<i>seeking social support</i>).</li> </ul>

	Local Community	Migrant Society	Transmigrant Society
<b>Physical Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access has become easier with the construction of roads, so many people have started to build houses and businesses on the side of the road (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> <li>• Communities affected by toll road construction participated in socialization and active discussions to determine compensation plans (<i>planful problem solving; seeking social support</i>)</li> <li>• The community increases land legality in the form of land certification to avoid land conflicts (<i>planful problem solving; seeking social support</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Access has become easier with the construction of roads, so many people have started to build houses and businesses on the side of the road (<i>planful problem solving</i>)</li> <li>• Communities affected by toll road construction participated in socialization and active discussions to determine compensation plans (<i>planful problem solving; seeking social support</i>)</li> <li>• The community increases land legality in the form of land certification to avoid land conflicts (<i>planful problem solving; seeking social support</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community increases land legality in the form of land certification to avoid land conflicts (<i>planful problem solving; seeking social support</i>)</li> </ul>

### 3.2.2. Coping Strategies Focus on Emotions

The development of Nusantara Capital City may present emotional challenges for the community, including concerns related to employment, lifestyle changes, and a sense of loss. This is especially true for those who are required to relocate from their long-standing homes. Therefore, it is crucial to consider mechanisms that can aid individuals in coping with these emotions and adjusting to the changes. In this context, we have analysed various approaches to improving the emotional well-being of society in light of the establishment of a new capital city. These methods include managing stress, anxiety, loss, and social changes.

**a) Response of People in the Nusantara Capital City Zone**

Two main coping strategies are commonly used: those that focus on emotions and those that address problems. The community of Kelurahan Sepaku, which was impacted by a plan to normalize a river and construct a pipeline, has employed multiple emotion-focused methods for coping, such as positive reappraisal and a rational approach. The residents exhibit a resigned attitude, gracefully accepting their circumstances without attributing blame to others, and expressing gratitude for their possessions. However, if mass evictions were to occur in the future, there is a possibility of resorting to confrontational coping strategies in Kelurahan Pemaluan.

With limited employment opportunities available for local communities with fewer skills and education, the community has taken ownership of the situation. While some members of the community recognize the value of education for future generations and have made efforts to improve its quality, including pursuing higher education as a means of competing with immigrants and newcomers, a significant number of young people still choose to enter the workforce after finishing high school. This decision has given rise to concerns that they may face challenges and potential marginalization in the future. As a result, certain individuals are contemplating moving to calmer and more serene regions beyond the Nusantara Capital City. Moreover, some individuals are embracing the approach of creating space between themselves and the developments occurring in their surroundings.

The community is implementing emotional coping mechanisms to address environmental issues and crime, particularly through self-control. Sensible actions, such as closing doors during the day and wearing masks while traveling, are



taken to prevent exposure to heavy dust. Additionally, they take on the responsibility of handling floods that occur during the rainy season.

While there may be reluctance from some to accept their part in the development of the new capital, the majority acknowledge their accountability for this matter. While the community recognizes concerns about immigrant competition and the associated uncertainties, they believe that the government possesses complete authority over the development project. Consequently, they sense that they cannot take legal action against the government. Currently, the community has no choice but to accept the problems caused by the construction of the new capital city and avoid taking any significant action; instead, they must hope for a favorable outcome in the future.

**TABLE 7.** Coping Strategy of People in the Nusantara Capital City Zone

	<b>Local Community</b>	<b>Migrant Society</b>	<b>Transmigrant Society</b>
<b>Economic Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community has tried to accept and adapt to the increase in prices of food raw materials (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community has tried to accept and adapt to the increase in prices of food raw materials (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community has tried to accept and adapt to the increase in prices of food raw materials (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>Social Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People have started to pay attention to the vehicles they own because the problem of crime is increasing (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• The community has started to pay attention to the increasing number of drug cases and problems so that they can better protect their children from falling into it (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• The community accepts and adapts to the lack of socialization provided by the government (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>• The community accepts and adapts to immigrants who make the community feel a bit competitive (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>• The community accepts and understands the lack of skills and education to get a job in Nusantara Capital City (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community has tried to accept and adapt to the problem of increasing crime (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>• The community has tried to accept and adapt to livelihoods that do not change or diversity (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>• The community thinks positively and learns from their land affected by the construction of the dam and the plans to build pipelines and normalize rivers (<i>positive appraisal</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community has tried to accept and adapt to the problem of increasing crime (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>• The community thinks positively and learns from their land affected by the construction of the dam and the plans to build pipelines and normalize rivers (<i>positive appraisal</i>)</li> </ul>

	Local Community	Migrant Society	Transmigrant Society
<b>Physical Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People close their doors more often because the environment is full of dust due to development (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• People try to avoid the crowds/congestion that occurs (<i>distancing</i>)</li> <li>• The community accepts and understands that they are affected by flood disasters, which are increasing in frequency (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community accepts and understands that the environment has become full of dust due to development (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>• The community accepts and understands that they are affected by flood disasters, which are increasing in frequency (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People close their doors more often because the environment is full of dust due to development (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• The community accepts and learns positively from their land affected by the pipeline construction plan, never blaming others and being grateful for what they still have (<i>positive reappraisal</i>)</li> <li>• The community accepts and understands that they are affected by flood disasters, which are increasing in frequency (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>

**b) Response of People in the Development Zone of Nusantara Capital City**

In the development zone of Nusantara Capital City, specifically in Kelurahan Muara Jawa Ulu, the community has implemented coping strategies that focus on emotional self-regulation. The majority of residents have chosen to establish businesses within Muara Jawa, their current home. Moreover, the community anticipates potential opportunities arising from the development of the new capital city, including escalated demand for various products and services.

Therefore, individuals have seized the opportunity by establishing new enterprises or expanding the scale of their existing ones. However, entrepreneurs hesitate to commence business operations in the Nusantara Capital City, despite the numerous opportunities present. The main factor contributing

to the reluctance is the limited access to land ownership in Nusantara Capital City, which is coupled with challenges in overseeing and managing businesses situated far from residential areas. Moreover, job seekers are reluctant to apply for positions in Nusantara Capital City due to lower wages compared to those in Muara Jawa for similar occupations. Furthermore, individuals acknowledge that their skills and education may not be adequate to compete with other candidates who aspire to work on upcoming projects in the nation's capital.

Regarding the social aspect, the communities have taken responsibility for the issues. They acknowledge the arrival and continued influx of multi-ethnic immigrants in conjunction with the development activities in Nusantara Capital City. This has resulted in the contribution of different habits which may impact their lifestyle. Additionally, the rise in immigrants has caused competition in various employment and other sectors.

The residents of Muara Jawa have experienced minimal changes to their livelihoods, even though the area has become an economic development hub in recent decades. Despite plans for agricultural-based industries, as well as trade and services in the Nusantara Capital City, the community's livelihood remains unaltered.

To address physical challenges, residents have opted for a self-control strategy. Individuals often cling to their land as a place of residence and are hesitant to part with it despite the rising land prices. Nonetheless, they frequently exhibit a desire to acquire land in various regions, be it to establish a business or engage in real estate transactions like buying and selling land plots.

**TABLE 8.** Coping Strategy of People in the Development Zone of Nusantara Capital City

	<b>Local Community</b>	<b>Migrant Society</b>	<b>Transmigrant Society</b>
<b>Economic Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community plans to build a business together with the development of Nusantara Capital City (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• People prefer to work in Muara Jawa or build their own business rather than work in Nusantara Capital City (<i>self-control</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community plans to build a business together with the development of Nusantara Capital City (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• People prefer to work in Muara Jawa or build their own business rather than work in Nusantara Capital City (<i>self-control</i>)</li> </ul>	-
<b>Social Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community accepts and adapts to immigrants which makes the community feel a bit competitive (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>• The community accepts and understands the lack of skills and education to get a job in Nusantara Capital City (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>• The community tries to accept and adapt to livelihoods that do not change or diversify (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community accepts and adapts to immigrants which makes the community feel a bit competitive (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>• The community accepts and understands the lack of skills and education to get a job in Nusantara Capital City (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>• The community tries to accept and adapt to livelihoods that do not change or diversify (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>	-

	Local Community	Migrant Society	Transmigrant Society
<b>Physical Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People are reluctant to sell their land even though land prices are rising (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• The community chooses to build on the land they own as a private residence (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• People have the desire to buy land in other areas (<i>self-control</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People are reluctant to sell their land even though land prices are rising (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• The community chooses to build on the land they own as a private residence (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• People have the desire to buy land in other areas (<i>self-control</i>)</li> </ul>	-

### c) **Response of People in the Zone Beyond Nusantara Capital City**

In the areas surrounding Nusantara Capital City, communities are experiencing the effects of the city's development. The local communities, migrants, and transmigrants have responded by implementing self-control coping strategies. One strategy for meeting the prerequisites necessary to work on the Nusantara Capital City project is to improve one's skills. Such training will enhance their competitiveness. Additionally, local communities may sell their land at high prices to recognize the uptick in prices and the emergence of new capital within the region.

*“Seiring pembangunan IKN harga lahan makin melonjak. Dari yang sebelumnya hanya menilai pembeli dan penjual 10-15 juta jadi naik dua kali lipat, langsung drastis. (As Nusantara Capital City is being developed, land prices are increasing. From only 10-15 million before, it has doubled, drastically)”* (Informant Babulu Darat, Number I, In-depth Interview, 2023)

Local communities utilize emotional coping strategies, including accepting responsibility, to tackle social issues. Addressing the challenge of a substantial number of immigrants

lacking knowledge of local culture and traditions, initiatives are taken to enhance community identity via traditional group formation and integration of local arts involving immigrants. The strategic problem-solving approach advocates local culture via an annual cultural festival, fostering tolerance and respect among local communities, migrants, and transmigrants.

The community has reacted positively to the skill training opportunity outside of the region, which has generated a positive reevaluation of the issues. To deal with the physical impact of Nusantara Capital City, the community executed a positive reevaluation strategy. For instance, the community reacted positively to the road construction because it improved mobility. Additionally, another community assumed responsibility for the toll road development plan while pursuing equitable compensation for the land that would be taken. As a result, the community implemented this strategy by adapting to the development plan and striving for land compensations. ●

**TABLE 9.** Coping Strategy of People in the Zone Beyond Nusantara Capital City

	Local Community	Migrant Society	Transmigrant Society
<b>Eco-nomic Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community increases employment opportunities and competitiveness by improving skills in accordance with the development of Nusantara Capital City (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• Some people carry out land buying and selling transactions with relatively high price offers (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community increases employment opportunities and competitiveness by improving skills in accordance with the development of Nusantara Capital City (<i>self-control</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The community increases employment opportunities and competitiveness by improving skills in accordance with the development of Nusantara Capital City (<i>self-control</i>)</li> <li>• The village government tries to develop its role as a food supplier for Nusantara Capital City (<i>planful problem solving; accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>

	<b>Local Community</b>	<b>Migrant Society</b>	<b>Transmigrant Society</b>
<b>Social Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Local communities increasingly strengthening their identity through local cultural heritage to immigrant communities (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> <li>The community took the opportunity to participate in skills training and was sent abroad (<i>seeking social support; positive reappraisal</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community took the opportunity to participate in skills training and was sent abroad (<i>seeking social support; positive reappraisal</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community took the opportunity to participate in skills training and was sent abroad (<i>seeking social support; positive reappraisal</i>)</li> </ul>
<b>Physical Aspects</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community feels that it is easier to mobilize with the construction of roads (<i>positive reappraisal</i>)</li> <li>The community accepts the toll road construction plan (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community feels that it is easier to mobilize with the construction of roads (<i>positive reappraisal</i>)</li> <li>The community accepts the toll road construction plan (<i>accepting responsibility</i>)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The community feels that it is easier to mobilize with the construction of roads (<i>positive reappraisal</i>)</li> </ul>



## Chapter 4

# Place Attachment

*“The old Lakota was wise. He knew that man’s heart away from nature becomes hard; he knew that lack of respect for growing, living things soon led to lack of respect for humans, too.”*

—Luther Standing Bear, Oglala Lakota Tribe Chief

**A**S GLOBALIZATION drives most of the global change, a conflict between self-awareness and the environment arises and becomes more intense over time. Globalization unites the world through information and communication technology, with economic interests driving the process. This phenomenon is not limited to physical space; with the assistance of information technology, the world enters an unparalleled state of virtual space. As Jean Baudrillard posits, reality exists as an ongoing construction and reconstruction, forming what can be perceived as a simulacrum. The creation of virtual space provides individuals with quicker and broader access to expand their interests and power. Consequently, the world is submerged into the notion of a “Global Village” and “planetary urbanization”. This convergence demonstrates the melding together of rural and urban, local, and global values, within the context of globalization. It is a meeting point for global perspectives, embracing objectivity, and “villageness,” which represents a subjective perspective and its offshoots. Rather than confronting and opposing each other, the variations and disparities between these concepts are praised, enriching one another.

It can be briefly agreed that, under these circumstances, living spaces and places are being distorted and reshaped. Space cannot be perceived and constructed as it once was. Rather, it is now produced by those with sufficient power and capital. Over time, this process will expand globally and impact local communities. Nusantara Capital City provides a platform for negotiations and invites the Central Government to represent both global and local interests, including the Indigenous communities of Paser and Balik People.

This chapter examines the relationship between space, place attachment, and the cultural identities of the Paser and Balik People, as well as transmigrants in and around Nusantara Capital City. Beginning with the framework of place attachment, the chapter gradually analyzes how Nusantara Capital City will likely impact individuals' perceptions of their living spaces and places. From previous studies, a familiar pattern of place attachment has been observed in the Nusantara Capital City region. When contextualized in Nusantara Capital City, a comparison can be drawn between the Indigenous community and transmigrants, the two largest cultural groups in the region. In the context of frontiers, which are primarily products of actors' imaginative perception, comprehending the significance of a place's symbolic and emotional roots is crucial for understanding place attachment. The development of Nusantara Capital City serves as a site of contestation between the authority's imagination and the existing communities' attachment to the place.

#### **4.1. REVISITING THE SPACE AND PLACE OF NUSANTARA CAPITAL CITY**

The development of Nusantara Capital City raises important questions about its purpose and impact on the surrounding

areas. It prompts us to consider why it was established, the significance of this new place as a capital city, and how it will alter the meaning of place for local residents. As we explore these questions with those directly impacted by the development, we recognize that their answers may differ from ours. Some individuals view the location of Nusantara Capital City pragmatically, simply as a place to meet their daily needs. Conversely, others internalize the location to the degree it becomes intertwined with their very identities. These varied perceptions are not formed in a vacuum; rather, they are constructed and passed down from one generation to the next, shaped by the nature of the frontiers within which they reside. The locals have established a complex and multifaceted interrelationship between nature and culture, spanning from place attachment to identity formation. The study of place attachment and identity is especially relevant in the face of global change, and the resulting processes, which leave a lasting impact, require examination.

Nusantara Capital City represents the effects of globalization and the disarrayed environment of modern living. The Indonesian Government envisions it as a “World City” supported by the “Smart City” concept and directs policies and development towards that goal. Situated within a vast and verdant industrial forest, Nusantara Capital City stands in stark contrast to its surroundings, making it a standout contender. The impact of Nusantara Capital City on spatial and placeness extends beyond its physical boundaries, as depicted in Figure 37. The city’s physical structure has significantly altered the landscape and land cover of the area.



**Figure 37.** An aerial view illustrates how the grey concrete jungle embryo of Nusantara’s capital is emerging amidst the greenery, with supporting facilities like roads and water reservoirs. (Photo credit: Hillary Reinhart and Azis Musthofa, 2023)

Beyond its physical limits, the impact of Nusantara Capital City is a significant force that disrupts long-established relationships and attachment foundations. This process affects multiple aspects of people’s lives, with space being one of the underlying factors. We aim to observe and explain the process behind the people, the impacts of their relationships, and the nature of their attachment. The focus of our study is on place attachment and the cultural and political identity of the Indigenous community. We anticipate that the ripples and waves that will impact the living space and place will have the greatest effect on the Pasir and Balik People. The impact of Nusantara Capital City will first be felt on the collective sense of place and cultural or political identity that are inexorably linked.

These factors govern the actions, behavior, and decision-making processes of individuals in a given region. The presence of the capital city causes many in the surrounding area to face a liminal state where their choices will have far-reaching consequences not only for themselves but also for future generations. Some studies have shown that place attachment is a significant element of conservation or sustainable transition, particularly in the agricultural field (Pandey et al., 2020; Dasgupta et al., 2022). However, we aim to explore the political implications of place attachment and how it influences decision-making in land governance and coping mechanisms. Land governance remains an essential factor for socio-economic impacts.

#### **4.2. SPACE, LAND, AND THE ATTACHMENT BETWEEN**

Several studies have analyzed the correlation between agricultural sectors and place attachment, influenced by cultivation and food production (Quinn & Halfacre, 2014; Prayitno et al., 2021; Li et al., 2023). It is suggested that the emotional connection of a community to its location or place is ultimately distinguished by the type of agricultural practice employed. This underscores the need to critically consider these practices in the pursuit of sustainable development. Around the Nusantara Capital City, two distinct groups have developed different types of agriculture - the Indigenous and transmigrant. Our observation of their practices shows that swidden and sedentary agriculture can have an impact on their attachment to the area, despite minor changes in practice.

Indonesia displays a clear ecological contrast based on its agricultural practices. Geertz (1963) contends that the agricultural types in Indonesia divide the archipelago into inner and outer regions. Inner Indonesia refers to a relatively

smaller region that encompasses northern West Java and extends eastward to the western part of Lombok Island, while the remainder of the country falls under outer Indonesia. The inner region is characterized by sedentary agriculture, including *sawah* (paddy fields) or wetlands, irrigated systems, and typically grown with rice. Despite its smaller size, the *sawah* can produce more raw products and support more people. Technological advancements and the intensification of agriculture have significantly increased production within this system (Narangoa & Cribb, 2005). As a result, *sawah* and sedentary agriculture have stimulated population growth, particularly on Java Island, currently the world's most densely populated island. Conversely, in outer Indonesia, which includes Sumatera, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi islands, the local population practices swidden or shifting agriculture. This form of agriculture involves regular relocation of practices from one area to another and is commonly carried out by the Indigenous community.

As the name implies, indigenous communities have deep ties to their land expressed in various ways. However, this connection is often misunderstood as ownership. In a world driven by rationalism and mechanization, land ownership is a critical component of governance. During this time, the agricultural practices and ways of life between Indigenous peoples and transmigrants were vastly different. The indigenous practiced swidden agriculture, the predominant agricultural method in Kalimantan Island. This agricultural method involves rotating fields every 3-5 years. When opening a new field, the practitioner engages in the slash-and-burn method by cutting down trees and burning all remaining vegetation. Planting of seeds begins after this process. This approach is well-suited to the soil conditions found on Kalimantan Island

and has been used by Indigenous people for centuries since transitioning from a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. However, the soil on Kalimantan Island lacks sufficient nutrients, necessitating the use of fertilizer to nourish the planted seeds. The practice of slashing and burning the land helps to enrich the soil by providing additional nutrients.

*Jadi Sifatnya orang pasir ini, kalau di kebun padi, dia merintis dan mengembang, terus membakar. Nah itu membakar. Nah karena bekas bakaran yang normal, hangusnya itu, kebakarannya, padi lebih subur. Lebih Lebih subur. Lebih Lebih subur. Nah itu, lebih subur. Yang mereka kejar, Wah, mudah-mudahan ini ada panas. Aku membakarlah ladang ini. Itu aja anunya. Konsepnya mereka itu. Maka mereka itu rata-rata ngitung tahun itu, wah ini bulan berapa ya, aku merintis ada bulan ini, mendembang bulan ini, membakar bulan sekian.* (So this becomes the character of the Pasir people, when (they are) in a rice field, they cut and burn. After the remains of the burning, the rice field would be more fertile, much more fertile. Fertility was what they wanted. (They said) “Hopefully it will be hot; let me burn this field. That was the concept. So they counted the average time in a year; what month was it? I had to cut on this month, burn on this month.)- Informant A, Sepaku.

Farmers have intricate and intimate relationships with their surroundings, but the land they cultivate is paramount. Farmland serves not only as a site for planting and harvesting crops, but also fulfills their economic, social, and symbolic needs. Starting from the land, farmers expand their understanding to include the river as a source of water, the mountains and volcano as a foundation for their soil, and the sky where the wind and rain provide nourishment. Rituals, traditions, values, and emotions are deeply ingrained within farming culture. The farmers also experience a strong emotional attachment to their land, feeling a sense of security

and connection. Security is paramount as it ensures the prosperity of individuals and their families.

