Political Discourse Analysis of Central Kalimantan's Opportunities in the Development of the Nusantara Capital City in the Public Debate of the Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Central Kalimantan in 2024

Analisis Wacana Politik Peluang Kalimantan Tengah dalam Pembangunan Ibu Kota Nusantara pada Debat Publik Calon Gubernur dan Wakil Gubernur Kalimantan Tengah Tahun 2024

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Abstract

This research analyzes Central Kalimantan's opportunities in developing the Indonesian Capital City (IKN) through the discourse that emerged in the public debate of candidates for governor and deputy governor of Central Kalimantan in 2024. Using a critical discourse analysis approach, data in the form of debate transcripts were analyzed using NVivo 15 software to identify key themes, discourse patterns, and relationships between issues. The research results show that there are six political discourses in the debate, namely: infrastructure development, natural resource management, and human resource empowerment are the main themes in the debate. The couple Abdul Razak and Sri Suswanto and the couple Agustiar Sabran and Edy Pratowo both have percentage coverage highest on the issue of job creation (34.53%), Nadalsyah and Supian Hadi highest on the issue of opportunities for Central Kalimantan as a buffer for IKN food security (11.85%). Meanwhile Willy M Yosef and Habib Said have percentage coverage highest on the issue of infrastructure development opportunities. This research contributes to the development of strategic policy through political discourse for regional head candidates who will be elected in translating the position and reading of Central Kalimantan's opportunities as a buffer for the capital of the archipelago on its policy priority scale.

Keywords

Discourse Analysis; Indonesian Capital City; Public Debate; Central Kalimantan.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menganalisis peluang Kalimantan Tengah dalam pembangunan Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) melalui wacana yang muncul pada debat publik calon gubernur dan wakil gubernur Kalimantan Tengah tahun 2024. Dengan pendekatan analisis wacana kritis, data berupa transkrip debat dianalisis menggunakan perangkat lunak NVivo 15 untuk mengidentifikasi tema-tema kunci, pola wacana, dan hubungan antar-isu. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat enam wacana politik dalam debat yaitu: pembangunan infrastruktur, pengelolaan sumber daya alam, dan pemberdayaan sumber daya manusia menjadi tema utama dalam debat. Pasangan Abdul Razak dan Sri Suswanto dan pasangan Agustiar Sabran dan Edy Pratowo sama-sama memiliki cakupan persentase tertinggi pada isu penciptaan lapangan kerja (34,53%), Nadalsyah dan Supian Hadi tertinggi pada isu peluang Kalimantan Tengah sebagai penyangga ketahanan pangan IKN (11,85%). Sementara Willy M Yosef dan Habib Said memiliki cakupan persentase tertinggi pada isu peluang pembangunan infrastruktur. Penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi bagi pengembangan kebijakan strategis melalui wacana politik bagi kandidat kepala daerah yang akan terpilih dalam menerjemahkan posisi dan membaca peluang Kalimantan Tengah sebagai penyangga Ibu Kota Nusantara pada skala prioritas kebijakannya.

Kata Kunci

Analisis Wacana; Ibu Kota Nusantara; Debat Publik; Kalimantan Tengah.

1.   Introduction

The Government of Indonesia has officially designated the relocation of the national capital to East Kalimantan, creating both opportunities and challenges for neighboring regions, including Central Kalimantan. As a province adjacent to the new capital, Central Kalimantan holds strategic potential to contribute to the development and operation of the Nusantara Capital City (IKN) in terms of infrastructure, economy, and socio-cultural support. In addition to serving as an accelerator of public participation (Sari & Hadi, 2023), the first public debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan gubernatorial and vice-gubernatorial candidates, held on Monday (October 14, 2024), became a pivotal moment for candidates to express their visions and strategies regarding Central Kalimantan's role in IKN development. The theme of the debate was "Enhancing Central Kalimantan's Public Welfare through Equitable and Sustainable Economic Growth," where IKN development was one of the substantive topics discussed. Analyzing the discourse from this debate reveals strategic opportunities, challenges, and policy visions presented by the candidates to position Central Kalimantan as a development partner of IKN.

The critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach is deemed effective for understanding how candidates articulate strategic issues and narratives (Ulzikri, 2020). With the assistance of NVivo 15 software, this study systematically explored data through thematic coding and visualization of complex discourse patterns. The research seeks to uncover the discourses voiced by gubernatorial and vice-gubernatorial candidates in Central Kalimantan's 2024 election concerning development opportunities related to IKN. It also explores which issues and narratives were emphasized and how these reflect varying policy orientations among candidates. The goal is to identify the strategic discourses articulated during the public debate and, through NVivo analysis, to explore Central Kalimantan's potential and challenges in supporting IKN development, while comparing each candidate's policy approach to these strategic themes.

