

Analysis of Critical Agrarian Perspective on Nusantara Capital City (IKN) Development Policy in Indonesia

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This study aims to elucidate the agrarian trajectory in the Sepaku district, North Penajam Paser Regency, the primary site for the Nusantara Capital City (IKN) development, and to explore the dynamics of access, investigating how various actors contest within the IKN development. Employing a qualitative method, data were collected through semi-structured interviews, observations, and analysis of related IKN development reports. The findings reveal that the designated IKN development area is a traditional territory of the Paser Balek tribe with a long history of agrarian ownership. The IKN development involves an interplay of diverse actors and interests dynamically contesting through access. This research substantively contributes to critical agrarian studies in IKN development, suggesting further studies to delve deeper into indigenous rights, potential tenurial conflicts, and the significance of power in shaping IKN development.

Keywords: Nusantara Capital City (IKN), Development, Critical Agrarian, Access, Indonesia

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1. Introduction

Generally, this research aims to explain how critical agrarian perspective understand the dynamics of power operating in the implementation of the IKN development initiated by President Jokowi, which has sparked criticism, debates, and pros and cons from various parties. Through a critical agrarian perspective, in more detail, this study investigates the trajectories agrarian trajectories of the IKN development area located in East Kalimantan. In addition, this research delineates how access dynamics operate in the implementation of IKN development.

The current president of the Republic of Indonesia, Ir. Joko Widodo (Jokowi) announced on August 26, 2019, that the Indonesian capital city (IKN) will be moved from Jakarta to East Kalimantan Province, specifically in Penajam Paser Utara Regency and part of Kutai Kartanegara Regency. The plan to move the capital city is not new. It was also proposed by President Sukarno. In the past, President Sukarno proposed moving the capital city of Indonesia to Palangkaraya and Malang, but these plans were ultimately cancelled (Setiyono, 2017). However, the capital city of Indonesia was briefly moved to Yogyakarta during the Indonesian National Revolution, when Jakarta was under Dutch occupation (Ishenda & Guoqing, 2019).

The relocation of capital cities is not a new concept. Multiple nations have done so throughout history. Since the 1950s, 14 nations have relocated their capital cities (Schatz, 2003). The majority of countries that have relocated their capital cities are developing nations with low GDPs, expansive territories, and dense populations (Agassi, 2013).

In 2019, Indonesian President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) announced that the capital of Indonesia would be relocated from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. This decision has been respons with both praise and criticism (Kodir et al., 2021). Previous presidents had rarely taken such an audacious step. Even during Suharto's 32-year reign, he never considered moving the capital city from Jakarta. The current government asserts that Jakarta has borne an excessively heavy burden (Sutoyo & Almaarif, 2020). Currently, Jakarta has two functions of authority, the center of Government and the center of the economy (Shimamura & Mizunoya, 2020). Consequently, the population mobilization tends to be centered in Jakarta (Yusriyah et al., 2020). Regrettably, that population growth has not been followed by environmental and urban planning capabilities (Manan & Suprayitno, 2020). In addition, Jakarta also acquires many problems that remain to be unresolved, such as urban heat (Tursilowati et al., 2012), air pollution (Van de Vuurst & Escobar, 2020), and river pollution. In addition, the population concentration in Jakarta causes this city to dominate Indonesia's economic cycle (Labolo et al., 2018), thus hampering the financial growth of other areas.

On the basis of these factors, the Government decided to relocate the capital of Indonesia to the province of East Kalimantan. East Kalimantan is deemed an ideal location for the nation's new capital (Martati et al., 2020) because the island is relatively safe from natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods (Mursidi & Sari, 2017). In addition, the island of Borneo is neither traversed by the earth's plate or a chain of active volcanoes due to its geological characteristics. Therefore, the region is protected from tectonic and volcanic earthquakes. Second, East Kalimantan has an abundant supply of land, which facilitates a better spatial

plan. In relation to equitable development, the move of the capital city is anticipated to relocate the national development epicentre from Java to outside Java.

In addition to these factors, the government has a variety of objectives to achieve, including the relocation of the nation's capital city. 1) influences national economic growth positively; 2) decreases income gaps; 3) generates additional modest national inflation; 4) promotes regional trade; and 5) boosts investment (Bappenas, 2019). The move of the capital city is mostly motivated by economic motives. According to a study by Taufikurahman et al. (2019), the capital city movement has little effect on changes in real GDP. In addition, the relocation of the capital city will only benefit the destination province and does not guarantee a reduction in inequality in the destination province. Land tenure inequality is one of these inequities. Several significant contractors, including Prabowo, Hashim Djojohadikusumo, Luhut Panjaitan, and Abu Rizal Bakrie, Garibaldi Thohir, Sandiaga Uno, and Kiki Barki, hold extensive land tenure for mining, forest, and plantation business permits at the present time.

In addition to inequality, it is anticipated that social strife would emerge. The move of the capital city will have a direct effect on social developments, particularly the rate of migrants who can spark social unrest (Salim & Negara, 2019), as frequently occurred, particularly outside the island of Java. A fight between the Dayak and Madurese that occurred a decade ago is one example. Consequently, the Government should be able to predict these possible confrontations.

Related to these factors, the government should also consider catastrophe vulnerability. Through Bappenas (National Development Planning Agency of the Republic of Indonesia), the government should conduct an in-depth analysis of the catastrophe risk in the Nusantara Capital City area. Since the BNPB (Indonesia National Board of Disaster Management) has explained that the area is susceptible to Tsunami and Flood, they need also plan mitigation strategies.