As depicted in Figure 38, land not only provides sustenance and shelter, but it is also a vital source of livelihood. The people value the land as much as they value themselves, and this fosters a sense of belonging where land and people are viewed as interconnected. One cannot exist without the other. Land and people coalesce to create a shared sense of significance, extending beyond mere subsistence to also encompass a source of insight and erudition. This sense of connectedness evolves into ownership, at which point land ownership and governance are reduced to the level of natural resources and commodities. Informant A provided testimony indicating that trees, once regarded as agreed-upon borders, had to be validated via formal letters.

*Saya belum mengerti betul. Kalau di sini, mau ada, mau bawa-bawa, ada. Karena di zaman dulu, namanya surat itu tidak penting. Namanya surat, orang desa itu nggak kenal namanya surat. Mereka tahunya bekebun, nanam padi, malah surat. Surat Surat ini untuk apa ini? Surat apa? Mereka tidak paham. Orang-orang pasir itu tidak paham. Untuk apa itu surat? Tidak paham. Nah, yang tahu mengerti surat itu malah orang yang masuk. Nah itu mereka kena mungkin sudah ada ilmunya dari kampungnya. Kan membuat seperti itu. Kalau Kalau orang disini, enggak mungkin itu. ... mereka punya uang mereka punya ilmu, ini harus dibuat surat, saya puasai kan, itu intinya orang punya uang. (I don't really get it. At that time, letters were not important. The villagers did not know these letters. All they knew was to go to the field and cultivate. What were letters? The ones who understood were the newcomers. Probably they knew it from where they came from. Because they already knew it, they made those letters. They knew that they had money, so they had to make those letters. The point is that people had money.) -Informant A, Sepaku.*





**Figure 38.** Aerial view of a Balik village. Note that the houses are built next to each other and on the side of the road. The field behind this settlement appears to be a mix of palm oil, rubber and fruit trees. The Balik people in this settlement lived next to their field so that they could easily access their plants and crops. (Photo credit: Hillary Reinhart and Azis Musthofa, 2023)

The chapter introduction provides insight on the spatial influence of Nusantara Capital City on the living space, particularly on land governance. Land serves as a representation of space and place for the Indigenous and transmigrant communities, who rely on farming. The development of Nusantara Capital City, as an extensive infrastructure, hinders interaction, interrelation, and interdependence among people and their surroundings. The Nusantara Capital City's physical presence consumes a large area of land, disrupting the current land governance system. In addition to blocking and dividing the land beyond its boundaries, it significantly modifies land ownership and the residents' sense of belonging. Furthermore, it reconstructs the land, using terminology from Garet Hardin. As both the familiar and the unusual become significant, the

land slowly transforms into a battleground for asserting ownership.

Introducing the idea of ownership shifts the significance of the land from cultural to political. In cultural contexts, the land is venerated as the maternal figure of life and sustenance and is replete with spiritual, symbolic, and emotional meaning. However, when considering the land from a political perspective, power dynamics come into play. Within Indigenous communities, land ownership can be established through attachment (Ypi, 2017). Ypi (2017) highlights the uniqueness of attachment-based claims from a conventional viewpoint. Applying a claim to something with such specificity may seem peculiar, but attachment is inherently specific. Place attachment operates within the personal, community, and natural contexts of an individual. An objective approach to land ownership may disregard the importance of these contexts.

Land governance in the name of the state is essential for promoting public welfare. As the most influential and extensive political entity, the state takes a politicized approach to every aspect of governance. Thus, the recognition of land is automatically incorporated into political considerations. This situation requires us to understand our attachment to land and its implications for policies from a political standpoint (Narangoa & Cribb, 2005). The political context of this political sense can be examined through historical tracing. Attachment to land is channeled through three streams: (i) historical sharing with the land; (ii) religious or quasi-religious motives; and (iii) knowledge gained through soil extraction, encapsulated in an *adat* (custom) tool. This provides insight into how attachment-based claims resemble *adat*-based claims to land.

*“Kalau seperti saya pribadi sih, boleh-boleh aja kalau IKN ini kita dengan senang hati menerima adanya IKN. Tetapi yang sangat disayangkan*

*bagi saya, masalahnya lahan-lahan kita kan ini udah mau diambil sama pemerintah lagi kan. Iya. Kemana Kemana lagi kita kan? Sementara Sementara tanah juga yang di luar sana seperti di Babuluh, di Anu kan otomatis melonjak juga harganya Itu yang kita pikirkan sekarang Sementara seperti Pak Presiden sendiri kan ada bahasanya di situ, lahan masyarakat jangan diganggu-bugatkan.”* (Personally, we are happy to accept Nusantara Capital City. What I really regret is that the government is going to confiscate our land again, isn't it? Where would we go? While land prices out there, like in Babulu, will skyrocket, and that is what is on our minds now. While the President himself had said that people's land should not be disturbed.) - Informant B, Pemaluan.

Informant B's account reveals the Balik People's acceptance of state authority over their land. While welcoming the Nusantara Capital City, Informant B expressed reservations about the state's land policies. It is important to maintain objectivity when discussing the relationship between the state and Indigenous peoples and land. The celebration of the capital city cannot ignore the tension that exists with the Indigenous peoples' cultural and emotional attachment to their land. This attachment will play a role in the political identity formation of the Indigenous population, potentially overshadowing weaker cultural identities. Ultimately, the goal is to establish a stronger attachment claim to the land that is not based solely on political power.

### **4.3. FACTORS OF PLACE ATTACHMENT OF THE PEOPLE**

The initial debate concerning the factor of place attachment concerns the mobility of two groups: the indigenous community and the transmigrants, both more concerned with spatial mobility. Moving or mobility to elsewhere necessitates sufficient resources and a solid contingency plan. One must be financially stable and have management of numerous

assets. The initial group of transmigrants who migrated to the Nusantara Capital City area during the mid-1980s brought their families and possessions, leaving behind everything they had known. The government offered full support for the transmigration initiative, including land and cultivation equipment. Nevertheless, the most crucial element provided by the government for the transmigrants was land ownership and legal protection. The government provided the transmigrants with a two-hectare plot consisting of agricultural land, a yard (*tanah pekarangan*), and a house, as well as fertilizers and seeds to aid in settling and beginning agriculture. These provisions aided the transmigrants in their migration.

Indonesian people have a term for the practice of moving out to seek better opportunities - it is called “rantau” or wandering. *Rantau* involves leaving to find new challenges and improved fortunes. The tradition is complex, involving numerous elements for material gain and pride. In simpler terms, “rantau” refers to the act of migrating from rural to urban areas due to the widespread belief among Indonesians that rural areas are synonymous with poverty and urban areas offer better living standards. Urban regions offer higher income and a superior social status. Moving to a new place with high competition and minimal stability is a risk that only a few are willing to take. In the Nusantara Capital City, transmigrants have increased opportunities to conduct *merantau*, or the practice of leaving one’s homeland for distinct reasons, due to their assets and capitals. *Merantau* is driven not only by financial motives but also by social and cultural factors. Consequently, the successful *merantau* experiences of transmigrants’ offspring often lead to the acquisition of significant fortune, contributing to the growth of assets in their home villages.

On the other hand, the Paser and Balik communities are unable to attain the same level as that of the transmigrants and their offspring. As for Informant D's family, his son remained in Pemaluan and worked as an assistant at PT Agro Mas Incorporation. There are two interpretations: either they are unwilling or unable to abandon their land. It is likely that both perspectives are intertwined. Limited education and financial support from the Paser and Balik People may hinder their ability to relocate, while their emotional attachment to their homeland and place of birth may motivate them to stay. These decisions significantly impact their perceptions of living space and location.

Many residents of Paser and Balik did not originate from their current place of residence. According to the report of Informant A and Informant C, a married couple from Sepaku, they were born in different regions. Informant A was born in Tanah Grogot and moved to Kelurahan Riko with his family, while Informant C was born in Kemantes. Both belong to the transmigration generation that resided in the 1980s. The socio-economic consequences of Nusantara Capital City will impact future generations due to the fundamental alterations that transmigration has brought to the agricultural process. It is important to focus on the current generation, while acknowledging that the second generation and their children have already witnessed these changes. Furthermore, place attachment remains significant for the descendants and kinship of the people, regardless of their duration of residence. As individuals become more conscious of their surroundings, they also develop a bond with a specific location. But where does this attachment derive from? This connection primarily stems from the influence of parents on early experiences. Over time, this bond becomes multi-generational, leading to a

lasting connection to that place in the future.

The parents of second-generation transmigrants possess enough capital to send their children to pursue higher education degrees, leading to better job prospects in urban areas. Consequently, many of these transmigrants' offspring have attained bachelor's or diploma degrees and opt to remain in the *rantau* land. Often, their places of settlement are distant from Java Island, which is the population hub of Indonesia. Some young people pursue higher education in the cities of Yogyakarta or Malang, which have many educational services. This sector of education is a significant issue for Nusantara Capital City, as it relates to labor and job opportunities that the city can offer. The knowledge and insight gained from studying abroad may influence decisions to stay or leave. The transmigrants who originated from Java Island held an image of their home as a developed center, which brought good fortunes.

Transmigrants and migrants who have arrived in the area of the Nusantara Capital City are considered as voyagers. The *rantau* concept originates from the Javanese tradition's common belief of "dadi uwong." This belief applies to those who have achieved stability to the extent that they do not rely on any support from others (Fardhani, 2015). *Rantau* also represents a crucial phase of life for the Bugis people under the *Siri* tradition (Suryanti et al., 2020). *Siri* represents the high esteem held by the Bugis people for bravery, considered one of their paramount values. Further, the Bugis' primary occupation as sailors and traders played a crucial role in shaping their outward traditions, beyond *Siri* belief. Related to intergenerational place attachment, Javanese and transmigrants have stronger connections because of the "dadi uwong" belief located in the parental-filial relationship. The

ultimate aspiration of Javanese parents is to witness their children achieve the status of “dadi uwong.” Our study shows that long-standing traditions and beliefs can override the newcomers’ attachment to place. Table 10 provides a summary of this finding.

**TABLE 10.** Elements of Place Attachment in Nusantara Capital City

Place Attachment Factors	Context	Indigenous community	Transmigrants
Dependence	Natural	Natural resources through swidden agriculture	Economic/commodity exchange
Residing duration	Personal	Originally, cross-generational	Newcoming, native only for the second generation
Type of social interaction	Community	Community	Neighborhood to peri-urban
Mobility		Inward	Outward

Intergenerational attachment is derived from the level of dependence of the community and society where it is nurtured. The degree of natural dependence is the basis for place attachment. Despite their identity or origin, all inhabitants of the Nusantara Capital City rely on natural resources as their main source of livelihood, whether they are sawah or swidden farmers, or peasants. We posit that the attachment to nature can be primarily attributed to the land and its role as a provider of essential resources. This attachment is facilitated by natural features, as described by our informant, Informant C.

*“Kalau segel kita dulu tuh, kalau ada bekas-bekas pondok, bekas rumah, Ada saya bilang pohon kelapa, pohon nangka, itu sudah segel Dulu kan mau bikin segel di mana? Dan juga kan beladang itu kan berpindah-pindah. Setelah tanam padi di sini, buka di sana. Setelah buka sana, pindah lagi ke sana. Karena hutan tua sama belukar itu kan enak hutan*

*yang tua dirintis. Kalau belukar kan setengah mati. Kalau semak kan, semak. Makanya Makanya berpindah-pindah. Nanti yang bekas ditanami padi tadi, apabila belukarnya udah tua, nanti kembali lagi ke sini, beritis lagi.”* (Our seals were the remains of huts or houses. I said coconut trees, jackfruit trees, those are the seals! Where would you make a seal in those days? Cultivation was always moving. After we planted rice here, we planted rice there. After we were here, we moved again. Because of the forest and bushes, we had to cut.) - Informant C, Sepaku.

#### **4.4. WE ARE WHERE WE ARE: ATTACHMENT AND THE IDENTITY**

*“Desa Mawa Cara, Negara Mawa Tata”  
-Javanese Proverb*

We all have necessary attachments for survival. Attachment is like a tree with deep roots that provides stability for the tree to stand despite changes in its surroundings. The tree maintains its form as it grows over time. This example illustrates the intricate connection between attachment and identity. The root of a tree acts as an anchor, keeping it in place. Observers may note the unique qualities of the root’s location. Comparing a tree’s roots to human attachments may be made despite the stark differences. One should note that these attachments are often intangible and can only be detected through their ability to keep a tree in place. For humans, location is just one factor among many. As individuals develop a sense of place and belonging, integrating it into their identity via the process of place attachment, they may make an attachment-based claim.

However, identity is a complex entity that goes beyond physical features and includes an individual’s perception, emotions, and experiences. The environment, in turn, shapes human perception and encompasses a range of tangible and intangible sensations. The development of identity occurs



profoundly when individuals internalize different components through cognitive processes. Values, preferences, and imagination enhance people's surroundings and serve as critical frameworks for directing the trajectory of inclusive imagination practices in the development of Nusantara Capital City.

*“Saya melihatnya dua sisi ya. Masyarakat ada itu memikirkan wilayah adat itu hilang kan, beberapa situs hilang. Namanya masyarakat ada itu nggak ada. Tapi namanya pembangunan itu kan sudah peraturan negara ya. Yang di Sepaku itu kan juga kita beberapa sempat masuk di sampingnya ada makam. Ada yang namanya batu budok untuk balik ibadah untuk ritual itu satu situs sudah hilang.”* (I see it from two perspectives. Some people thought that the adat region would disappear, and some places would disappear. What we call development was a government regulation, wasn't it? In Sepaku, where we enter this area from the side, there are cemeteries. There are also Batu Budok for Balik people to pray and do their rite.) - Informant E, Pemaluan.

Attachment-based claims hold little relevance in land politics according to Ypi (2017). It was suggested that systemic injustice, perpetuated by authorities and a legacy of colonialism, is responsible for this. Consequently, eviction and marginalization compound the strong connection Indigenous communities have to their land and surroundings. This signals a shift in their focus from cultural to political terms, underscoring the continued development of political identity.

#### **4.4.1. Historical and Cultural Identity of Paser and Balik People**

*“Alo kelato botis se kelato bowa”  
(Lebih baik suka jalan daripada mulut menyakiti orang lain)  
-Sempelo Paser*

Identity is molded by spatio-temporal contexts and historical events, rendering it a dynamic construct. It arises from the

amalgamation of place attachment, the spatial environment, and distinct cultural and historical factors that profoundly impact the people of certain regions, such as Paser and Balik. Gaining an all-encompassing comprehension of their intricate identities mandates the exploration of their respective historical, political, and cultural contexts.

### **a) *Historical Setting of Paser Region***

The cultural identity of the Paser and Balik communities is shaped by their spatial and temporal contexts. The Paser people have resided in the Nusantara Capital City for a century, living in an area that spans from Tanah Grogot in Paser Regency to Kelurahan Sepaku in Penajam Paser Utara Regency, demonstrated in Figure 39. The Paser people share borders with the Kutai People of the Kutai Sultanate to the north and the region of the Banjar Sultanate to the south. The region underwent development and expansion, prompting the Paser people to disperse and occupy a relatively sizable territory within the Paser Sultanate. They organized themselves into either twelve subgroups or nine groups, depending on the catchment areas in which they resided. Paser Luangan, Paser Telake (Tikas and Nyawo), Bentian, Benuaq, Paser Pematang, Paser Migi, Paser Peteban (Leburan), Paser Bukit Bura Mato, Paser Adang (Semunte), Paser Balik, and Paser Pemuken are collectively referred to as “Bansu Tatau Datai Danum.” This term denotes individuals inhabiting riverbanks, coastlines, or lakes and living peacefully (Putri et al., 2022). Furthermore, the study highlights that Kalimantan Island is recognized as “Benuo Rekan Tatau.” This name conveys the idea of a prosperous and gleaming land. The topography of the Paser region ranges from the coastline to the mountainous areas, resulting in varying backgrounds and livelihoods within the area.



**Figure 39.** An old map of the Paser Sultanate Region. (Source: <https://news.detik.com/x/detail/intermeso/20190919/Ramalan-Ibu-Kota-Baru-dan-Bangkitnya-Kesultanan-Paser/>)

The Paser Sultanate is first mentioned in *Negara Kertagama*, an ancient book from the Majapahit Empire's rule over the region. However, some *adat* figures dispute its authenticity since there is no written proof of the Paser Sultanate's existence (Durohman, 2019). In summary, the Paser Sultanate originated in the 15th century with its first ruler, Ratu Aji Putri Petung, also known as Princess Petong, as per both the regional government and *adat* records. Her lineage can be traced back to Nalow Raja Tondoy. Reportedly, Princess Petong was exiled to the Maldives region prior to ascending to the throne in Paser. The reign of Putri Petong marked the start of the era of Islamization. The sultanate era started with the reign of the Sadurengas Kingdom and extended into the Paser Sultanate, led by Sultan Aji Muhammad Alamsyah. During its

history, the key administrative center relocated several times, shifting from Lempesu to Muara Samu to *Gunung Sahari* and finally to Paser Balengkong (BPCB Kaltim, 2020). The Paser Sultanate experienced a prolonged period of economic well-being before its cessation by the Dutch colonial government in 1906, coinciding with Sultan Ibrahim Khaliluddin's accession to the throne.

From a deterministic perspective, the physical or geographical setting of Sadurengas Kingdom and Paser Sultanate was the primary factor for their attachment to their respective places. Available natural resources, including fish, land, crops, and water, were dictated by the environment. Consequently, the Paser people were confined to their location due to their dependency on these resources, which persisted for centuries. The historical timeline strengthened the unity of the Paser community by integrating cultural and structural elements. Both religion and history contributed to a sense of togetherness among the Paser people. The collective identity of being Muslim under the spirit of 'ukhuwah' or togetherness acted as a unifying force. Religion functioned as a distinguishing factor, prompting the Paser people to differentiate themselves from the Dayak people, another indigenous community in Kalimantan. The Paser people share a common identity with other significant political entities in Banjar and Kutai Sultanate, both of which embraced Islam as their primary religion. The intersection of culture and structure has current implications for their status.

### **b) Paser and Balik Identity**

After conducting further research using Adat data from Sepaku and Pemaluan, we have determined that the Paser and Balik communities are distinct groups. The cultural

and political repercussions of this differentiation may be substantial, particularly given the massive development of the Nusantara Capital City in their region. The differentiation appears to be influenced by brevity, spatial context, and attachment to place. In summary, the distinction of the Paser people is based on their spatial context, cultural practices, and historical accounts.

The 12 subgroups of the Paser people have their roots in the *penggawa* era. The *Sadurengas* Kingdom and Paser Sultanate created a federal region or “*vasal*,” governed by a *penggawa*, to manage their expansive territory. This *penggawa* possessed authority and sovereignty beyond their territories and was dispersed throughout the Paser Sultanate, including Paser Balik, which was one of its *vasals*. The Balik *vasal* was located in the northernmost area of the Paser Kingdom, adjacent to the Kutai Sultanate. Its location was determined through examination. Because of their close proximity, Paser and Kutai Sultanate established robust partnerships and collaborations to fulfill one another’s interests. The spatial arrangement’s origins were recounted in folklore focused on Aji Tatin (Mustikawati, 2016). Aji Tatin was a respected member of the Paser Sultanate, and a direct descendant of Aji Geger, who succeeded Aji Duwok or *Panembahan* Adam as the king of the *Sadurengas* Kingdom. After marrying another noble from the Kutai Sultanate, Aji Tatin’s father-in-law bestowed upon her a region to govern located at the border of the Paser and Kutai Sultanates. She was granted permission to collect taxes from the area that spanned from the Tunan River to Tanah Merah. Moreover, one reference source validated this statement.

“*Orang Balik itu itu kan perbatasannya daerah Tunan itu. Tunan, Tunan, perbatasannya. Balik ada kesini, orang pasar sana, Grogot, Grogot... Iya, Tunan. Tunan itu perbatasan.*” (Balik People’s border is at Tunan.