Previous studies have examined discourse analysis in political debates. For instance, van Dijk (2009) demonstrated how critical discourse analysis can reveal the ways language constructs meaning in political contexts. Fairclough (2013) similarly emphasized how discourse reflects power and ideology communicated by political actors. In Indonesia, Khotimah and Kusuma (2024) analyzed discourse in presidential debates, highlighting that political discourse involves not only political issues but also the candidates' communication strategies and language use, which can shape public perception. In the 2019 presidential election, ideological rivalry and discourse contestation also influenced voter attention (Ulzikri et al., 2021). Iskandar (2018) also employed political discourse analysis in examining the 2019 presidential debates, noting that differences in policy orientation affected candidates' approaches.

Central Kalimantan, as the locus of this study, holds a strategic position as a buffer region for the Nusantara Capital City. While numerous studies have explored political debate discourse in Indonesia, few focus specifically on IKN development discourse in Central Kalimantan. Therefore, this study addresses that gap by exploring Central Kalimantan's development opportunities within the first public debate of gubernatorial and vice-gubernatorial candidates in 2024.

2.   Methods

This study employs a qualitative method with a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to examine Central Kalimantan's opportunities in the development of the Nusantara Capital City (IKN) as articulated in the 2024 public debate of gubernatorial and vice-gubernatorial candidates. This approach is chosen for its

capacity to uncover how language is used to construct narratives, reflect power, and articulate strategic issue (Catalano & Waugh, 2020). The primary data source comprises transcripts from the public debate, complemented by supporting data such as media reports, policy documents, and relevant academic literature. Analysis was conducted using NVivo 15 software, which facilitated thematic coding, discourse clustering, and visualization of inter-theme relationships.
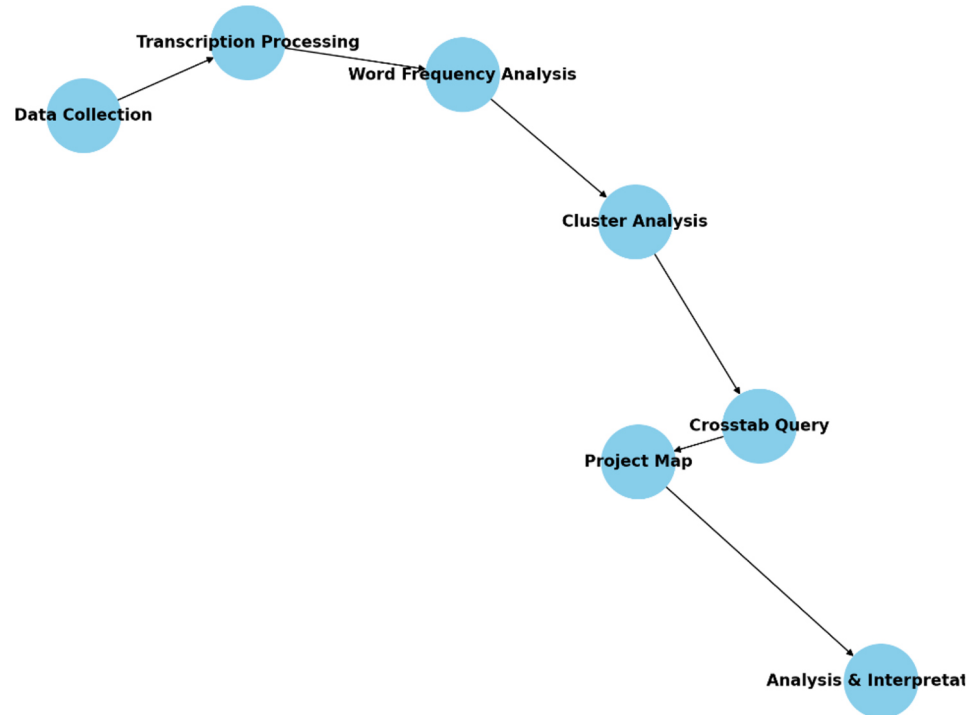

Figure 1. Research Steps

The initial stage of the research involved data collection and preparation, ensuring the debate transcripts were aligned with the objectives of the analysis (Woolf & Silver, 2017). The data was then coded to identify main themes emerging in the discourse, such as infrastructure, human resources, natural resource management, and economic policy. To gain a deeper understanding of the discussion focus, the word frequency feature was used to analyze commonly appearing terms in the debate. The results were visualized using word clouds, offering an overview of the dominant topics in the candidates' discourse.