As a new policy, the creation of the new National Capital has garnered little attention from researchers and academics, as few studies have been conducted on this topic. Recent research, however, investigates the emergence of the new National Capital. The research from (Bappenas, 2019) reveals the urgency of the capital city relocation. The study is supported by the findings of problems in Jakarta in particular and the island of Java in general. However, that study only focuses on economic factors. In line with the results of a Bappenas study, (Taufiq, 2017) mentions that the movement of the capital city forms connectivity between islands, especially in eastern Indonesia. Further, the research conducted by Indef reveals distinctive results. The study of Indef (2019) describes that the construction of the Nusantara Capital City provides no additional support for the national economy. Furthermore, (Clark, 2021) noted that a Nusantara Capital City building involves risks, especially financing. Therefore, the process requires stringent oversight from the Indonesian House of Representatives, particularly the infrastructure and finance panel.

As a policy that is multi-complex and has implications for social, economic, and political order, the IKN development has garnered attention from several researchers. However, the majority of research on capital city development plans focuses on the macroeconomic perspective, emphasizing solely on regional economic growth. On the other hand,

development policies will directly impact agrarian changes in the area. Therefore, this article will contribute to the debate and discussion related to the development of the capital city within a more complex power framework. By situating it in a critical agrarian perspective, this study could be taken into consideration by policymakers to implement IKN development that promotes a more equitable agrarian structure.

2. Critical Agrarian Perspective

The critical agrarian perspective provides a potent theoretical framework that scrutinizes and dissects the multifaceted power dynamics, socio-economic structures, and macroeconomic influences prevalent in agrarian societies. As part of an interdisciplinary approach, the critical agrarian perspective does not have an absolute definition. In its evolution, this perspective has sparked debate among agrarian scholars. Central issues that ignited discussions about "the agrarian question" over a century ago remain significantly relevant, although they are now generally discussed in more intricate terms. These issues encompass the differentiation of the rural population or the emergence of affluent and impoverished classes among the peasantry, as well as the extent to which preexisting agrarian structures impede the advancement of capitalism in agriculture (Edelman and Wolford, 2017).

On the other hand, McMichael (2023) explains that some scholars argue that the field should focus more on the experiences and perspectives of small-scale farmers and rural communities, while others emphasize the need to engage with broader political and economic structures that shape agriculture and rural life. There is also debate about the role of technology in agriculture, with some scholars arguing that technological innovations can help address food insecurity and environmental degradation, while others caution against relying too heavily on technological solutions that may exacerbate existing social inequalities.

Another topic of contention within critical agrarian studies pertains to the relationship between agriculture and environmental sustainability. Some scholars insist that sustainable agricultural practices are vital for confronting global environmental problems such as climate change. However, others question the feasibility of achieving sustainability within a capitalist economic system that values profit over ecological health.

However, several key concepts are essential to understand from this perspective. Firstly, this viewpoint concentrates on power and inequality as they shape the production, distribution, and consumption of food, as well as the ways in which individuals interact with nature and each other in rural areas (Haroon Akram-Lodhi et al., 2021b). Secondly, the perspective aims to challenge prevailing narratives about agriculture and rural life that often prioritize industrialized agriculture over small-scale farming practices (McMichael, 2023). Lastly, this perspective undertakes to identify, analyze, and combat the biases, values, and forms of representation and legitimization of knowledge that characterize conventional wisdom (Edelman and Wolford, 2017).

In light of the unfolding debate, Akram-Lodhi et al., (2021) suggest not attempting to enforce any particular theoretical standpoint. Instead, he aims to compile a broad array of contributions from scholars of diverse backgrounds and viewpoints. These scholars are bound by their collective enthusiasm for the critical analysis of, and debates about, historical

and contemporary social structures and processes in agrarian and rural settings (Haroon Akram-Lodhi et al., 2021a).

Akram-Lodhi's (2021) emphasis on the critical analysis of historical and contemporary social structures in agrarian change substantiates the reasons why a critical agrarian perspective is both relevant and appropriate for understanding power dynamics in the development of the new Indonesian capital (IKN) in East Kalimantan. Through this perspective, the researcher aims to trace the agrarian trajectories in the Penajam Paser Utara area, which is central to the IKN development. It is assumed that this area is not devoid of agrarian relations. Trajectories analysis is important in agrarian studies because it helps to contextualize contemporary rural issues and struggles. By examining the agrarian trajectories, it helps to reveal the ways in which power and inequality have been produced and reproduced over time, which is essential for developing strategies for social change. Particularly will assist to how colonization, imperialism, and capitalist development that have shaped social relations, institutions, and practices in rural areas, critical agrarian studies seeks to develop a more nuanced understanding of the complex dynamics at play in contemporary agriculture and rural life (Haroon Akram-Lodhi et al., 2021).

Additionally, utilising the analytical framework from access theory, the researcher seeks to identify the key actors and their interests and how they operate and utilise access. Access theory is relevant on critical agrarian perspective because it provides a framework for understanding the complex social relationships that shape access to resources in these contexts. In rural areas, access to resources such as land, water, and forests is often critical for subsistence and livelihoods. However, access is not solely determined by economic or legal factors but also by social and cultural factors such as kinship ties, power relations, and ritual practices. By analyzing the constellations of means, relations, and processes that enable various actors to derive benefits from resources, access theory can help scholars, planners, and policymakers better understand the dynamics of resource use and distribution in rural areas (Ribot & Peluso, 2009).

3. Method

This research was conducted from September – December 2021. This research was conducted in 4 villages directly adjacent to the construction site of the Capital city, namely Pemaluan Village, Bumi Harapan Village, Bukit Raya Village, and Tengin Baru Village, which administratively belonged to Sepaku District, Penajam Paser Utara (PPU).

