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The Road to Nusantara

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The Road to Nusantara

Process, Challenges and Opportunities

Edited By

Julia M. Lau, Athiqah Nur Alami,
Siwage Dharma Negara and Yanuar Nugroho



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Foreword

I welcome the publication of *The Road to Nusantara: Process, Challenges and Opportunities*, co-published by Singapore's ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute and Indonesia's National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN). This book aims to capture the multi-faceted development aspects of Indonesia's future national capital, Nusantara, and critically evaluates some challenges and opportunities that the development of the city may bring.

The book provides readers with a wide range of vantage points that inform the development of this historical project. Such enriching perspectives are particularly valuable for us at the Nusantara National Capital Authority (NNCA), which is tasked to plan and coordinate the development of the city. The NNCA will subsequently oversee the government's transition to Nusantara before eventually becoming the city's administrator.

As I shared at the ISEAS-BRIN conference in October 2022, which is the foundation for this publication, Nusantara is not a typical city-building infrastructural project. A key element of the "Indonesia 2045" vision, Nusantara demonstrates Indonesia's effort to embrace new working cultures and innovative ways of thinking that will allow the nation to tackle future global challenges.

As such, the ultimate goal is to create a city that is both liveable and lovable, built atop the principles of green, smart, inclusive, resilient and sustainable. This model city can then be replicated when developing other cities in Indonesia, and ultimately help the nation to leapfrog to become a more prosperous and sustainable country.

One prime instance that illustrates the new paradigm is a grand design to make Nusantara a "sustainable forest city", which I believe will be the first in the world for a national capital. Key to this design is the plan to limit the development of the city's built-up environment to only about 25 per cent of the total land area. The remaining area will be retained as a green area, including 65 per cent that will be transformed from a production forest into a tropical forest.

To accomplish this plan, the NNCA will bring back the lush tropical forest and its thriving ecology through a "reforestation process". At the time of writing, we are collaborating closely with some organizations and community groups to distill their international expertise and local

wisdom, respectively, and subsequently, to implement the concept across Nusantara.

In addition, the forest area is expected to increase water absorption, reduce the risk of flooding, and act as a carbon sink. Combined with highly controlled built-up areas, the forest will allow Nusantara to minimize emissions. With all these features, Nusantara aims to be a carbon-neutral city by 2045.

The example shows that the success of this new city will not only benefit Indonesia. The value of a “net zero” Nusantara will extend beyond the country’s borders by contributing to ongoing efforts worldwide to tackle climate change. This is one of the ways in which Nusantara will play an active role at the global level. The NNCA is also working with several other international organizations to ensure Nusantara’s contribution in areas such as biodiversity and the Sustainable Development Goals.

All this is made possible as Nusantara positions itself to be a “living laboratory”. The NNCA is keen to make the city into a testbed for experimentation, testing, and implementation. Likewise, we continue to invite fresh ideas and perspectives to help us to shape the city and to make it more liveable, lovable and sustainable. This is exactly where the wealth of knowledge presented in this book becomes critically important and relevant.

I congratulate BRIN and ISEAS on the publication of this book. I wish to particularly acknowledge all the contributors and editors who have provided their insights for this published volume. May this book inform, inspire and spark meaningful discourse, which will eventually lead to achieving the goal of making Nusantara a green, smart, inclusive, resilient and sustainable city.

Bambang Susantono
Chairman, Nusantara National Capital Authority

Nusantara, 23 February 2023

Foreword

The upcoming capital city relocation will have an important impact on and contribution towards Indonesian development, especially to reduce the gap between Java and outside Java Island, and to emphasize the spirit of Indonesia in Indonesia's archipelago. The new capital city or *Ibu Kota Negara* (IKN) is named "Nusantara", a word representing this archipelago.

Contributing to the preparation for Nusantara in terms of policy design and a political framework, I am grateful that through this important book, our researchers at the National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN) have contributed to the production of academic and professional knowledge on the preparation and development of Indonesia's new capital city. Their contributions will not only enrich government policies but also provide evidence-based research on the establishment of the IKN.