Balik People here, Paser People there, Grogot, Grogot...Tunan is the border) -Informant D, Pemaaluan

Aji Tatin's narrative provides an understanding of how the spatial and historical factors impact the identity of Balik People, who presently reside in most parts of Nusantara Capital City. Many Balik People assert their differences with Paser People and associate themselves with the Kutai region. It appears that Kutai's identity has amalgamated with the identity construction of Balik People. Also, the historical roots of Aji Tatin are connected to Tanah Balik, which is close to the Kutai Region. Linguistic evidence supports the claim that Balik people speak the Paser language, while Paser people cannot speak the Balik language. Despite this, from the Paser perspective, Balik people and Tanah Balik are still considered part of the Paser community. Aji Tatin, a member of the Paser People and heir to *Sadurengas* King, led Tanah Balik, providing factual information to support this claim.

#### **4.4.2 Paser and Balik Identity Within Political Realm: Toward an Attachment-based Claim**

The recognition of communities' self-determination emerged due to the nation-state's emergence during the 19th century. The shift of ethnic identities occurred as numerous nations gained independence and exited the colonization era. Indonesia is a diverse nation containing several ethnic groups and native communities, which are segmented into sub-ethnicities, clans, and unique mother-tongue languages. Despite its diversity, the nation is unified by a common history and a commitment to solidarity, making it one of the world's largest nations based on solidarity. The unique experience gained from this unification is unprecedented. According to the principle stated in Indonesia's constitution preamble,

“Independence is the right of every nation”, the indigenous community has been granted admission and sovereignty. Nevertheless, numerous violations have occurred. In 2019, the Paser People reached a pivotal moment in their history. One hundred and fourteen years after the colonial government unilaterally abolished their last Sultan, they banded together to rise. Paser and Penajam Paser Utara Regency were both utilized to advance their interests.

The Indonesian central government’s policy on regional autonomy supported this initiative. The emergence of Paser identity stems from regulations and policies defining the cultural traits of the Paser community, rather than subjective evaluations. Paser Regent Decree Number 48 Year 2013 established purple as the representation of local knowledge. This trend was reinforced by the execution of Paser Regent Decree Number 67 Year 2020, which specified authorized customary attire, mascots, decorations, and Paser batik. Local officials and regents were given the authority to govern these features to ensure regional autonomy.

Due to the emergence of symbolic and cultural factors, various Paser individuals strive to promote a wider range of common interests in the political sphere. Putri and her team’s 2022 study illustrates the establishment of the Paser Bekerai group by the Paser community, which functions as a political tool. The group has emerged as a formidable influence advocating for the community’s prosperity and increasing its bargaining power. Paser Bekerai is now acknowledged as one of the civil societies that originated from the *adat* group. Before its establishment in the early 2000s, the Paser community established the Paser Traditional Institution (*Lembaga Adat Paser* or LAP), which continues to be one of the primary civic organizations in Paser.

Bakker's 2009 examination of land governance illuminates the intricate network of interests and aspirations embedded in this concept. In 2004, a regent committed to economic expansion and promptly engaged in land and spatial politics to exploit her politically advantageous actions. The New Order regime's practice of land dispossession involved forcefully taking land from many Paser people and giving it to large social enterprises such as palm oil plantations and logging companies (as noted in Chapter 2).

In the 2000s, Bakker observed a land dispute involving the Paser people and a palm oil plantation that led to social unrest. The conflict arose due to the plantation's plasma. The Paser people claimed ownership of the land through *adat* or an occupation-based claim. This dispute gained political attention during the regent election, which Suwidi won after Syarkawi. As a political figure, Bakker explained that Suwidi boosted his popularity by using his ID card. To summarize, the electoral process was influenced by LAP's civil society, which advocated for land issues grounded in *adat* or attachment claims and brought them into the political arena. Currently, residents in the Nusantara Capital City region are growing more suspicious and distrustful due to land acquisition and grabbing, thus impacting their perceptions of the new capital city negatively (Syarifuddin et al., 2020). This lack of trust is evident through the presence of multiple civil society organizations that function as pressure groups (*kelompok penekan*).

In the Nusantara capital region, identity has often been cited as a means of emphasizing land access. As per Saputra et al. (2022), large corporations' perpetuation of land exclusion has resulted in restrictive conditions and marginalization. Therefore, Paser and Balik should regroup and collaborate



based on social ties to secure a bargaining position and political representation. This is essential for Nusantara Capital City to alter the underlying land governance for influential stakeholders. As a demonstration of land identity and attachment, a banner reading “*Putera dan Puteri Asli Kalimantan* - Native Generation of Kalimantan” can be found. Several politicians during the election season also associate themselves with a sense of place and origin.

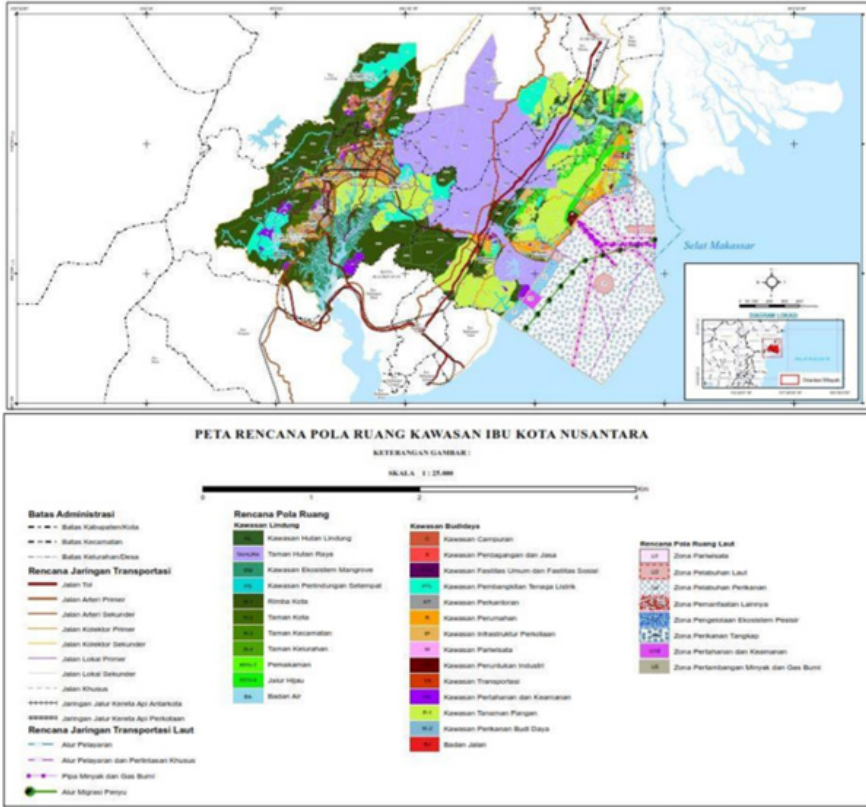
The central government and authority seek the guidance of the *adat* leader in the affected village. *Adat* leaders serve as ambassadors for the indigenous community, instilling optimism for land conservation efforts. Additionally, they crucially foster a sense of community and participation that harmonizes with government social initiatives at the village and district levels. As explained in the previous chapter, these institutions function within the *adat* sphere, stemming from individuals’ relationship with nature and the social surroundings.

#### **4.5. URBANIZING THE FRONTIERS AND THE PLACE ATTACHMENT**

We previously examined how the Indigenous community of Paser and Balik, alongside the transmigrant population, have formed an attachment to their spaces and places over time. This attachment varies but shares comparable contexts, from material to social interactions. Developmental external forces always influence and modify these place attachments as they are dynamic. The infusion of investment and capital into Nusantara Capital City will significantly affect the sense of place attachment via the creation and restoration of existing physical spaces. The production of these spaces is specifically influenced by capital and investment undertakings. According to Saputra et al. (2022), Nusantara Capital City is already a

place where differing capital interests are competing. Each actor pursues their interests and may conflict with others by using power and subtle tactics like hegemony or ideology. Corporations prioritize actions that maximize profits. The exploitation of logging and timber resources pushes society to the brink, marginalizing indigenous communities. This struggle for resources necessitates the creation of space, which may impact individuals' emotional connections to the spaces they inhabit.

A clear indication of the phenomenon is the spatial arrangement and effort to convert space into place (Rioux et al., 2017). It has been observed in Nusantara Capital City. Amidst development and infrastructure construction, the forest previously dominated by the jungle is transitioning into a concrete jungle, outlining a new level of importance and significance to the site during these unprecedented times. Nusantara Capital City serves as a microcosm of worldwide urbanization and has played a critical role in converting into a previously remote frontier area. Urbanization is a significant influencer of our connection to a place, driving numerous fundamental changes through physical and natural infrastructures, as well as societal contexts regarding population growth and migration (Yang & Qian, 2022; Ye & Zhuang, 2023). The nearby residents were significantly affected by two of these factors, as demonstrated in the spatial layout shown in Figure 40.



**Figure 40.** Spatial pattern as part of spatial planning. This map shows the spatial configuration as a manifestation of the production and reproduction of space from Nusantara Capital City (Source: Masterplan of Nusantara Capital City, 2023).

The extensive expansion of infrastructure has altered the attachment to space and place, driven by Nusantara Capital City’s infrastructure advancement, which is represented by concrete roads, towering government buildings, and widespread water reservoirs. Meanwhile, migration and spontaneous urbanization will influence place attachment’s social contexts, channeled through cultural and value exchange. The incoming and expanding infrastructure, along with the interactions between settlers and newcomers, facilitate the

flow of materials and capital in the urbanization process of Nusantara Capital City.

This flow impacts the attachment of people to their space and place through various instruments. The first aspect to consider is the Spatial Planning (*Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah*), which is a formal and legal spatial framework designed to oversee the use of space and serve as a blueprint for future urbanization. It is mandated under President Decree Number 64 of 2022. According to Anton and Lawrence (2014), urban and rural residents exhibit distinct place attachments. Urbanization has led to a decline in place attachment, which may weaken residents' connection to their surroundings (Wang et al., 2020; Buchecker & Frick, 2020). In Nusantara Capital City, our informant expressed concerns about how urbanization as a spatial production process could impact their living environment once again.

*“Saya berpikir begini, orang kampung ditaruh di tengah kota gak bakalan hidup... terutama kita kalah di pendidikan. Kedua, pengalaman. Jadi enak yang seperti ini. Pergi ke bun dari suruh kapan waktu pergi jalan. Enak. Tidak ditolong jatuh orang Apalagi tidak ada aturan waktu itu Tidak boleh membakar Wah enak sekali Di tengah kebun Pada gunung masih Pada gunung Karena ada aturan tidak boleh membakar Allahuakbar Kasih penerapan tidak boleh membakar. Tapi tidak diberikan solusi.”* -Informant A, Sepaku.

Informant A underwent two stages of spatial reconfiguration and expressed enjoyment in the middle of his field, demonstrating his connection to the place. This connection

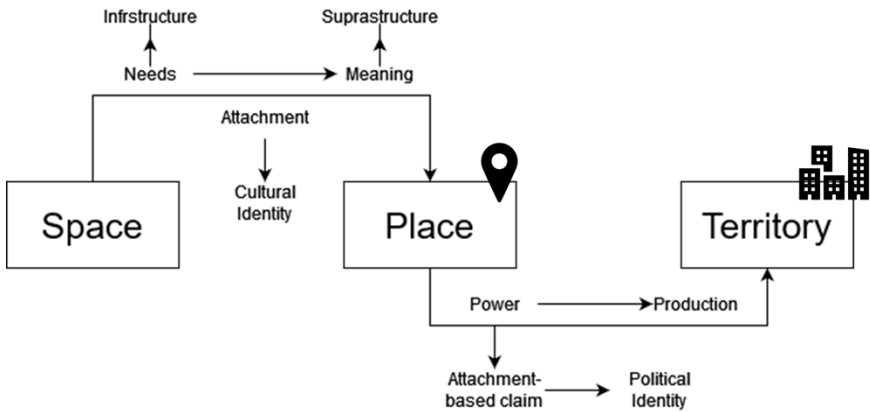
was initially formed after the government imposed a ban on land burning, which he previously used to practice slice-and-burn agriculture, and whenever he spends time in his field. The second time he was doubtful of urbanization, as he worried that rural residents such as himself would not withstand the process due to lack of education and experience. This displays the escalating worries among the public about how urbanization affects their attachment to their surroundings.

#### **4.6. DEBRIEF**

Nusantara Capital City has political consequences due to its impact on the surrounding space and place. Place attachment prevails among all communities and people groups in the area, including the Indigenous of Paser and Balik and the transmigrants, migrants, or ex-transmigrants. Place attachment takes various forms and branches, all flowing in the same direction: human-nature interactions and society's interdependence. Society established *adat* devices to govern land, recognizing its role as the primary mediator between humans and nature.

This cultural exchange, expressed through symbolic and emotional relationships, was subsequently interrupted by the advent of corporations and a mechanistic worldview, resulting in a transformation of the relationship from cultural to political in terms of attachment and identity. The Paser and Balik Peoples have experienced significant shifts in their history. From the colonial era to the present, when Nusantara Capital City looms on their doorstep, investment-based development, land issues, and displacement have become increasingly pressing concerns. From the colonial era to the present, when Nusantara Capital City looms on their doorstep, investment-based development, land issues, and displacement have

become increasingly pressing concerns. From the colonial era to the present, when Nusantara Capital City looms on their doorstep, investment-based development, land issues, and displacement have become increasingly pressing concerns. Figure 41 illustrates these key issues. •



**Figure 41.** Conceptual framework of the politization of place attachment and the transformation of the space to territory.

## **Chapter 5**

# Nusantara Capital City: A City of Investment

**T**HE **INDONESIAN** government has vowed to distribute the costs of building the new capital city among disparate sources to avoid burdening the state budget. Economic considerations serve as the core rationale and objective for Nusantara Capital City. Contributions to finance Nusantara Capital City are expected from foreign and domestic investments alike. The Indonesian government invested in the development of Nusantara Capital City by providing support for its physical aspects, infrastructure, planning, and evaluation processes. The project is estimated to cost a significant 466 trillion Indonesian rupiah.

However, the presence of this investment and its development strategy conflicts with Nusantara Capital City's objective as a center for government administration and function. Investors will inevitably seek returns on their investment, posing a potential risk to the functionality and development process of Nusantara Capital City. This could lead to a merger of state and market, blurring the line between the two and endangering the city's growth. This chapter provides additional perspective on the impact of investment-driven development on Nusantara Capital City and its surrounding community.

### **5.1. NUSANTARA CAPITAL CITY: A CITY OF CONTRAST**

When considering the concept of a "capital city," various

associations may arise depending on one's place of origin. Australians tend to perceive Canberra as a comparably smaller and less densely populated city in contrast to Naypyidaw, where the noticeable infrastructure centers on its roads. On the other hand, visitors to Tokyo will spot towering skyscrapers across the skyline. These instances underscore the dissimilarities among different capital cities. Some of these cities solely function as government offices, while others serve additional purposes. These cities operate exclusively in administrative and bureaucratic sectors. Other cities showcase national pride with grandiose and awe-inspiring structures, like palaces, statues, and symbols. These capital cities embody architecture and urban planning. Additional countries use their capital cities as economic centers.

Jakarta, the present-day capital of Indonesia, is a vibrant metropolis that meets diverse needs. It has evolved from a bustling port city to a megacity, functioning as the hub of governmental operations, backed by diplomatic envoys. Jakarta serves as the political nucleus of Indonesia, encapsulating its principles and hopes. Not until 1999, with the introduction of regional autonomy through decentralization, did the policy turn towards regional administrations. At that time, a new policy was introduced in Jakarta and subsequently implemented. As a result, Indonesia formally adopted the term 'central government' or *Pemerintah Pusat*, which has been in use ever since.

Indonesia previously had a flamboyant leader, Soekarno, who considered Jakarta to be the capital city during his reign and acclaimed an archaic system as a source of national pride. As a civil engineer, he took inspiration from Eastern European city architecture and erected several remarkable statues to symbolize Indonesia's rising power. When in Jakarta, you can



witness the National Monument (*Monumen Nasional*) and the Welcome Statue (*Patung Selamat Datang*), among other notable structures. The vision of the late Indonesian leader for the city represents his aim for global freedom and independence. The observation of sculptures can provide valuable insight into his dream. This instance highlights how Indonesian leaders envision the capital.

Jakarta plays a crucial role in the nation's economy with its prominent business district, one of the largest in the region. The city serves as a hub for businesses at various levels, aiding start-ups, unicorns, and established firms. It houses the headquarters of numerous transnational corporations and companies. Tangerang, Bekasi, Cikarang, and Karawang are a few of the industrial zones in Jakarta that offer substantial support to these corporations. Despite the previously outlined functions, Jakarta still requires attention due to persistent issues. The government aims to address these problems by replacing Jakarta with Nusantara City. Although the vision is clear, there is a lack of alignment between current concepts and implementations.

During the two-year preparation period, Nusantara Capital City was planned to function as the government center and a harmonious utopia that integrates livelihood, well-being, technology, nature, and economic growth in one area. Nusantara Capital City aims to go beyond being just a growth pole by transforming into a super region capable of holding multiple events simultaneously.

The government is relocating almost all of Jakarta's functions to Nusantara Capital City to enhance efficiency. However, a detailed examination shows that this restructuring will have significant political and economic implications for the state-market relationship. This move also signifies the

country's aspirations and has stimulated discussions about Nusantara Capital City being a "city of contrasts."

## 5.2. POLITICAL ECONOMY CONSEQUENCE

Investors typically seek financial gains from their capital investments, a basic principle even non-investors understand. Examining the Nusantara Capital City project from an investment standpoint, it is crucial to ask how investors will achieve their desired profits. Pursuing Nusantara Capital City development through an investment scheme presents both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the development of Nusantara Capital City seems cost-effective for the country. However, concerns have been raised regarding potential profits for investors. Discussing the financial benefits of this hub for service activities and facilities appears infeasible. In his welcoming speech during a visit to Nusantara Capital City on September 21, 2023, President Joko Widodo expressed his support for the potential return on investment sought by investors.

*"Beliau-beliau ini kan orang yang sangat-sangat sibuk. Mau jauh-jauh kesini pasti juga mau nonton beneran gak sih Nusantara ini. Bagus gak sih Nusantara ini. Pasti akan memastikan itu. Dan gak mungkin beliau-beliau ini mau memulai dengan 20 triliun kalau gak ada cuannya. Dipikir beliau-beliau ini lembaga sosial, bukan. Menanamkan, datang menanamkan modalnya pasti akan mencari keuntungan sebesar-besarnya dan itu wajar. (They are very, very busy people. If they want to come all the way here, they definitely want to see if this Nusantara is really good or not. Is this Nusantara good? They will make sure, and there's no way these guys want to start with 20 trillion if they don't have money. You think this is a social institution, right? Investing, coming to invest capital will seek maximum profit, and that's normal.)"* -Joko Widodo.

The Nusantara Capital City bears the responsibility of catering to the entire community, with no consideration for any possible gains. Objectivity is a requisite for the center's service provisions and amenities owing to its obligations as a governmental entity. Referring to the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 23 Year 2014 concerning Regional Government and the Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 2 Year 2018 concerning Minimum Service Standards, the government is responsible for providing fundamental services to citizens. Basic government services encompass education, healthcare, infrastructure and spatial planning, public housing and residential area maintenance, peacekeeping, community protection, and social protection. In contrast, non-basic government functions cover areas unrelated to these services, such as food, employment, land, and the environment. The investment scheme targeting the development of Nusantara Capital City has elicited concerns regarding potential disruption or modification to its ability to function as a service center. It is important to acknowledge that the government bears a responsibility to fulfill its commitments made to the investors who aided in the realization of the new capital city. Although the government is not required to promptly provide benefits, investing in the development of Nusantara Capital City diverts excess capital to prevent over-accumulation. Failing to transfer surplus capital may lead to asset devaluation and a regional recession (Harvey, 2004).

Most services provided by the Indonesian government do not prioritize citizens' benefits. Despite certain sub-institutions focusing on this aspect, government interference still affects service delivery. For example, the government offers subsidies or comparable aid to institutions providing

basic services. Furthermore, in almost every aspect of life, the Indonesian government provides subsidies, including various forms of government intervention within a singular field. In the healthcare sector, the National Health Insurance program, BPJS Health, is available. Additionally, subsidies are available for the National Employment Insurance program and Pre-Employment Cards within the employment sector. The education sector offers subsidies through the School Operational Assistance and the Smart Indonesia Program. The social sector provides various forms of assistance, including the Family Hope Program (PKH) and the Social Protection Card (KPS). Subsidies are available for fuel, LPG, and electricity within the energy sector and for food within the food sector in Indonesia. It is arguable that Indonesian citizens are familiar with diverse types of governmental subsidies and aid.

