THE IMPACT OF INDONESIA CAPITAL RELOCATION TO KALIMANTAN PEATLAND RESTORATION

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Abstract

East Kalimantan is the location designated by President Jokowi Dodo as the new capital city of Indonesia. In terms of autonomy, the reason for moving the capital city, according to the government, is for the sake of equitable development. Decentralization is the idea and spirit of the founders of the State, with the division of territories including their powers. This is stated in the provisions of Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution which encourage the implementation of regional autonomy in a broad and concrete manner, with the hope that disadvantaged areas can develop themselves and align themselves with other regions in order to advance welfare. The relocation of the new capital city will create new problems in this country, not only peat problems but will result in ecological disasters. It is hoped that the relocation of the capital city will really be studied and evaluated because it will seriously threaten the sustainability of peatlands in East Kalimantan, where 0.3 million hectares are peatlands. The role of local government is very important because in its implementation in realizing good environmental governance, the ability of local governments to protect and manage the environment is needed. This study uses a qualitative research approach, which is a scientific method used and carried out by a group of researchers in the field of social sciences, including education.

Keywords: Peatland Restoration, Political Ecology, Respons to Indonesia Capital Relocation, Decentralization, Regional Autonomy
1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The issue of relocating the capital city of Indonesia which had been planned since the Dutch East Indies era, but in the Soekarno era the issue of moving the capital outside the island of Java was getting stronger but it was closed again by Soekarno. Then, the issue of relocating the capital city was raised again when Jokowi served as President of the Republic of Indonesia (Novelino, 2019), which resulted in the decision that Kalimantan be the chosen area to be used as a plan for the new capital for Indonesia. Therefore, development will also be an option for the government to develop the Kalimantan region into a big city like DKI Jakarta. In carrying out development into a new city, the government needs to open land to build government offices, housing, and other infrastructure needed by Kalimantan as a candidate for the new capital of the State. (Tacconi, theconversation 2019). This is supported because Kalimantan is an area that meets the requirements as a new capital.

With this wide area of land, currently Kalimantan is still filled with forests and peat ecosystems that are still protected. The peat ecosystem, is one of the large ecosystems that must be considered to be of particular concern to the government. Because when the new capital is moved to Kalimantan, the peat ecosystem will be threatened with exhaustion and will cause new problems for the people of Kalimantan. The peat ecosystem is an ecosystem that is very rare in Indonesia and we must protect it. This is because peat ecosystems have the ability to store and maintain large amounts of water, mitigate floods, and maintain the availability of clean water supplies throughout the year. In addition, the functions of the peatland ecosystem are to protect water availability, conserve biodiversity, store oxygen-producing carbon stocks, balance the climate which is divided into the protection function of the peat ecosystem and the function of cultivating the peat ecosystem (Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan n.d.). Peat's biggest threats are draining and fires, which are usually accompanied by forest conversion.

Drying causes the groundwater level to fall and this part that is not wetted will decompose so that carbon will be released into the air. This release is continuous, slow. The fire also speeds up the process of releasing carbon into the air in a short time. As a result, peat will deflate and decline (subsidence) which causes the land to lose its productivity and regulatory function (Tirtaningtyas 2018). All parties, including businessmen, government, and society, must work together to protect peat in Indonesia. If the peat ecosystem is damaged, it will no longer be possible to restore it, but it will cause new problems in the future.

Penajam Paser Utara and parts of Kutai Kartanegara Regency, East Kalimantan are the locations that have been determined by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Joko Widodo, as the candidate areas for the new capital city for Indonesia. As we know, in this area, there are three types of forest, namely production forest, protected forest, and conservation forest. There is concern that the disruption of forest ecosystems and environmental burdens cannot be avoided because according to Greenpeace, from 2015 to 2019, there were more than 3,592 hotspots in Kutai Kartanegara and areas of ex-forest fires and more than 35,000 hectares of land and forest fires (Zulfikar 2019). The various risks posed by moving the new capital to East Kalimantan cannot be denied. This is because the location is close to peatlands in Mahakam Lake. The smoke from peatland fires can cause air pollution, loss of habitat for endangered and protected species, and cause respiratory disease for humans. An increase in population and clearing of new land for local people can increase the risk of peatland fires (The Conversation 2019).

