

Between Germany and Indonesia: The Difference of Green City Discourse in Freiburg and Surabaya

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ABSTRACT

Keywords

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Green City as a form of environmental sustainability has been implemented in several cities including Freiburg, Germany and Surabaya, Indonesia. This paper discusses the comparison of green city discourse applied in the two cities. Even though it is not an equal comparison, acknowledging the difference in context and cultural nuances between Surabaya and Freiburg is crucial for understanding the significance comparison. It offers valuable insights into the diverse ways in which environmental communication is practiced and perceived across different cultural settings. This paper aims to see the differences in the promotion of green city discourse in the two cities that have been awarded as Green City in each country. It reflects on how these two cities are implementing the practice of green city values. On a larger scale, it can be used to review environmental issues and responses in the two cities. This research used comparative case studies to see the discourse in Freiburg and supported by observation for the application in Surabaya. The discourse framework was obtained from John Dryzek, environmental discourse. Initiators, community-government partnerships, policies, models, and strategies put into practice are some of the factors that have shaped the green city discourse in Freiburg and Surabaya. Though both of these towns have won green city awards, the implementation of green cities has varied dimensions and orientations due to differences in implementing actors, programmes, political conditions, and media for branding and promotion. It is expected that this paper can be a spark for further research in looking at communication practices and the realization of green cities, especially in Indonesia.

1. Introduction

The different approaches to implementing Green City in each region make the Green City issue an interesting topic to discuss. The variations in the application of green city principles and scales provide material for reviewing and defining the green city concept in each region. Breuste (2023) explains that the definition of the word green itself generally has a positive and multi-layered meaning used by many parties, such as political parties, academics, transportation companies, and other related industries. The term "green" is often associated with environmental sustainability. Something labelled "green" is typically associated with having a good impact or at least a favourable impression of nature. However, is this sustainability value put into practice? By examining variances in comprehending the values of "green" environmental sustainability, how are the values of the "green city" idea applied to different regions?

There could be several reasons for this variation in practice, such as sociopolitical and environmental issues that affect products and the uptake of green city concepts in certain regions, like Indonesia and Germany. In Indonesia, the population rarely discusses environmental issues, and they are mostly "hidden." Similar to this, a plethora of campaign movements and environmental

activism continue to arise and fade as long as public awareness of the environment's importance stays low. There are only a few locations where the environmental activism movement is active in the form of protests, such as Yogyakarta, whereas the majority of environmental activism in Surabaya is concentrated on environmental campaigns and the creation of green areas across the city. This differs from the German context of green city discourse. Recognized as a pioneer in the realm of sustainable urban planning, Europe, particularly Germany, has witnessed environmental advocacy movements like Freiburg, which is regarded as a driving force behind green city development in Germany. The government in Freiburg regularly follows the lead of the environmental activism movement and always permits individuals to voice their opinions. These two cities have one thing in common, despite their differences: they are both green cities. We are concerned about these variations in neighborhood situations, modes of activism and campaigns, and policies when contrasting and comparing the green city ideals and concepts utilised in these two areas.

Comparative studies of green cities in two locations have already been undertaken by researchers. Identifying ecological cities through metrics of ecological character across different locations is one of the many objectives of these investigations. In addition, the research seeks to understand how government policies are being adjusted and how green cities are growing throughout Asia. van Dijk, M. P. (2015) used a variety of metrics to compare the level of ecological cities in Rotterdam and Beijing. Rotterdam received a significantly higher score based on measurement findings for the same criteria. According to the research findings, numerous techniques for making cities more ecologically friendly exist. Beijing's solution is more extreme, separating grey and brown water, but Rotterdam's solution is more conservative, relying on speed limits, pollution thresholds, and energy and water-saving measures. This research demonstrates that Rotterdam and Beijing have different goals, and hence the approaches chosen are likewise diverse. Mabon and Shih (2021) also did comparative research on green city studies in Asia, comparing three cities in three Asian countries: Fukuoka in Japan, Hanoi in Vietnam, and Taipei in Taiwan. The purpose of this study is to examine climate adaptation competencies through urban green space in three subtropical Asian cities at various phases of development. As a result, each of the three cities has a greenspace plan and, to a lesser extent, a climate adaptation plan, and respondents in each city (including those outside of municipal government) cited these plans and policies as a guiding principle for the greenspace and adaptation actions they undertake.