In relation to the development of Nusantara Capital City, various service components have been established utilizing investment strategies. These services involve the construction of international schools in the education sector, the development of hospitals that meet international standards in the health sector, the construction of roads, housing, and offices, as well as specific areas, such as tourist spots, in the public works and spatial planning field. Furthermore, there will be efforts to develop renewable energy and manage waste in the energy sector. The government has provided most of these services, but Nusantara Capital City employs state assets, while the private sector mostly provides and develops the necessary services. An objective evaluation of these services indicates that involving the private sector implies increased efficiency in their delivery.

As previously stated, there is a concern about the investment schemes in developing Nusantara Capital City, as it

could lead to reduced or eliminated nonprofit services by fully transferring the service function to market mechanisms - a form of privatization. Privatization involves selling public assets or natural resources, wholly or partially, to private entities by the government. This could potentially result in a business monopoly. Access to public services will become increasingly challenging due to the privatization of previously government-managed services. This will shock communities and individuals who depend on subsidies and government assistance.

The shift towards privatization will gradually transform Indonesia's mixed socio-economic system. If privatization does occur, it may foster a transition to a capitalist socio-economic system with possible implications for economic inequality. Although there exist mixed socio-economic systems, substantial economic disparities persist, especially with complete capitalism implementation. Adopting a capitalist model also poses a risk of worsening poverty levels.

### **5.3. POLITICAL ECOLOGY CONSEQUENCE: POLLUTION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION IN BALIKPAPAN BAY**

The concepts of a forest city and green city in the development of Nusantara Capital City seem to conflict with the investment ideology promoted by the government. Prioritizing environmental sustainability with these concepts could lead to increased environmental damage in the region due to investments supporting Nusantara Capital City's development. Additionally, the Balikpapan Bay aquatic environment must also receive attention along with the terrestrial environment.

Currently, Balikpapan Bay serves as a vital sea route for container ships, facilitating logistics crucial to the development of Nusantara Capital City. In the future, Balikpapan Bay

is expected to serve as a key access point to the Nusantara Capital City region. Prior to becoming a sea transportation route, Balikpapan Bay was an ecosystem that offered habitat to an array of flora and fauna. Currently, Balikpapan Bay is home to diverse protected and endangered species, such as the Proboscis Monkey (*Nasalis Larvatus*), Coastal Porpoise (*Orcaella brevirostris*), Dugong (*Dugong dugon*), Green Turtle (*Chelonia mydas*), and Crocodile (*Crocodylus sp*).

The sustainability of the ecosystem and survival of endangered animals are threatened by the rise of ship traffic activities within the bay. The development of industrial areas in Balikpapan Bay, specifically the Kariangau and Buluminung Industrial Areas, exacerbates environmental threats in the bay. The increasing activities have intensified environmental damage in the area. Ignoring environmental concerns in various projects to support the new capital city in Balikpapan Bay is likely to lead to further deterioration of the situation.



**Figure 42.** The state of Balikpapan Bay. In the distance is the Pulau Balang Bridge, which will connect Balikpapan to the capital of Nusantara via a toll road. (Photo Credit: Maulidia Savira Chairani, 2023)

The upcoming Balikpapan Bay developments aim to improve accessibility to the Nusantara Capital City region. These developments encompass the Balang Island Bridge, the Balikpapan-Nusantara Toll Road, and the Indonesian Navy Base. Nevertheless, these endeavors could impair the ecology of Balikpapan Bay, comprising the habitats of Balang Island and the mangroves. Numerous species inhabit this ecosystem, including the hornbill, an endangered bird species that is protected in Indonesia. *Bucerotidae* is the scientific name for this species.

Sustainability challenges for the Balikpapan Bay ecosystem arise not only from activities within the bay, but also from the rivers that flow into it. The bay is an estuary formed by multiple rivers originating in East Kalimantan, specifically in Kutai Kartanegara Regency, Penajam Paser Utara Regency, and Balikpapan City. Several rivers intersect the area of the Nusantara Capital City. There is concern that increased activity could worsen the ecological harm to the rivers, ultimately affecting the Balikpapan Bay ecosystem. Moreover, efforts are underway to execute a river regularization initiative in the Nusantara Capital City region, aimed at enhancing river flow and mitigating, if not averting, flood-related calamities. Although the normalization process is expected to reduce the probability of flooding, its implementation encounters public opposition due to its potential adverse effects on the nipa palm ecosystem along the river. The nipah palm ecosystem constitutes a crucial habitat for diverse species, including shrimp, and its destruction could result in the disappearance of shrimp in the region. Shrimp is amongst the captured fisheries commodities in this area. River normalization can result in an increase in sediment buildup in Balikpapan Bay, which can have a detrimental effect on the local ecosystem.



**Figure 43.** Mangrove and Nipah ecosystem at the river estuary of Balikpapan Bay (Photo Credit: Muhammad Yuda Aditya, 2023).

The damage to Balikpapan Bay will have an impact on the environment and the socio-economic wellbeing of society. Balikpapan Bay is a habitat for many fish species and a vital source of livelihood for the local community. The destruction of the ecosystem in the bay will harm the community's source of income. Collaborative efforts are necessary among multiple parties to ensure the sustainability of Balikpapan Bay and prevent further damage. Intensive government supervision and public-private sector awareness are key to maintaining Balikpapan Bay. However, it ultimately falls on the relevant parties to work together to preserve the bay and reap its benefits for a longer period.

The destruction of Balikpapan Bay's ecosystem will negatively affect the environment and socio-economic welfare of the community. Balikpapan Bay serves as a crucial habitat for various fish species and provides a vital source of income for the locals. Hence, any damage to the ecosystem will adversely affect the community's source of livelihood.



Collaboration between multiple parties is necessary to ensure the sustainability of Balikpapan Bay and prevent further harm. Maintaining the bay requires vigilant government supervision and public-private sector awareness. However, it is ultimately up to the relevant stakeholders to work together to protect the bay and reap its benefits for an extended period of time.

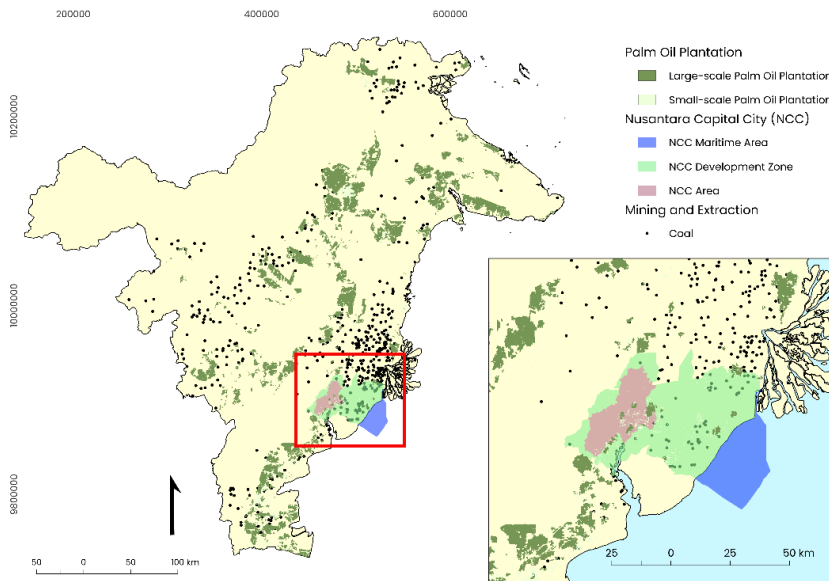
#### **5.4. LARGE-SCALE AND MICRO-SCALE INVESTMENT (FROM GLOBAL TO LOCAL)**

Nusantara Capital City is a transformational venture for the local community due to its immense size and the consequent government and national investment. The project has gained international attention, although its progress at a smaller scale is also attributed to the tireless work of many individuals behind the scenes. The government has pledged that Nusantara Capital City will mainly utilize private sector investments as the primary source of funding, with state-owned businesses as secondary. The government will provide a backup plan in the event of any changes and play a supportive role.

It is expected that investors will be drawn to this project and contribute substantial funds for mutual benefit. This strategy has become customary for development during the Joko Widodo administration. Investments are seen as the primary stimulus for advancing the development agenda. Furthermore, the city of Nusantara Capital has the potential to allure investors, as Kalimantan Timur Province is affluent and underpinned by a high-profit oil and gas industry. Additionally, it is abundant in coal, often referred to as black gold, which bolsters the industrial sector. The government plans to establish a dedicated industry in the petrochemical sub-sector, which is a reasonable foundation. Kalimantan Timur Province has abundant palm oil plantations that generate an infinite supply of Crude Palm

Oil and its various derivatives, in addition to oil and gas being the primary components. Furthermore, palm oil is a crucial commodity globally, with a demand for it and related products in every corner of the world.

Kuncoro and Pratiwi (2017) note that Kalimantan Timur Province is reliant on three primary sectors: mining and excavation, trading and services, and the processing industry. They further state that nearly all the regencies and cities in Kalimantan Timur Province rank in the high quadrant for Gross Regional Product per capita compared to other administrative regions. Kalimantan Timur Province has three growth triangle axes for regional development. BONSA SEMAWA, TANRE MAWA, and PANDARONG form a triangle axis in which the Nusantara Capital City is situated.



**Figure 44.** Coal resources and palm oil plantations throughout the province of Kalimantan Timur. Note that the coals are aggregated in the northern area of the Nusantara Capital and concentrated in the Mahakam Delta. (Data Sources: Global Palm Oil Plantation (Descals, et al., 2021), Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources Geoportal (<https://geoportal.esdm.go.id/minerba/>))

The aim of establishing a new capital city at the center of the growth triangle axis is to promote regional economic growth through the concept of three-cities (*tri-kota*) (Saputra et al., 2022). With its strategic location positioned between the two economic epicenters of Samarinda and Balikpapan City, Nusantara Capital City is well-positioned to become a new growth center for the region. The relocation of the capital city is expected to stimulate economic growth in the eastern part of Indonesia, a desired objective of the government.

Kalimantan Timur Province is poised to become the most prosperous region based on its abundant energy resources, vast land, capable workforce, highly skilled human resources, and efficient institutions. Additionally, the region is strategically located along international trade routes that connect Asia, the current global economic powerhouse, to the rest of the world. The area lacks the necessary leverage to allow economic growth to gain momentum, attracting profits and revenues along its path. Therefore, the Nusantara Capital City project was warmly received in order to compensate for the deficiency. Imagine the advantages of having the capital city nearby, which would enhance investment rates and fulfill regional interests.

The natural resources in Kalimantan Timur are abundant, but poverty remains a significant problem in this province. More than 236 thousand individuals fall below the poverty line, revealing the extent of the challenge. The challenging tropical forest landscape worsens the long-standing impoverishment in distant areas where people face issues such as insufficient sanitation, limited public amenities, and a lack of access to basic government services such as healthcare and education. This trend may stem from a surplus of resources at the local level.

The Indonesian Government, under the leadership of its president, is promoting the Nusantara Capital City through a

roadshow across various countries and inviting investments. Despite some investors' hesitation, the potential for international investments is considerable. Investment is poised to play a vital role in the city's development, which requires careful oversight.

According to the Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia's official website, the construction of Nusantara Capital City requires a minimum investment capital of IDR 466 trillion, as premeditated by the Indonesian Government. The funding for the development of Nusantara Capital City is divided into three parts: the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN) totaling IDR 90.4 trillion, business and private entities totaling IDR 123.2 trillion, and Government and Business Entity Cooperation (KPBU) amounting to IDR 252.5 trillion. As of now, the private sector has invested IDR 20 trillion towards the development of Nusantara Capital City, with a specific focus on the entertainment sector. Meanwhile, Sri Mulyani, the Minister of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia, reported at the September 2023 APBN Press Conference that the development of Nusantara Capital City has received funding of IDR 6.4 trillion from APBN, with IDR 4.7 trillion being allocated to infrastructure clusters and IDR 1.6 trillion spent on non-infrastructure clusters.



**Figure 45.** (a) dan (b) Infrastruktur development projects in the Nusantara Capital City (Photo credit: Afifah Neneng Nuraini and Muhammad Yuda Aditya, 2023)

Investment in the development of Nusantara Capital City occurs not only at the macro level, but also at lower levels. On closer examination of these lower levels, a distinct style of investment that fuels economic activity is evident: investment by local investors. Since the public introduction of Nusantara Capital City, local investment has become increasingly prominent. The government's compensation funds for land usage in the new capital city are seen as a means for a fresh start in the lives of Kelurahan Sepaku residents. The compensation presents an opportunity for Kelurahan Sepaku residents to start anew. Despite having the funds, they lack land. Where will the money be allocated? Will it fund Nusantara Capital City-related projects? Financial illiteracy creates a dilemma. Perspectives on the value of land differ. Some view it as an investment opportunity, while others see it as a crucial resource for survival. Some regard it as insignificant compared to the sense of ownership.

People who are attached to their land and view it as a valuable investment may use the profits from its sale to buy land elsewhere, either within their homeland or abroad. The enduring attachment of the locals to their land and their preference for extensive landholdings may cause this. Local level land transfers could act as an indirect trigger for investment activities and the acquisition of new land. The acquisition of land in their homeland stimulates additional land purchases, increased monetary circulation, and investment undertakings.

What are the investment prospects in Nusantara Capital City? The local investors are viewing it as a new opportunity and have turned the Sepaku-Pemaluan corridor into a prime site for investment. As a result, numerous businesses such as restaurants, accommodations, rentals, laundry services, and

entertainment venues have flourished along this corridor, leading to a surge in financial activity. Not all developing businesses in Nusantara Capital City are owned by individuals who received land compensation. Some investments come from businesspeople with significant capital and financial literacy, who view the city as a business opportunity.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

**Figure 46.** Local business/investment in Sepaku: (a) and (b) Shop Business; (c) Food Stall Business; (d) Laundry (Photo Credit: Putri Khoirunisa, 2023)

Not all of the funds collected as land compensation have been invested by the local population. Instead, a portion of the funds has been distributed to their families as inheritance. Furthermore, due to low literacy rates and confusion among community members caused by the sudden acquisition of

land for Nusantara Capital City, some individuals are hesitant to make any progress towards investment. Investment by local communities was not always systematically planned and executed.

The movement of local investment occurs in Nusantara Capital City and its surrounding buffer zone. For example, two areas serving as buffer zones for food supply and industrial activity are Babulu Darat, located approximately 60.27 miles south of the new capital, and Muara Jawa Ulu, located approximately 56.54 miles north of the capital. It should be noted that investment in these regions occurred before the plan to relocate the capital to East Kalimantan. Prior to being selected as the site for Nusantara Capital City, Sepaku was less developed than Babulu Darat and Muara Jawa Ulu. However, it is now experiencing a rise in local investment.

The increase in regional investment in Babulu Darat and Muara Jawa Ulu transpired after corporate establishment in both areas. The boost in local investment in Babulu Darat can be attributed to the impact of three companies that specialize in oil palm plantation, specifically, PT Sukses Tani Nusasubur (STN), founded in 1990, PT Gawi Makmur Kalimantan (GMK), founded in 2005, and PT Sumber Bunga Sawit Lestari (SBSL), founded in 2012. On the one hand, Babulu Darat boasts strategic positioning with excellent accessibility, making it a key asset. This advantageous location was a major factor in the area's development, as it sits adjacent to the wide and smooth National Road. As a result of this growth, the vicinity of Babulu Darat now extends along the road leading to the capital of Penajam Paser Utara Regency. As a result, the region underwent considerable progress and received several local investments.



**Figure 47.** One of the palm oil processing plants in Desa Babulu Darat (Photo Credit: Resty Annisa Kusnadi, 2023)

The community views the prevailing conditions in Babulu Darat as strategic and profitable. Thus, residents have initiated businesses to meet diverse needs arising from the situation. In response to the creation of the Kalimantan National Road, which connects different regions on the island of Kalimantan, individuals established an array of businesses along the route, including food stalls, lodging, coffee shops, repair shops, car washes, and other establishments that offer essential services potentially required by road users. Meanwhile, in response to the establishment of palm oil factories and plantations, individuals-initiated businesses related to plantation activities, including stores for agricultural equipment and medicinal plants, as well as truck rental services for the transportation of harvested palm oil. Some people also established small roadside stalls that offered food and beverages and a resting



place for plantation workers. These stalls are typically found in areas surrounding the factories or on roads leading to the factories.

The community perceives the current circumstances in Babulu Darat as beneficial and advantageous. Accordingly, local inhabitants have established enterprises that cater to the varied demands brought about by the situation. Following the establishment of the Kalimantan National Road, connecting various regions on the island of Kalimantan, a range of businesses have been established along the route. These include food stalls, lodging, coffee shops, repair shops, car washes, and other establishments offering essential services that may be required by road users. The businesses have potentially been created to serve the needs of drivers, passengers, and others who utilize the new road. The businesses established along this route aim to support local economic growth and provide an avenue for convenient road travel. Meanwhile, in reaction to the creation of palm oil factories and plantations, individuals began starting businesses focused on plantation activities. These included establishments for buying agricultural equipment and medicinal plants, as well as services for renting trucks to transport harvested palm oil. Additionally, some individuals opened small roadside stands that offered food and beverages, as well as a resting area for plantation workers. These stands are commonly located in the vicinity of factories or on thoroughfares leading to them.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

**Figure 48.** Local business/investment in Babulu: (a) Truck and Car Washing; (b) Agricultural Tools and Materials Shop; (c) Grocery Store; (d) Food Stall (Photo Credit: Dhia Aufa Salsabila and Muhammad Yuda Aditya, 2023)

The growth of local investment in Babulu Darat is evidenced by the increasing number and variety of businesses established by the community. This range of businesses offers a diverse set of goods and services and includes micro, small, and medium-sized enterprises. The range of goods and services in Babulu includes food stalls, accommodations, rented or boarding homes, workshops, laundry services, vehicle wash facilities, food processing, and beauty salons. The

introduction of Nusantara Capital City did not affect local investments in Babulu; however, land prices have significantly increased, prompting many individuals to sell their land primarily in the form of plots. Some individuals have obtained land for future investment purposes. This aligns with statements made by various sectors indicating that acquiring land was important for their upcoming business or housing needs. Investing in real estate is also viewed as low risk since property demand consistently increases its value. Consequently, the establishment of Nusantara Capital City has raised public awareness regarding the importance of future investments.

Most of the companies in the Muara Jawa region operate in the oil, natural gas, and coal mining industries, with oil and gas companies taking the lead in promoting local investment growth. With the commencement of operations in the region, there has been a rapid emergence of local investment within the Muara Jawa areas, including Muara Jawa Ulu, Muara Jawa Pesisir, and Dondang. The oil and gas sectors are particularly dominant, driving the growth of local investments in the region. Two prominent players in the oil and gas industry, Pertamina Hulu Mahakam (PHM) and Pertamina Hulu Sanga-Sanga (PHSS), are playing a crucial role in fostering investment and promoting development in the area of Muara Jawa Ulu.

Muara Jawa Ulu plays a significant role as a transportation hub in the Muara Jawa District since it is located along the National Road, the primary connection route between provinces on Kalimantan Island. As the administrative capital of Kutai Kartanegara Regency, Muara Jawa Ulu holds immense importance. Since the construction of the Dondang Bridge, which connects the region of Muara Jawa Ulu with Samarinda City, accessibility to this area has significantly

increased. As a result, economic activity in Muara Jawa Ulu - one of the major hubs of economic growth in East Kalimantan - has also increased.



**Figure 49.** An oil and gas company in Muara Jawa (Photo credit: Putri Khoirunisa, 2023)

Residents of Muara Jawa, especially those in the Muara Jawa Ulu and Muara Jawa Pesisir sub-districts, have noted that the influx of immigrants to the area is due to the presence of companies and construction of bridges. These newcomers are viewed as potentially beneficial to the local economy by increasing economic activity. To address the influx of corporations, the Muara Jawa community founded businesses that offer essential services to employees, including rented housing, boarding facilities, laundry services, and food kiosks. Furthermore, responding to the presence of the bridge and National Road, Muara Jawa residents established a variety of businesses that cater to the needs of road users. These businesses resemble those in the Babulu Darat region, such as food stalls, lodgings, coffee shops, workshops, and car-washing services.



