

The relocation of the capital of Indonesia under the Jokowi administration: Issues and government responses

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Abstract

Indonesia is in the process of relocating its capital from Jakarta to Nusantara (Ibu Kota Nusantara; IKN). According to extant research, Joko “Jokowi” Widodo, the ex-president, has passionately pushed forward the capital relocation in a short time to add to his political legacy. However, few studies have extensively reviewed the issues of this capital relocation and the ways in which Jokowi addressed these issues and promoted the unprecedented, ambitious project. Therefore, this knowledge report aims to review the major issues related to relocation and the concrete approach that the Jokowi administration took to address these issues by reviewing extant academic papers and web-based local newspapers. This report reviews previous discussions on environmental, social, and financial issues, and the issue of the continuity of government leadership for capital relocation. The report also showed that Jokowi responded to these issues with strong leadership by providing countermeasures and advertising the benefits of capital relocation through various events and statements.

Keywords: Capital relocation, Indonesia, IKN (Ibu Kota Nusantara), Jokowi

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Introduction

“Alhamdulillah, Praise to God, last night we did a holy moment of silence and this morning until the afternoon flag lowering ceremony, all activities ran smoothly and well” (Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia 2024¹). On August 17, 2024, Indonesia’s ex-president Joko “Jokowi” Widodo successfully held a ceremony on the 79th Indonesian Independence Day in *Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN)*, the future capital city of Indonesia, for the first time. Who imagined that the ceremony would be held in the new capital city when the plan was launched in 2019? Who could imagine that the momentum would be maintained despite the COVID-19 pandemic?

A capital relocation, especially the creation of a new capital city, is a gargantuan task, as the country has to develop a “city” from scratch; a capital relocation requires the government to develop feasible plans and regulations, arrange the necessary finance and resources, implement necessary infrastructure projects, and change the legal and practical function of the old/new capital cities. Indeed, only 18 countries relocated their capital functions after World War I (Campante et al. 2019). Of these, only Myanmar moved its capital after 2000. Egypt began capital relocation in 2015. However, the project is ongoing, implying that capital relocation is challenging. Prolonged discussions on the capital relocation of Indonesia, which have appeared and disappeared over decades, also indicate the difficulty; former President Soekarno first proposed capital relocation to Kalimantan, but the idea was not realized (Rifaed et al. 2023). His successors Soeharto and Yudoyono also raised the issue of capital relocation. However, “none of them had gone beyond mere wishes” (Salim and Negara 2019) and they did not seriously consider it (Hudalah 2023; Salim and Negara 2019).

Capital relocation to IKN is deemed much more challenging than previous capital relocations in other countries, considering more than 10 million people live in Jakarta and the long distance from Jakarta to IKN (around 1,260 km). According to Van de Vuurst and Escobar (2020), capital relocation is “one of the first examples of government-sanctioned, systematic, tractable, mass migration expected to occur in the modern Anthropocene.”

Nonetheless, capital relocation is going almost as planned by the Jokowi administration. Why so? This can be partially attributed to the legacy left by a strong political leader. Scholars understand that the capital relocation or development of IKN was led by Jokowi's high motivation to leave a political legacy with a symbolic physical infrastructure (Amir 2023; Hudalah 2023). Therefore, "pragmatic, whereby quick, concrete and symbolic actions beco[a]me the top priority" (Hudalah 2023) to realize the ceremonial inauguration at IKN on Independence Day.

However, the kinds of issues that underlie this capital relocation and the actions Jokowi has taken to address them and gain public understanding have not yet been well reviewed. This knowledge report, therefore, aims to organize the information by reviewing extant academic papers and major web-based local newspapers that report the government's daily activities. Among the reviewed newspapers, four have publishing histories of over 50 years (*Jawa Pos*, established 1949; *Kompas*, 1965; *Tempo*, 1971; and *Media Indonesia*, 1970), whereas two are relatively new (*Jakarta Post*, 1983; and *Bisnis*, 1985). Further, *Tempo* is well-known as an independent media source. The reviewed newspaper articles were published between March 2022, when the Nusantara Capital City Authority (OIKN: *Otorita Ibu Kota Nusantara*) officially started the capital relocation project, and October 20, 2024, when Jokowi stepped down as president. It is expected that knowledge of the issues of capital relocation and government responses will be useful as a reference for scholars and development practitioners to consider future mega-infrastructure projects.