Subsequently, cluster analysis was applied to identify correlations between themes discussed in the debate. This analysis generated a dendrogram visualization that displayed hierarchical relationships among strategic issues. Additionally, crosstab queries were conducted to perform cross-analysis between key themes and individual candidates, allowing for the mapping of each candidate's intensity of engagement with specific topics. This analysis helped uncover differences in policy orientations and strategies among the candidates regarding Central Kalimantan's potential as a strategic partner in IKN development.

The final stage of the research involved generating a project map to visualize the findings in a conceptual diagram. This map illustrated the relationships among key indicators, discourse themes, and Central Kalimantan's opportunities in the context of IKN development. Through this approach, the study provided a comprehensive view of the local political discourse dynamics and their contribution to reinforcing Central Kalimantan's role in the broader framework of IKN development. The integration of NVivo's features offered a structured and thorough method for interpreting the political narratives presented by the candidates.

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Concept Mapping of Political Discourse in the Public Debate

The theoretical framework of this study focuses on the critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach to examine Central Kalimantan's opportunities in the development of the Nusantara Capital City (IKN). As articulated by Fairclough (2013) and van Dijk (2009), CDA analyzes how language is used to build power, ideology, and legitimacy within specific social contexts (Fairclough, 2013). In this research, CDA serves to understand how candidates construct narratives about infrastructure, human resources, the environment, and economic policies to reinforce Central Kalimantan's strategic role in IKN development. This approach also explores how linguistic structures reflect the ideological strength behind the discourse (van Dijk, 2009).
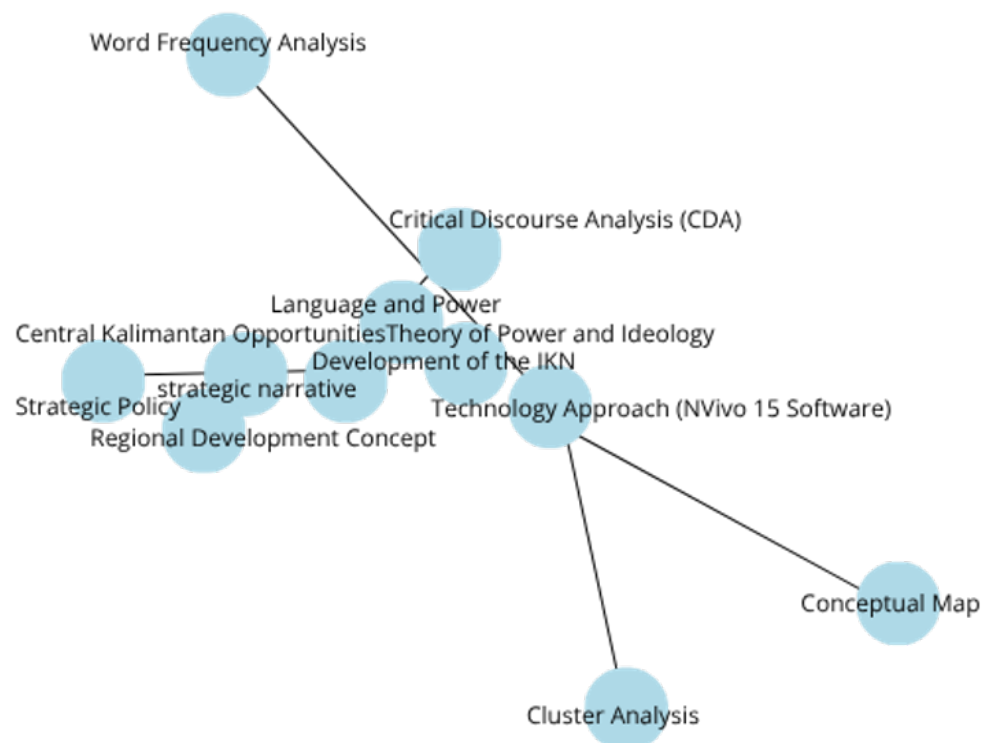

Figure 2. Concept Map Political Discourse in Public Debate of Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Central Kalimantan in 2024

Furthermore, power and ideology theory underpins how candidates frame strategic issues to influence their audiences (Lacatus & Meibauer, 2021). Political discourse, as van Dijk (2009) notes, is frequently used to convey ideological positions while shaping public perception on particular agendas. In this context, rhetorical strategies help candidates construct compelling narratives that highlight Central Kalimantan's strategic potential in IKN development (Khajavi & Rasti, 2020).

This study also incorporates the concept of regional development and sustainable development theory (Rasulov et al., 2022), which is pertinent given Central Kalimantan's position as a key supporting region. These theories underscore the significance of regional connectivity, economic investment, and human resource management in supporting inclusive growth (Todaro & Smith, 2015). Within this research, these concepts help evaluate how candidates formulate policies that integrate Central Kalimantan into national development through IKN.