To learn more about how the development and implementation of the green city concept are typically implemented in Europe, a great deal of research has been done on green cities in Asia. Szyja (2019) uses examples from different nations to illustrate aspects of the growth of green cities in Asia in his case study on the subject. Green city techniques in Asia are divided into two groups by Szyja (2019): greening cities that already exist and green cities that are being created from the ground up. These two groups differ in how they approach community involvement in the realisation of green cities, politics, programming, and green areas within cities. Research on green cities has been conducted numerous times in various cities in Indonesia, a country in Asia, including Surabaya. The creation of green cities, putting cooperative ideas into practice, and environmental management are the main topics of several research studies on green cities in Surabaya. The goal of this study is to compare Freiburg, Germany, a city that claims to be a green city, with Surabaya, Indonesia, in terms of their green city activities. The disparate social and environmental contexts of these two areas are intended to highlight how distinctively each region applies green city ideals and concepts in its context. It is intended that this research will contribute to comparison studies between two locations, or maybe further knowledge about green city practices, and offer guidance to other communities looking to launch efforts along similar lines.

Examining environmental issues cannot be compartmentalized; environmental issues are usually connected. According to Dryzek (2013), the proliferation of perspectives on environmental problems began in the 1960s, after which discourse about the environment, like discourse in general, developed representation and a system of meaning. Dryzek (2013) also explains that discourses rest on assumptions, judgements, and contentions that provide the basic terms for analysis, debates, agreements, and disagreements. In the context of environmental discourse, Dryzek (2013) explains that environmental discourse is broader than environmentalism, including those who do not consider themselves environmental activists but choose or find themselves in a position where they deal with environmental problems, either as politicians, bureaucrats, corporate executives, lawyers, journalists, or private citizens. Environmental discourse has spread to groups that are hostile to

environmentalism. This study aims to highlight the discourse surrounding green cities in two regions: Freiburg and Surabaya. We hope to investigate the concept of green cities in two very different places through this project. Even though this comparison may not be comparable due to geopolitical and cultural contexts, this research can contribute to comparative studies of two green city zones, particularly in terms of the discourse environment in the Asian-European contexts. This study hopes to explain how green cities are implemented and promoted in these two cities through a combination of literature review and observation approaches.

2. Method

This study used a case study approach using data from a literature review to compare green city discourse in Freiburg and Surabaya. The approach is discourse-based, with a focus on environmental discourse. Environmental discourse not only critiques notions of nature but also investigates political activities and power dynamics. According to Dryzek (2013), environmental discourse begins in industrial society and must be contextualised within the language of industrialism, such that whatever is stated in that discourse leads to industrialism. Dryzek (2013) classifies environmental discourse into two dimensions: reformist versus radical and prosaic versus imaginative, resulting in four categories: environmental problem solving, limit and survival, sustainability, and green radicalism. Among these four categories, this study focuses on the rhetoric of sustainability in an environmental context. In their study utilising a "thin" discursive approach, De Jong, E., and Vijge, M. J. (2021) identify discourse as one of the components that explain policy and politics. De Jong, E., and Vijge, M. J. (2021) examined the academic discussion on sustainable development from the Millennium to the Sustainable Development Goals in quantitative and qualitative terms rather than discourse from a theoretical perspective. Similar to the research of De Jong, E., and Vijge, M. J. (2021), this study focuses on discourse practices in these two areas rather than discourse theory.

Our research approach consists of four sections. First, gather research from case studies about the ideas and policies surrounding green cities, as they are being applied in Freiburg and Surabaya. To find related cases, start by searching for articles related to the keywords "Freiburg Green City", "Green City Surabaya", "Surabaya green and clean". Researchers also searched literature with the keywords "Green City Promotion" and "Green City Discourse" to find related cases. From this search, researchers found twenty-two articles with cases related to green cities in these two regions. Apart from these articles, several books related to green cities and environmental discourse are used to analyze green city discourse from these two regions. Second, classify the information using the values and tenets of green cities. From the case studies found, the data is processed to be classified so that it is easier to see the comparison in the form of table 1. In the third section, we go over John S. Dryzek's notion of sustainability in relation to the environment, especially green cities. Fourth, examine the implementation of green cities and communication strategies in relation to the global environmental discourse. The research results will show green city practices in Freiburg and Surabaya, including in terms of promoting and branding Green City as a discourse and part of the city's identity. Finally, draw conclusions and offer suggestions on how cities might enhance their environmental initiatives.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 Green Cities Freiburg and Surabaya: Practice and Promotional Differences