Before it was planned that Kalimantan was chosen to be the new capital city, there had been a lot of forest fires by the community to open new land, such as oil palm, to meet the economic needs of the people of Kalimantan. The occurrence of fires on peatlands has
become a source of dense smoke that blankets various parts of Indonesia which has occurred in recent years. In addition, the balance of the peat ecosystem in Kalimantan will be increasingly threatened by loss due to the actions of the local people themselves.

It is feared that the plan to move the new capital city in Kalimantan which is still rich in peatlands will happen conversion of peatlands to open land and converted into urban areas as appropriate the nation's capital so that will result in peatland becoming scarcer or even disappearing. Therefore, the government needs to strengthen the planning for the clearing of this new capital city, think about how, what impact and consequences will be received if the new capital of Indonesia is still moved from Jakarta to Kalimantan but still maintains peatlands and does everything possible to protect peatlands. Peat that has already been cleared and is in the cultivation function area must be utilized without drainage and without burning. For peat that has been managed and is located in a protected function area, it must be restored into peat swamp forest so that its natural function can work.

1.2 Research Questions

Based on this background, the problem formulations that underlie this paper are:

1. Is moving the capital city to Kalimantan in line with environmental politics goals?
2. Is moving the capital city a tool for the welfare of the people, especially Kalimantan?

1.3 Purpose And Objective

This paper aims to find out how the impact of relocating the capital to Kalimantan for the peat ecosystem

2. Literature Review

Basically, every policy made by the government still has shortcomings even though it aims at something positive. However, the Indonesian government itself often violates policies that have been made, even though the impact and consequences are well known. One of the policies made was a policy to protect the environment.

One of the government projects regarding the printing of paddy fields on peatlands is government work that destroys the peat ecosystem in Kalimantan. The result of the paddy fields printing on the peatlands is the destruction of the peat ecosystem that has not recovered and has become a source of disasters for the environment as well as peatland forest fires that have occurred during the last 20 years. Efforts have been made to deal with the damage, but these efforts have failed and always fail because the government is not serious in dealing with the damage.

The government also does not reflect on the events caused by the printing of rice fields on peatlands. The government has created a new project called the development of a food estate which also has a negative impact on the peat ecosystem in Kalimantan. This food estate development plan shows again that the government is not implementing its policies properly. This food estate has a bad impact on the sustainability of the peat ecosystem in Kalimantan because it can dry out existing canals and cause the peatlands to dry up, which is the source of peatland fires. In addition, greenhouse gas emissions will be released and the smoke from the peatland fires will disrupt public health, such as causing respiratory disease and premature death. (Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia 2020).

Political Ecology is an approach that discusses the study of the relationship between natural resources and the actors who use these natural resources. In addition, environmental politics refers to the study of the environment, namely the relationship between society and
the environment, government policies that respond to environmental issues, politics with the environment, government plans to address environmental problems, and prioritize state conservation regarding the environment. The actors are State, Non-Government Organizations, and International Institutions (Hidayat 2005).

This study of political ecology is very closely related to the environment and the environment which is particularly related to humans, as thought by the thought of Marxism where society is also more concerned with economic power and damages the environment without having to think that the environment, such as forests, should be the foundation of lungs -the world's lungs have now been damaged for the sake of people's economic strength, which has happened in several Indonesian provinces, there are still many peat ecosystems being damaged just to open new land which refers to economic development (Hidayat 2005). Because peatlands are not only important ecologically, but also important to accommodate various interests such as economic and social. The allocation of land for various purposes is something that needs to be considered in particular. Even so, the government also really needs to pay more attention or care strictly to protect peatlands (Afentina t.thn.).

In terms of autonomy, the reason for moving the capital city, according to the government, is for the sake of equitable development. However, if this transfer is not followed by strengthening the autonomy and decentralization system, it is the same. Decentralization is the idea and spirit of the founders of the State, with the division of territories including their powers. This is stated in the provisions of Article 18 of the 1945 Constitution, which has encouraged the implementation of regional autonomy in a broad and concrete manner, in the hope that the lagging regions can develop themselves and align themselves with other regions in order to advance the welfare of their people.