**Figure 50.** Local business/investment in Muara Jawa: Laundry business (Photo credit: Dewi Setianingsih, 2023)

The presence of Nusantara Capital City appears to have little impact on the feasibility of local investments in Muara Jawa. However, the significant increase in land prices is worth noting. To prevent monopolization from certain entities known as the “land mafia,” a pause on land transactions was put in place in Muara Jawa. Nonetheless, there is an increasing eagerness among both locals and outsiders to invest in land in the area. Muara Jawa has been designated as a hub for industry and fisheries to bolster the Nusantara Capital City, anticipating significant growth that will foster both large and small-scale investments.

The investment momentum in various regions of Nusantara Capital City is nearly identical, signifying an upsurge in public awareness about investing in tangible assets, primarily land.

Land is a crucial asset as it serves as the underlying capital to launch businesses and as a foundation to build homes. The policy has significant implications for prospective buyers and sellers, as well as for the overall economy. However, the government has implemented a moratorium on buying and selling land in multiple regions. This policy is subject to several laws and regulations, including Regent Regulation Number 22 Year 2019 of Penajam Paser Utara, which concerns the supervision and control of land sale, purchase transactions, and transfer of land rights. Additionally, Governor Regulation of East Kalimantan Number 6 Year 2020 on Control of Transition is also applicable. Land Use and Licensing in the National Capital and Buffer Zones Candidate Area, and the Circular Letter from the East Kalimantan Regional Office of the National Land Agency (BPN) on Land Sale and Purchase Restrictions in the Nusantara Capital City Area. The regulations are overseen by three governmental entities, underscoring the importance of land management. Despite these efforts, land disputes continue to be widespread.

Simultaneously with the emergence of these regulations, certain allegations have surfaced. The initial suspicion is that the government seeks to impede land control by the land mafia. Consequently, the transfer of land ownership from local residents to external parties outside of Nusantara Capital City will be prevented, thereby mitigating gentrification. The second allegation posits that the government wields dominance over land control. The government can regulate land ownership in the Nusantara Capital City area more easily with these regulations, making land annexation for future development simpler. However, inadequate land management may result in gentrification, which displaces people.

Gentrification refers to the relocation of inhabitants to areas

where they feel more comfortable with their surroundings (Cohen & Billig, 2021, 2021; Elliot-Cooper, 2021). In Nusantara Capital City, the buying and selling of real estate may trigger gentrification. Adaptability, education, future job prospects, investment opportunities, and living arrangements are among the factors that are thought to impact land transactions. Typically, individuals who sell their land and make a profit tend to experience an improved standard of living, while those who are unable to sell their land may feel trapped and encounter additional challenges. Furthermore, some individuals may be dissatisfied with their current environment and choose to relocate to other areas. Consequently, the displacement of individuals transpires when they are compelled to move, whereas gentrification emerges due to increased investment, resulting in higher land and property values.

It is crucial to consider that land transactions can heavily impact gentrification. Large land plots and property sales can cause local displacement. Difficulties arise when individuals have trouble adjusting to the new living standards, educational opportunities, and job prospects within the area. In certain instances, relocation may be chosen by individuals who are unable to adjust to changes, leading to the emergence of gentrification. In this regard, land transactions can pose a substantial hazard for local populations lacking bargaining prowess throughout such procedures. Upon selling their land, persons without financial management skills may encounter unregulated expenditures.

Displacement stands out as a notable issue for residents of Babulu Darat, in conjunction with gentrification. Individuals without land titles or certificates are particularly susceptible to forced displacement, as they lack proof of ownership. Individuals without land titles or certificates are particularly

susceptible to forced displacement, as they lack proof of ownership. Nevertheless, investments in these types of properties can lead to unexpected liabilities and concerns. Opportunistic buyers can exploit this vulnerability to pressure these individuals into relinquishing their property. In addition, local residents may advertise and sell land without proper legal documentation, creating an opportunity for others to make purchases. •



## Chapter 6

# You Sign You Lose Challenge: Investment and Land Grabbing in the Nusantara Capital City

**A**ROUND the time that Penajam Pase Utara was announced as the new capital city, land prices significantly increased due to speculation by brokers and land speculators. These intermediaries encroached on the new capital city area to acquire land ownership and benefit from the chance to make a profit. Speculation may seem like a common occurrence when planning a massive project. The larger the project, the more revenue and profit can be generated around it. The government indicated the necessity of taking action to regulate land transactions, with the objective of safeguarding land assets and preserving the land ownership rights of the public. The provincial government of Kalimantan Timur was the first to enact this effort, issuing Governor Regulation Number 6 Year 2020, which aimed to regulate land transactions in the core and development zones of Nusantara Capital City. Following this, Presidential Decree Number 65 Year 2022 was put into effect.

Despite government regulations at all levels, there continue to be loopholes that lead to land violations. The uncertainty around land ownership during illegal land transactions further prohibits Indigenous communities from participating in land clearance efforts. With the establishment of the capital

city, there is an opportunity for Indigenous communities to voice their concerns about their land status. For a significant amount of time, the governing body designated the land as an Industrial Forest in the regional spatial plan rather than an *Area Penggunaan Lain (non-forest estate)*. Consequently, the indigenous populace had their land ownership stripped away and have resided in the unoccupied zone for numerous years. The arrival of several investors marked the commencement of the land rush period in Nusantara Capital City. From an objective investment perspective, it appears that the rapid decision-making process involved in the construction of the new city was motivated by investors. The overaccumulation of capital and potential land grabbing resulting from investment activities have had significant negative impacts on indigenous communities, who have repeatedly suffered on their own lands. It is clear that this development was driven purely by investors.

In Sepaku District, residents often recite the phrase “no one can fight the country today” in discussions concerning land. Heavy vehicles passed through for a 24-hour period a few days before Indonesia celebrated its 78th Independence Day in 2023. The proposed relocation of the nation’s capital was a topic of discussion during this time, and the progression of development became more evident. The new capital city was constructed with the goal of being finalized in time for the Independence Day ceremony in 2024. It was a pleasant experience to celebrate Independence Day, which had a unique atmosphere compared to previous years. The deteriorating roads have made the area unappealing, even for pedestrians. Sepaku, a once-underdeveloped area, is a frequent destination for plantation workers from various regions in Indonesia. However, it resembles Radiator Spring from the movie

“Cars.” The presence of a ferry port connecting Balikpapan and Penajam can enhance the efficiency of transportation for residents in both regions, reducing travel distance compared to road-based modes.

Sepaku District’s land is mostly covered by forests, with no private land ownership, only the right to cultivate gardens, rice paddies, or residences. The forestry industry is the primary economic driver of this area. The presence of the company has resulted in an influx of migrants and assimilation of local laborers. Previously, the Balik Tribe was a community of forest encroachers who engaged in swidden agriculture. In due course, clearing land has become a customary practice to acquire fertile land. The method they use to clear new land involves setting fire to forests. As a result, the land they once cultivated was not abandoned.

The Balik people consider land as communal property, with no institution having previously regulated usage limits. At a certain level, any individual could encroach upon forests, clear lands, and claim them as their own. The enactment of regional and agrarian laws, along with the presence of various actors, has shifted the customary agreements that had existed for generations. According to previous research, various development activities in Sepaku, including the forest industry, transmigration programs, and current development of Nusantara Capital City, have altered the social and cultural landscape of indigenous people, including their customary agreements (Saputra et al., 2022).

Nearly all of these changes have resulted in conflicts related to land use. The passing of land and forestry laws that favored parties beyond the indigenous population, the influx of multiple stakeholders, and the large and prolonged migration either corresponded or conflicted with customary

land management practices of the native communities. The discrepancies concerning land utilization depended on when the stakeholders arrived, shaping acquisition challenges for constructing the new capital city. The development of Nusantara Capital City impacted not only the Balik tribe but also all local communities in Sepaku. The Balik tribe's identity has led to their resistance to various land-based development activities. Therefore, to address the issue of land disputes in and around the Nusantara Capital City areas, it is essential to consider the narrative of development initiatives and their interplay with the indigenous communities.

Forest areas restrict the activities and rights of indigenous communities on the land. As per laws and regulations, forest areas serve a protective function and are owned by the government, hence not recognizing any land ownership rights. Nonetheless, many local communities have ownership of numerous pieces of land that are either wholly or partially included in the forest areas of Nusantara Capital City. Land owned by local communities that coincides with forest zones is considered illegal.

Research has shown that land grabbing is often carried out outside of governmental channels and sometimes with legal justification. Land grabbing has been associated with various activities such as constructing new urban centres and expansive agricultural schemes. According to Zoomers et al. (2017), foreign investment is a cause of land grabbing in Global South countries. This phenomenon highlights an unequal relationship with developed nations.

Investment-based economic growth is a common strategy in many countries in the Global South, including Indonesia. Indonesia has developed numerous partnerships with investors to drive growth in the industrial and plantation sectors,

including through the establishment of processing plants and other similar endeavors. The expansion of new capital city activities into the tourism sector through the framework of a strategic economic area has raised several concerns for the local communities. Furthermore, the development of the tourism area in rural areas that are predominantly forested or agricultural has led to questions about potential evictions or relocations of local communities.

Investors could not wait for a lengthy regulatory process, leading to the development of procedures that allow immediate project commencement. Despite ongoing debates and implementation challenges, the Indonesian Government's omnibus law, dubbed the job creation bill, demonstrates a commitment to accelerating foreign investment.

Could the adjustments to these regulations potentially support land grabbing? Indonesian positive law on land acquisition considers land ownership rights and state interests. Land acquisition for the state's benefit can be done by central and regional governments. If a development location overlaps with community land, land acquisition will be conducted according to existing regulations. Currently, land compensation has a positive impact on the community as the assessed land price is higher than the market value. Thus, compensation benefits society rather than causing harm.

Rijanta et al. (2020) demonstrate that individuals whose lands are potentially affected by a government project are anticipating land compensation. The research indicates that the acquisition of land in Yogyakarta for building an international airport has resulted in the conversion of vast agricultural land into an airport infrastructure. Unfortunately, some farmers who relied on agricultural land as their primary source of income were compensated.

The situation is worsening for those who formerly worked in agriculture, as they were unable to effectively use their compensation funds. As a result, they are now facing a lack of livelihood. Unless these individuals possess sufficient knowledge and management skills regarding their finances, this problem shall persist.

Could Nusantara Capital City development result in similar problems? It is premature to consider this possibility at present since only three development projects have acquired land. These include the Government Center Core Area (KIPP), Sepaku-Semioi Dam, and Sepaku Intake, with two of these primarily clearing forested areas. However, upon closer examination, possible land disputes may arise owing to the proximity of several towns in Sepaku District that are fully or partially adjacent to forested areas.

Forested regions dominate the space in East Kalimantan Province. According to the regional function map of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry, the province is primarily made up of production forests, covering 23.37% of the area, protected forests covering 14.38%, and other areas designated for utilization covering 34.62%. The areas designated for other purposes are mainly situated in the administrative cities of Balikpapan and Samarinda, with a longitudinal alignment along the primary road connecting these cities to the new capital.

The undeniable fact is that the forestry industry has significantly contributed to the growth of the East Kalimantan regions. As discussed earlier, Sepaku became the site of the forest product logging industry (SITA) and was successful in attracting workers from beyond the island of Kalimantan. Currently, it has transformed into industrial forest plantations (IHM) and continues to be a robust driving force for the

economy of East Kalimantan, particularly Penajam Paser Utara.

Thus, will individuals whose livelihood relies on land that overlaps with forest be compensated for any land acquisitions? The mentioned cases will serve as a reference for future land acquisitions by the community. This book presents potential instances of land grabbing and ownership conflicts resulting from various ongoing development processes.

## **6.1. POTENTIAL LAND GRABBING THROUGH FOREST INDUSTRY**

Industrial plantation forests began after PT ITCI concluded its logging industry. PT IHM (ITCI Hutani Manunggal) operates as a company in the industrial forest plantation sector. PT IHM has recruited workers from outside East Kalimantan and provided accommodation for them in Sepaku. Most of their workers are from South Sulawesi. Kelurahan Sepaku was formerly the site of Sita camp, a forest logging company before ITCI. Nowadays, Sepaku is referred to as Sita Lama or Sepaku Lama. The presence of multiple companies has fostered cultural diversity in Sepaku, with residents including Balik and Paser people, Javanese, and Bugis.

### **6.1.1. Boundary of industrial forest**

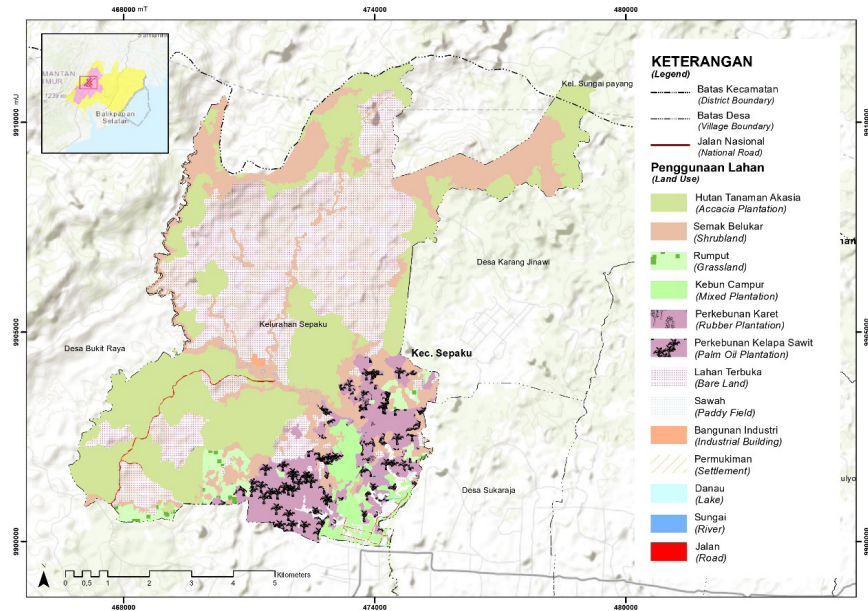
Based on the map of the area function, almost the entirety of Kelurahan Sepaku overlaps with forested regions. Only a few areas located along the National Road have been designated for other purposes. In actuality, the areas that have been designated as forests are not entirely covered by forest but are also used for residential and agricultural purposes for the local communities. Despite changes in land cover or land use, these areas are still legally classified as part of the forest region. As a result, the land ownership remains unrecognized.

Previously, the local population inhabited forested regions, while workers lived and worked in logging camps. When the logging industry transitioned to industrial plantations, the forested domain limits were redefined. The new border encompasses agricultural lands and community plantations, producing significant consequences. Although the boundary demarcation did not incorporate residential zones, local communities voiced their grievances about the shrinkage of their agricultural land and the ban on managing their prior land within the forest areas. These circumstances compelled them to conduct farming activities continually. Interestingly, the industrial plantation forest area does not encompass the entire forest area in operation. However, the concession area's status aligns with the central government's determination, which entails covering land that was previously cultivated by local communities.

What impact does the industrial plantation forest have on society? Kelurahan Sepaku covers an area of 6,783.02 hectares, yet approximately 89.05% of this area is dedicated to industrial plantation forest. This forest area serves as a hindrance that restricts the growth of local community settlements. The area's low population density, limited road network, and lack of public transportation resulting from damaged roads present numerous obstacles to development. The physical layout of the area follows a longitudinal pattern due to its one-lane roads and limited branches.

Extending agricultural land is not feasible, and forest land-clearing is no longer possible. Regulations prohibit agricultural land processing activities in forest areas, including burning or clearing. The restrictions have led people to transition to palm oil commodities (refer to Figure 51).





**Figure 51.** Land Cover Map of Sepaku, showing a significant amount of palm oil plantations (Source: Musthofa et al., 2022)

### 6.1.2. Nucleus Estate and Smallholders Project

As East Kalimantan is predominantly forested, companies have developed land tenure schemes focused on forest products as their primary commodity. To enhance the household economy of local communities, the government employs the plasma core partnership system. Nevertheless, several issues have surfaced in Indonesia as a result of this program.

This plantation land management initiative is frequently implemented around the newly established capital city. The government plays a crucial role as a facilitator in achieving success for the core plasma program. Conflicts and issues may arise due to differing interpretations among plasma land companies. Despite the potential advantages, the program has caused harm to numerous individuals. Its successful execution, however, would yield significant benefits.

Kelurahan Riko is a region where a palm oil processing company has executed a plasma core strategy since 2005. The company's arrival brought about positive effects on the community, including an increased awareness of a new commodity, specifically palm oil, which could be grown on their land and sold back to the company. Before commencing operations, the company provided financial compensation to the entire community of Kelurahan Riko to facilitate the community's sense of welcome and appreciation of the company's existence. Furthermore, the company initially hired local employees. However, ultimately, the company recruited more outside workers for reduced remuneration.

Over time, a series of conflicts emerged between the local community and the palm oil company operating in Kelurahan Riko. In addition to managing palm oil processing factories, the company also established palm oil plantations on land designated for Plantation Business Permits. Although the initial plantation was in accordance with the permit, the company gradually acquired the local residents' plantations over time. This move was purportedly designed to increase profits through land expansion. The community who owned the plantation discovered the annexation when they were unable to access their own land due to the company's activities.

The conflict escalated, and residents identified it as fraudulent. The Riko company vowed a plasma core plan to the public. Due to incomplete official permission to own plantations on most of the community's plantation land, they agreed to participate in the offered program. The company's assertion of plasma activities since 2015 instigated residents' doubts about fraud. However, the community has yet to receive the funds promised by the company for the plantations. Residents have inquired several times, but

the company has consistently avoided the issue and failed to provide a satisfactory explanation. As of 2023, the issue remains unresolved. In response, the public protested outside the company's entrance by displaying banners expressing their discontent with the company. Meanwhile, the Kelurahan Riko government reports that they are working to resolve this issue with relevant parties. It is important to consider that similar conflicts may arise in other areas. The implementation of a plasma core scheme that does not adhere to regulations can potentially cause further issues, ultimately exacerbating the situation and contributing to land grabbing. Due to the conflict's proximity to Nusantara Capital City, there is concern that it will impede the city's development.

## **6.2. POTENTIAL LAND GRABBING AND CONFLICT THROUGH TRANSMIGRATION PROGRAM**

### **6.2.1. Legal land between the forest area**

Land for transmigration areas was provided by the government, with legal clarity of land ownership guaranteed by the program. Families who agreed to take part in this program were given residential and agricultural land. Initially, the transmigrants were unaware of the status and location of their arable land. Upon the onset of the Nusantara Capital City plan, transmigrants sought to declare their land's location and borders through land certificates. However, obtaining this certificate proved challenging as the land's location remained uncertain. Forested areas were also subject to further conflict.

Land certificates serve as evidence of land ownership. However, if the land is situated in a forested area, it is possible that there is overlapping government and community land statuses. This became particularly evident after the

government acquired the land for the development of the new capital city, claiming it as belonging to the state. The practice and issues of land acquisition have caused public outrage, and the situation worsens as compensation for cultivated land owned by non-ex-transmigrants remains unclear. The individuals inquired about the process of obtaining a land certificate for a plot of land situated within a forested region. The opportunity to obtain such a certificate would have been eliminated had the land already been released from the forest area. Regrettably, there seems to be a lack of understanding regarding the necessary procedures to release land and Other Utilization Areas, even among village officials.

Upon examining the forest area map, two confusions have surfaced regarding the ex-transmigration area, which currently resides in another utilization area, namely a forest. The residential area that existed in the locality was in a forested area. The cause of this sprawl remains unclear.

### **6.2.2. Legal land transmigration with (no)geospatial references**

Owning a legal land certificate does not alleviate the concern of ex-transmigration communities regarding potential land acquisition. Regrettably, the certificates held by ex-transmigration communities in Sepaku lack information about absolute position or coordinates, resulting in their land positions being relative to others. This condition has triggered numerous assumptions. According to various informants, the initial land allocation was adapted to field conditions. If the land plot of the transmigrant overlaps with that of the local community, adjustments will be made to its position and shape while retaining its original size.

The absence of spatial references is not the only issue to be

tackled; the name of the landowner does not match the initial map of the land plot. Furthermore, some of the land currently possessed by the community does not correspond with the National Land Agency's map data. Several factors in the field, such as transmigration participants returning to their places of origin and the exchange of land parcels between them, contribute to the observed discrepancy between field data and stored records.