The city, as an arena full of contestation, is an area where society grows with all the hustle and bustle of crowds, density, culture, and all its needs. Why can cities be included in the sustainable development discourse, especially regarding environmental issues and green cities? According to Beatley (2000), one reason cities are discussed about global sustainability is that they have ecological footprints that affect the environment. As a result, some cities have understood this and are implementing changes to better plan their cities for the future. The ecological footprint study varies depending on the particular characteristics of each place; hence, the analysis between Freiburg and Surabaya might not be identical. Green cities originated in Europe, which was a leader in implementing ecological city planning and policy. Green cities are those that minimise their negative environmental effects while maximising their potential to enhance and preserve the environment, according to the Bank (2015). Green cities have robust, environmentally friendly infrastructure, lower carbon transportation, better water cycle management, and an increased standard of living for

their citizens. They also use less energy and depend less on nonrenewable energy sources. There are parks and nice streets in green cities, as well as pure air and water. Major infectious disease epidemics are unlikely in green cities because they are resilient to natural calamities. Green cities have very little ecological impact and promote green behaviours like taking public transport (Kahn, M. 2006).

Based on the results of the case study analysis from literature sources, the data obtained will be compared based on points from green cities. Several points from green cities that we use for this research variable are: (1) land use and infrastructure; (2) transportation and mobility; (3) energy and resource management; (4) waste management; (5) initiative and cooperation; and (6) policies and strategy models. Apart from comparing these six variables, this research will also compare promotion and communication methods related to green city discourse in each region. From Table 1. Overview of Green City Practices and Discourse in Freiburg and Surabaya which shows the similarities and differences in Freiburg and Surabaya.

No.	Green City	Practice and Discourse	
		Freiburg	Surabaya
	A. History and Future Plans		
1.	The beginning of the initiative	1970	1984
2.	The Green City inauguration year	<p>1992 Germany's Environmental Capital</p> <p>2010 European City of the Year</p> <p>Climate capital Germany</p> <p>2012 - German Sustainability Award</p> <p>2016 - Euro – China Green and Smart City Award</p>	<p>2017 Global Green City</p> <p>2021 Certificate of Recognition for Clean Air Big Cities (ASEAN Working Group on Environmentally Sustainable Cities (AWGESC))</p> <p>2023 (8 years in a row) Adipura Kencana (National Award in the environmental sector by the Ministry of Environment and Forestry)</p>
3.	Green areas/model within the city	Yes, Vauban and Riesefeld	There is no specific area, but several areas in Surabaya are developing the "Kampung Hijau" concept
4.	Green City Commitment and Targets	Green energy, ecological mobility, food sustainability	RTH (Green open space)
5.	Effects on other aspects	Energy renewable (Solar), Eco-tourism,	Ecotourism
6.	Branding and Promotion	Green City	Green and Clean City
	B. Aspect		
1.	Land use and infrastructure	√	√
2.	Transportation and mobility in the city	√	√

3.	Energy and resource management	√	√
4.	Waste management	√	√
5.	Initiative and cooperation	√	√
6.	Policies and strategy models	√	√