As a rule of law where government power is regulated by law, efforts to restore and protect peatlands in Indonesia require law enforcement support, including the formation of new regulations regarding peatland spatial plans that require the preservation of protected peatlands as stipulated. But the strange thing is that the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Jokowi, even wants to move the new capital city in Penajam Paser Utara district and Kutai Kartanegara Regency which threatens the protection of peatlands in the new capital.

In connection with the protection of peatlands in Indonesia, Issuance made by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry regarding Government Regulation 71/2014 concerning the protection and management of peatland ecosystems, Law 32/2009 concerning Protection and Management of the Environment and the 1945 Constitution (P. R. Indonesia 2014). All of these laws prohibit land clearing in peat areas from the conclusion that the new capital is threatening the protection of peatlands.

In the context of democracy and the rule of law is a prerequisite for the implementation of sustainable development. Ideally, environmental law should be able to bridge constitutional democracy with the rule of law. The role of law in the fulfillment of constitutional rights related to the environment needs to be prioritized, and environmental law should not be interpreted in a reductionist manner with a larger portion in the arrangement aimed at encouraging the obedience of the new capital city to come.

As a democratic country, it should be able to prevent arbitrary and discriminatory governance practices. The law, as a set of rules that the public must comply with, should be issued by the authorities according to the standards, procedures and objectives set out by law. There is a growing opinion among legal experts that the legal system should not be based solely on formal procedures, which stipulate that the rule of law must be clear, open, relatively stable and based on laws. They think that the legal system must also take into account the values in society, especially human rights. Justice and morals.
The 1945 Constitution (UUD), the highest law in Indonesia's legislative hierarchy, concerns the values of these societies. The Constitution recognizes human rights, such as the right to a clean and healthy environment. In the context of natural resource management, namely Article 33 paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution which states, "The land and water and natural resources contained therein are controlled by the state and used for the greatest prosperity of the people". In this article it is clearly stated that there is an obligation for state administrators to promote public welfare and provide for the basic needs of the community. For this reason, the State is given the authority to regulate and manage natural resources throughout Indonesia in order to advance this prosperity.

The principle of "for the greatest prosperity of the people" is the goal to be achieved by the management of natural resources through the instrument of "the right to control the state". If it is related to the instrument of the right to control the State, according to Bagir Manan, "the right to control the State must not be separated from the goal, namely for the greatest benefit of the people (Manan 2004). This principle requires that the substance of the regulation of natural resource management policies, including policies on the use of natural resources, must side with the people for the realization of welfare.

In Article 33 paragraph 4 of the 1945 Law, which reads "The national economy is organized based on economic democracy with the principles of togetherness, efficiency, justice, sustainability, environmental insight, independence, and by maintaining a balance between progress and national economic unity". If the new capital city that has been elected is East Kalimantan, where we know that there are still so many protected forest lands, including peatlands, then on the basis of what practice is idealized based on articles 33 paragraph 3 and 4 of the 1945 Constitution, it will be very far from what is expected, because what is happening is a lot of damage to our natural resources. Therefore the government and society have a major role to play an equal role in building the sustainability of the peatland area in the area that will become the capital.

To realize the goals of developing our natural resources at this time, it is necessary to have Environmental Education from an early age to prepare the golden generation of the future (Lufitriani, 2010). Generations, not only learning through books or just listening to the teacher speak in class. With the effort to prepare the Generation for the next decades, (monitor Peat, 2018) Future generations must be prepared from an early age. Education must continue to endeavor to build a nation that is intellectually capable, morally graceful, and ready to face the challenges of its time. With this environmental education, the future generations will also be more careful in preserving and protecting our natural resources, and of course they will also be more careful in damaging their own environment. This policy is one of the requirements for realizing our natural resources, of course (Peat Restoration Agency, Jakarta 2010)

3. Research methods

This research uses a qualitative research approach where qualitative research as a scientific method is often used and carried out by a group of researchers in the field of social sciences, including education. A number of reasons are also put forward that the point is that qualitative research enriches the results of quantitative research. Qualitative research is carried out to build knowledge through understanding and discovery. The qualitative research approach is a process of research and understanding based on methods that investigate social phenomena and human problems. In this study, the researcher created a complex picture, examined the words, detailed reports of the respondents' views, and conducted studies on natural situations. (Iskandar, Jakarta 2009)
4. Results and Discussion