The contributors to the book have successfully discussed the capital city relocation from diverse perspectives and by examining wide-ranging issues. These include the historical and political perspectives on capital relocation, the ecological and socio-economic implications of the relocation, as well as the cultural and identity aspects of the new capital city. The rich, critical, and in-depth knowledge covered by the book delighted me. Through the discussion, we hope that the discussion of the capital city relocation will benefit all, in line with the main purpose of Nusantara—to be a global city for all.

Hopefully, this book will be the first and most-cited scholarly work on the current Indonesian capital city relocation project. I thank all the contributors and editors for their hard work in completing this masterpiece. I believe the readers will find this book engaging in every chapter and that the book will stimulate future discussions and deeper knowledge of Indonesia's capital city relocation.

BRIN's work on the IKN certainly does not stop with the publication of this book. In 2023, one of the signature programmes in the Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities (ISSH), for instance, is on the challenges of the IKN which need to be addressed or dealt with by the Indonesian government. These challenges include drought, floods, forest fires, landslides, improving the involvement of indigenous people, and addressing potential horizontal or vertical social conflicts. BRIN will also launch several

expeditions and explorations, one of them being the Borneo Expedition, with the IKN as the focus.

Last, *The Road to Nusantara* is one of several products embodying the collaboration between BRIN and ISEAS that began in 2018 with a conference and book publication on religious authority. This collaboration continued in 2021 with a conference on “Digital Disruptions” and in 2022 on “Millennial Disruptions” and the IKN Conference that led to this publication. In August 2023, BRIN and ISEAS will organize a conference on “Social Fault-lines in Indonesia: Persistence and Change in an Evolving Landscape”.

Enjoy the book! Thank you.

Laksana Tri Handoko
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Jakarta, February 2023

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Glossary

<i>adat</i>	traditional or customary (as in law or custom, or referring to a community)
AJI	Aliansi Jurnalis Independen (Alliance of Independent Journalists)
<i>aksi</i>	street actions
ALKI II	Alur Laut Kepulauan Indonesia II (Indonesian Archipelagic Sea Channels)
AMAN	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago)
APBN	direct government budget
APL	Area Peruntukan Lain (allocation area)
APPSI	All-Indonesian Provincial Government Association
ART	household assistant
ASN	state civil servants
BAPPEDA	Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah (Agency for Regional Planning and Development)
BAPPENAS	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (National Development Planning Agency)
<i>binnenstad</i>	centre, inner city
BPN	Badan Pertanahan Nasional (National Land Agency)
BPS PPU	Badan Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of Statistics) Penajam Paser Utara (North Penajan Paser)
<i>buitenstad</i>	outskirts
BumDes	Badan Usaha Milik Desa (village-owned enterprise)
BWP	Botswana Pula
CBD	Central Business District
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
DAS	Daerah Aliran Sungai
DPD	Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Regional Representatives Council)

DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (House of Representatives)
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (Regional House of Representatives)
DPR-RI	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia
DWT	deadweight tonnage
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FPI	Islamic Defenders Front
FWI	Forest Watch Indonesia
GMF	Global Maritime Fulcrum
GONGO	Government-Organized Non-Governmental Organizations
GRDP	Gross Regional Domestic Product
HEI	Higher Education Institutions
HGB	Hak Guna Bangunan (right to build)
HGU	Hak Guna Usaha (right to cultivate)
HLSW	Sungai Wain Protection Forest
HPH	Hak Pengusahaan Hutan (forest concession rights)
HPK	Hutan produksi konvers (convertible production forest)
HTI	Hutan Tanaman Industri (industrial forest plantation)
HWC	Human-Wildlife Conflict
IAP	Indonesian Association of Planners
IDM	Indonesia Development Monitoring
IHM	PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal
IKN	Ibu Kota Negara (Capital City)
ITCI	International Timber Corporation Indonesia
IUP	Izin Usaha Pertambangan (Mining Licence)
IWGIA	International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs
JAL	Jaringan Advokat Lingkungan (Environmental Advocates Network)
JATAM	Jaringan Advokasi Tambang (Mining Advocacy Network)
KADIN	Kamar Dagang dan Industri (Chambers of Commerce and Industry)
KEE	Kawasan Ekosistem Esensial
Kementerian ATR/BPN	Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning

KI	Kawasan Industri (industrial area)
KIA	foreign fishing vessels
KIPP	Kawasan Inti Pusat Pemerintahan (Central Government Core Area)
KKI	Kebijakan Kelautan (Marine Policy) Indonesia
KLHK	Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan (Ministry of the Environment and Forestry)
KLHS	Kajian Lingkungan Hidup Strategis (Strategic Environment Assessment)
Kodamar	Komando Daerah Maritim (Maritime Regional Command)
Konsil Perwakilan Masyarakat	Council of Community Representatives
KPBPU	Kerjasama Pemerintah Dengan Badan Usaha (Government Cooperation with Business Entities)
KPIKN	Kawasan Pengembangan IKN
KSN	Kawasan Strategis Nasional
LBH	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum
LIPI	Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia
LSLA	Large-Scale Land Acquisitions
Maphilindo	short-lived proposal in 1963 by Jose Rizal for Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia to form a loose confederation
Monas	Monumen Nasional
MSME	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
MP3EI 2011–2025	Masterplan Percepatan dan Perluasan Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
Muswayarah Nasional	National Conference
NCICD	National Capital Integrated Coastal Development
NOVACAP	Companhia Urbanizadora da Nova Capital do Brasil (Development Commission for the New Capital of Brazil)
OIKN	Otorita Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN Authority)
OJK	Financial Service Authority
OR-IPSH	Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities

<i>Pelindo</i>	PT. Pelabuhan Indonesia
PEN	Program Ekonomi Nasional (National Economic Programme)
PJKA	Pulang Jumat Kembali Ahad
PNBP	Penerimaan Negara Bukan Pajak
PNS	civil servants
PP	Peraturan Pemerintah (government regulation)
PPAT	land certificate makers
PPU	Penajam Paser Utara (North Penajam Paser)
PROFOR	Program on Forests
Prolegnas	Priorities in National Legislation Programme
PSN	Proyek Strategis Nasional (National Strategic Project)
PTSL	Complete Systematic Land Registration
RDPU	Rapat Dengar Pendapat Umum
RDTR	Rencana Detail Tata Ruang (Detailed Spatial Plan)
RPJMN	National Mid-Term Development Plan
RT	Rukun Tetangga (neighbourhood association)
RTH	public green open spaces
RTRW	Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah (Regional)
RTRWN	Rencana Tata Ruang Wilayah Nasional (National)
RTRWP	Rencana Tata Ruang dan Wilayah Provinsi (Provincial)
SBSN	Surat Berharga Syariah Negara (Government Islamic Bonds)
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SFM	Sustainable Forest Management
SHM	Sertifikat Hak Milik (Certificate of Right of Ownership)
SUN	Surat Utang Negara (state bonds)
TMII	Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (Beautiful Indonesia Miniature Park)
TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian Armed Forces)
TOD	Transfer-Oriented Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UU IKN	Law on the State's Capital (No. 3/2022)
Visi Indonesia 2033	Indonesia 2033 Vision

Visi Indonesia

Emas 2045

WALHI

WP

WPP-NRI

Golden Indonesian Vision 2045

Indonesian Forum for the Living Environment

Wilayah Perencanaan (Planning Area)

Republic of Indonesia Fisheries Management
Area

INTRODUCTION

The Road to Nusantara—Process, Challenges and Opportunities

Athiqah Nur Alami, Siwage Dharma Negara,
Yanuar Nugroho and Julia M. Lau

After many years of discourse, in 2019 the Indonesian government decided to build a new capital city (*Ibu Kota Negara*, IKN) in the Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kartanegara municipalities, East Kalimantan province. The new capital city is named Nusantara, which means “archipelago”, and it is planned that Nusantara will replace Jakarta as the main site of Indonesia’s central government starting in 2024.