1. Background

The relocation of the capital from Jakarta to Nusantara (IKN) was officially announced by Jokowi in August 2019 (see IKN location in **figure 1**). According to Law No. 3 of 2022, capital relocation is necessary to promote the development of the eastern part of the country for regionally equitable development and reduce the burden on Java Island and the Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang,

and Bekasi (Jabodetabek; Jakarta metropolitan) areas. Kalimantan was chosen for the location of IKN after three years of study (2019–2022) for the following reasons: the location is geographically strategic, being in the center of the country; it already has basic infrastructure; it is close to the well-developed cities of Balikpapan and Samarinda; it has abundant available land; and it has a low risk of natural disasters (Law No. 3 of 2022). IKN plans to have a 252,660 ha land area, which consists of the core government area (KIPP; *kawasan inti pusat pemerintahan*) (6,671 ha), capital city area (49,490 ha), and development area (196,501 ha) (Nusantara Capital Authority 2023; cf., the Special Capital Region [DKI: *Daerah Khusus Ibukota*] of Jakarta [66,450 ha]). The government plans to complete the capital relocation by 2045, the 100th anniversary of the country's independence. As a first step, the relocation of some government functions to the KIPP was set as a goal by the end of the Jokowi administration (October 2024). With a gradual population inflow, IKN is expected to have a total population of approximately 1.7 to 1.9 million in 2045 (Law No. 3 of 2022) (c.f., per 2020 census, population of Jakarta: 10.56 million and population of Surabaya, the second largest city: 2.9 million).

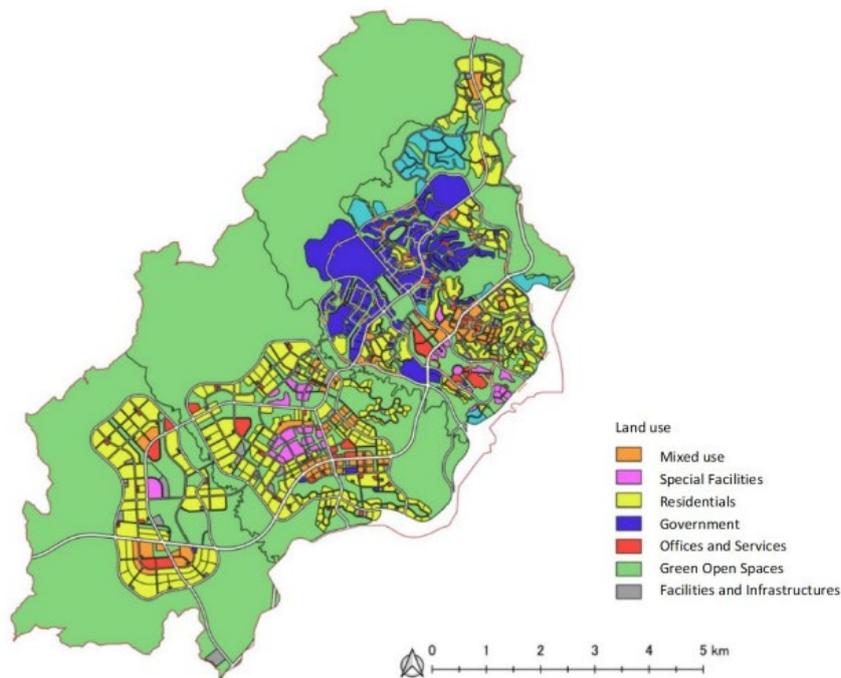


Source: Nusantara Capital Authority (2024, p. 5).