The relocation of the state capital from DKI Jakarta to East Kalimantan will have an impact on nature conservation in the Kalimantan region itself, especially East Kalimantan. The positive impact that will be generated is the exploitation of potential natural resources that have so far been untapped and untapped in East Kalimantan. This will also increase state revenue. However, in addition to positive impacts, there are also negative impacts that will later arise as a result of moving the capital city. Land clearing and diversion are factors that destroy nature because this is done by burning forests and peatlands. The burning can have devastating consequences for forest ecosystems and communities.

In the Kalimantan region, many peat ecosystems have been damaged due to the conversion of land to agricultural land for the community because the livelihood of the people of Kalimantan is by farming. If the transfer of the country's capital is realized, there will be many people who will clear land and divert land into industrial areas and development of the capital. This land transfer is very threatening to forest and upland ecosystems in East Kalimantan itself. In addition, the number of highly protected peat ecosystems will decrease and will eventually run out due to land transfer. In addition, if the peat ecosystem is depleted and depleted, it will result in flooding because there is no water absorption that can accommodate rainwater.

In Central Kalimantan, the local government has carried out a peatland restoration project carried out by the Peat Restoration Agency (BRG), because the peat ecosystem stores the largest carbon and plays a role in determining the size of carbon emissions every year so there must be efforts to create a healthy environment by reducing emissions. Emission reduction is carried out by decreasing the rate of managing forests with a sustainable concept, restoring peatlands, and rehabilitating integrated land. This is expected to be implemented by the East Kalimantan regional government regarding new land clearing due to the relocation of Indonesia's capital.

The relocation of the new capital city will create a new problem in this country, not only the problem of peat but will cause ecological disasters such as floods and forest fires. This will be a big problem if this is not accompanied by strict law enforcement, especially in the future for companies that open their businesses on peatlands regardless of environmental conditions. The government should be able to protect the forest ecosystem itself and protect the local people of the local community as well because this will also deprive the indigenous people of their own living space who depend on natural resources and will also eliminate the native endemic diversity of Kalimantan due to changes in function patterns. and space for flora and fauna. (The conversation, 2019)

The relocation of the country's capital has an impact on the welfare of the people of Kalimantan itself. The results of a survey conducted showed that 15% of respondents felt that the government must first solve economic problems and unemployment. The community is also worried that the capital relocation project will increase state spending. In addition, the cost of building a new city from scratch was high. 58.6% of respondents also believe that other things the government should do are more urgent than moving the capital city such as economic problems, poverty and welfare, as well as unemployment and employment (Ramadhan 2019).

Bappenas in its study stated that the transfer of IKN will have a positive impact on the national economy and predict GDP growth of 0.1%. Bappenas said that the increase in GRDP comes from the use of potential resources, such as clearing land for productive infrastructure and job opportunities for unused skilled human resources. Bappenas specifically calculates that the wages of workers around these areas will increase, as reflected in the increase in labor prices by 1.37% (Silalahi 2019).
The relocation of the new capital city also has a very good impact on the welfare of the community, one of the developments in the new capital city will also create job vacancies, of course, the reduction in the number of unemployed people because the absorption of a new workforce who come from the local area is also prioritized and by moving the new capital. This also means that the government is closer and easier to monitor or control peatlands or protected forests, which is the government's obligation to protect peatlands. Besides that, one of the reasons for the government to relocate the capital city of East Kalimantan is to create economic equality throughout Indonesia without exception. (Suara dari Dewata, Nusantara 2020)

One of the original residents, the North Paser Sharpener, was very happy because the relocation of the capital to the region would have increased equity in Kalimantan; from the public opinion sector and technology in Kalimantan, it could be the same as Java, said Hexsa when contacting DW Indonesia (Detiknews, 2019).