The theoretical foundation is further supported by the application of NVivo 15 Plus software, allowing in-depth analysis (Allsop et al., 2022). Software-assisted analysis, as described by Woods et al. (2016), enables researchers to identify

discourse patterns through word frequency analysis, theme clustering, and concept mapping. This approach enhances the validity and efficiency of the analysis (Izza et al., 2021), offering deeper insight into political discourse dynamics in candidate debates. By integrating CDA, power theory, regional development concepts, and data analysis technology, this study provides a solid theoretical foundation for exploring strategic discourse in the context of IKN development.

3.2. Candidate Profiles: 2024 Central Kalimantan Gubernatorial Election

According to the Decree of the Central Kalimantan General Election Commission (KPU) No. 50 of 2024 on the Determination of Candidate Numbers for the 2024 Central Kalimantan Gubernatorial Election, the candidates are:

Table 1. Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Central Kalimantan in 2024

No. Sequence	Candidate for Governor	Candidate for Deputy Governor
1	Willy M Yosef	Habib Said Ismail
2	Nadalsyah	Supian Hadi
3	Agustiar Sabran	Edy Pratowo
4	Abdul Razak	Sri Suwanto

Source: Central Kalimantan General Election Commission (2024)

All four candidate pairs participated in the first public debate held in Palangka Raya on Monday, October 14, 2024. The debate was themed "Enhancing Central Kalimantan's Public Welfare through Equitable and Sustainable Economic Growth" and was broadcast live on the official YouTube channel of KPU Central Kalimantan. In light of the national capital relocation, the candidates used the opportunity to present their ideas and allow the public to assess their vision, mission, and track records critically (Lestari, 2024).

Figure 3. Flyer for the Debate Activities for the Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor of Central Kalimantan, Monday, October 14, 2024

In this debate, candidates' discourse served as a vital medium for communicating their vision regarding Central Kalimantan's strategic role as a supporting province for IKN. The debate became a platform not only for the exchange of ideas but also for framing issues relevant to the people of Central Kalimantan ranging from infrastructure and environmental sustainability to human resource development and regional connectivity. Candidates employed rhetoric and strategic language to

emphasize regional potential and critique their opponents' policy weaknesses (Asmara, 2018).

The debate also reflected dimensions of power, where candidates attempted to dominate the narrative by choosing issues that would resonate with public sympathy (van Dijk, 2009). Candidates who successfully framed Central Kalimantan as a region with immense strategic value in the IKN development agenda appeared to gain broader public support. Such discourse is not merely a communication tool but a political instrument to shape public perception and legitimacy (Fairclough, 2013).

Thus, the first public debate of the 2024 gubernatorial election in Central Kalimantan offered a relevant setting for critical discourse analysis. The narratives revealed not only the candidates' vision and mission but also their strategic argumentation in capitalizing on the IKN issue to gain voter trust. This approach aids in uncovering power dynamics, issue-framing strategies, and the relevance of debate themes to Central Kalimantan's socio-political context.

3.3. Political Discourse by Candidates in the First Public Debate of the 2024 Gubernatorial Election

The first step in conducting discourse analysis in this debate was to analyze the frequency of words that appeared most often during the exchanges. Using the Word Cloud feature in NVivo 15, a visualization tool that facilitates the identification of frequently occurring terms in text data (e.g., debate transcripts), researchers can explore the linguistic patterns utilized by the candidates. The Word Cloud, generated via the Word Frequency Query in NVivo, visually represents word prominence by size, indicating how often a term appears in the debate text.

Figure 4. Word Cloud: Words That Often Appear in the First Public Debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Regional Election

The most frequently mentioned words included "Kalteng," "society," "program," "food estate," "local," "economy," and "Kalimantan." Each of these words had the following frequencies and coverage: "Kalteng" (32 mentions, 8.05%), "society" (20 mentions, 7.28%), "program" (19 mentions, 4.81%), and "food estate," "local," and "Kalimantan" (15 mentions each, 3.27%). These results indicate that the candidates predominantly debated topics related to community-based economic programs, including national strategic programs such as food estates, and issues of local welfare, gender equality, and natural resource management.