Table 1. Overview of Green City Practices and Discourse in Freiburg and Surabaya

Source: Researcher analysis, 2024

Studies about Freiburg's Green City began in the 1970s. This began following a successful action against the Wyhl nuclear power plant, which sparked numerous green movements in Freiburg. (Freiburg Wirtschaft Touristik und Messe GmbH & Co. KG, 2016). The Green City journey in Freiburg then developed by starting to build an ecological research institution, followed by the construction of solar-powered buildings and getting involved in the Climate Protection Plan. Recognised as a global leader in sustainable development by comprehensive energy planning, water conservation, or high transportation modal splits measured, Freiburg has succeeded in merging design, transportation, and ecology (Medearis, D., and Daseking, W., 2012). This is because the city develops its natural resource potential well. Realising it is a green and sustainable city, Freiburg has won many environmental awards both internationally and nationally. Vauban, as one of Freiburg's pilot districts in developing a green city planning master plan, is currently an icon of the green city of Freiburg, which is promoted internationally. The implementation of Green City in Vauban involves limiting private motor vehicle ownership, arranging residential houses, designing settlements close to public transportation, and using solar panels in several buildings (Medearis, D., and Daseking, W., 2012). Szumilas, A. (2024) explained that residents set priorities and discussed with the city the requirements for the future housing estate. The aim was to transform a derelict area into a compact, pedestrian-friendly, car-free, and carbon-neutral neighbourhood. Meanwhile, in Riesefeld, the implementation of the green city focuses on low-energy buildings and nature reserve areas. The district borders a 250-hectare nature reserve that the people of Riesefeld use as a local recreational area. The emphasis is on civic engagement and active cooperation in the district. Based on the cases obtained regarding Green City Freiburg, the government and the people of Freiburg are concerned about green cities in several ways, such as energy and climate protection, ecological mobility, and food sustainability. The development of solar energy as electrical power in daily life, supported by ecological regional planning, supports Freiburg's development of environmentally friendly energy and ecotourism as Green City Tours. Until now, Green City has been the branding and foundation for organising and developing Freiburg.

Green city development usually has an impact on the city, one of which is a more environmentally friendly city plan. Freiburg Wirtschaft Touristik und Messe GmbH & Co. KG (2022) explains that Freiburg's city planning is designed to have close distances between public facilities and is supported by public transportation facilities such as trucks and buses that connect the city with a capable fleet as well as facilities for cyclists and pedestrians that are built properly and comfortably. Fastenrath, S., and Preller, B. (2018) explained that energy-efficient building and construction came into being as a niche phenomenon in the 1970s and 1980s and has developed into mainstream policy and practice until today. The downtown area of Freiburg has several green open spaces, such as city parks, hills not far from the city centre, and city forests. Access to green open spaces can be done by tram, cycling, or walking. Freiburg Wirtschaft Touristik und Messe GmbH & Co. KG (2022) mentions a 40-hectare pedestrian area in the Old Synagogue Square area (not far from the old city area) far from the hustle and bustle of four-wheeled paths. This is related to the Freiburg government's policies and regulations, which pay attention to the city's ecological transportation and mobility. Nirmala, L.W., and Sushartami, W. (2021) explain one of the Freiburg government's policies related to transportation: the five pillars of transportation policy: (1) the growth of public transport networks; (2) the promotion of bicycles; (3) the promotion of pedestrians; (4) the construction of friendly and safe roads; and (5) the restriction of the use of privately owned motor vehicles. These policy pillars are the basis for developing transport and traffic regulations in Freiburg. The government has arranged for the people of the city of Freiburg to prefer using public transportation, bicycles, or walking rather than motorised vehicles. Transportation and mobility can become part of the ecological discourse of a green city in Freiburg because policies and regulations

regarding transportation continue to be echoed by the government's commitment to reducing CO² emissions in the span of a few years.

Waste processing in Freiburg starts on the household scale by separating types of waste. This waste separation rule is quite strict, categorising it based on the type of waste. It has been in place since around the 1990s. Currently, waste processing in Freiburg is processed into biogas and solar energy (City of Freiburg im Breisgau, n.d.). Furthermore, the government is also pursuing the project of reusable food containers. A few supermarkets in Freiburg allow consumers to exchange their used plastic bottles for cash. The community's involvement as well as the government's actual actions show Freiburg's dedication to being a sustainable green city. Based on research conducted by Kronsell (2013), Fastenrath, S., & Braun, B. (2018) and Affolderbach, J., O'Neill, K., & Preller, B. (2019) explain that the environmental movement initiative model in Freiburg it started with society which then entered the political agenda and involved the government. The results of this activism in implementing an environmentally friendly city are policies, regulations and shared commitment targets. The government also allows several climate protection actions to be carried out by the community, one of which is allowing Fridays for Future Action in Freiburg, which started in January 2019 (Pamerdyatmaja, 2023). The community activism movement from below meets the government's political agenda from above, resulting in environmental political discourse, especially the Green City in Freiburg which involves many parties joining in practicing environmental values in everyday life.