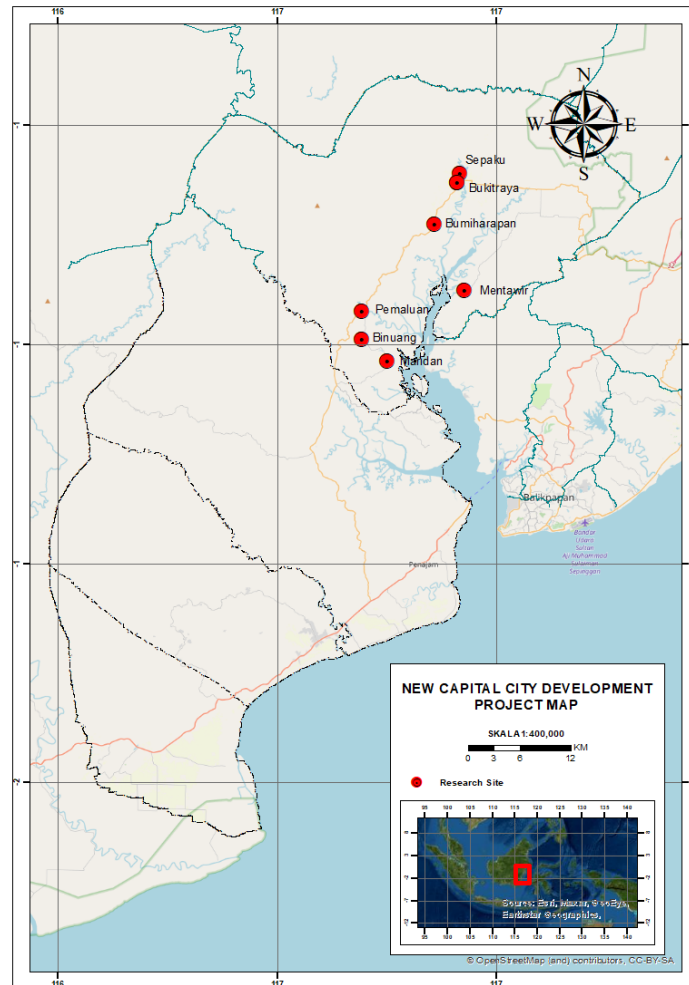


Figure 1. Research Site.

This study employed a qualitative method. Qualitative research is a type of research that focuses on understanding the meaning and interpretation of social phenomena from the perspective of the people involved (Watson & Till, 2010). The data collection process in this study was carried out in several ways.

First, the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with numerous participants. The selection of participants was done through a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling to determine the appropriate and relevant subjects for the study. Some of the participants involved in the interview process included several village heads, community leaders from the Paser Indigenous community, local communities (who are pro and con on development), second-generation immigrants from Java, Bugis, and Makassar. Additionally, the research team also conducted semi-interviews with journalists and NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) in the North Penajam Paser (PPU). All the participants were selected due to their involvement in the development process of the IKN. Secondly, the researcher also conducted unstructured observations. This means that the observation did not systematically prepare what subjects were being observed. Some unstructured observation activities included visiting project development planning sites; observing the distribution of

residents from area 1 to area 4 (around the development region), to observe which hamlets are most affected by the IKN; observing the economic activities of residents, such as when they are gardening, to identify potential sources of livelihood that may be lost due to the IKN; observing evidence of the existence of the Paser Balik Indigenous community, as a claim that they have controlled the area for a long time.

Subsequently, the data analysis process was carried out in several stages. First, the researcher categorized the themes/sub-themes based on the research focus derived from the interview transcripts and observation notes. Next, the researcher also validated the data through a cross-check of the information provided by the participants. And finally, the researcher interpreted the categorized data through theoretical analysis.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1. The Agrarian Trajectories in the Area Nusantara Capital City (IKN) Development in the Penajam Paser Utara, East Kalimantan, Indonesia

Agrarian trajectories refer to the different paths that agrarian societies have taken over time in response to changing political, economic, and social conditions. These trajectories are shaped by a variety of factors, including colonialism, globalization, state policies, and local cultural practices. Understanding these trajectories is important for understanding the current state of agrarian societies and for identifying potential pathways for future development (Edelman & Wolford, 2017).

To comprehend agrarian trajectories, Edelman and Wolford (2017) propose several analytical frameworks. One is the idea that agrarian societies are not static, but rather are shaped by a variety of political, economic, and social forces over time. Another key concept is the idea that these trajectories are not predetermined, but rather are the result of complex interactions between different actors and institutions. Additionally, it is important to recognize that agrarian trajectories are not uniform across different regions or countries, but rather vary depending on local conditions and historical legacies. Finally, it is important to consider the role of power relations in shaping agrarian trajectories, including the ways in which dominant groups have sought to maintain their control over land and resources. Several of these analytical framework will help elucidate the agrarian trajectories in this research. In this context, it refers to the region designated for the development of the Nusantara Capital City in Indonesia.

Historically, the Penajam Paser Utara (PPU) area was formerly inhabited by the Paser Tunan and Paser Balik tribes (Johansyah et al., 2020). These two tribes descend from the Paser Tribe, which resides in the Paser Regency at now. According to Paser's traditional chief, this region was once inhabited by dispersed tribal communities whose existence revolved around rivers and bays. Each group established a small kingdom known as the Indigenous Kingdom, including the Adang tribal group residing in Adang Bay (Paser), the Lolo tribal group at the mouth of the Lolo River (Paser), the Kali tribal group in Long Kali (Paser), the traditional group of the Tunan tribe at the mouth of the Tunan River (Penajam), and the indigenous group of the Balik tribe residing around Balikpapan Bay. The Adang, Lolo, and Tunan kingdoms belong to the Paser Kingdom, whereas the Balik kingdom is part of the Kutai Kartanegara Kingdom's administrative region. They make their living as farmers and

fishermen, and they carry on their skills from generation to generation. Each traditional kingdom is ruled by a king or other customary head of state. These little kingdoms gradually ceased to exist when the majority of their inhabitants moved to the central government or opted to live outside their tribes (Arkas, 2009). Some members of the groupings, such as the Paser Balik Tribe, stay in their tribes. They rely on the surrounding forest by employing a swidden farming practise to cultivate gardens. However, their lives changed when the state claimed ownership of the customary property, which the community had long used as a source of income, and subsequently transferred the management rights to private firms (Peluso, 1995).