Figure 5. Tree Map Words That Often Appear in the First Public Debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Regional Election

The gubernatorial and vice gubernatorial candidates in the first public debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Pilkada also debated the issue of Central Kalimantan Province's opportunities with the construction of the Indonesian Capital City in East Kalimantan, where Central Kalimantan is a buffer zone for the Capital City in addition to South Kalimantan. This issue became an interesting political discourse in the debate. In general, the candidates divided Central Kalimantan's opportunities as a buffer zone for the Capital City into five aspects as shown in Figure 6, namely: employment, infrastructure development, food security buffers, economic opportunities, and tourism development.
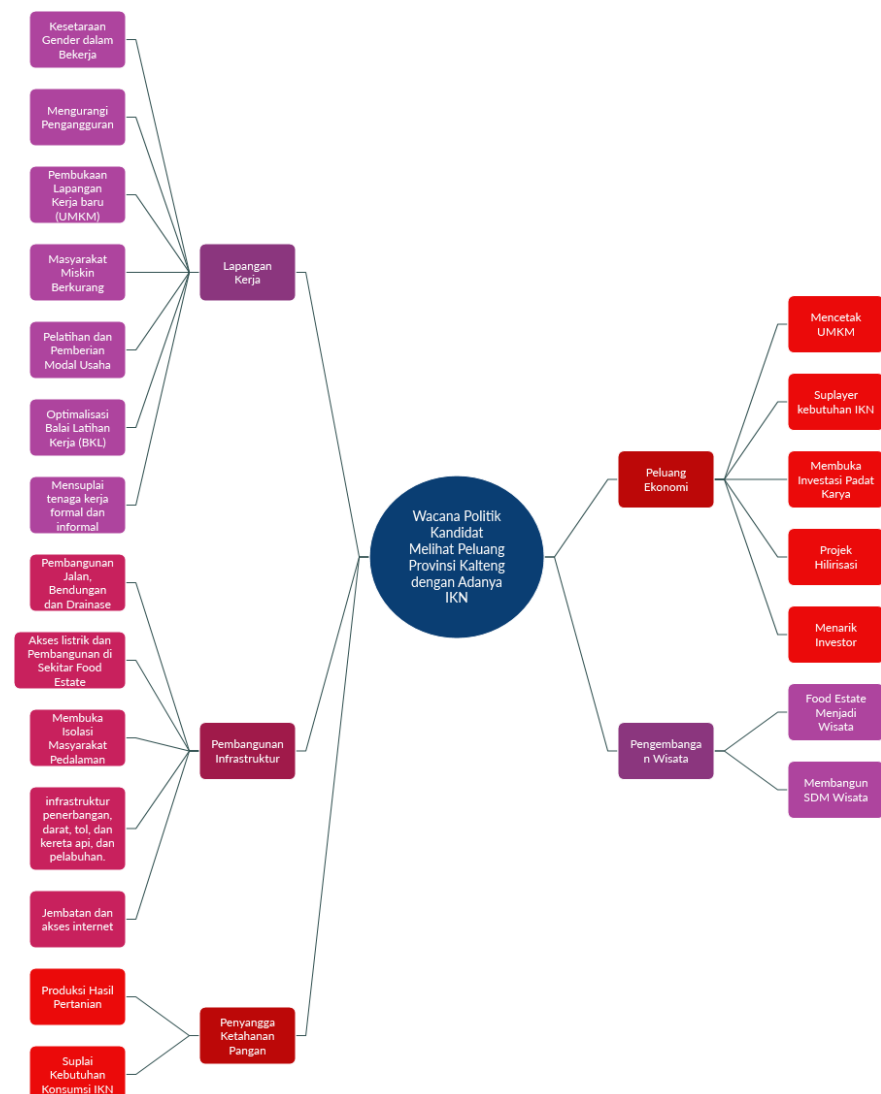

Figure 6. Minde Map: Political Discourse of Gubernatorial and Deputy Gubernatorial Candidates in the First Public Debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Pilkada in Viewing the Opportunities for Ikn Development

On the employment opportunity aspect, candidates debated various points including gender equality in employment, unemployment reduction, job creation (especially in MSMEs), poverty reduction commitments, skills training and capital assistance, optimization of vocational training centers (BLK), and labor supply for both Central Kalimantan and IKN. Abdul Razak–Sri Suswanto had the highest percentage coverage for this theme at 34.53%, followed by Agustiar Sabran–Edy Pratowo (18.73%), Willy M Yosef–Habib Said Ismail (16.54%), and Nadalsyah–Supian Hadi (10.99%). These figures highlight Abdul Razak–Sri Suswanto's emphasis on employment issues as a central element of their political discourse. This can be seen in Figure 7. Graph of Political Discourse of Each Candidate for Governor and Deputy Governor in the first public debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Pilkada on the Aspect of Employment Opportunities.
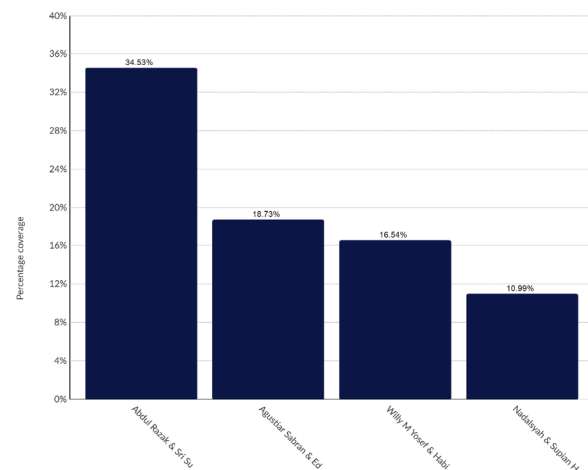