Figure 1: Capital relocation from Jakarta to Nusantara

IKN's developmental concepts and principles have some unique and notable characteristics. First, IKN aims to realize the concept of a “forest city.” The forest city concept entails that a city is in and surrounded by forest areas and open green space for coexistence with nature, conservation of biodiversity, and low-carbon and sustainable development. Under the forest city concept, IKN aims to have 75% “highly-controlled urban area” with forest or green area, which minimizes the carbon footprint and emissions in 2045 (Nusantara Capital Authority 2024). Even the KIPP, which is the city center of IKN, is expected to have 50% coverage of forest or green areas (see **figure 2** for the land use plan for the KIPP). Second, IKN was conceived as a smart city. In the context of the development of IKN, this implies an eco-friendly and people-friendly city with state-of-the-art technology as well as information and communication

technology (ICT), although there are various definitions of the smart city concept (Albino et al. 2015). Such technologies include an IoT-based air quality monitoring and control system, autonomous on-demand public transport, and the use of renewable energy with smart grids and meters (Nusantara Capital Authority 2024). Finally, IKN also relies on the less familiar concept of a “sponge city.” A sponge city is defined as a city with the ability to retain rainwater by reducing surface runoff to reduce flood hazards (Law No. 3, 2022).



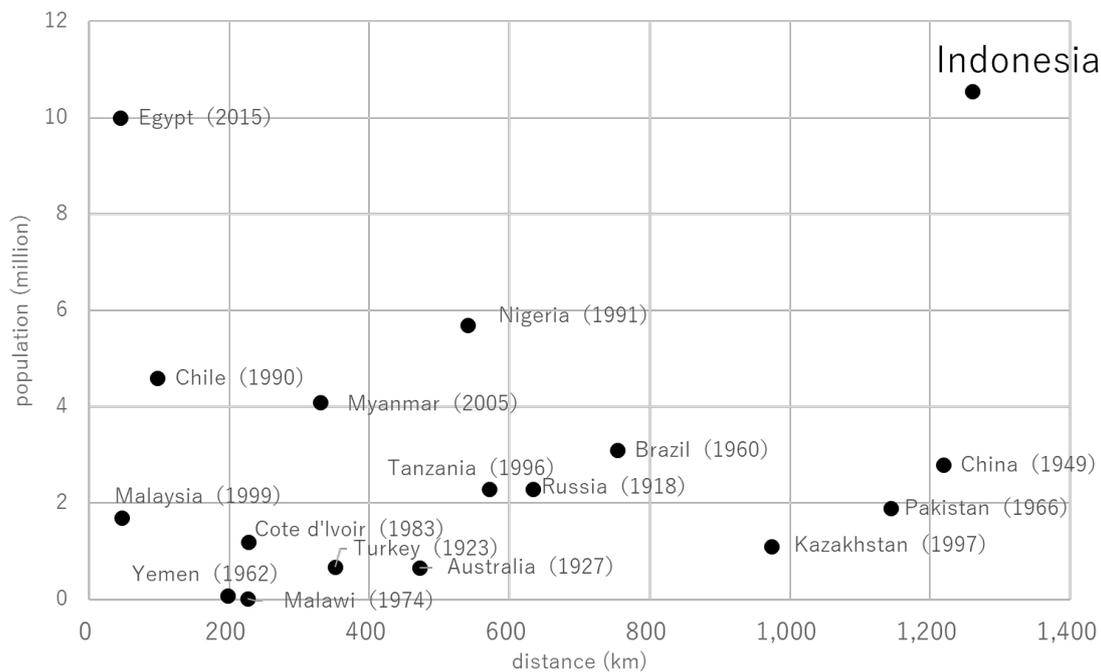
Source: JICA (2024, p. 25).