The capital relocation will mark significant transformations for Indonesians, not only in administrative, cultural and socio-economic aspects but significantly, in national politics. Jakarta has been the centre of gravity for Indonesia’s government, business, culture and society since pre-independence days. Therefore, relocating the capital city to Nusantara, East Kalimantan, is perceived as a political commitment by the current administration to shift the national centre of gravity to a region outside Java.

Narrowing the developmental imbalance between Java and the outer islands has been at the heart of the capital city relocation narrative. Java, known for its overpopulation, is home to 152 million people (around 56 per cent of Indonesia’s population), according to the most recent census in 2020.¹ This contrasts sharply with the 6 per cent of Indonesians who live in Kalimantan, which is six times larger than Java island. With its massive demographic advantage, Java produces about 59 per cent of the country’s GDP. East Kalimantan is nevertheless among the provinces with the highest gross regional domestic product (GRDP) per capita, second only to Jakarta. Yet, East Kalimantan is underpopulated, with just 3.7 million inhabitants or about a third of Jakarta’s.² The opportunity for growth is thus significant.

The other main reason cited for the capital city relocation is that Jakarta is deemed increasingly unsuitable to be the nation's capital, given its numerous cross-cutting socio-economic and environmental challenges. Despite public policy efforts to control the effects of growth, worsening traffic congestion, pollution, and the increased risk and cost of frequent flooding have all adversely affected the quality of life in the city. IKN Nusantara, in contrast, is considered by some to be less exposed to natural disasters and is strategically located in the country's geographic centre. The abundant forest lands surrounding the proposed site of Nusantara are also the inspiration for a liveable green capital city of Indonesia's future.

Despite the apparent benefits of relocating the capital city, there is significant scepticism among Indonesian and foreign observers as to whether the government can indeed realize its "dream" capital city, envisaged as a smart, innovative, inclusive and green city. Arguably, this ambitious project is unlike any other capital city project or relocation. Although Malaysia moved its administrative capital from Kuala Lumpur (KL) to Putrajaya in 2001, it took over five years to construct and Putrajaya was only 34 kilometres (km) or so away from KL. Moving the capital city from Jakarta to Nusantara, about 2,000 km away, will require massive resources and effort. It is expected to cost Rp466 trillion (approximately US\$30 billion)³ to build Nusantara's supporting infrastructure and brand-new government offices and residences for over 100,000⁴ civil servants and their family members who are expected to move to Nusantara (from 2024 to 2029).

This gigantic project will not be completed within one or two presidential terms and needs to be supported by policy decisions and policymakers at the national and subnational levels for the next few decades. With the current Widodo administration having less than two years to prepare the legal and policy foundations and the basic infrastructure for this historic relocation, many questions remain about the project's feasibility and continuity.

There is a real risk that the incoming president and his or her new Cabinet and the new government in 2024 may not fully support the new capital project. This is despite the current administration's attempt to revise the IKN Law of 2022 to ensure the megaproject's continuity. There is also no guarantee that the new capital will be better than Jakarta in terms of accommodating the various and vast expectations, needs and challenges on the environmental, economic, socio-cultural and political fronts. A project of this scale will undoubtedly and significantly impact Nusantara's natural environment and local communities. These impacts may persist for a long time and change the overall development trajectory of the people and the regions. Whether this will be for better or for worse is to some extent beyond

any administration's control, even with policies designed to anticipate and pre-empt some of the problems that Jakarta as a capital city has faced.

More importantly, the development of Nusantara should not be seen as a personal legacy of President Joko Widodo, who wishes to commemorate Indonesia's 79th Independence Day on 17 August 2024 in the new capital city. The IKN should be seen as the whole nation-state's endeavour to redefine Indonesia's future developmental path. Nusantara is not significant just in terms of its unprecedented cost and scale, but it is designed to accommodate various political, economic, environmental and security considerations. In many ways, the Widodo and successive administrations' success or failure in relocating the capital will define a great part of Indonesia's future trajectory and potentially impact Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region.

Despite the growing interest in the capital relocation from Indonesian and external observers, only limited knowledge and information have been publicly available regarding the formation of Nusantara, its existing communities and the natural and economic environments of the proposed new capital region. Given this gap, the Indonesia Studies Programme at Singapore's ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute collaborated with Indonesia's Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities (OR-IPSH), National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), in Jakarta, to co-publish the present book. This edited volume contains what is probably the first comprehensive collection of academic writing and research findings on the complex challenges surrounding the IKN relocation.