The Long, an American-owned international firm, was founded in 1965 in Sepaku District, Penajam Paser Utara Regency. This region is renowned for producing the highest quality wood, including Ironwood, Meranti, Ebony, and Bengkirai. The Long is the first corporation the state has granted management rights. The entrance of The Long signalled the beginning of agrarian conflicts between indigenous peoples, the government, and corporations in the Sepaku District. The Long changed its name to PT ITCI (International Timber Corporation Indonesia) in 1975, after ten years of operation and the depletion of forest resources in Sepaku District. The company was then acquired in 2008 by one of Indonesia's political elites, Prabowo Subianto, a candidate in the 2019 presidential election.

In addition to The Long, six other foreign enterprises with rights to maintain the region's forests were created on customary land owned by the community. These enterprises were given a total of 164,975.81 hectares to manage from the state (Kapiarsa et al., 2020). This area consists of 41,219,97 hectares managed by PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal, 36,251,46 hectares managed by PT ITCI Kartika Utama, 32,439,39 hectares managed by PT Balikpapan Wana Lestari, 19,109,04 hectares managed by PT Belantara Subur, 14,800,18 hectares managed by PT Fajar Surya Swadaya, and 10,457,2 Environmental activists in East Kalimantan assert that Sunanto Tanoto, one of Indonesia's wealthiest businesspeople in the timber processing industry, owns PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal. Meanwhile, PT Greaty Sukses Abadi manages 10,698.16 hectares of land. These seven huge wood management corporations have seized the land and lives of native peoples. Once-sacred forests began to vanish and were replaced by the company's industrial operations.

Based on the Paser Balik Customary Head, the villagers could not comprehend whether these corporations had previously seized their land. They did not yet comprehend the Law, therefore they offered no resistance. In addition, throughout the New Order era in Indonesia, the right of the people to express their thoughts was severely curtailed. State apparatus was utilised to intrude in social lives. During the earliest days of The Long's existence, the firm employed armed officers to stop the people from working in their protected forest region.

The New Order regime's land policy was established on the order of the World Bank, the primary actor in the land sector's deregulatory movement. Deregulation is an economic method for combating excessive financial expenses, and is prevalent in developing nations such as Indonesia. This high-priced economy also exists in the process of acquiring land, a necessity for investors. Therefore, the World Bank also targeted land deregulation for deregulation. It represented a change in land management. The land is no longer governed for the greatest prosperity of the people, but as a marketable commodity. The pro-investment

policies of the New Order included the deletion of the populist Law No. 5/1960 on the Basic Regulations of Agrarian Affairs from the constitution (UUPA).

This investment-oriented development necessitated that the government guarantee the land sought by investors, resulting in land disputes (GUILD, 2019). In the absence of state-issued legal documentation, the indigenous Paser Balik people were compelled to cede their land rights owing to existing legal rules. According to Khoidin, the government used Free State land (*vrijlands domein*) and labelled *ulayat* rights to justify land expropriation and prevent conflict with higher interests. As a result, people's rights were violated due to the expansion of plantation-developing businesspeople. Although the property has been seized, few Paser Balik indigenous people remain in the area and work for the enterprise. Concurrently, the company hired numerous individuals from beyond the Sepaku subdistrict, particularly from Java. However, with the fall of the New Order dictatorship, the law protected freedom of expression, encouraging the Paser Balik indigenous people to express their previously suppressed desires. In 2005, the community began to demonstrate at the local office to express their opinions. After this episode, the number of indigenous labourers began to increase. However, they were only engaged as low-level or unskilled labourers, whilst Javanese people held crucial positions within the organisation.

In addition to dealing with enterprises and the government regarding land ownership, the indigenous Paser Balik people in Sepaku Subdistrict must also accept the presence of transmigrants in their territories. By building many communities in 1975, 1980, and 1991, the government drew in transmigrants from Central Java, East Java, and West Nusa Tenggara. The immigrants were provided with homes and uncultivated land for gardening. Moreover, the settlements populated by transmigrants now have "village" status, in contrast to the indigenous Paser people. This distinction results in distinct budget allocations. As one of the Pemaluan sub-district members in the Pemaluan sub-district where the Paser community resides stated, this causes societal envy towards the Paser community because they receive a less budget than the village status area. Consequently, the Paser community felt less empowered by government programmes than neighbouring communities.

The land disputes remain unsolved, and the state is now seeking that the firms return the land they have managed for the relocation of the capital city. According to Joko Widodo's speech, the state already owns 180,000 hectares of land in Penajam Paser Utara (PPU) and partially in Kutai Kartanegara for the building of the capital city (Suprayitno et al., 2020). East Kalimantan's decision as the site of the Nusantara Capital City is influenced in part by the large availability of land there. Therefore, the state spends a relatively less amount on development.

"...Well, perhaps it's one of the government's strategies, because the location used for the new capital (IKN) here is an HGU (Rights to cultivate) location, right. They rely too much on the HGU. The HGU is a business use right owned by the government that is given to companies. Now, the area that is intended to be used for the new capital is right in the middle of the HGU land. Because the government doesn't want to spend too much money to acquire land for the new capital, they're using land that is already available." (Head of the Paser Balek Tribe)

However, the government's proposition to relocate the capital city to East Kalimantan has incited apprehension among the general populace, indigenous groups, and local communities. Of particular concern is the indigenous Paser Balik community, which resides in close proximity to the designated construction site. This community's anxiety is amplified by their lack of legal land documentation, leaving them feeling vulnerable and fearful due to the recurrent grim history of agrarian conflicts. The locus of their concerns is their village's position at the epicenter of the proposed development—often referred to as the 'zero points'—which has potential for a substantial impact (Teo et al., 2020).