Figure 2: Land-use plan for the KIPP in IKN

IKN’s development has been unprecedented in terms of timeline and scale. According to the Nusantara Capital Authority (2023), the project will have the following five stages, to be completed by 2045. Stage 1 (2022–2024) is the initial move of the government center (e.g., the presidential palace) and the surrounding basic infrastructure (e.g., residences for civil servants

and hospitals). Stage 2 (2025–2029) is for core area development, including public transportation, and Stage 3 (2030–2034) is for the development of industrial areas and transportation networks. Stage 4 (2035–2039) is for infrastructure development in IKN, as well as in Balikpapan and Samarinda, and increasing educational and research institutions. Stage 5 (2040–2045) is the final phase of capital relocation, which strengthens the connection between IKN and the surrounding areas through railway and road infrastructure and by achieving zero carbon emissions.

Capital relocation is an unprecedented, large-scale project. The total project cost was estimated at Rp 466 trillion (US\$ 30 billion) by the government in 2019. Compared to previous capital relocations worldwide, Indonesia's capital relocation is outstanding in terms of the population of the old capital city and the distance of relocation (see **figure 3**). Jakarta is a megacity with a population of 10.56 million and has the largest population among the cities that were relocated or decided to relocate their functions. The distance from Jakarta to IKN (approximately 1,260 km) is also extraordinary. This distance was the longest among the previous capital relocation cases. Considering the timeline and scale, Indonesia's capital relocation is regarded as an unprecedented megaproject not only for the country, but also for other countries.



Source: Authors.

Note: Population data and distance for previous capital relocations are based on Campante et al. (2019).

Figure 3: Distance of relocation and population in the case of previous capital relocations

Based on previous academic literature and information from the mass media, capital relocation causes various issues, although some scholars acknowledge the advantages of capital relocation (Hendrastuti 2022; Mani et al. 2023). The major issues among these are environmental destruction (e.g., deforestation), social concerns (e.g., relocation of affected people), lack of finances, and continuing government leadership, although scholars also highlight other issues, such as food security, security and defense, supply chains, and balanced distribution of growth (Jiuhardi et al. 2024; Zulkifli et al. 2022; Handoko and Swara 2020; Amir 2023). Accordingly, the following sections review discussions of the four major issues and the Jokowi administration’s response to them.

2. Environmental destruction and government responses

Environmental destruction due to the development of IKN is one of the most critical issues that the public is concerned about (Rifa'id et al. 2023). Infrastructural development in IKN is accompanied by deforestation and land-use changes (Syaban and Appiah-Opoku 2023). Deforestation and land-use changes can have various negative environmental impacts, such as an increase in flooding risk, elimination of natural habitats for flora and fauna, and changes in local ecosystems (Nurkaidah et al. 2024; Kurniawan et al. 2021; Theresia, Sihombing, and Simanungkalit 2020). Among these, negative impacts on endangered species may be an impending crisis. IKN is located on the island of Borneo, a biodiversity hotspot because of its large forested area. However, several endemic species of megafauna (e.g., Bornean orangutan [*Pogo pygmaeus*], the pygmy elephant [*Elephas maximus borneensis*], and sunda pangolin [*Manis javanica*]) are endangered (Van de Vuurst and Escobar 2020; Spencer et al. 2023). Therefore, these species may be at a higher risk of extinction owing to deforestation. In particular, the proboscis monkey (*Nasalis larvatus*) could have significant negative impacts because monkeys inhabit the buffer zone closest to IKN and are very sensitive to changes in their habitat (Rukmi et al. 2023; Atmoko et al. 2024).

Local mass media has also raised the issue of deforestation and land-use change. In March 2024, when NASA released two satellite images of the IKN site over the past two years (i.e., before and after the construction works), some news articles reported that environmental NGOs such as the Indonesian Forum for the Environment (Walhi) and Greenpeace Indonesia criticized IKN development for causing deforestation and huge environmental threats.^{2,3}

In addition, deforestation and human activities in new cities can increase net greenhouse gas emissions without appropriate countermeasures, which can accelerate climate change

(Nurkaidah et al. 2024; Teo et al. 2020; Syaban and Appiah-Opoku, 2023). Scholars have also suggested that land cover changes from natural vegetation to buildings and pavements could lead to an increase in temperature in urban areas, causing more heavy rainfall events and flooding (Denryanto and Virgianto, 2021; Safitri et al. 2022).