It is hoped that the relocation of the capital city can realize economic equality and determine the location of the destination as far as possible to fulfill the values of inter-island connectivity, both internal connectivity and external connectivity of the country. However, the consequences of relocating the capital city can have an impact on environmental sustainability, including peatlands.

Based on the data presented by WALHI, it is stated that even though the quantity of ecological disasters in 2014 has decreased, the threats and levels of vulnerability in a number of areas will continue to increase and expand. This vulnerability can be demonstrated by the release of forest areas into non-forest areas, conversion of forest and peatlands for mining and plantations. This problem is the root that causes deforestation, apart from illegal logging, which causes degradation and decreases the quality and quality of the environment. It is increasingly obvious that the level of vulnerability and threat of ecological disasters is brought on when the ability to restore the environment through reforestation programs is very much proportional to the level of damage that exists (W. L. Indonesia 2015).

Based on Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, it can be concluded that the principle of regional autonomy uses the broadest possible principle of autonomy in the sense that regions are given the authority to manage and regulate all government affairs outside of the affairs of the central government. Regions have the authority to make regional policies to provide services to increase participation, initiative and community empowerment aimed at improving people's welfare.

In line with these principles, real and responsible principles are also implemented. The principle of real autonomy is a principle that to handle government affairs based on duties, powers, and obligations that actually already exist and have the potential to grow, live and develop in accordance with the potential and uniqueness of the region so that each region has a different burden of autonomy.

Furthermore, what is meant by responsible autonomy is autonomy, which in its implementation must be strictly in line with the objectives and purposes of granting autonomy. Environmental policy is a state or government policy in the environmental sector. The environmental policy thus becomes part of public policy (Akib, Hukum Lingkungan Perspektif global dan nasional 2014).

Local governments must have adequate capacity in environmental protection and management, both in planning, utilization, control, maintenance, supervision, and law enforcement. The relocation of the new capital city must be considered because this will threaten the sustainability of peatlands, and its implementation must be in line with the goals and objectives of granting autonomy. Efforts to improve the quality of life of the community through development will not be separated from the role of the environment, which, together with social and economic aspects, is the main motive for sustainable development.
Furthermore, regarding regional authority in the environmental sector in terms of protection and management, it is regulated more specifically in Law Number 32 of 2009 concerning Environmental Protection and Management (PPLH).

The objectives of environmental protection and management will be achieved if the government, both the central government, regional governments, and all citizens with state coordination in implementing the principle of state responsibility. According to Muhammad Akib, the regional authority as given by the UUPLH-2009 implied an intention to strengthen regional environmental institutions into operational and coordinating institutions. This can be seen from the breadth of the duties and authorities of the provincial and district or city governments in environmental protection and management. (Akib, Politik Hukum Lingkungan Dinamika dan Refleksinya Dalam Produk Hukum Otonomi Daerah 2012).

One example of a policy with a case occurs in the policy on peatland management in Indonesia. In 2016 the government had issued PP No. 57 of 2016 and also its derivative regulations in the form of Permen LHK No. 40 of 2017. The derivative impact of this policy is the determination of priority areas for peat restoration. At least 2.1 million hectares of priority peatland areas must be restored.

For peat areas that have been burdened by permits, the government allocates unauthorized forest areas in other locations as replacement areas. However, what deserves great attention is the lack of transparency and space for public participation in relation to the policy.

Information disclosure regarding these areas must be carried out considering the location, which becomes the replacement area will be affected; create new social conflicts or deforestation if the replacement area is still covered by natural forest. This potential is very likely to occur in the case of a new capital city, given a large number of corporate permits in the region (Johansyah 2019). It is hoped that the relocation of this capital city must really be studied and evaluated because this will seriously threaten the sustainability of peatlands in East Kalimantan, where 0.3 million hectares are peatlands.

The role of local government is very important because its implementation in realizing good environmental governance requires the ability of local governments to protect and manage the environment. Pollution and environmental damage will certainly affect the sustainability of the quality of human life. To realize the quality of human life and the environment, it is undeniable that the condition of the city and its environment, which is clean and orderly, is a requirement that must be met by every local government.