Different regions have different implementation practices. The green city discourse that occurs in Freiburg is different from the green city discourse that occurs in Surabaya, even though both have national and international awards related to environmentally friendly cities. Based on the presentation of research by Novalia, W., Rogers, B. C., Bos, J. J., & Brown, R. R. (2018), the beginning of the green city initiation in Surabaya began in 1984 during the leadership of Poernomo Kasidi, which resulted in the Adipura City Award (a national award conferred annually by the national government to appraise cities (and mayors') performances across Indonesia based on environmental stewardship and sustainability principles). The initiative began with the "Kampung Improvement Programme" (KIP), which focused on low-income communities through inter-village competencies. This Kampung Improvement Programme was then developed into the "Kampung Hijau" (Green Village) concept, which is still used today to increase collaboration in improving the environment where the community lives and the government. The "Green Village" concept is used as a model for structuring residential areas to be more environmentally friendly. The people of the city of Surabaya whose residences want to take part in the "Green Village" competition usually renovate their areas into areas that are more beautiful and have green open spaces, such as small gardens in residential areas/residents' homes, using the toga plant as traditional medicine, creating a place for management or waste processing which can become a waste savings/garbage bank and decorate their village (Kampung) to be more colorful and attractive. The impact of the "Green Village" concept and strategy has become one of the reference models for environmental-based changes in environmental governance in Surabaya, including in the tourism sector. With the natural potential of the city of Surabaya, the government has begun to develop ecotourism as an environmentally based city tourism potential. The government is trying to maintain environmentally based city governance by creating the Surabaya Green and Clean (SGC) branding programme as a continuation of the development of the Kampung Improvement Programme with an inter-village (Kampung) competition model.

The majority of implementation of green city aspects in Surabaya leads to rules, policies and concepts issued by the national government, including from related ministries. One of them concerns land use that follows the Land Use Zoning (LUZ) policy (Tutuko, P., & Shen, Z., 2016). Apart from that, land use boundaries for settlements, agriculture, industry and other public facilities sometimes still mix with each other. Regarding the green city discourse, the Surabaya city government has a different focus, model and implementation strategy compared to Freiburg. For green open spaces, the city government is more concerned with developing city parks, in 2023 there will be a total of 949 parks spread across various parts of the city, some of which are Flora Park and Pelangi Park (Pemerintah Kota Surabaya, n.d.). Juarne, R., Lia, F., & Laksmi, K. W. (2024) explained that the construction of a Flora Park and a rainbow park is one of the supports for the implementation of the urban forest concept in Surabaya. For transportation and mobility networks, policies, programmes, and practices in Surabaya are still far from those in Freiburg. Before the Bus Suroboyo (since 2018), the Bus Trans Semanggi Suroboyo (active again in 2022 after inactive in 2021), and the Wirawiri

Suroboyo feeder bus (since 2023), which is managed by the city government and the Ministry of Transportation, the people of Surabaya used transportation, such as local vehicles such as bemos, pedicabs, and city buses, as well as the majority of private vehicles, for mobility. The government's attention regarding transportation and ecological mobility in Surabaya is not yet very visible. Even though there are government-managed city public transportation initiatives, they are not yet able to reach all areas of the city. Most people choose to use private vehicles for flexibility. Numerous factors influence this, including the scarcity of fleets, lengthy transit wait times, inadequate waiting areas, the division of bike lanes—which are still used by motorised vehicles—and the uneven distribution of safe sidewalks. In operating these buses, the government has begun to include electric-powered buses as an environmentally friendly form of transportation, although this has not yet been implemented in all fleets.

Apart from starting to develop electric buses, the government has started researching and exploring the potential of biogas in several areas in Surabaya from household waste processing assisted by the Kader Surabaya Hebat (Local Cadres) (Hariadi, V., Buliali, J. L., Saikhu, A., Purwananto, Y., Amaliah, B., & Wijaya, A. Y., 2024). The existence of environmental cadres is one of the government's models and strategies to attract community participation in environmental management. This is also applied in waste management at the village scale in several areas that have waste banks. Indeed, when compared with Freiburg, which already has stable and capable alternative energy, waste and energy management in Surabaya is still at a pioneering stage. Many initiatives and collaboration models in the Green City discourse in Surabaya were formed by the government first to find driving figures in the community, although there are also movements that originate from the community. This is related to the green city development strategy, which is mostly carried out by the government first, both in the form of programmes, policies, and environmental development and renovation practices.