The Jokowi administration undertook a series of actions and provided statements to promote environmental considerations and further public understanding. First, the Jokowi administration developed or declared a series of policies and regulations related to environmental aspects, as summarized in **table 1**. It is noteworthy that Jokowi showed a clear commitment to environmental preservation and 100% use of green energy in IKN in June 2023 and August 2024, respectively, which could help dispel public concern about the negative environmental impacts of developing IKN. In addition, the establishment of a clear plan on future biodiversity management and a net zero emission strategy developed with the Asia Development Bank (ADB) played an important role in establishing firm progress toward an eco-friendly city.

In addition to concrete policies and regulations, the government has tried to advertise its efforts to conserve and improve the environment through events (e.g., the 15th *Kompas* CEO Forum [11/10/2024] and the 2023 Indonesia Retail Summit [16/8/2023]) and press conferences and announcements to gain public understanding, as summarized in **table 2**. News articles show that there are several publicity activities and statements about the government's efforts. It should be noted that environmental conservation or the concept of the forest city is always advertised, regardless of the communication medium. There are two ways to advertise environmental considerations. The first is the promotion of reforestation projects to impress people with the concept of the forest city. The other is the promotion of how concrete projects contribute to realizing an eco-friendly concept (e.g., the Nusantara Green Islamic Boarding School program

[18/1/2024], investment from the Bluebird taxi group [22/12/2023], and the immersed tunnel project [8/9/2023]) to increase public understanding of the concept.

For promotion, Jokowi used interesting phrases and actions. For instance, during the first cabinet meeting at the Garuda Palace in IKN on August 12, 2024, Jokowi emphasized the comfortable environment of IKN, stating that *“Kita rasakan, pagi tadi betapa sangat sejuk, dingin dan segar pada pagi hari ini karena air quality index-nya sangat rendah. Yakni di angka 6, padahal maksimalnya di angka 50 dan hampir banyak kota sekarang udah di atas 50 (We felt very cool, cold and fresh this morning because the air quality index is very low [which means that the air quality is very good]. The index was [just] six, while the maximum [acceptable level] is 50 and [the index of] many cities are above 50).”*⁴ At the groundbreaking ceremony of the Mayapada Hospital at IKN, Jokowi emphasized that the hospital would become a “green hospital” in the forest city, joking that *“kalau pasien sakit di sini, lihat ke kanan hijau, lihat ke kiri hijau, ke depan hijau, keluar dari ruangan juga hijau, cepat sembuhnya (the patients here recover quickly if they see green on the right, left, front, and outside).”*⁵

Jokowi has also acted to show his serious posture toward an eco-friendly city through site visits to projects in IKN, such as the Mentawir nursery project (2/11/2023) and the solar power plant development project (5/11/2023). The most symbolic action was when Jokowi planted trees at a miniature tropical rainforest reforestation location during the groundbreaking event of the IKN green area on December 20, 2023. Photos of trees planted by Jokowi were used in various newspapers and government reports to advertise serious government efforts to realize the forest city.

When focusing on the speaker or announcer, it is noticeable that not only Jokowi but also ministers and high-ranking government officials played the role of advertisers. They also strongly advertised the benefits of the capital relocation, emphasizing the forest city concept and

reforestation. Promotion by ministers and high-ranking government officials, or the oneness of the cabinet and government, was a feature of the Jokowi administration with a strong leadership for realizing the forest city.