Currently, there is no land acquisition process in the ex-transmigration area. However, this type of land management raises several questions within the community. It is unclear whether the land acquisition process is based on field conditions or stored data, and the public is eagerly awaiting clarification on this matter. It is important to note that land issues are not limited to communities with land in forested areas, but rather extend to communities in other utilization areas possessing certificates. However, none of these communities have been granted certainty regarding their land.

### **6.3. DEVELOPMENT OF NUSANTARA CAPITAL CITY**

#### **6.3.1. Water infrastructure development and Balik Tribe's responses**

The establishment of water infrastructure is the initial phase of Nusantara Capital City's development. Two such infrastructures, i.e., the Sepaku-Semioi Dam and the Sepaku Intake, have been constructed and are currently under development. These infrastructures have the potential to expand into the neighboring areas. The dam will store river water to supply the water needs of the capital city. From a community standpoint, rivers historically served as a resource and mode of transportation. The logging industry utilized rivers to

transport wood in the past, but the introduction of industry and construction of roads resulted in a decline in river transportation. At present, only a small number of families residing on the riverbanks use the river water for their daily needs. The community members rely on well water, rainwater collection, and purchased water to meet their daily water requirements. The river is solely used for washing purposes and not for consumption.

Although the river was previously a significant resource for the local populace, its importance has diminished since the construction of the road. The government's plan to use river water as a primary source of drinking water for the capital will have wide-ranging impacts, including the potential disruption of activities such as shrimp production in Desa Bumi Harapan. Rivers serve as a primary water source for filling ponds. The damming of rivers will undoubtedly impact the water supply available to the shrimp farming community as well as the general public. The question remains as to whether river water will become an exclusive resource for certain groups due to the potential challenges in accessing it. Only time will tell whether this will come to fruition when the new capital becomes operational.

The two water infrastructures have freed up land around the river and have potential for further expansion. The issue of normalizing river borders has gained widespread attention and elicited varying responses from the public, with some rejecting it and others waiting for further clarification. In Kelurahan Sepaku, specifically in RT 3, individuals have expressed differing views on the matter, ranging from agreement to disagreement. The construction of the Sepaku intake is expected to annex residential land and relocate the Balik community.



**Figure 52.** Pond area in Desa Bumi Harapan (Photo Credit: Azis Musthofa, 2023)

In response, the Balik Community carried out a resistance movement, including protests against the impact of the Sepaku Intake construction that had encroached on part of their land. The protests addressed several issues. Beginning with the compensation for the construction of the first phase of the Sepaku Intake and including the demolition of the old cemetery of the Balik Community, the Balik community in Kelurahan Sepaku is acknowledged as an indigenous and traditional settlement. The relocation of this area would result in the loss of the traditional village and its identity, a loss that cannot be compensated merely through financial compensation. Figure 53 displays one type of resistance movement by the Balik community.



**Figure 53.** The Response of the Balik Sepaku Community to the Discourse on the Development of the Sepaku Intake Infrastructure (Source: <https://www.aman.or.id/news/read/warga-perempuan-suku-balik-melakukan-aksi-pemasangan-spanduk-protes-tolak-pengusuran-kampung-dan-sungai-sepaku-oleh-proyek-berkedok-rencana-penanganan-banjir-ibukota-baru>)

### 6.3.2. Core area development

Government officials, as public servants, are constantly under scrutiny and their statements hold weight as a reference point for the public. It is widely believed that information coming from public officials is definitive, especially when reported by media outlets. Take for instance, the planned development of the Nusantara Capital City area, which will not include residential sections, or the projected rise of land prices in the Nusantara Capital City area soon. After presenting the construction facts of the Sepaku Intake, which potentially relocates the Balik community settlements, this sub-chapter explores the priority of developing the area as the main focus of the Nusantara Capital City development.





**Figure 54.** Residential Areas within the Central Government Core Area (Photo Credit: Azis Musthofa, 2023)

The claim that the Nusantara Capital City's development will not require the relocation of local communities is not entirely accurate. In fact, one of the priority areas, the Central Government Core Area (KIPP), was established after moving several settlements from RT 10 Desa Bumi Harapan. The field's conditions reveal that certain plots of land in Desa Bumi Harapan fall under forest areas, while others are under Other Utilization Areas. This indicates that multiple parcels are privately owned land. Despite individuals who reject land acquisition, the land acquisition process in the Central Government Core Area proceeded with minimal conflict.

The affected communities have gone through various processes, and it appears that the government offers no scheme beyond compensation. Although the compensation amount provided is insufficient to purchase land of equal size in the new capital city, the reaction of Desa Bumi Harapan's populace differs from that of Balik in Kelurahan Sepaku. Despite the compensation value not meeting community expectations, land acquisition moves forward expeditiously. Unfortunately, individuals without any other land options near the new capital are unable to purchase property in the new capital city. Consequently, they must relocate to more

distant areas to acquire land and construct new homes due to exorbitant real estate prices within the capital.



**Figure 55.** Residential Areas Affected by Land Acquisition in RT 10 Desa Bumi Harapan (Photo Credit: Hillary Reinhart and Azis Musthofa, 2023)

### 6.3.3. Land conflict by identity

The development of the Nusantara had far-reaching impacts throughout all levels of society, irrespective of individuals' ethnic or personal identities. Nevertheless, in response to this development, each ethnic identity may exhibit unique reactions. Sepaku, a sub-district containing a diverse population, shows distinct response patterns. The present land acquisition activities have led to increased conflicts among landowners. Conflicts over plantation land are a common occurrence. The Balik community is currently claiming agricultural land and plantations that were previously being cultivated by ex-transmigrant communities. The basis of the Balik community's claim is the prior use of the land as swidden agriculture, where fruit crops were also grown.

It should be noted that the Balik community was previously known for being forest encroachers, and they had cleared land in forest areas for their traditional agricultural activities. This agricultural practice involves cultivating the same piece of land over an extended period for individuals to have a large area for their particular farming method. Therefore, it is not uncommon for the Balik Community to own large amounts of land.

According to the Balik Community's assertions, their land was sold to ex-transmigrant communities for farming. Multiple sources indicate that the land initially belonged to the Balik community before being sold to transmigrants. There was no valid transaction record for this land sale and purchase due to the absence of a land administration system at the time. The price of land was determined independent of its width, with transactions completed through profit-sharing or exchange of basic materials. Farming practices differed between the transmigrant and Balik communities during this period. The transmigrant community is skilled in As previously stated, the land in question is located in a forested area, which means it cannot be legally owned, only controlled as cultivated land. This has caused confusion and uncertainty regarding the government's planned agriculture, while the Balik community practices shifting cultivation by moving from one site to another.



**Figure 56.** Ricefield Area in Sepaku (Photo credit: Azis Musthofa, 2023)

Based on unrecorded land sales and purchases, certain land that has been sold and cultivated has been claimed as the ancestral land of the Balik people. Land claims based on identity were made concurrently with the development of Nusantara Capital City. As previously stated, the land in question is located in a forested area, which means it cannot be legally owned, only controlled as cultivated land. This has caused confusion and uncertainty regarding the government's planned

#### **6.3.4. Capitalizing identity: chief's roles**

The development of Nusantara Capital City is intertwined with communication and negotiation with indigenous leaders. In many cases, these leaders serve as the gateway for the government to initiate planning and begin the development

process. The President of the Republic of Indonesia utilized this approach to gain support for relocating the National Capital to East Kalimantan. In smaller scale contexts, indigenous leaders play a crucial role in the progress of infrastructure development. They are the community's representatives and have been recognized as such.

The communication and negotiation process between the government and indigenous leaders cannot be overlooked when it comes to the development of the Nusantara capital city. Regardless of the degree of involvement of traditional heads in the development of the new capital city, they can serve as a starting point for the government to plan and initiate development processes. This was exemplified by President Joko Widodo's endeavor to garner support for relocating the capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. On a smaller scale, indigenous leaders play a critical role in advancing infrastructure development. They serve as representatives of their respective communities.

Currently, the Balik tribe possesses substantial bargaining power in the development of the Indonesian capital, particularly in regard to infrastructure, which could potentially result in the annexation of land controlled or owned by indigenous communities. Alongside the village government and other community figures, the traditional head is one of the consulted parties within the community. The Balik Tribe community has come into focus for their various responses and social movements opposing infrastructure development for the growth of the Indonesian capital city.

Can indigenous leaders effectively represent indigenous communities in development participation? However, there may be disagreement regarding the decisions made by indigenous leaders, and some figures even assert themselves as

the new leaders of indigenous communities with the support of certain community groups. This highlights the strategic position of indigenous leaders to influence decision-making. The Balik tribe is considered an indigenous community with the potential to be marginalized compared to immigrants, according to various accounts. Several asymmetric policies have emerged that should provide equal benefits to affected communities, not just specific ethnic groups.

Indigenous leaders have pioneered the capitalization of identity. As a result, certain community groups allegedly no longer trust their indigenous leaders. The drive to secure profits for a specific group in the guise of the tribe is the impetus behind exploiting the expansion of Nusantara Capital City. Many entities endeavor to capitalize on the development of Nusantara, particularly in the realm of land speculation. One of the objectives of setting a moratorium on land registration and transactions is to thwart the escalation of land prices resulting from unethical land speculators. Although the moratorium is in place, the land buying and selling process persists via an agreement between the seller and buyer. Investors currently execute the transaction process with the aim to capitalize on the opportunity to establish themselves as entrepreneurs by providing services for workers in the new capital city. The traditional head plays a significant role in realizing this transaction. •

## Chapter 7

# Displacement and Spatial Reconstruction

*"Home is where the heart is"*

*-Elvis Presley*

**U**P TO THIS POINT, we have been provided with the big picture of how the brute force of Nusantara Capital City has created a wrinkle in the space-place dimension and reconfigured the relationship between people and their environment. The impact could be seen in the place attachment of the people and the land governance within the new capital city area. One of the most impacted communities in Nusantara Capital City would be the Indigenous community, as they had established a longer interrelation with the land and space in the location of Nusantara Capital City. How the Indigenous community, especially Paser and Balik People, react and interact with their space and the Nusantara Capital City will be the focus of this chapter. This chapter presents the spatial reconstruction process through the use of toponyms. Toponyms serve as mediators in how individuals perceive their environment and space. It is crucial because they need to be prepared under another threat of displacement and relocation, not only in economic and material matters but also in the spatial and abstract ones.

### 7.1. DISPLACEMENT AND DISLOCATION

Expanding force from the development, a force from infrastructure or capital flows, will trigger a 'dislocation' of

physical and cultural realms. In terms of physical, we had seen how the physical development of the Nusantara Capital City had already initiated dislocation through many natural elements and features. Currently, the most extensive and most intensive development is the alteration of river flow that once functioned as the main transportation pathway for the Indigenous community. The Sepaku River is currently obstructed by a large dam, which serves as a water storage reservoir. The alteration of the river's flow indicates a disruption of natural forces. Disruption can be seen as a spatial distortion that affects the context of a space and its inhabitants. In extreme cases, disruption can lead to displacement when excessive physical force is applied. Additionally, globalization can also uproot cultural context and its connection to a specific place.

The displacement of Paser and Balik people may take in several different types and stories. In Riko and Maridan, displacement was happening while the industries came and brought other people from another “*suku* (tribe) and *ras* (race)” to work there. The industries came with extensive investment and migration shifting people to have many diversities for living and growing with people from another region. Riko and Maridan experience urbanization before another region in Kalimantan. The people in Riko and Maridan are diverse as they are the first to experience urban living in Kalimantan.

*Karena kan Terkait dengan adanya perusahaan ini yang namanya ICI, GHM, atau Agro ini kan kita udah nggak bisa pindah-pindah lagi karena masuk di areal HGU Itu lah sebabnya kita banyak yang lahan-lahan masyarakat yang kena HGU kan beberapa kali kita mengajukan ke dinas pemerintahan kan ternyata nggak bisa dilepaskan untuk masyarakat. (Because of the existence of these companies called ICI, GHM, or Agro, we can no longer move around because it is in the area of the Cultivation Rights (HGU). Therefore, we have a lot of communal*



land that is subject to Cultivation Rights. We have applied to the department several times. It turns out that the government cannot be left to the people)". -Informant B, Pemaluan

The story of displacement and, in some cases, eviction of the Paser and Balik People has been repeated by almost every elder or Adat figure we met and interviewed. Saputra et al. (2022) also narrated a story on exclusion, and this process was mainly driven by the presence of large-scale corporations that gated the living space, forcing the people to go out and resettle in the outer area of the corporation. The brute displacement by the large-scale corporation was continued by a soft, alluding attraction from the existing road. Gradually, the road made the people look away from their original place and move nearer to the road. Once, the Paser and Balik people lived deep in the forest, extracting forest resources while practicing swidden agriculture. They constructed modest infrastructure such as houses, bridges, and mosques to sustain their life. As they moved closer to the road, they abandoned all these buildings and became remnants in the forest.

The displacement may happen again soon as Nusantara Capital City development intensifies. Several areas have been plotted for the expansion of the KIPP, and it will remove the settlers from that place. For our informant, Undi, whose house will be seized for expansion, he and his wife will move to another side of their house where some of their land is still there, continuing their life as it is now. Some are concerned about their fear that they will no longer be able to afford the land price as it soars high due to the massive flow of investment. Apart from the displacement, the residents, especially in Kelurahan Sepaku, will also have to endure a dislocation from their river. Sepaku intake, as one of the primary water resources, altered the flow direction of the Sepaku River,

and they will also have to face a plan to widen the Sepaku River (Figure 55). The dislocation of the Sepaku River flow has already encountered backlash from the impacted people. However, as the clock is ticking, this project is almost done, triggering people to adapt to the latest situation.



**Figure 57.** Sepaku Intake and the diverted Sepaku River flow. To improve the water flow, the meander from Sepaku River is made to be straight. (Photo Credit: Hillary Reinhart and Azis Musthofa, 2023)

## **7.2. WILAYAH ADAT OF PASER AND BALIK PEOPLE**

*Wilayah adat* (customary areas) of the community Paser and Balik used to be land claimed from generation to generation. There was their ancestor given. It could be called in many languages. *Wilayah adat* of Paser and Balik has lots of geographical land use. There is diversity land-use in the *wilayah adat* Paser and Balik people. Balik and Paser mainly use rivers, but there are also mountains and plain coastal plantations for their resources to live. Regarding *Adat*, Paser and Balik shared their *wilayah adat* with several other *adat* communities.

*Badan Registrasi Wilayah Adat* (BRWA) delineated a couple of *wilayah adat* in their vicinity using participatory mapping. Within Paser and Balik People, their *wilayah adat* encompassed five registered *wilayah adat*: Kampong Mentawar, Benuo Sepaku, Benuo Paser Balik Pemaluan, Kampong Maridan, and Kelurahan Sepan. Circling these *wilayah adat*, there are another *wilayah adat* belonging to *wilayah adat* Kutai of Kutai Adat Lawas and Benua Indu Anjat along with Basab Jonggon.

Paser and Balik's *wilayah adat* came from the historical marriage between Aji Tatin and a noble from Kutai Sultanate. Therefore, this *wilayah adat* is located near the Kutai ones. Basap Jonggon, on the other hand, is owned by the Basap community as part of the Apo Kayan Dayak family. Apo Kayan Dayak is one of the largest Dayak groups, consisting of several notable groups, including Kayan, Basap, and Kenyah. They spread out from the Apo Kayan highland, a mountainous region situated at the border of Indonesia and Malaysia as the impact of the Indonesia-Malaysia conflict in the 60s. Many of this group migrated to several parts of East Kalimantan, including the Sangkulirang-Mangkalihat Peninsula. Two Indigenous communities of Basap in Jonggon Jaya village and Kenyah community in Lung Anai dwell within this *wilayah adat*.



**Figure 58.** Borders of *Wilayah Adat* in Nusantera Capital City (Source: <https://brwa.or.id/sig/>)

For centuries, the Paser and Balik People have thrived within this *wilayah adat*, developing a deep attachment to the land due to their dependence on its natural resources such as food, water, and living space. As a manifestation of this relationship, they have created signage to mark their places of cultivation. These signage systems may take form in fruit trees where these trees bordered their *lati*. A village that still boldly shows how the Indigenous community does the spatial reconstruction is Kelurahan Maridan, a remote village situated in the Development Zone of Nusantera Capital City.

Within the border of *Wilayah Adat*, Paser and Balik People carried out their social and cultural routine. Historically, the

formation of this *wilayah adat* remained separate from the political relations in the ancient period between the Paser and Kutai Sultanates. People also adapted to their surroundings, shaping the existing conditions as we can observe today. For example, the settlement of the Paser and Balik people tend to be close to the river due to the vital role of the river as their source of water and food and for economic and social activities. Rivers, much beyond the body of water, epitomized the fundamental relation and attachment of Paser and Balik People to their nature of living.

As Figure 59 illustrates, the settlement in the Kelurahan Sepaku from Paser and Balik People is linear to the river's flow. Their settlement sits between the river and the road as both connect them with the world outside. Before newcomers and denser populations were formed, we could imagine this was a picture of how they lived daily. Nestling on the riverside, maintaining their crop and cultivation, they frequently cruised the river for economic activities. How the river was and is still an essential part of their life could also be seen by the manifestation of spatial knowledge and recognition of the river as the fundamental part of their living space through toponyms.



**Figure 59.** The settlement at Kelurahan Sepaku followed the course of the river. On the other side of the river, fields and forests provide the basic needs of their owners. (Photo credit: Hillary Reinhart and Azis Musthofa, 2023)

### **7.3. SPACE OF LIVING: THE ROLES OF TOPONYM IN PLACE ATTACHMENT AND PRODUCTION**

The verdant landscape greets us upon arrival in Kelurahan Maridan. The environs of Kelurahan Maridan are relatively placid amidst the absence of cacophonous automobiles and thick particulate matter. This village stands in stark contrast to frenzied communal zones abuzz with equipment transporting massive infrastructures. The air quality is pristine, and a glimpse of the central river can be perceived from afar. Despite the sun's presence overhead, a chilly breeze meanders alongside our entourage. Our path traverses several hills flanked by fissures on both the right and left. Many elderly individuals we encountered in nearby towns and cities identified Maridan as their original place of settlement. We traveled to the historic village of Maridan via winding, rough roads. Examining the

accounts of these older residents is crucial in comprehending the displacement and associated socio-economic consequences that the community faced. Sadly, there are predictions of future displacement and it is probable that Maridan will once more be subject to this troubling experience. Visiting Maridan was an integral component in developing a comprehensive narrative on the spatial essence for the local community, including the Indigenous peoples. The history of Maridan confirms that displacement did occur several years prior. Furthermore, the village's history provided us with insight into past and future events.

For hundreds of years, the Paser and Balik ancestors navigated the river surrounding the Nusantara Capital City location. They opened up the land alongside the riverbank, cultivating many crops and fruits that became daily staples. This was the primary interaction between the Paser and Balik People, and it shaped their future culture. Over time, the river became their primary life source. As a result, their interaction transformed into mutual relations, and their relationship has thrived through ages of modifying and exchanging material, information, appreciation, and knowledge.

Space, place, and location are fundamental components of geography and are intertwined with human existence as *dasein* "being." They showcase the interactions and interrelationships between humans and their environment, providing a profound and meaningful connection. Recognizing and identifying their presence in the geographical realm is a cognitive process of human construction. Toponyms serve as an essential means of communication and identification worldwide. They represent a circuit of the realm crafted from various discourses. (Burr, 2003). Toponyms cannot be dissociated from the society or culture responsible for naming them. They arise from the sense

of place cultivated by the human inhabitants. Toponyms have been utilized by humans to distinguish their place of residence and differentiate it from other locations. Usually, toponyms are linked to the historical, narrative, and legendary components of a place.

### 7.3.1. Urgency of Toponym

Indonesia requires an official and standardized system for place names, due to various reasons, such as the existence of multitudes of local languages, establishment of new and often enclosed real estate developments, amalgamation of regions, regional autonomy, and absence of an official geographical naming convention since the Bahasa Indonesia was declared the official language (Rais et al., 1928). Future misunderstandings may arise from local language diversities and inconsistencies in writing or spelling, which could invalidate official documents. Indonesia is a diverse country that includes many communities, such as the Paser and Balik communities, which have their own languages. Using incorrect spellings or language for the Paser community can be risky. In these communities, the local language for misspelling could be referred to as “Mayar Sala” or “Sala Basa,” and there are consequences for misspelling on purpose. A ritual *sanksi adat* exists in these communities as a custom sanction. The suspect should provide fishpond ritual equipment, specifically *melawen* plates, which are ceramic plates with plain or dragon images. These plates aid in reuniting people after the effects of misspellings (Customary Area Registration Agency, 2023). Documenting culture is essential in minimizing risks in regional development. Valid documents could facilitate new developments. This emphasizes the urgency of utilizing a toponym.