3.2. Green City and Sustainability: An Environmental Discourse

Environmental issues began to be debated in the 1970s due to economic and population growth, and by the early 1980s, they had evolved into a global discourse on sustainable development. But what is the precise concept of sustainable development? And why is this discussion about green cities? Initially, the notion of sustainable development in the 1970s focused on the renewable resource management concept of maximum sustainable yield, even though it did not address resource expansion or management. According to Brundtland in Dryzek (2013), sustainable development is a change process in which resource exploitation, investment direction, technological development orientation, and institutional change all work in tandem to improve both current and future potential to meet human needs and aspirations. The study of sustainable development is becoming more global, with UNESCO adding it to its scope of expertise. The Sustainable Development discourse is broad, encompassing environmental protection and a social viewpoint on politics, initiators, and networks. In the context of sustainable development, collaboration is preferable to competition. When exploring this discourse, it is best to discuss not only the environment, but also economic growth and social justice. Hajer and Versteeg in Dryzek (2013) explain that discourses are bound up with political practices and power, including discussing green cities and sustainability. The green city discourse in Freiburg and Surabaya cannot be separated from political practices and power, both from the government and society. The discourse that occurs in these two cities is not the same, even though they both have branding as green cities. These differences are visible from the beginning of the initiative, government-community involvement, implementation models and strategies, policy forms, and the longevity of environmental discourse.

The Green City discourse in Freiburg was initially initiated by the community in the form of environmental protest activities, which were then partnered with by the government. Initiatives and activism from the community do not only take the form of protests but also in the form of campaigns and collaborative activities such as education and research. Government involvement in activities carried out by the community is also not without reason. The influence of green politics in Germany, including in Freiburg, is one of the reasons why environmental discourse is so strong and widely discussed by the people of Freiburg. Discussions about the environment, climate and biodiversity protection targets, and infrastructure development will not escape the political campaign agenda. Bunds, K. S., McLeod, C. M., Barrett, M., Newman, J. I., & Koenigstorfer, J. (2019), in their research on the SC Freiburg football stadium, apparently cannot be separated from the green city discourse. The case study of SC Freiburg's carbon neutral stadium showed that environmental concerns were

included through a political process that incorporated the interests of a diverse public of human and nonhuman actors to produce a sustainable matter of fact. Environmental concerns may relate to social and economic concerns when stadiums are approved, financed, designed, and constructed. Collaboration between the government and society in creating an environmentally friendly city can be seen in programmes, policies, and the media in 'discussions'. Emerging environmental actors or initiators can come from the community; they don't have to wait to be formed by the government. The implementation model carried out in Freiburg emphasises involvement, cooperation, and clear policies, rules, and programmes, which are the basis for green city practice with Freiburg city residents. So that the attachment and commitment of residents can work together until finally the practice of green city in Freiburg does not only look at environmental aspects but also all living things that live in it, as is the principle of green city. Even though implementation is not always smooth and protests and criticism of the direction of green city development still exist, at least both parties—the government and society—are aware of the importance of environmental sustainability for a better life.

This practice is different from what was done in Surabaya in creating a green and clean city, which started with leaders (government) who were moved to improve the city. This difference can be influenced by many factors, one of which is awareness, environmental carrying capacity, and political supporting capacity. The Surabaya government is trying to involve the community in realising an environmentally friendly city by creating competencies, improving green spaces, reorganising public transportation in the city, and creating and training environmental cadres. The provision of cadres or environmental figures is not only intended for adults but also children through several programmes, one of which is the driving school programme (Hendarwati, E., Setiawan, R., Wahyuni, H. I., Budiman, A., Hasanah, S. U., Fauzia, F. A., & Firdaus, A. N., 2023). The government's activeness in forming environmentally conscious actors does not mean that there is no initiative from the community to be environmentally conscious. The form of community movement in the community is usually in the fields of environmental education, waste management, and the environment by involving volunteers, as per research results from Retta, L. M. (2020). This model and strategy are different from the one implemented in Freiburg. The strength of the commitment to a green environment in Surabaya is still not realized by the entire community because the direction of government policy concerns is not yet directed towards the environment. Andriyani, L. (2023) explains that this can be influenced by policies and regulations that are inconsistent and change according to the leader. Different leaders, different development orientations. The relay of discourse and green city branding in Surabaya was not immediately passed on to the next leader. The difference on how green city discourse has been developed over these years is shown in Figure 1.