According to the agrarian trajectory of the Penajam Paser Utara (PPU) area, soon to be the site of Indonesia's Nusantara Capital City, reflects a rich and complex tapestry of political, economic, and social forces. The agrarian societies that once flourished here, such as the Paser Tunan and Paser Balik tribes, have seen their way of life drastically altered over time, as emphasized by Edelman and Wolford's (2017) analytical framework.

In conclusion, the agrarian trajectory of the PPU area exemplifies the complex interplay of political, economic, and social forces over time. It underscores the importance of considering power dynamics, local conditions, and historical legacies in understanding the development and potential future of agrarian societies. The move of the capital city to this region is likely to further transform these trajectories, warranting careful consideration of the rights and livelihoods of the indigenous communities.

4.2. Dynamics of Access and Interest of Actors in the Development of the Capital City

Moreover, natural resource management concerns are related with the conflicting interests of multiple players. This conflict involves at least four parties: the government, firms or business organisations (business), environmental NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) and grassroots organizations (GROs) (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Each actor has a unique strategy for collecting, managing, and sustaining profits over the region's resources. Access, according to Ribot & Peluso (2003), is the capacity to benefit from an entity, such as physical goods, people, institutions, and symbols. Similarly, the concepts of "ability" and "power" share commonalities, with two constraints identifying each. First, capability refers to the capacity of certain actors to affect the practises and opinions of others. Second, it is commonly believed that power emanates from others, although this is not always the case (Ribot & Peluso, 2009).

The actors in the building of the Nusantara capital city (IKN) in East Kalimantan also compete for land-based natural resources. Land tenure becomes an important issue, particularly in nations like Indonesia that continue to rely on natural resources for economic growth. The property has strategic value because it reflects possession of financial resources and serves as a symbol of social and political standing in the community (Barrera-Bassols et al., 2006). Consequently, property ownership frequently overlaps with other political interests, resulting in protracted confrontations. The parties involved in a land tenure dispute within the development area of the capital city make claims that explain their property rights with legal evidence or based on their socioeconomic standing. The findings of field investigations indicate that four major actors in the capital city development area attempt to collect, control, and sustain the flow of revenues from resource management. These stakeholders consist of the state as the actor controlling access, businesses or capital owners

as the actors getting access, and NGOs and the community as the players maintaining access. Each actor has varied economic, social, and ecological interests in land usage at the capital city development site. In addition to their interests, actors have distinct access powers to resources. In the development of East Kalimantan's capital city, disparities in land-related interests and power become a source of conflict. Each actor attempts to utilise their influence to advance their own goals.

The existence of a power connection between actors is the result of their divergent goals and levels of influence. According to Ribot and Peluso (2003), power relations can emerge in the context of conflict or rivalry, negotiation, and resistance. Actors with a superior combination of power will prevail in the struggle for control of natural resources and exert influence on other actors in gaining, controlling, and retaining access to resources (Febryano et al., 2015; Priyatna et al., 2015). In the management and use of land in the development area of the capital city, the actors interact to build a power relationship. First, a partnership is forged between the central and regional administrations and businesses or entrepreneurs operating in the Sepaku District of the Penajam Paser Utara Regency. The relationship between the government and the community, however, is resistant. The relationships between the community and businessmen are characterised by competition over land resources, whereas those between the community and NGOs are characterised by collaboration. Lastly, there are two types of power interactions between the government and NGOs: rivalry and cooperation.

Below is an explanation of the interest groups that have access to gain, control, and maintain land resources at the development site for the capital city, as well as an examination of the power interactions developed amongst the four actors in this study.

4.2.1. Private Enterprises: Actors gaining and maintaining access

Prior to the establishment of the state forest area, the Paser Balik community owned the production forest area in the Sepaku District region that is now administered by the state. In general, the resolution of state forest areas began with the enactment of the 1967 Sectoral Law, which divided natural resources into forestry, plantations, and mining sectors. This policy marks the beginning of the state's transfer of Forest Tenure Rights authority to the private sector (HPH). Concurrently, the ownership status has shifted from state property to private property. After identifying the production forest area in East Kalimantan, private ownership was granted to a portion of the province's forest areas. This control may alter, though, if the state need the land, such as when it needed the area to build the Nusantara Capital City. It occurs as a result of the state's authority. According to Ribot and Peluso (2009), authority is the most important aspect of power because it is the node of access control.

The capital city will be relocated to four subdistricts in the regencies of Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kartanegara. Sepaku District is located inside the administrative region of Penajam Paser Utara Regency, whilst Samboja District, Muara Jawa District, and Loa Kulu District are situated within the administrative area of Kutai Kartanegara Regency. Regional classifications are grouped into three distinct regions. First, ring one encompasses an area of 5,644 hectares, which corresponds to the Government Center, then ring two encompasses an area of 42,000 hectares, which corresponds to the National Capital (IKN), and ring three

encompasses an area of 180,965 hectares, which corresponds to the National Capital Expansion Area.

Within the metropolitan development region of the capital city, there are two forestry concessions. The first concession has the status of PT. International Timber Corporation Indonesia Kartika Utama (PT. IKU), whose land ownership is managed by Hashim Djojohadikusumo, the younger brother of Prabowo Subianto, and PT. International Timber Corporation Hutani Manunggal (PT. IHM). The first ring of the capital city construction is wholly inside PT's concession, however the second ring, which encompasses 42,000 hectares, is within the concessions of both PT. IHM and PT. KPI. The head of BAPPENAS, Bambang Brodjonegoro, alleges that Sukanto Tanoto owns PT. ITCI Hutani Manunggal (IHM) (Timmer, 2010). This firm handles the 6,000 hectares of land that will comprise the first phase of IKN development. In addition, there are 162 concessions for mining, forestry, oil palm plantations, and coal-fired power plants on an area of 180,000 hectares that forms the site for the building of the capital city. The inquiry results reveal 148 coal mining concessions, two of which have Mining Business Permits (IUP) and one of which has Coal Mining Concession Work Agreement status (PKP2B). This permission, issued by the central government under the name PT. Singlurus Pratama, covers 24,760 ha of IKN territory.