All chapters started as papers presented at the conference “The Road to Nusantara: Process, Challenges and Opportunities” on 27–28 October 2022 at ISEAS in Singapore, co-sponsored by BRIN. This publication is made possible with the support of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung for the conference, which allowed the participants and audience, including all the editors and contributors to this volume, to reflect on the challenges and opportunities faced by Indonesia's central and subnational governments in implementing a more balanced, inclusive and sustainable development for Nusantara. Many of the key takeaways and policy recommendations from the multi-dimensional studies presented at the conference were refined and are presented in this edited volume.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

The book is divided into three key segments: historical perspectives and political trajectories highlighting various discourses behind the relocation of the new capital city; challenges arising during the development of the IKN

and transition process, including environmental and human rights issues; and opportunities that the development of Nusantara may bring, primarily economic ones but also including social innovations and green technology.

The first group of chapters gives an overview of historical processes and pathways towards Nusantara. In the first chapter, Yanuar Nugroho, Wasisto Raharjo Jati, Pradita Devis Dukarno and Iryan Ali Herdiansyah give a historical perspective of the capital city relocation idea and review the evolution of policies concerning the capital relocation plan from Sukarno to Widodo. The authors argue that since there has been a continuation of the idea of relocating Indonesia's capital throughout its post-independence, this long-term project should be able to secure the political commitment of present and future decision-makers.

Mardyanto Wahyu Tryatmoko and Koichi Kawamura discuss the regulations of the capital city relocation in Chapter 2. They argue that the relocation planning lacks a clear institutional framework in connection to the regional government system and the involvement of local people. Consequently, they argue that this is a setback for Indonesia's existing decentralization system, with potential ramifications for public resentment and conflict within society.

In Chapter 3, Ian Douglas Wilson writes that the new capital city will be crucial in influencing the spatial setting for Indonesian democracy. Drawing on insights from the theories of cities as spaces of democratic processes and reflecting on the experiences of Brazil, Malaysia and Myanmar in developing their capital cities, Wilson foresees that Nusantara will challenge the spatial practice of democracy in Indonesia.

In Chapter 4, Riri Kusumarani and Anne Parlina discuss the financing issue of the new capital city, with a special focus on crowdfunding. They identify the potential risks and the people's perception of crowdfunding for the IKN. Using an online survey and expert interviews, the authors show that there have been negative public perceptions towards crowdfunding for IKN, because most people believe that IKN financing should be the government's responsibility. The authors cite the lack of legal provisions for civic crowdfunding, which could complicate the protection of citizens and financial backers from risks that may arise from their support of the IKN project.

The book's second part focuses on the multitude of challenges in developing IKN. Dimas Wisnu Adrianto and Kathleen Meira Berta's chapter leads with a discussion of the roles of spatial planning in addressing regional development challenges, including as an instrument to manage and safeguard the environment in Nusantara. From their data and participants'

responses to a workshop for policy and other officials, Adrianto and Berta show how urban problems may exacerbate the complexities of development issues in the proposed capital city and point out the need to formulate adaptive policies to be responsive to the interests of related actors.

In Chapter 6, Septi Satriani, Pandu Yuhsina Adaba and Imam Syafi'i link the relocation of the new capital city with the interests of capitalist actors such as the private sector and industry. The authors, through local field interviews, give voice to some critical attitudes of the local people, mainly representatives from civil society organizations (CSOs), who believe that the IKN relocation plan would accelerate environmental damage in East Kalimantan. However, others support the relocation, as they believe that the relocation will improve their livelihoods.

Staying on the perspective of civil society and villagers in East Kalimantan, in Chapter 7, Deasy Simandjuntak and her co-authors David Meschede and Michaela Haug argue that the relocation of the capital city will influence the livelihoods of the local *adat* (traditional or customary) communities. The authors, mostly through surveys of local CSO representatives and anonymised statements from local residents, find that there has been a lack of public consultation and local participation in policy formulation for the IKN development.