Figure 7. Political Discourse Graphic of Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor in the First Public Debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Pilkada on the Aspect of Employment Opportunities

Furthermore, the candidates also debated the opportunities for infrastructure development, which include the construction of roads, dams, and drainage systems; access to electricity and development around the National Strategic Project (PSN) food estate areas; efforts to open up isolated inland communities; and other supporting infrastructure such as bridges, toll roads, railways, and ports as well as adequate internet access infrastructure.
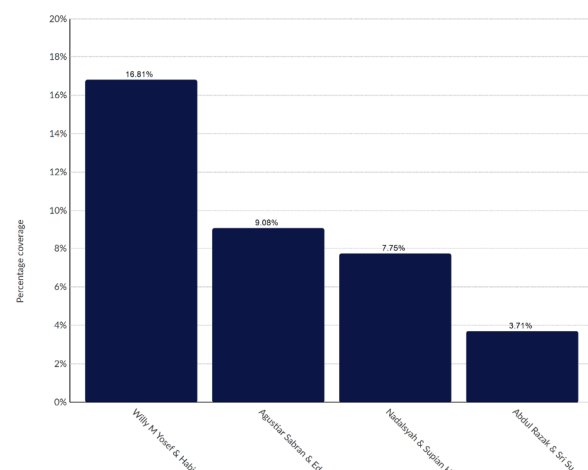

Figure 8. Graph of Political Discourse by Gubernatorial and Vice-Gubernatorial Candidates in the First Public Debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Regional Election on the Aspect of Infrastructure Development Opportunities

Figure 8. shows that the candidate pair Willy M. Yosef and Habib Said had the highest percentage coverage, with a score of 16.81%, followed by Agustiar Sabran and Edy Pratowo with 9.08%, Nadalsyah and Supian Hadi with 7.75%, and Abdul Razak and Sri Suswanto with 3.71%. These figures indicate that Willy M. Yosef and

Habib Said were the most dominant in the political discourse on the aspect of infrastructure development.

In the third aspect, namely the opportunity for Central Kalimantan to serve as a food security buffer for the National Capital (IKN) which includes agricultural production and the supply of consumption needs for IKN the candidate pair Nadalsyah and Supian Hadi had the highest percentage coverage in the debate, at 11.85%, followed by Abdul Razak and Sri Suswanto with 10.46%, Agustiar Sabran and Edy Pratowo with 3.77%, and Willy M. Yosef and Habib Said with 3.51%. These figures can be seen in Figure 9: Graph of Political Discourse by Gubernatorial and Vice-Gubernatorial Candidates in the First Public Debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Regional Election on the Aspect of Food Security Buffer Opportunities, as follows:
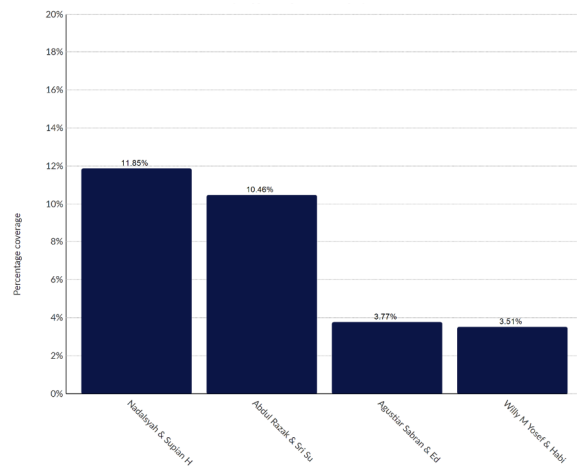
Figure 9. Graph of Political Discourse by Gubernatorial and Vice-Gubernatorial Candidates in the First Public Debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Regional Election on the Aspect of Food Security Buffer Opportunities

The candidates also identified significant opportunities in the economic sector, including the development of MSMEs, supplying economic needs for the National Capital (IKN), labor-intensive investment opportunities, potential for downstream industrial development, and prospects for attracting investors to invest in Central Kalimantan. As a result, the candidate pair Agustiar Sabran and Edy Pratowo emerged as the most dominant in the political discourse on this aspect, with a percentage coverage of 16.62%, followed by Willy M. Yosef and Habib Said with 9.01%, Abdul Razak and Sri Suswanto with 7.83%, and Nadalsyah and Supian Hadi with 5.75%.