In addition, 10 plantation concessions were discovered in the vicinity of the capital city, with eight plantations located in rings two and three, in the Samboja and Muara Jawa subdistricts, and the remaining four in the Sepaku subdistrict. One of the largest firms here is PT. Kaltim Utama I, which manages a 17,000-hectare plantation. This business is owned by Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment in Indonesia. Meanwhile, PT. Indo Ridlatama Power has secured a management permission for a coal-fired power plant in ring three locations (PT. IRP). In addition, 94 previous coal mining pits have not been closed by their owners, with a number of businesses leaving the most mining holes above the capital city region. 22 mining holes belong to PT. Singlurus Pratama, 16 to PT. Perdana Maju Utama, 10 to CV. Hardiyatul Isyal, 9 to PT. Pakawan Investama, and 8 to CV. Amindo Primary, according to the data (Johansyah et al., 2020).

According to Ribot and Peluso (2000), there are at least two types of access mechanisms: those based on rights and those based on structure and relationships. As observed through the lens of private property ownership, the access mechanism developed in the capital city region is built on structure and relationships. This mechanism can be affected by numerous factors, including technology, capital, markets, labour, knowledge, authority, social identity, and social relationships. Actors can control and possess multiple sorts of access simultaneously. In terms of private ownership of concession land in the capital city development region, Sukanto Tanoto and Hashim Djojohadikusumo dominate power in rings one and two of the capital city area, followed by 158 mining, oil palm, and forest concessions held by other entrepreneurs.

Hashim Djojohadikusumo is the younger brother of Prabowo Subianto, the Defense Minister of the Indonesian Cabinet of the Future. Hasim is listed in the second ring of IKN as the President Commissioner of PT. International Timber Corporation Indonesia Kartika Utama (PT. ITCI KU) with an IUPHHK-HA area of 173,395 hectares. In addition, Hashim is the owner of PT. Arsari Tirta, a company that provides clean water. Arsari Tirta has enormous potential, as the need for clean water in the IKN region will continue to grow as a result of

the significant population movement following the inauguration of the capital city. If the state seizes the land managed by this firm, the company will get compensation from the state and be the benefactor. Using the analysis of getting access, the actors in this case gain access on the basis of structure and relationships. Access to resources is achieved through social identification systems, notably familial ties with central government authority bearers. In addition, access to money is observed, since corporations pay taxes to the state to preserve land access in the Sepaku District region.

Sukanto Tanoto, the IUPHHK-HT concession holder of PT. International Timber Corporation Indonesia Hutani Manunggal, with management rights covering 161,127 ha and the entire core area of the capital city development in-ring one with an area of 5,500 ha, also appears as a significant beneficiary of capital city development. Based on a report by the Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM) of East Kalimantan, Hashim Djojohadikusumo was granted this land in 2006 (Walhi, 2019). This demonstrates that social ties between Hashim Djojohadjikusumo and Sukanto Tanoto contribute to the occurrence of the access mechanism. According to Peluso (1995), access to social relationships is facilitated by trust, friendship, patronage, and other factors.

As revealed previously, the family of Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, Coordinating Minister and Investment Coordinating Minister of the Indonesian Maju Cabinet, also owns a coal mining company in the IKN region. PT. Adimitra Baratama Nusantara, PT. Trisensa Mineral Utama, PT. Kutai Energi, PT. Indoming, and oil palm estates are subsidiary organisations of PT. Toba Group. The plantations of PT Kaltim Utama I are situated in the Muara Jawa subdistrict, the ring three capital city development region. 50 unfilled mining shafts have been abandoned by Luhut's enterprises. Activists fear he will profit from the reclamation duty if the land is used to create the capital city. Additionally, Yusril Ihza Mahendra is recognised as a benefit of the development of the capital city. In the 2019 presidential election dispute, he is the leader of the legal team representing Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin. Yusril owns shares and serves as the chief commissioner of PT. Mandiri Sejahtera Energido Indonesia, a coal mining firm based in the Sepaku District of the ring two IKN.

4.2.2. The States: Actors controlling the access

The state is the first entity to utilise agricultural resources at the development location for the capital city. The state must engage in economic development to generate cash, but it must also preserve the environment from harm. Nevertheless, state actions typically serve primarily institutional interests. When environmental deterioration happens, the state rarely speaks with one voice, and its role as environmental "creator" or "destroyer" is equivocal. In this situation, the state is represented by the central government or the president, who holds the most authority. The President has the authority to manage natural resources, from formulating and implementing policies to supervising and regulating them. As a development agency, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia seeks to generate state revenues and attract investment by collaborating with investors to grant permits for the use of natural resources, including agricultural resources at capital city development sites, in order to generate state revenues and attract investment. This relationship has significantly elevated the status of the private investor or entrepreneur, while reducing the Paser Balik community's access to agricultural resources. As a result, indigenous peoples are marginalised and have

limited political and economic access to natural resources in their area, such as land and forests. Therefore, it causes economic and social inequality in the community.

The state's role in terms of access control can be divided into three categories. First, the state regulates community access to land management at the development site for the capital city. The state should use its constitution to alter property rights from individual ownership based on customary law to state property rights, so transforming the land into a productive forest. Second, the state restricts the access of firms and businesses to land resources by awarding business permits through a variety of rules, as these lands are currently being reclaimed for the benefit of the relocation of the capital city. Thirdly, the state regulates land usage as a Nusantara Capital City development area.