Another government approach to realizing a forest city is collaboration with well-known and knowledgeable institutions. Through collaboration with various institutions, the government could benefit not only from collecting knowledge, but also from advertising IKN as a forest city to investors and people in Indonesia. Collaboration with international institutions has been prioritized, although the government has also collaborated with domestic institutions such as Gadjah Mada University,⁶ the National Human Rights Commission (Komnas HAM),⁷ and NGOs (e.g., World Wildlife Fund [WWF] Indonesia, Jejak Pulang Foundation, and The Borneo Orangutan Survival Foundation [BOSF]).⁸

Collaborations with international institutions are summarized in **table 3**. There are several collaborations with international scholars, investors, and organizations through international events and meetings (e.g., the Hannover Messe in Germany and the World Economic Forum in Switzerland) and diplomatic events and meetings (e.g., meetings with the United Nation [UN], ADB, and various countries). The Indonesian government has emphasized the forest city concept to international stakeholders through events and meetings and has earned supportive comments on the concept, which could contribute to gaining a public understanding of capital relocation. For instance, Valerie Juliand, the then UN Resident Coordinator, stated in the meeting between the OIKN and the UN that *“Kesuksesan pembangunan Nusantara sebagai kota pintar dan berkelanjutan nantinya akan menjadi era baru bagi Indonesia...Saya akan sangat senang jika bisa hadir saat peresmian IKN tahun depan. Dengan begitu, kita semua bisa mengenang journey kita bersama dalam membangun IKN (The success of the development of the archipelago as a smart and sustainable city will later become a new era for Indonesia...I would be very happy*

if I could attend the inauguration of IKN next year. In that way, we can all remember our journey together in building IKN).”⁹

Overall, the government has established relevant policies and regulations and collaborated with well-known and knowledgeable institutions to address environmental issues. The new capital’s development cannot completely avoid environmental damage, as pointed out by local mass media through satellite images of the IKN site from NASA. Meanwhile, the government has made some efforts to conserve and improve the environment in IKN and has vigorously advertised its efforts through events, projects, and collaborations with international institutions to gain a public understanding of the capital relocation using the forest city concept. However, it is too early to judge whether these government actions can sufficiently address the related environmental issues. The capital relocation is still in its early stages. As the capital city’s development progresses, public concerns about environmental destruction may grow in the future.

Table 1: Policies and regulations on the environmental aspects

Report date	Policy/regulation (Date)
17/8/2024 ¹⁰	Jokowi pledged that IKN uses 100% green energy without greenhouse gas emissions in the future. (13/8/2024)
18/2/2024 ¹¹	The OIKN is drafting regulations/policies related to environmental, social, and governance (ESG) principles for IKN, with which investors must comply. (18/2/2024)
4/1/2024 ¹²	The government considers applying tax breaks for private companies willing to rehabilitate damaged forests around IKN. (12, 2023)
28/12/2023 ¹³	The government launched the biodiversity management master plan for a sustainable forest city that contributes to national and global biodiversity conservation goals. (26/03/2024)
20/12/2023 ¹⁴	The government applies green building and smart building principles in governmental construction projects within IKN to uphold eco-friendly standards. (N/A)
4/12/2023 ¹⁵	The government launched the net zero emission strategy 2045, which balances emission reduction and economic development of IKN. (3/12/2023)
4/6/2022 ¹⁶	Jokowi ordered the construction of IKN while preserving the environment, and Bambang Susantono, head of the OIKN, promised green development and reforestation. (N/A)

Source: Authors.

Note: The position title is as of the report date.

Table 2: Promotion of efforts for environment conservation through events/announcements