In addition, the candidates also saw potential in the tourism sector, particularly through the development of food estates and human resource development in tourism. These five political discourses became points of intense debate throughout
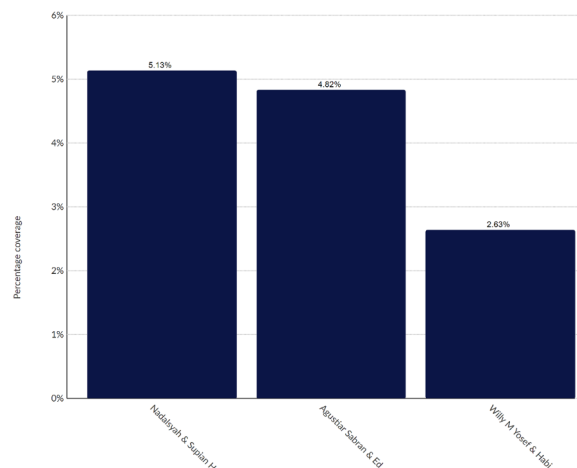
Figure 10. Graph of Political Discourse by Gubernatorial and Vice-Gubernatorial Candidates in the First Public Debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Regional Election on the Aspect of Tourism Development Opportunities

the first public debate. Each candidate presented their programs and sought to convince the public, as illustrated in Figure 10.

In this aspect of political discourse, the candidate pair Nadalsyah and Supian Hadi had the highest percentage coverage in the debate, at 5.13%, followed by Agustiar Sabran and Edy Pratowo with 4.82%, and Willy M. Yosef and Habib Said with 2.63%. Meanwhile, the pair Abdul Razak and Sri Suswanto had no percentage coverage in this aspect, or 0%.

Furthermore, the political discourse of the gubernatorial and vice-gubernatorial candidates in the first public debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Regional Election can be visualized through a Project Map analysis, as shown in Figure 11. The Project Map is a visualization feature that allows researchers to create a conceptual map showing the relationships between various elements in a research project. These elements may include documents, nodes, codes, case attributes, or other analytical results (Van den Bulck et al., 2019). The Project Map helps researchers understand how data is interconnected, identify emerging patterns, and provide a comprehensive overview of the analytical structure (Woolf & Silver, 2017). With its intuitive interface, researchers can manually or automatically arrange elements to create diagrams that represent the connections between themes or concepts in the analyzed data (O'Neill, 2013).
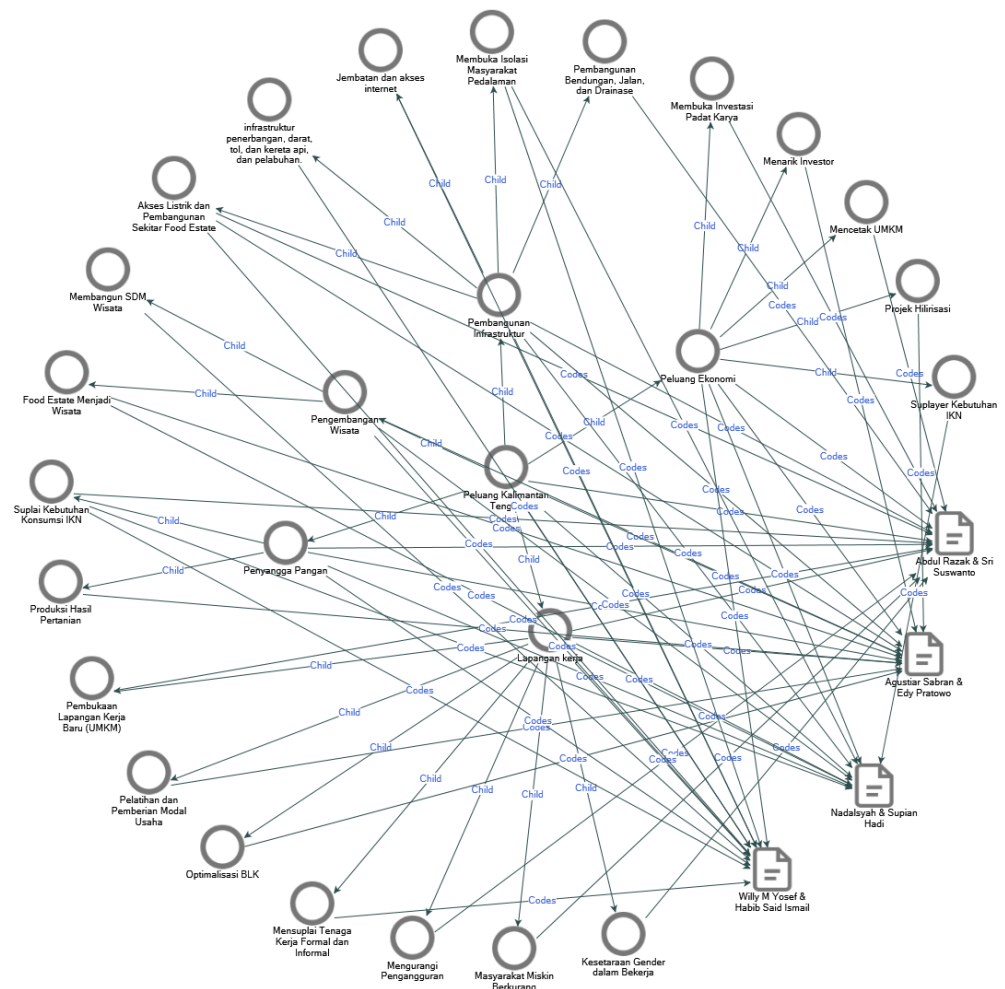