More research on the redistribution pattern of inhabitants in the new capital city is highlighted in Chapter 8, where Meirina Ayumi Malamassam analyses how in-migration flows will affect the IKN, by first examining existing studies on in-migration and then exploring trends and patterns of spatial mobility across regions in Indonesia. She argues that the capital city relocation will affect local population planning in terms of the distribution of population groups who will stay and work in the city. She points out the importance of public engagement and continuous investment in urban amenities and public infrastructure to encourage workplace relocation and spatial mobility in the IKN.

Moving from challenges to opportunity is the main theme in Part III of the book. Dini Suryani, Dian Aulia and Marcellinus Mandira Budi Utomo, in Chapter 9, argue that the relocation to IKN could be an impetus for improved forest governance. This chapter identifies critical issues concerning deforestation and forest degradation, land concessions, and human-wildlife conflict in Nusantara. The authors believe that if the criteria for good forest governance can be effectively applied and followed, the IKN relocation could strengthen the remaining forested lands in East Kalimantan.

In Chapter 10, Rusli Cahyadi, Deny Hidayati, Ali Yansyah Abdurrahim, Temi Indriati Miranda and Ardanareswari Ayu Pitaloka discuss the idea

of an inclusive “smart city” in Nusantara. They argue that notwithstanding such a vision, the establishment of a new capital city is likely to disrupt the livelihoods of local people and change the value of land and population dynamics in the region. To deal with these issues, they suggest increasing the capacity of the local people to participate in the developmental processes of the new capital city.

The last chapter discusses the new capital city’s potential to augment Indonesia’s national and security identity. Lidya Christin Sinaga and Khanisa Krisman question whether Nusantara could help project Indonesia’s maritime identity, arguing that the IKN should represent Indonesia’s maritime identity, given President Widodo’s vision for Indonesia as a “Global Maritime Fulcrum”.

We hope that this book will provide a range of interesting perspectives and broaden the scope for the present and future Indonesian governments and other stakeholders on the myriad critical challenges facing the capital city relocation process. The collaborative research efforts of Indonesian researchers from BRIN and others, and the insights and views of some of the local inhabitants of the proposed IKN zone provide this book with noteworthy and new data, and invaluable sentiments drawn directly from the ground. This effectively provides a real-time look into the current tensions and anticipation surrounding the capital city relocation. With this volume, we aim to provide policymakers and stakeholders in and outside of Indonesia, academia, and the general public in Indonesia with a better understanding of the potential problems and solutions for this historic relocation.

In closing, we thank all the invited contributors for their writing in this volume and hope our readers will find the book thought-provoking and informative. We would also like to give special mention to Ms Rebecca Neo, research officer in the Indonesia Studies Programme at ISEAS, for her invaluable help in preparing the manuscript for publication and to our colleagues at ISEAS Publishing.

Notes

1. Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS), “Jumlah Penduduk Hasil Proyeksi menurut Provinsi dan Jenis Kelamin” [Population Projection by Province], *Proyeksi Penduduk Indonesia 2015–2045 Hasil SUPAS 2015*, at <https://www.bps.go.id/indicator/12/1886/1/jumlah-penduduk-hasil-proyeksi-menurut-provinsi-dan-jenis-kelamin.html> (accessed 4 January 2023).
2. *Ibid.*
3. See *Bisnis.com*, “Anggaran Pembangunan IKN Meningkatkan Rp15 Triliun, Buat

Apa?” [The Budget for IKN Development Has Increased to 15 trillion, What for?], 31 October 2022, <https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20221031/45/1593211/anggaran-pembangunan-ikn-meningkat-rp15-triliun-buat-apa> (accessed 4 January 2023).

4. Prahesti Pandanwangi, “Kebijakan dan Rencana Kerja Pemindahakan Aparatur Sipil Negara ke Ibukota Nusantara” [Regulations and Workplan for the Move of the State’s Civil Apparatus to IKN], webinar by BRIN, Jakarta, 14 April 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a1Bn0VLJUBs&t=293s> (accessed 4 January 2023).