*“Orang Paser dan Orang Balik memiliki bahasa yang berbeda, logat yang berbeda, dimana penyebutan bahasa sangat berbeda.”* (Paser and Balik people have different languages and accents, different accents in which their speech is very different)- Pak Asmin.

The Paser and Balik communities devised their own toponyms to comprehend their nearby surroundings. The Balik Community primarily developed these toponyms (Customary Regional Registration Agency, 2023), and they drew from diverse factors that include natural resources, traditions, and land use. The Paser People from the coastal plains of Tanah Grogot were previously referred to as such (Ellison, 2023). For transportation and movement, the Paser people primarily rely on the river, which serves as the centerpiece of the Paser and Balik communities. Many rivers bear the names of these two groups. Additionally, the Paser people observe the tradition of *telrunjuk*, which illustrates how social and geographic interactions are intertwined. During visits or encounters with other community members, the Paser community shares the highlights of their journey and experiences. That includes forests, rocks, water, and rivers encountered in the *telrunjuk* tradition. The objective of the information exchange is to enrich the Paser community’s spatial knowledge of the surrounding environment. This allows them to identify their territory and its constituents.



**Figure 60.** Rivers of Paser and Balik Community (Photo Credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

The Paser and Balik communities each possess lands for residential purposes. These areas, whether fields or gardens, have been passed down through generations by ancestral inheritance without formal documentation. To delineate their lands, these communities rely exclusively on “Patok,” a term for border markers. The Paser community’s Patok employs specific plants that their grandchildren easily identify to denote the boundaries. The Paser Community is commonly referred to as “Sabut Garapan.” In Figure 61, the ponds can be observed to potentially hold rainwater and water from the mountains, as well as serve as a marker for the boundaries of the community’s lands.



**Figure 61.** Patok or sign of border land by ponds (Photo credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)



**Figure 62.** Patok or sign of border land by Ancestors Cemeteries (Photo Credit: Maulidia Savira Chairani and Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

Legally, the Paser community adheres to customary law for burying their ancestors who previously occupied the land (see Figure 62). In the Pemaluan region, scattered graves known as land of *Buka* or “Buka Land” are utilized by everyone. Similarly, the Empty Land Theory employs shifting cultivation or “*Gilir Balik*” for residence. Because plantations serve as a means of income, farmers grow a variety of crops including rambutan, *cempedak*, *semangup*, cucumber, pumpkin, chili, banana, lemon-grass, and galangal. The duration required to clear land for new plantations and resources ranges from one to three days depending on their distance. Farmers utilize machetes and Golok, a type of machete, to clear land for their plantations and residences and procure resources. Certain crops cannot

thrive in the same soil. Nonviable plants with yellow leaves cannot grow taller, which forces indigenous people to relocate for a better life. In the past, there were no existing government laws or documents, and people did not have access to books or pencils for recording their thoughts. Therefore, they used crosses made of dirt and charcoal as a means of recollection. For instance, a cross symbol (III and III/) was commonly used. However, not all vacant land is suitable for farming as there are also zones of forestland known as “Lawang”. These areas are characterized by an abundance of trees including Meranti, Ironwood, Limestone, Meranti Kuning, Sentulo, and Bangrus. “Lawang” is reserved for those who seek other environmental products such as resin, rattan, *Nyorap (Teluyen)*, as well as for hunting animals for sustenance, and cannot be utilized for farming or cultivation by individuals (Customary Area Registration Agency, 2023).

The Paser and Balik people developed a system of toponymy and topology called *lati* for signposting and marking their environment and living space. They were markers of ownership and usually took the form of fruit trees. In Paser terms, *lati* can be divided into two types based on age: *Lati Tuo* and *Lati Buroq*. Based on Customary Area Registration Agency (2023), “*Lati Tuo*” are fields where people live there for farming in 6 - 15 years, the “*Patok*” for bordering the lands could be Bengkieng, Ombu, Bekakang trees, or the others. The other is “*Lati Burok*” a relatively newer field in age 3 - 5 years and could be their field reserve, bordered by shrub, Mengkangsor, Namsam, Mayas, Sungkay trees or the others. The former is not cultivated for 3-10 years, while the latter is under 3 years. Paser and Balik people, when they were in a swidden age, once rotated their field for a certain number of times. They moved every year due to the condition of the soil.

Toponyms are also created by the transmission of social memory, which is influenced by (1) universally recognized toponyms within the community; (2) the perspectives of toponyms as components of community knowledge within the landscape; (3) the names of toponyms reflecting the community's culture; (4) the organic growth of toponyms; and (5) the fact that toponyms rarely change, making them a resilient aspect of social memory, as noted by Van Gjseghem (2017). It is a phenomenon observed throughout Nusantara, including within the Paser and Balik communities. The origins of their place names are not in doubt, as it is a tradition passed down from generation to generation. The oldest members of the community hold exclusive knowledge regarding the history and stories associated with the place names.

The Paser people in Mentawir, for example, recollect that the location's original name was Mentawar, and there is a fascinating narrative behind it. According to the Customary Area Registration Agency (2023), the Paser Balik community were the first inhabitants of the region. According to the Customary Area Registration Agency (2023), the Paser Balik community were the first inhabitants of the region. Long ago, Kampong Mentawir was known as "Tiram Tambun," meaning there were many oysters in the water. Rapid oyster growth occurred in a sunken ship. The ship sank because the communities of Paser and Balik did not want outsiders living in their area. A key figure in the community was *Tam Lempai*, a "Sentuon" or "Tetua Adat" (tribe's leader), responsible for organizing and leading the community in *benuo*. *Tam Lempai* possessed unearthly abilities and safeguarded Kampong Mentawir from intruders who disrupted the vicinity. On one occasion, *Tam Lempai* decapitated them, and the evidence remained at Tanjung Utok, or Paser's dialect skeleton.

The Balik community was led by a *Tuo Kampung* named Punai. The community consisted of individuals of diverse faiths. Over time, the community came to accept Andi Jamaludini, and even Punai came around. One member, *Demang* Andi Jamaludini from Prakesit, expressed a desire to relocate to Kampong Tiram Tambun. Despite this opposition, Andi Jamaludini persisted and eventually fell in love with Sanso, whom he married. However, Punai opposed this move. Punai granted Andi Jamaludini special leadership rights in 1930 as they had aligned ideologies. However, Punai had to return to Tiram Tambun due to a skin illness while en route to Pemaluan. After returning home, Punai utilized water from the Tiram Tambun river to heal his skin. Therefore, the Mentawar River was named based on its healing properties, and subsequently, Tiram Tambun was renamed *Kampong Mentawar* by the Customary Area Registration Agency in 2023. Andi Jamaluddin, serving as *Demang*, took on the role of *Pembakal* in *Kampong Mentawar*, including *Pembakal Setrat* and *Dengkang*. Additionally, *Kampong Mentawar* holds a significant historical background, including the Ibnu Hajar community's Indonesian separatism aggression, causing residents to flee to the forest for safety. After returning home, the abode was found to be damaged by the Ibnu Hajar community. As a result, numerous residents relocated to alternate regions, including *Nenang*, *Pemaluan*, and *Sepaku Longdam*. In 1970, when *Dengkang* was the supplier, *Kampong Mentawar* underwent a name change to *Kampong Mentawir* and later transformed into *Mentawir Village* with K.H. Muhammad Hasan Ranggong serving as its leader.

After the *Kampong Mentawir*, a variety of river toponyms were established, including *Lob*, *Somber*, *Wayen*, *Tempadung*, *Kemantes*, *Tembuni*, *Letak Putih*, *Kiram Tambung*, *Mentawir*, and *Daup*. The toponyms of the rivers in the Paser and Balik

areas are ranked in the following order: (1) Pemaluan, (2) Lulub, (3) Mangkubian, (4) Jalu-Jalu, (5) Sabut, (6) Nyuro, (7) Trunen, (8) Sangai, and (9) Semoi. During our ship journey, we traversed several islands: (1) *Pulau Satu* and *Pulau Dua*, (2) *Pulau Lipan*, (3) *Pulau Kaluasan*, which featured a lighthouse, (4) *Pulau Pelarian*, also known as *Pulau Baru*, and (5) *Pulau Dali*. Along our route, we encountered numerous toponyms for the river. From south to north, the community named several rivers which include: Kemantes, Lob, Tembui, Daup, Mentawir, Kirauntambang, Turing, Malau, Tirau, a river beginning with the letter 'S', and Semoi.

There are toponyms for various rivers, including *Sungai Beruanging*, which refers to a dried-upriver that is no longer used, and *Sungai Tempodee*, which denotes a freshwater river or *air tawar*. Not only are rivers named, but hills are also referred to as mountains by Balik people, such as *Gunung Parung*, which is actually a hilly area. Additionally, natural plantations grow in the lower stream of the rivers. Mangroves, known as *bakau* to the locals, thrive in this region. Yellow leaves *bakau (bakau kuning)*, a distinctive variety of mangrove, has taken on a legendary status amongst some residents, who refer to it as *Bakau Kuning* (as illustrated in Figure 63), and believe in its exceptional properties.

*“Bakau biasanya memiliki warna daun putih, namun bakau satu ini memiliki daun berwarna kuning. Selama pohon ini tumbuh, daun yang berkembang selalu berwarna kuning, bukan hijau seperti yang lain. Cerita mengatakan bahwa dulu ada seseorang yang mencoba untuk memiliki kekuatan gaib menggunakan mantra yang tidak baik sehingga ketika mendapatkan kekuatan tersebut, lingkungan di sekitarnya turut terpengaruh, dan kini kita semua dapat melihat sebagai bukti bahwa cerita tersebut benar.”* (Bakau usually has green leaves, but this one was yellow. All the years this tree grows, the leaves grow yellow, not

green like the others. Legend says that there was a man who tried to have supernatural power using black magic and it contains until the place got the effect and people can still see the tree until now for proof if the legend was true)”. - Pemaluan Informant Number 32, In-depth Interview 2023.



**Figure 63.** Yellow leaves Bakau tree (Photo Credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

Furthermore, *Nipah* can be found in freshwater (refer to Figure 64) and it grows naturally in its ecosystem. Its appearance is similar to that of an oil palm tree, but it has leaves that enable it to grow better than other plants in its ecosystem. The *Nipah* Tree can serve as an indicator for people approaching the upstream region.



**Figure 64.** From left to right, River with Nipah tree and River with Bakau tree (Photo Credit: Moh. Syahrul Irfan Fahmi, 2023)

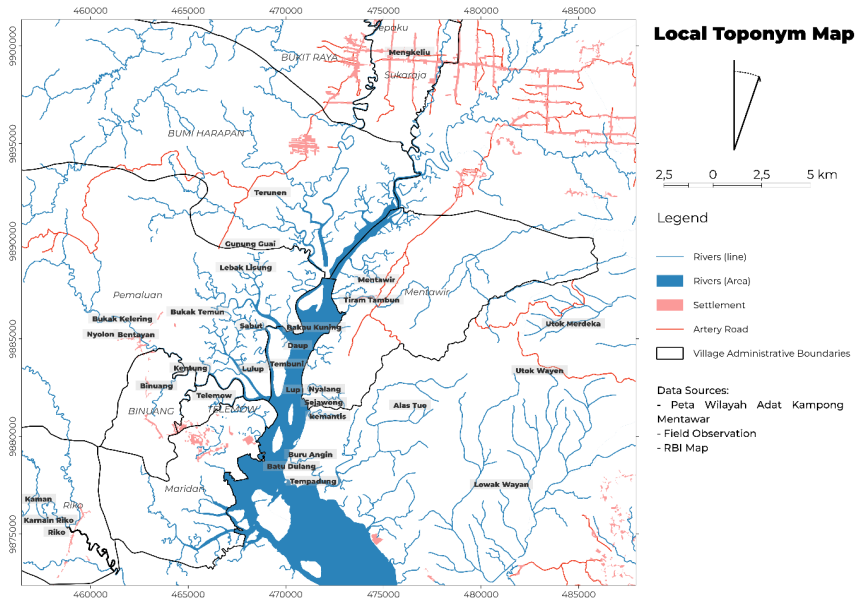


Not only does the area contain diverse plant life, but it also boasts a variety of animal species inhabiting its rivers. Most notable among them is the crocodile, which can be detected by surfacing bubbles when approached or observed from above. Interestingly, in Borneo Island, locals use “nenek, gigi tajam” (grandma, sharp teeth) or alternative terms to refer to crocodiles instead of the usual “Buaya” in Indonesian. The community maintains its belief in animism, whereby animals worship their deity. One tale recounts the diverse nature of crocodiles. Initially, there are three distinct crocodile colors: white, yellow, and black. Additionally, there are variations based on their fingers.

*“Ketika mereka memiliki jari sejumlah empat, maka dapat diketahui mereka buaya yang buruk atau jahat, sedangkan apabila memiliki jari sejumlah lima maka dapat diketahui mereka dulunya merupakan manusia”* (If they have four fingers, it could be a bad crocodile or the evil one, but if they have five fingers, it could be a human. It is usually a human before it is a crocodile) - Pemaluan Informant Number 9. In-depth Interview, 2023.

**TABLE 11.** Primary Toponym from the Indigenous Community

Rivers	Islands	Geomorphic and Land Cover Features
Kemantes	Satu	Letak
Lub	Dua	Lawang
Tembui	Lipan	Patok
Daup	Kaluasan	Lati
Mentawir	Dali	
Kirauntambang	Pelarian	
Mangkubiang		
Jalu-jalu		
Sabut		
Nyuro		
Trunen		
Sangai		
Semoi		



**Figure 65.** Distribution of local toponyms based on the names of rivers and tributaries. Several points in Mentawir village were obtained from the participatory map prepared by the Customary Area Registration Agency with the community and Adat institution of Mentawir village. (Source: Data Analysis, 2023)

The toponyms we examined reveal the Paser and Balik People's worldview. The toponyms generally describe the landscape's hydrological and geomorphological features. This demonstrates the significance of rivers and islands in their culture. Since their primary mode of transportation is by river, these waterways hold vital importance to these communities. They spent a significant amount of time navigating the river and its tributaries to reach Balikpapan Bay, which served as the central meeting point for the surrounding community.

### 7.3.2. Toponym as a tool for administrative order

Administrative order or the regulation naming place needs to be standardized. By considering toponyms, administrative

borders are sometimes easier to delineate. Toponyms in many regions are used to decide the function of the places, ownership, and land use. This strengthens the fact that toponym has many meanings for people in that region (Plini et al., 2018). That makes every toponym have a meaning and contribution to defining administrative borders.

Standardizing the administrative order or regulation for place names is necessary. Toponyms can aid in delineating administrative borders. In many regions, toponyms are used to determine the function of a place, its ownership, and land use. This highlights the fact that toponyms hold significant meaning for the local population (Plini et al., 2018), contributing to the definition of administrative borders. Each toponym holds a meaning and contributes to defining administrative borders.

Standardized toponyms can aid cross-border governance in managing documents such as Freehold Title (land titling) per individual. With the use of spatial and geodata processing tools, toponyms can facilitate a more precise determination of land parcel positioning. In specific cases, such as with Indigenous communities, data accuracy is paramount for reconstructing spatial information. The Paser and Balik communities commonly utilize *Patok*, or a visual boundary marker, to identify their land limits. Currently, claiming administrative border or Freehold Title of Indigenous lands requires effort. The government refuses to grant Freehold Title due to overlap with other lands, which could be owned by other individuals or families, potentially leading to conflict if claims persist. Historical conflict endured until a community suggested sharing or donating the land through the use of their *Patok*. Having a Freehold Title may pose certain challenges. Negotiation could present an alternative

solution. Nevertheless, in the absence of compromise, the Village Administration will not intervene. If conflicts persist among the parties involved, the process will be suspended as the administration lacks the authority to resolve it.

*“Saya telah menangani salah satu permasalahan mengenai hal tersebut, dan ya itu memang benar. Ketika ada patok yang salah atau bertimpalan dengan tanah milik orang lain maka pemerinth tidak akan mengeluarkan sertifikat tanah sampai masalah tersebut selesai. Kelompok saya sering ditugaskan untuk cek dan ukur tanah dengan data ke lapangan langsung, tapi apabila kami menemukan patok lain maka akan menjadi masalah juga bagi kami. Maka, kami sering menggunakan negosiasi antar dua belah pihak atau lahan tersebut menjadi konflik dan tidak dapat sertifikat tanah”* (I have dealt with one of the problems, and it was true: if there is a land with different patok, the government will not give the title deed until one of them gives up the land. My team should check and measure the land by going to their land, but if we find another patok, it will also be a problem for us. Through negotiation, one could give up the land, or the land was stuck forever as a land conflict, and the land could not have Freehold Title) - Pemaluan Informant Number 13, In-depth Interview, 2023

Standardizing toponyms is necessary for the government to accommodate spelling and writing differences. Additionally, accommodating Indigenous peoples’ storytelling habits can eliminate the need for a critical agreement. A mapping strategy, as suggested by Rais et al. (2008), can also be implemented. To establish an administrative order, a standardized toponym requires the involvement of all stakeholders. By consulting with Indigenous communities, it is possible to trace previous settlements and territories, learn about their naming conventions, and uncover the stories associated with these names. This approach offers valuable insights into the history of the land and its Indigenous peoples.

## 7.4. IMAGINED INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

*Buen penurui, buen lou penguat (baik saat memulai, maka akan baik juga saat mengakhiri)*

— Sempelo Paser

Since the government made the public announcement of its plan to relocate the capital city, the citizens of this nation have expressed their enthusiasm and imagined its possibilities. The nation fully supports the government's vision and campaign, with information and updates about the new capital city development widely available on social media, the internet, and daily news outlets. The government disseminated the plan, and images and schematics proliferated. It is evident that Nusantara Capital City represents an idea that reflects what Benedict Anderson, a prominent *Indonesianist*, described as Indonesia's "imagined communities".

The concept of the nation unites all the diverse elements of this country. Nusantara Capital City, in addition to serving as a spatial fix for capital flow, also serves as a symbol of the country's identity. A series of ceremonies and rituals have demonstrated this. In 2022, the president requested all provincial authorities to bring their soil and water to the Nusantara location, symbolizing the effort to bring the Indonesian motherland, or "tanah air," to this new capital city. The Nusantara Capital City operates through a vision and logical framework, allowing authorities to justify the relocation's purpose. What is that purpose? By democratically persuading and garnering the support of the public, the government successfully secured support from the majority of Congress for their ambitious plan. Congress was unequivocal in their response, simply stating "Let's do it!" Within mere months, extensive legal instruments including

acts, presidential decrees, and regional decrees were drafted to formalize this substantial proposal.

At its core, this is essentially an imaginative exercise that extracts elements from Nusantara Capital City. The challenges faced in the development, strategy and implementation inevitably result in uncertainty and complexity in the world. Climate change, social and spatial injustice, and environmental degradation are examples of disturbances that repeatedly thwart development efforts, introducing uncertainty and complexity. The latest challenge to the development trajectory is posed by COVID-19, which disrupts and raises questions about the path of development. Therefore, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) proposes a more abstract approach to reevaluating development through the concept of 'reimagining development.' (UNDP, 2022).

This paradigm aims to avoid the current state of affairs in the world. The commonly called status quo is upheld by producing vacancy to sustain a homogeneous environment, which ultimately impacts access to natural resources. The implementation of this idea intersects at the negotiation of the elite and the grassroots. The reimagining development paradigm is based on the Inclusive Imaginaries framework, which aims to shift development from a technocratic approach used by a small group of elite stakeholders to a more civic society where development primarily takes place. ●

# Chapter 8

## Concluding Remarks

### 8.1. SYNTHESIS

**D**ESPITE the pros and cons of constructing Nusantara Capital City, the development process persists. Since the inception of the city's construction, physical development of the capital and its supporting infrastructure outside of the Central Government Core Area has continued. The development of Nusantara Capital City first entailed the rapid expansion of office infrastructure and access. Development often catches local communities off guard with its rapid acceleration.