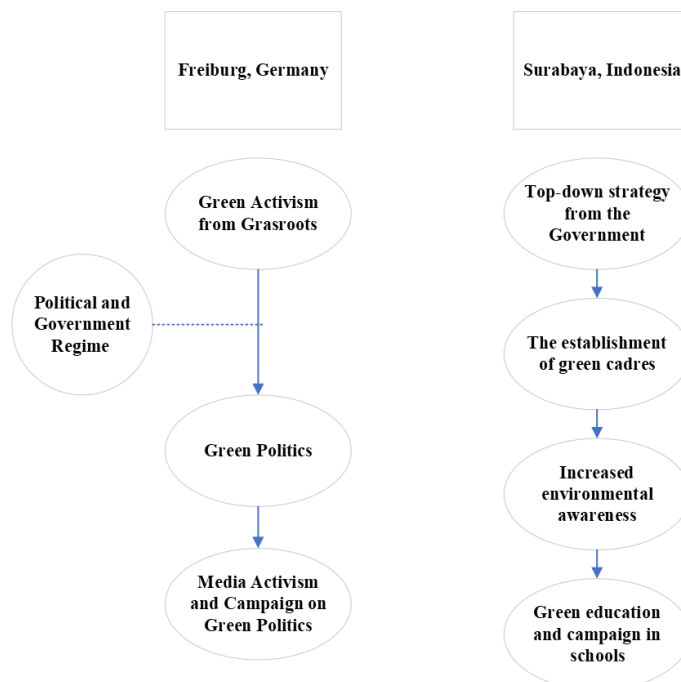


Figure 1. The difference of green city discourse development in two cities

Thus, what about the sustainability of the green city discourse in these two cities? Are green cities still a branding and "conversation" echoed by society and the government? Even though both are considered green cities, it is not certain that both have the same power to maintain the green city discourse in the process of developing urban and regional planning. Returning to the statement that in discourse there is politics and power. The politics and power of these two cities regarding green cities have different directions and rhythms of progress. Andersson, I. (2016) explains the factors that influence policy making, especially those that build "green cities", namely historical events; Selective policy definitions; Funding programs and public investment; Extra-local policy networks; and Localized networking and alliances. The power of the green city discourse in Freiburg is already strong in these five aspects. The city of Freiburg has strong historical events related to the environment, a strict definition of a green city and sustainability, funding programs and budgets that are concerned with the environment (as seen from development that pays attention to the environment), local policies that are connected to environmental principles and strong community strengths. have environmental awareness. Compared to the situation and conditions in Freiburg, these five points do not fully relate to the history and development of the city of Surabaya. The policies made in the city depend on the leader and his party, which can change orientation and goals each period. The strength of the sustainability of the green city discourse in Surabaya lies in the diplomacy model involving actors and multilateral cooperation which was actively carried out during Risma's leadership in 2010 (Wardhani, B., & Dugis, V., 2020). After that, the government seemed incomplete in working on a program by jumping from one program to another. As a result, the development of Green City in Surabaya does not yet have a strong and prominent core. Apart from that, the means for joint discussion between the government and society regarding the environment is also not yet visible as a 'media'. That is why even though these two cities both have green cities, the implementation carried out and what can be felt in these two regions is very different.

4. Conclusion

The concept of a green city is a complex and multifaceted concept that has been applied in various regions, including Indonesia and Germany. Freiburg's Green City began in the 1970s, following successful action from the community. The city has since developed a green city plan, focusing on energy, climate protection, ecological mobility, and food sustainability. The collaboration between the government and society, who both have awareness of the environment and the issue of the climate crisis, supported by political conditions and power, has made the green city discourse in Freiburg continue to this day. Meanwhile, in Surabaya, a new initiative was started by the government in 1984. The initial concept of a green city in Surabaya started with the Kampung development programme, which has now changed to Surabaya Green and Clean as a form of city branding. The difference between these two cities in implementing Green City lies in the initiatives, programme models, and strategies, as well as the promotion or branding of green city discourse both among city residents and internationally.

Although at least this research can be a starting point for comparing European and Asian green city practises, this research has limitations that can be explored further for further research, especially regarding the details of implementing Green City in each city, both Freiburg and Surabaya. Further research could also shed light on the implications of green politics in Europe and Asia, which could result in findings regarding what "green" is, what fields are involved, and its implementation. In the future, this comparative study can add perspectives regarding environmental discourse that occurs in different regions and become material for future comparative studies.

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