Report date	Event/Announcement (Date)	Speaker/Announcer	Reference to reforestation	Reference to particular project
11/10/2024 ^{1 7}	15th Kompas CEO Forum at IKN (11/10/2024)	Jokowi		
7/9/2024 ^{1 8}	Bisnis Indonesia Forum (7/9/2024)	Troy Pantouw, chief of public communication of the OIKN		
12/8/2024 ^{1 9}	Plenary cabinet meeting at the Garuda Palace of IKN (12/8/2024)	Jokowi		
10/8/2024 ^{2 0}	Festival LIKE 2 (10/8/2024)	Onesimus Patiung, director of environment and disaster management of the OIKN		
5/7/2024 ^{2 1}	Site visit to the pumping program in Gantarangkeke, Bantaeng Regency, South Sulawesi (5/7/2024)	Jokowi		✓
10/6/2024 ^{2 2}	Statement on the Mentawir nursery center (N/A)	Siti Nurbaya, minister of environment and forestry	✓	✓
5/6/2024 ^{2 3}	Groundbreaking ceremony of the PT Bank Tabungan Negara Tbk office (5/6/2024)	Jokowi		✓
2/5/2024 ^{2 4}	Talkshow PEVS 2024 (30/4/2024)	Resdiansyah, chief of urban mobility of the OIKN		
2/3/2024 ^{2 5}	Start of operation of 10 MW PLTS (solar power plant project) at IKN (N/A)	Darmawan Prasodjo, president director of PT Perusahaan Listrik Negara (PLN)		✓
29/2/2024 ^{2 6}	Groundbreaking ceremony of PT Bank Mandiri's office building (N/A)	Jokowi		✓
18/2/2024 ^{2 7}	Post-IKN Future Seminar (17/2/2024)	Bambang Susantono, head of the OIKN	✓	
18/1/2024 ^{2 8}	Launch of the Nusantara Green Islamic Boarding School program (17/1/2024)	Jokowi	✓	✓
22/12/2023 ^{2 9}	The investment launch ceremony of Bluebird Group (taxi company) (22/12/2023)	Jokowi		✓
20/12/2023 ^{3 0}	Groundbreaking of IKN Green Area (N/A)	Jokowi	✓	✓
20/12/2023 ^{3 1}	Groundbreaking of the Central General Hospital (RSUP) in IKN (N/A)	Jokowi		✓
5/11/2023 ^{3 2}	Groundbreaking of the 50 MW solar power plant (2/11/2023)	Jokowi		✓
2/11/2023 ^{3 3}	Site visit to the Mentawir nursery in IKN area (2/11/2023)	Jokowi	✓	✓
1/11/2023 ^{3 4}	Groundbreaking of the Mayapada Hospital (1/11/2023)	Jokowi		✓

23/9/2023 ^{3 5}	Memorandum of understanding (MoU) on 3,720-hectare Pertamina sustainable energy center in IKN between PT Pertamina and the OIKN (23/9/2023)	Bambang Susantono, head of the OIKN		✓
22/9/2023 ^{3 6}	Assessment of the quality of toll road services and rest areas on the Balikpapan-Samarinda toll road (N/A)	Nanang Siswanto, director of engineering and operations of PT Jasa Marga Balikpapan-Samarinda		✓
8/9/2023 ^{3 7}	Announcement on plan of immersed tunnel project in IKN (8/9/2023)	Danis Sumadilaga, head of the taskforce for IKN infrastructure development		✓
16/8/2023 ^{3 8}	2023 Indonesia Retail Summit (15/8/2023)	Agung Wicaksono, deputy for funding and investment of the OIKN		
9/8/2023 ^{3 9}	Announcement of the Ministry of PUPR that tap water in IKN will be high quality and be safe for direct consumption (N/A)	Danis Sumadilaga, head of the taskforce for IKN infrastructure development		
19/7/2023 ^{4 0}	Announcement that 42,000 plants were prepared to green IKN (19/7/2023)	Danis Sumadilaga, head of the taskforce for IKN infrastructure development	✓	
19/6/2023 ^{4 1}	Announcement on vertical housing development in IKN (16/6/2023)	Iwan Suprijanto, director-general of the Ministry of Public works and Public Housing		✓
25/5/2023 ^{4 2}	Event: “Discussion on culture and conservation in the IKN forest concept” (24/5/2023)	Bambang Susantono, head of the OIKN	✓	
5/4/2023 ^{4 3}	Explanation on progress of IKN’s development at the Presidential Palace complex (N/A)	Basuki Hadimuljono, minister of public works and public housing		✓
16/3/2023 ^{4 4}	Sustainable Infrastructure Forum (N/A)	Jarot Widyoko, director-general of water resources, Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing		
24/2/2023 ^{4 5}	Site visit to the Mentawir nursery project in IKN (N/A)	Suharso Monoarfa, minister of national development planning agency (Bappenas)	✓	✓
24/1/2023 ^{4 6}	Announcement on DPR (House of Representatives) building and vice-presidential palace construction projects (24/1/2023)	Diana Kusumastuti, director-general of human settlements, Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing		✓
19/1/2023 ^{4 7}	Press tour to IKN (the Sepaku Semoi Dam) (13/1/2023)	Harya Muldianto, head of the Kalimantan IV river basin center (BWS)		✓
11/1/2023 ^{4 8}	Announcement on construction of Mentawir Pond (11/1/2023)	Basuki Hadimuljono, minister of public works and public housing	✓	✓
3/11/2022 ^{4 9}	A press statement on IKN’s development (2/11/2022)	Bambang Susantono, head of the OIKN		