Constructing a new city, particularly one designated as the national capital area, proves to be a challenging endeavor. Researchers and scholars worldwide have demonstrated that such development necessitates good planning, proper execution, and measurable benefits. It is not unusual for scholars to denounce the establishment of new cities as "urban fantasies" from the elite, depicting it as a kind of speculation in urbanism or "engineering social exclusion" (see Van Noorloos & Kloosterboer, 2018; Moser, 2020; Watson, 2014).

This book offers an expanded comprehension of the course and consequences of Nusantara Capital City development on location, space, and individuals, chiefly the method of so-called marginalization and exclusion of diverse communities.

The region surrounding Nusantara Capital City has been a hub of development and resource exploitation-oriented activities for a long time. In Chapter 2, we illustrate three

resource frontiers - transmigration, timber corporation, and mining - which had already established and differentiated spaces in and around the city long before the development of the new capital commenced. The development of the region is significantly affected by the existence of elites or dominant actors who control each resource frontier. The social dynamics of each frontier are then shaped by the imagination of these elites and leaders, whether intentional or not. This book's focus on the seven geographical settings confirms that these elites and dominant actors can mold the spaces according to their interests, even if it means dividing society.

The emergence of Nusantara Capital City Development activities has brought positive impacts. However, it also causes diverse and complicated consequences for space and society. As the Nusantara Capital City development process progresses, various environmental problems and disasters surface, which contradict the aim to establish a new, sustainable capital. Similarly, the appearance of several social and economic issues, including marginalization, exclusion, and limited economic and employment opportunities to the local people, indicates that the relocation and development of the new capital city is not yet entirely prepared socially. The promised inclusive development at the inception of this decision seems out of reach.

Tensions have occurred in different locations, including the core, developing zone, and areas beyond Nusantara Capital City. The commencement of a land rush resulting in land grabbing, coupled with the exclusion of people from the development process, has sparked conflicts. The tensions and conflicts are becoming more severe in areas located in close proximity to the core regions of Nusantara Capital City. For numerous Indigenous peoples, the present situation resembles



a previous experience as logging activities, large plantations, and transmigration are gradually squeezing the land and diminishing their tribal identity (Saputra et al., 2022).

The Paser and Balik Indigenous Peoples have a strong attachment to their land, which has reignited wounds caused by the Nusantara Capital City development process. Land is a crucial aspect of their identity, both culturally and politically, and serves as a venue for various activities associated with their identity. Large-scale land-based activities intersecting with Indigenous communities' land have a direct impact on the loss of their identity. Loss of land means loss of livelihood, food source, and place of use, which are fundamental to every human being.

The abrupt influx of extensive developmental initiatives, with minimal consultation with the local community (and local government) pre- and post-construction of the Nusantara Capital City, led to a lack of aptitude for the majority of the community to accommodate the ensuing alterations. The community's response could have been more optimal in line with this. The increase in investment, coupled with the growth of Nusantara Capital City, indicates widespread development. Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that the investments are from external actors, not members of the affected community. As a result, the vision of a positive trickle-down effect for the local populace becomes increasingly ambiguous. Coupled with the displacement of communities from their land due to incoming investments, the marginalization of local communities on their own land is becoming more apparent.

People still reeling from the impact of Nusantara Capital City Development and lacking capacity to respond may opt for silence, as may land-owning communities. Those with land titles will find it easier to sell their property. Unfortunately,

Indigenous peoples without positive legal power over their land end up surrendering to development activities and becoming marginalized in the process. Rather than benefiting from development, they are excluded from the land they have rightfully claimed for a long time. This highlights the need to learn from past instances of societal displacement prior to the development of Nusantara Capital City.

The economic activities and globalization to which rural areas and local communities are exposed can transform these areas into “global villages,” leading to hastening environmental and social changes. The presence of Nusantara Capital City further contributes to this trend. Local communities that are unprepared may face additional challenges, and it is important for the government to provide more transparency concerning their development plans. The rejection movements within society, organized or otherwise, illustrate this uncertainty. In conclusion, the emergence of Nusantara Capital City has had a profound impact on altering the place and space of local individuals and erasing their identity.

## **8.2. INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW CAPITAL CITY**

This book presents the main challenges in developing Nusantara Capital City as per the Central Government’s goal to establish a sustainable new capital city. The fundamental issues identified are the inadequate inclusiveness in development and its process, along with the lack of transparency.

The current situation suggests that inclusive development has been the sole focus while developing Nusantara Capital City, which we argue is not sufficient. It is increasingly crucial to safeguard local populations from the effects of neoliberalism and neo-capitalism that accompany investment,

both domestically and internationally. Based on the concept of inclusive development put forth by Gupta and Vegelin (2016), this conclusion advocates for the redevelopment of Nusantara Capital City to concentrate on and incorporate at minimum three areas of inclusive development: a) social inclusivity, b) ecological inclusivity, and c) relational inclusivity.

First, the development strategy prioritizes marginalized populations (Gupta et al., 2015), equal opportunities for participation (Bavinck & Gupta, 2014), recognition of customary rights (Hordijk et al., 2015), and incorporation of the knowledge and experience of marginalized individuals in the development process (Gupta & Vegelin, 2016). In the context of developing Nusantara Capital City, the goal of inclusivity is to provide housing for marginalized individuals and vulnerable groups. Indigenous communities repeatedly marginalized and excluded from various forms of development must be included by offering opportunities to participate in the development of Nusantara Capital City. The voices of all communities, including those that were not heard during the initial development period, should be carefully considered. Refining the rights of local communities, particularly their land rights, is crucial. Land is an inherent part of the social and political identity of these communities, and it is urgent to guarantee its existence and clarify its status. In addition, ecological inclusiveness must be prioritized, aiming to protect local people from resource exploitation, promote shared responsibility and rights among different groups, and involve all stakeholders in development.

The development of Nusantara Capital City necessitates abundant resources, including a vast land area, considerable amounts of water, and extensive natural resources. Inclusive development principles should prioritize protecting local

populations from potential instances of resource exploitation, as these requirements increase the likelihood of transferring resource rights from local communities to government or investors. Additionally, safeguarding resources from harm should be a joint obligation shared by various stakeholders according to their respective contributions.

Third, relational inclusiveness suggests a comprehensive comprehension of multifaceted factors that give rise to inequality and exclusion (Ros-Tonen et al., 2015). It acknowledges the exclusion and deterioration of the environment caused by actors at both global and local levels, necessitating policies that involve and empower all actors (Gupta et al., 2015). In the Nusantara Capital City, the emergence of key actors dates back to the period of resource frontier growth long before the inception of the new capital. The presence of these actors, comprising a small group of dominants, instigated resource exploitation for their own gain. This control of resources is typically exclusive, with only a handful enjoying vast amounts, while the majority have access to little or end up as mere onlookers. The potential impact of Nusantara Capital City on resource distribution and control remains a concern, particularly if the development favors the interests of dominant actors. Nonetheless, policies aimed at preventing unequal distribution and ensuring inclusive development must be a priority and crafted collaboratively by all stakeholders involved.

In conclusion, this book conveys a clear message that the development of Nusantara Capital City has impacted various aspects, including space, place, and people. This impact extends beyond the core and development zones of the city and has directly or indirectly affected areas beyond its borders. The development planning for Nusantara Ca-

pital City appears to be excessively top-down, making it unworkable for local governments and residents who stand to benefit the most. The emergence of numerous environmental and socio-economic issues demonstrates that the government has yet to fulfill its pledge to construct an inclusive and sustainable new capital city, beginning with the planning phase. It is necessary to redesign the inclusive development plan for building Nusantara Capital City, paying attention to the primary dimensions of inclusive development before it is too late. The government needs to consider the multiplicity of public and private governance actors and their roles in shaping the Nusantara Capital City. Thus, it is important to consider reconfigurations of space and place through networks of governance actors in different geographical or spatial settings. •

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# Author's Biography

## **ERLIS SAPUTRA**

Erlis Saputra was born on 1 October 1980 in Pekanbaru, Riau province, Indonesia. He completed his doctoral degree from Department of Human Geography and Spatial Planning, Utrecht University, the Netherlands. Since 2007, he has been a lecturer in the Department of Development Geography, Faculty of Geography, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia, where he focuses on and teaches urban geography, spatial theory, small city and archipelago development, and spatial and regional planning.

His passionate interest in issues of human geography, development, and planning means that working only on campus is not enough for him, so in 2005, he co-founded a development NGO: the Institute for Regional Development Studies (IReDS). This organization has allowed him to combine theoretical perspectives mostly developed in the academic environment, with empirical work in the field. His interest continues to grow in line with several issues he came across during his research on tourism geography. Thus, in 2012 he co-founded a tourism-based NGO, namely Indonesia Tourism Watch (ITW). The combination of his position as a lecturer, his growing interests, and his activities in NGOs has led to many opportunities to work in projects and on research with, for instance, the central and local governments of Indonesia, private sectors in development and resources exploration fields, international, national, and local NGOs, and local communities. His research has been published in several peer-

reviewed journals, books, and conference proceedings. Erlis can be contacted via [erlissaputra@ugm.ac.id](mailto:erlissaputra@ugm.ac.id) or [erlissaputra@gmail.com](mailto:erlissaputra@gmail.com).



Erlis Saputra



Erlis Saputra



Erlis Saputra

## HILARY REINHART

Hilary Reinhart graduated from Physic Engineering Department, Faculty of Engineering UGM in 2015. Afterward, he continued his Master's degree in Master Programme of Environmental Science at the Graduate School of UGM and obtained his degree in 2017. Hilary Reinhart is a full-time lecturer at the Department of Development Geography, Faculty of Geography UGM. His interest in environment and development subject pushes him to be active in many kinds of research, studies, scientific conferences, and policy-making processes. His research topics cover sustainable development studies, geotourism, environmental planning, and regional development in the marginal area including rural and karst landscapes. He loves reading books, listening to music, and having outdoor activities in his free time.



Hilary Rein-  
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## AZIS MUSTHOFA

Azis Musthofa is a student in Master of Geography at Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM). He holds a BA degree from the Regional Development Study program at UGM. His research interests center on rural-urban linkages, and environmental management. Some of the study results have been published in indexed international proceedings, accredited national journals, and indexed international journals. Involved in development and environmental policy

formulation activities, and peer reviewer in International Journal. He loves playing softball, baseball, football, and futsal. Azis can be contacted via [azis.musthofa@mail.ugm.ac.id](mailto:azis.musthofa@mail.ugm.ac.id) or [azismusthofa7x@gmail.com](mailto:azismusthofa7x@gmail.com).



Azis Musthofa



Azis Musthofa



Azis Musthofa

### **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.



Moh Syahrull Irfan Fahmi

### **MAULIDIA SAVIRA CHAIRANI**



Maulidia Saviara Chairani

### **MUHAMMAD YUDA ADITYA**

Muhammad Yuda Aditya was born on 8 December 2001 in Klaten, Central Java Province, Indonesia. He started studying at the Regional Development Studies Program of Gadjah Mada University in 2019 and successfully completed the undergraduate program in 2023. Having a wide range of experiences throughout the course, both academic and non-academic. Has experience of study related to the condition of stunting cases in Salatiga City in Fieldwork 3 Regional

Development Study Program and has experience of research related to the conditions of tourist villages in Bantul Regency during the COVID-19 pandemic in internship activities at the Regional Development Planning Agency Bantul Regency. Engaged in several projects, such as the preparation of the Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) Regional Long Term Development Plan and Regional Medium Term Development Plan for Blitar City, the SEA Regional Long Term Development Plan and Regional Medium Term Development Plan for Kediri district, as well as the initial planning of the Regional Long Term Development Plan for Seruyan district. I am interested in regional economics, human development, and human geography. Dedicated to being a regional planner. Yuda can be contacted via [yudaaditya8012@mail.ugm.ac.id](mailto:yudaaditya8012@mail.ugm.ac.id) or [yudaaditya8012@gmail.com](mailto:yudaaditya8012@gmail.com)



Muhammad Yuda Aditya



Muhammad Yuda Aditya

## DEWI SETIANINGSIH

Dewi was born on June 2000 in Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia. She graduated from Regional Development Study Program, Faculty of Geography, Universitas Gadjah Mada in 2023. Since attending college in 2018, she has been active in several activities, such as student organizations, surveys and research, community service, and interdisciplinary collaboration. She also won several national islamic art competitions (MTQ). Dewi is highly interested in rural geography, tourism geography, cultural and historical studies. She loves reading, painting, and singing.



Dewi Setianingsih



Dewi Setianingsih



## **AZIDATUL KHAIRATIN NU'MAH**

 Azidatul Khairatin Nu'mah

## **PUTRI KHOIRUNISA**

Putri Khoirunisa was born on December 1999 in Bantul, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. She graduated from Regional Development, faculty of Geography, Gadjah Mada University in 2023. While studying in Regional Development, she took part in several activities and organizations to hone his soft skills and gain experience, as well as learning many things too. She interested in several development issues, especially land use change and regional economics. She also loves drawing, journaling, and travelling as her hobby. Lastly, she really loves business, she started studying and running her business since junior high school till now.

## **AFIFAH NENENG NURAINI**

Recent graduate with a degree in Regional Development of the Faculty of Geography with some experience. I've been a surveyor to help a local government program and research program, thus sharpening my skills and knowledge to be better. I'm also interested in the field of Food and Beverage (F&B), as evidenced by my contribution as a coordinator and member of an organization event at the Faculty and University level. Besides, I also love the beauty of art combined with the world of business that proved me to be the co-founder of a growing florist business.

 Afifah Neneng Nuraini

## **NADIA ANINDYA DHAFITA**

Nadia Anindya Dhafita graduated from Regional Develop-

ment Studies in Faculty University of Gadjah Mada. She continue her study in Master Degree's of Geography in Faculty of Geography, University of Gadjah Mada in the same time of her last year's bachelor degree. Her study focused about Sustainable Development Goals, social-geography, human-geography, and interested with local community. She also interested in teaching. She recently working in Edufio In-Home Tutoring and joining many assistance of school and college subject.



Nadia Anindya Dhafita

## **R. RIJANTA**

Rijanta is a professor at the Department of Development Geography, Faculty of Geography, and a Researcher at the Research Centre for Regional Development Planning, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia. His research interest covers rural and regional development, rural-urban linkages, sustainable livelihood, and community disaster resilience. He has been a visiting researcher at the Research Centre for Urban Safety and Security, Kobe University, Japan (2008) and visiting scientist at the Center for Disaster Resilience (CDR) at ITC, University of Twente, the Netherlands (2022). He is a member of researchers working in the consortium of Diamonds in the Delta Networks, involving researchers from universities and partner organizations in Bangladesh, Colombia, India, Indonesia, the Netherlands, the Philippines, and Vietnam. His publication appears in *Regional Views*, *Journal of Settlements and Spatial Planning*, *Human Geographies*, *Journal of Urban and Regional Analysis*, *Indonesian Journal of Geography*, *Sustainability*, *Journal of Natural Resources and Development*, *Romanian Review of Regional Studies*, *International Journal*

of Sustainable Development and Planning, and International Journal of Forestry Research. He currently leads a research consortium on relocating and developing the new Indonesian capital in East Kalimantan, involving researchers from Indonesia and the Netherlands. The research activities in East Kalimantan are combined with community services, involving students from Gadjah Mada University.

**R**<sup>6</sup> Rijanta Bapak

**A** Rijanta Bapak

### **RIZKI ADRIADI GHIFFARI**

Rizki Adriadi Ghiffari, born in Masohi (Province of Maluku, Indonesia), June 10, 1995. He is a teaching staff since 2020 at the Regional Spatial Planning Laboratory, Department of Development Geography, Faculty of Geography. Rizki received his undergraduate degree in 2015 at the Urban and Regional Planning Study Program from Sepuluh Nopember Institute of Technology (ITS), while his master degree has earned from the Geography Study Program (Interest in Coastal and Watershed Management Planning), Universitas Gadjah Mada, in 2018. Currently, he has involved in the research and teaching focusing on New City Development, Coastal and Watershed Development Planning, Spatial Planning and Regional Planning, Regional Analysis Techniques, and Applied Statistics. Currently, he is also active as a Professional Urban Planner and as a certified member of the Indonesian Association of Urban and Regional Planners (IAP).



Rizki Adriadi  
Ghiffari



Rizki Adriadi  
Ghiffari



Rizki Adriadi  
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### **MOHAMMAD ISNAINI SADALI**




Mohammad Isnaini Sadali is a lecturer at the Regional

Development Study Program of Universitas Gadjah Mada since 2012. His Bachelor's degree was completed in 2008 at the Faculty of Geography, Universitas Gadjah Mada, while his Master's degree was completed in 2014 at the Graduate School of Universitas Gadjah Mada. Currently, the author is pursuing a doctoral degree in Geography at the Universitas Gadjah Mada. Since becoming a lecturer, the author has actively written and published scientific works on the theme of regional development geography in books, journals, proceedings, and scientific speeches. The author can be contacted via email [m.isnaini.s@ugm.ac.id](mailto:m.isnaini.s@ugm.ac.id).

 Mohammad Isnaini Sadali

### **AGUNG JAUHARI**

Agung Jauhari earned his Bachelor's degree from the Faculty of Geography, Universitas Gadjah Mada in 2013, followed by his Master's degree in 2016. Since 2018, he registered as a lecturer in the Department of Earth Technology at the Vocational College, Universitas Gadjah Mada, especially in the Bachelor of Applied Science in Geographic Information System study program. Currently, his research focuses on the application of geographic information systems (GIS) for analyzing regional development patterns, sustainable rural-urban development, and regional planning. Agung can be contacted via [agungjauhari@ugm.ac.id](mailto:agungjauhari@ugm.ac.id).

 Agung Jauhari  Agung Jauhari  Agung Jauhari

### **PUPUT WAHYU BUDIMAN**

Puput Wahyu Budiman is a Researcher of Urban and Regional Planning in Research and Development Agency of East Yogyakarta. 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.

R<sup>6</sup> Puput Wahyu Budiman

### **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: ASPI (Indonesian Planning Schools Association), IAP (Indonesian Association of Urban and Regional Planners), and IABI (Indonesian Disaster Experts Association).

 Rahmat Aris Pratomo     Rahmat Aris Pratomo     Rahmat Aris Pratomo

## **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.

 Ari Susanti, PhD     Ari Susanti     Ari Susanti

## **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](mailto:rosalina.kumalawati@ulm.ac.id).



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## 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 Peatland and Mangrove Restoration Agency since 2017 and now serves as Head of Working Group

on Peatland 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.

 Jany Tri  
Raharjo

 Jany T.  
Raharjo

### **FITRIANSYAH**

Fitriansyah is a lecturer in management and business at the Faculty of Economics, Business and Politics at Muhammadiyah University, East Kalimantan, Indonesia. He graduated as a Bachelor of Engineering at the Faculty of Industrial Engineering, Islamic University of Indonesia, Yogyakarta, followed by a Masters Degree in Management at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta. Doctoral degree in Management Science obtained at the University of Mulawarman Samarinda. In addition, the Engineer Profession was obtained at the Faculty of Engineering, Mulawarman University, Samarinda. He has a wealth of teaching, research and development experience in the fields of human resource management, finance, information systems and governance. Especially research related to job passion and job talent. Apart from being a lecturer, he is also a bureaucrat or state civil servant, and currently serves as Head of the Regional Research and Development Agency of East Kalimantan Province.



## **EDWARDUS IWANTRI GOMA**

Edwardus Iwantri Goma, born in Manggarai, East Nusa Tenggara Province, December 27, 1991. He is a full-time lecturer at the Department of Geography Education, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Mulawarman University, Samarinda, East Kalimantan Province, Indonesia. He received his undergraduate degree in 2014 at the Geography Education Study Program from Nusa Cendana University (UNDANA). He continued his master degree in Master Programme of Population at the Graduate School of UGM. Currently, he is pursuing a Doctoral degree in Doctoral Programme of Population at the Graduate School of UGM. He is interested in population research and has published in several journals and books. Currently, the theme of his dissertation research also concerns population issues around the new capital city of Indonesia (Nusantara). Edwardus Iwantri Goma can be contacted via [edwardus@fkip.unmul.ac.id](mailto:edwardus@fkip.unmul.ac.id) or [edgoma27@gmail.com](mailto:edgoma27@gmail.com).

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