Figure 11. Project Map: Political Discourse of Gubernatorial and Vice-Gubernatorial Candidates in the First Public Debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan Regional Election

In this study, the Project Map tool was used to map out ideas (Crooks et al., 2024), particularly how the candidates framed strategic issues during the public debate. For example, a conceptual map can be created to connect the main theme of Central Kalimantan's opportunities with the development of the National Capital

(IKN) in East Kalimantan—such as job creation, infrastructure development, food security support, economic opportunities, and tourism development—with the candidates' communication strategies.

The use of the Project Map in this research enables the visualization of relationships between nodes (Woolf & Silver, 2017). By visualizing these elements (Fearnley, 2022), researchers can easily identify significant patterns and support their findings with strong visual evidence. This tool not only facilitates qualitative data analysis but also helps present research results in a more structured and comprehensible manner to the audience. This is illustrated in Figure 11.

The Project Map analysis in Figure 11 illustrates the relationship between gubernatorial and vice-gubernatorial candidates and the political discourse issues and contexts conveyed during the debate. Both the candidate pair Abdul Razak and Sri Suswanto and the pair Agustiar Sabran and Edy Pratowo had the highest percentage coverage on the issue of job creation (34.53%). The candidate pair Nadalsyah and Supian Hadi had the highest percentage coverage on the issue of Central Kalimantan's opportunity to serve as a food security buffer for the National Capital (IKN), with 11.85%. Meanwhile, the pair Willy M. Yosef and Habib Said had the highest percentage coverage on the issue of infrastructure development opportunities. These results indicate that each candidate's political discourse reflects specific priorities and directions (Pianini et al., 2022), particularly in the context of evaluating development opportunities related to IKN in the first gubernatorial debate of the 2024 Central Kalimantan election. The ideas presented by the candidates also serve as an important factor in stimulating the political preferences of the public (Hasanuddin et al., 2021). The articulation of candidates' visions and discourses enables them to gain voters' support in the 2024 election (Solakhudin & Al-Hamid, 2024).

4. Conclusion

There were six political discourses raised by the gubernatorial and vice-gubernatorial candidates of Central Kalimantan during the first public debate of the 2024 Regional Election, which focused on the theme of improving the welfare of the Central Kalimantan community through equitable and sustainable economic development. The core issue of the debate was how the candidates perceived the development opportunities of Central Kalimantan in relation to the establishment of the new capital city (Ibu Kota Nusantara/IKN). The six political discourse themes were: employment opportunities, infrastructure development, Central Kalimantan's role as a food security buffer for IKN, economic opportunities, and tourism development.

First, in terms of employment opportunities, the candidates debated issues such as gender equality in employment, reducing unemployment, creating new jobs especially through micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs), their commitment to poverty reduction, vocational training and provision of business capital, optimization of job training centers (BLK), and supplying both formal and informal labor for Central Kalimantan and IKN. Second, the candidates also debated infrastructure development opportunities, which include the construction of roads, dams, and drainage systems; access to electricity and development in areas around the food estate National Strategic Project (PSN); opening up access for remote communities; and other supporting infrastructure such as bridges, toll roads, railways, ports, and adequate internet access. Third, the opportunity for Central Kalimantan to serve as a food security buffer for IKN, including agricultural production and supplying consumption needs for the capital. Fourth, major opportunities in the economic sector were discussed, including the development of MSMEs, supplying economic needs for IKN, labor-intensive investment prospects,

potential for industrial downstream development, and attracting investors to invest in Central Kalimantan. Fifth, tourism sector opportunities were also highlighted, especially through the development of food estates and human resource development related to tourism.

The political discourses of the gubernatorial and vice-gubernatorial candidates in this first 2024 debate serve as a barometer for the public to assess their vision and mission, particularly concerning welfare and economic themes. Future studies may explore the extent to which these political discourses are realized by the elected candidates.

Acknowledgment

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