As the indigenous occupants, the Paser Balik Tribe relied on the forest in the capital city's growth area for sustenance. Communities rely on forest resources for subsistence. Very close interaction exists between the community and the forest. They have religious institutions, arts, politics, economy, technology, and interconnected social groups that are tightly bound to the forest. The institutions developed become their basis for interacting with other humans, nature, and supernatural forces in which they have faith. Due of their proximity to the forest, the Paser Balik people consider it as an economic resource with social, cultural, and religious implications.

On the one hand, the practise of granting forest concessions in the form of Forest Tenure Rights (HPH), Industrial Plantation Forest Development Permits (HTI), plantation openings, transmigration areas in the Sepaku District area, or capital city development locations contributes to regional and state development by creating jobs, promoting the growth of the timber industry, and increasing the country's foreign exchange. Nonetheless, this exploitation harms the ecology and generates major socioeconomic and cultural issues for the locals in this region. For instance, a variety of consequences have developed, such as the loss of community livelihood sources in the forests that they had previously owned and cultural transformations that are distancing them from their own culture and traditions. This effect further marginalises indigenous peoples as a result of their weak bargaining position vis-à-vis concession owners who enjoy full government support.

“...These vulnerabilities will certainly occur. If groundwater is extracted, land subsidence will inevitably happen, followed by flooding. Not to mention the number of people who will be relocated to East Kalimantan. There's nothing that can suppress such a large population movement, and that's outside of the Civil Servants (ASN), let alone the ASN who have to move. The ecological impact will definitely be felt by areas in Samarinda and Balikpapan. The amount of water currently suitable for consumption has decreased, like in the Paser region, two Watershed Areas (DAS) have already been damaged, leaving only one good DAS. If the purpose of this capital relocation is to improve the welfare and education of the people, why does the capital have to be moved? Moving the capital to Kalimantan is the same as moving the problems in Jakarta here. It would be better to focus on solving the problems in Jakarta.” (WALHI)

During the Pre-Pelita I period of 1967–1968–69, The Long, a forest-exploitation firm based in the United States, had its investment approved. This company's entry in East Kalimantan paved the way for other local and foreign enterprises to access forest resources there. With the issuance of a Joint Decree by three ministers (Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Trade and Cooperatives, and Minister of Industry) regarding the obligation to supply wood for domestic needs in conjunction with log exports, the number of private companies in this sector increased in the 1980s (logs). In 1985, this policy gradually shifted to prohibit the direct export of logs. This unquestionably accelerates the expansion of the domestic timber sector, particularly in the province of East Kalimantan.

After decades of dominating East Kalimantan's natural resources, the state is now seizing the company's concession land for the construction of the capital city. Once again, the state is demonstrated to be the party with the authority to grant legitimacy to East Kalimantan's land management. The Government, as a policymaker, also sets a legal regulation for the move of the capital city. The development of the capital city has been incorporated in the National Medium-Term Development Plan for 2020-2024 and ratified by Presidential Regulation No. 18 of 2020. In the attachment to the Presidential Regulation, the benefits of relocating the capital city include providing more equitable access to all regions of the Republic of Indonesia, encouraging equitable development outside Java, and reorienting development from Java-centric to Indonesia-centric, thus reducing the burden on Java, particularly the Greater Jakarta area (Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi).

4.2.3. Local Communities and Indigenous People: Actors who maintain access

Before being declared as a production forest in the 1960s, as a result of the advent of private corporations, the area's inhabitants had extensive access to forest resource exploitation, which was governed by customary Law (Theresia et al., 2020). The technological interaction between the community and the plantation's resources has been maintained for a very long period. Nevertheless, the government deems this technological relationship improper because it violates conservation principles and provides no advantages to the state. The Paser Balik community's land is deemed "uncultivated" and "useless" due to the lack of capital investment or attempts to transform it into a valuable product. Thus, the government issued corporations management permits.

In the absence of state-issued legal documentation, the indigenous Paser Balik people were compelled to cede their land rights owing to existing legal rules. According to Khoidin, the conventional justification for land expropriation by the government is that the land is state land (*vrijlands domein*) and *ulayat* rights should not clash with higher interests. As a result, individuals are losing their land due to the expansion of plantation-developing businesspeople. Although the land was seized, few Paser Balik indigenous individuals were hired by the corporation.

Currently, in order to generate even higher profits, the land granted to the firm is being appropriated for the building of the capital city. The federal and local governments, as well as investors and transmigrants, hold this viewpoint. The disparate perspectives of the Paser Balik natives and the transmigrants subsequently generated a horizontal conflict. The commercialization of land refers to the gains that the federal government hopes to obtain from capital development initiatives. These improvements are calculated relative to national

economic expansion. Geographically situated in the middle of Indonesia, East Kalimantan is rumoured to boost the economy outside of Java as a result of the capital city relocation project. Thus, it is anticipated that economic growth will be more widely dispersed and not solely focused in Java. Externally and relationally, East Kalimantan is perceived as a full metabolic unit, but its location allows it to contribute to the economic development of neighbouring regions. The land in East Kalimantan is thus projected to suit the needs of those residing outside of Java.

The perception of land as a commodity influences the classification of relevant and unimportant factors for achieving development project objectives. To get funds for commercialization initiatives, the government relies on the private sector and international investment. Consequently, the success of the capital city development project is largely contingent on the investment. A crucial aspect of attracting investors is fostering an investment-friendly climate through deregulatory measures and the elimination of cumbersome restrictions. This investment indicates a rescaling of space and authority in the development plan for the capital city. This project is now a local, national, and international concern. Government gains from the capital city building project include attempts to solidify the state, which helps sustain national unity, security, and prosperity. National progress and development are fundamental narratives identical to the ideal position of the "state," which is political contestation. Currently, the state's success in managing agricultural resources demonstrates its efforts and capacity to be present in "less developed" regulated areas, such as Java. The Government and the people of East Kalimantan may have distinct development expectations.