The strategy for effective environmental management in the regions within the framework of regional autonomy is to involve community participation in environmental protection and management. Through decentralization and regional autonomy, local government agencies play a major role in protecting the environment and natural resources in Indonesia. But these agencies often have to face formidable challenges in adjusting to exercising this power. When President Jokowi announces the relocation of a new capital city in East Kalimantan, this should pay attention to the aspirations of the regional government who want to remain the capital city in Jakarta because this will threaten the environmental sustainability of the place that will become the new capital.

Based on Law number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, it can be concluded that the principle of regional autonomy uses the broadest possible principle of autonomy in the sense that regions are given the authority to manage and regulate all government affairs outside those of the central government. Mr. President Jokowi unilaterally decided to relocate the new capital city in East Kalimantan, what's the difference with the regime of Mr. Soeharto, whose system was centralized. Centralization is the entire central government authority. The only regions are waiting for instructions from the central government to implement the policies outlined by law.
Political changes in Indonesia in 1997 have brought changes in the government system from centralized to decentralized. The occurrence of this change gave a large portion of the authority to manage government in the regions. It means that decentralization is more directed at resolving plural environmental problems in accordance with the environmental context in each region without having to be centralized in arguments laden with unilateral interests.

5. Conclusion

The issue of relocating the capital city of Indonesia which had been planned since the Dutch East Indies era, but in the Soekarno era the issue of moving the capital outside the island of Java was getting stronger but it was closed again by Soekarno. Then, the issue of relocating the capital city was raised again when Jokowi served as President of the Republic of Indonesia. Which, resulted in the decision that Kalimantan be the chosen area to be used as a plan for the new capital for Indonesia. Therefore, the development will also be an option for the government to develop the Kalimantan region into a big city like DKI Jakarta. In carrying out development into a new city, the government needs to open land to build government offices, housing, and other infrastructure needed by Kalimantan as a candidate for the new state capital. As reported by several media outlets, the Indonesian government has provided 180,000 hectares of land for the planned construction of the new capital. This is supported because Kalimantan is an area that meets the requirements as a new capital. With this wide area of land, currently Kalimantan is still filled with forests and peat ecosystems that are still protected.

The peat ecosystem is one of the major ecosystems that must be given special attention by the government. Because when the new capital is moved to Kalimantan, the peat ecosystem will be threatened with exhaustion and will cause new problems for the people of Kalimantan. The peat ecosystem is an ecosystem that is very rare in Indonesia, and we must protect it. This is because the peat ecosystem has the ability to store and maintain large amounts of water, mitigate floods, and maintain the availability of clean water supplies throughout the year. In addition, the function of the peatland ecosystem is to protect water availability, conserve biodiversity, store oxygen-producing carbon stocks, balance the climate, which is divided into the function of protecting the peat ecosystem and the function of cultivating the peat ecosystem.

The biggest threats to peat are draining and fires, which are usually accompanied by forest conversion. Peat that has already been cleared and is in cultivation function areas, must be utilized without drainage and without burning. For peat that has been managed and is located in a protected function area, it must be restored into peat swamp forest so that its natural function can work. The relocation of the state capital from DKI Jakarta to East Kalimantan will have an impact on nature conservation in the Kalimantan region itself, especially East Kalimantan. The positive impact that will be generated is the exploitation of potential natural resources that have so far been untapped and untapped in East Kalimantan. This, in turn, will increase state income. However, in addition to positive impacts, there are also negative impacts that will later arise as a result of moving the capital city. Land clearing and diversion are factors that destroy nature, because this is done by burning forests and peatlands. The burning can have devastating consequences for forest ecosystems and communities.

The relocation of the country's capital has an impact on the welfare of the people of Kalimantan itself. The results of a survey conducted showed that 15% of respondents felt that the government must first solve economic problems and unemployment. The community is also worried that the capital relocation project will increase state spending. In addition, the cost of building a new city from scratch was high. Furthermore, regarding regional authority
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However, what deserves great attention is the lack of transparency and space for public participation in relation to this policy. It is hoped that the relocation of this capital city must really be studied and evaluated because this will seriously threaten the sustainability of peatlands in East Kalimantan, where 0.3 million hectares in the form of peatlands. The role of local government is very important because its implementation in realizing good environmental governance requires the ability of local governments to protect and manage the environment.
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