In this setting, if the government uses land as a commodity, its perspective on land differs significantly from that of the local community. In contrast, the indigenous people of Paser Balik saw the land as a source of subsistence, identity, and autonomy. As a result, land cultivation is conducted solely to meet their own sustenance production and survival requirements. For the Paser Balik indigenous people, the land has historically been used as ulayat land, a location where indigenous peoples plant forest products to meet their daily requirements. Before the state seized possession of their forest, the woodland was used by the local tribe as a hunting field to satisfy their nutritional requirements. In addition to hunting, indigenous peoples rely on rudimentary farming techniques that have been passed down through centuries. Consequently, indigenous peoples have always retained socioreligious ties to the land. In other words, indigenous peoples view land as a resource for meeting their needs and have incorporated it into their identities. The terrain is regarded as an intrinsic component of their imaginative growth. This viewpoint views land as a collective entitlement that must be granted.

"....So here's a brief history, Pasir used to be part of the Kutai Kertanegara region, due to the marriage between Sultan Muhammad Idris and the princess from Pasir Grogot District. Because the Pasir District was very vast, it was given to Sultan Muhammad Idris (the son-in-law of the Pasir Grogot kingdom). Since then, or even before Indonesia gained independence, the areas of Tunan, Aji Raden, up to Sepaku Semoi were under the Dwi Praja Dynasty in the Kutai Sultanate, led by a tribal chief named the late Mr. Hawa, whose position was equivalent to a village head at that time. So, long before

the designation of state forest areas, we have been living here...” (Head of the Paser Balek Tribe)

On the basis of this understanding, the benefits that indigenous peoples receive from the lands claimed by the government are as follows: (1) the function of the land is expected to be restored as before, as a source of food for their daily lives; (2) identity and self-reliance; and (3) social relations that must be maintained across generations. Despite the fact that parties demand access to the same piece of property, they have distinct objectives for the land, which can lead to conflict. This is because a profit made by one actor results in a loss for another actor. In addition, the perspective of actors in positioning the property and the benefits acquired might influence their optimum development perspective.

Due to binding systems and rules, people in productive forest areas and land whose ownership status is still being contested by the parties have restricted access to natural resources. However, despite the fact that people have rights, rights and capacities must be differentiated. According to Ribot and Peluso (2009), disparities in access and property represent differences in rights and skills. Access is more focused on capability, whereas property refers to rights. Ability is equivalent to strength. In addition, capability can be interpreted as a bundle of power that allows actors to access and keep access to resources, which in this context is the development of communities in the capital city. In contrast, access is a collection of capabilities that enable someone to get and maintain access. People in this region have the ability to gain and keep resource management access. The indigenous people utilised the power relationship as a forum for keeping access to their territory's resources. Through this community, they can consume resources and participate on a local scale in its management system.

It can be concluded, that the development of the Nusantara Capital City in East Kalimantan, Indonesia, involves a complex interplay of multiple actors, each with their unique interests and strategies for managing and profiting from the region's resources. These actors include the government, private enterprises, environmental NGOs, and grassroots organizations. The dynamics of access and interest are shaped by the actors' varying capacities to benefit from resources, their ability to influence practices and opinions, and their power relationships. Land tenure, a crucial issue in resource-rich countries like Indonesia, becomes a source of conflict as different actors make claims based on legal evidence or socioeconomic standing. The state, private enterprises, and local communities and indigenous people play significant roles in gaining, controlling, and maintaining access to land resources. The state regulates access and land use, private enterprises gain and maintain access through structure and relationships, and local communities strive to maintain access based on their subsistence needs, identity, and autonomy. These dynamics result in power relationships characterized by conflict, negotiation, and resistance, shaping the development of the capital city.

5. Conclusion

As the centre of government and business, it may be stated that DKI Jakarta, the current capital of Indonesia, has a disproportionate amount of weight. This dual function results in numerous social and environmental issues. Based on these factors, President Jokowi chose to relocate the capital city to the province of East Kalimantan. The relocation of the capital city intends to construct a capital city that represents Indonesia and accommodates the dynamics

of Indonesia's development in order to realise excellent governance and promote equitable growth. However, this approach generates a variety of advantages and negatives from numerous parties, as well as more complicated issues.

Using a critical agrarian approach, this study addresses two crucial questions in response to the development of the Nusantara Capital City (IKN); first, How is the agrarian trajectory in the Sepaku region, Penajam Paser Utara, which is the primary location for the development of the IKN, and second, How are the dynamics of contestation of access in the development of the IKN. Based on these research questions the research findings elucidate the intricate dynamics inherent in the development of the Nusantara Capital City in East Kalimantan, Indonesia. The interplay of political, economic, and social forces, in conjunction with the roles of diverse actors such as the government, private enterprises, and local communities, underscores the multifaceted nature of the situation. This complexity carries substantial implications for the region's future and also proposes several potential trajectories for further research.

Primarily, the research accentuates the imperative need for meticulous consideration of the rights and livelihoods of indigenous communities. As the development of the Nusantara Capital City advances, these communities may confront displacement or disruption of their customary ways of life. Consequently, it is incumbent upon policymakers and developers to prioritize the safeguarding of these communities' rights and ensure that they receive adequate compensation for any loss of land or resources.

Secondarily, the findings illuminate the potential for conflict over land tenure. With disparate actors asserting claims to the region's resources, disputes may ensue. This necessitates the establishment of a comprehensive and equitable system for resolving such conflicts, one that respects the rights of all parties involved.

Thirdly, the research also underscores the significance of power dynamics in shaping the development of the Nusantara Capital City. The varying capacities of different actors to benefit from resources, influence practices and opinions, and maintain access to land resources can engender imbalances of power. This highlights the need for mechanisms to ensure that power is distributed equitably and that all stakeholders have a voice in decision-making processes.

Looking forward, there are several areas that could be enriched by further research. One such area is the impact of the Nusantara Capital City's development on indigenous communities. Future research could concentrate on changes in their livelihoods, cultural practices, social structures, and potential environmental impact.

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