Source: Authors.

Note: The position title is as of the report date.

Table 3: Collaborations with international parties for environmental conservation

Report date	Event/Collaboration (Date)	Involved people/Institutions
25/9/2024 ^{5 0}	The 3rd Asia International Water Week (AIWW), in Beijing, China (24/9/2024)	Participants from countries in Asia
30/5/2024 ^{5 1}	The 1st International Conference on Forest City (ICFC) at the Mulawarman Hub University in Samarinda (29–30/5/2024)	International and domestic scholars and organizations
24/4/2024 ^{5 2}	Hannover Messe 2024 (one of the world's largest trade and industry exhibitions) (24-25/4/2024)	International investors and political leaders
27/2/2024 ^{5 3}	Collaboration with the Canberra authority for IKN's development with the green city concept (27/2/2024)	The Australian Capital City Authority of Canberra
26/2/2024 ^{5 4}	British Ambassador expressed the UK's support for IKN's development (21/2/2024)	Dominic Jermy, British Ambassador
30/1/2024 ^{5 5}	Finnish minister of economy and representatives from 19 Finnish companies visited the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (29/1/2024)	Wille Rydman, Finnish minister of economy, and representatives from 19 Finnish companies
14/1/2024 ^{5 6}	Jokowi met members of the consortium of investors in Brunei Darussalam (13/1/2024)	Investors in Brunei Darussalam
18/12/2023 ^{5 7}	The UN visited IKN to review whether its development is in line with the sustainable development goals (SDGs) (16–17/12/2023)	Armida Salsiah Alisjahbana, UNESCAP executive director
4/12/2023 ^{5 8}	Launch of the net zero emission strategy 2045, which balances emission reduction and economic development of IKN (3/12/2023)	ADB and the Australian government
15/11/2023 ^{5 9}	Jokowi gave a public lecture to students and scholars at the Georgetown University in the US. (13/11/2023)	Students and scholars at the Georgetown University
18/10/2023 ^{6 0}	The UN (13 UN agencies) committed its support for development of IKN as a sustainable forest city and smart city. (17/10/2023)	13 UN agencies
12/10/2023 ^{6 1}	The OIKN established partnerships with the Dutch Water and Environmental Management Research Institute (Deltares) and ADB for development of a sponge city (9/10/2023)	Deltares and ADB
6/7/2023 ^{6 2}	Investment forum in Astana (Kazakhstan) (5/7/2023)	Investors from Kazakhstan and other countries
7/6/2023 ^{6 3}	The Ecosperity 2023 forum in Singapore (7/6/2023)	Investors from Singapore and other countries
6/5/2023 ^{6 4}	MoU on IKN's development as a carbon-neutral forest city between the OIKN and ADB (5/5/2023)	ADB
17/4/2023 ^{6 5}	Hannover Messe 2023 (N/A)	International investors and political leaders
3/3/2023 ^{6 6}	Indonesia invited Japanese investors to invest in IKN's development (the Japan-Indonesia economic committee event in Tokyo, Japan) (28/2/2023)	Investors from Japan
9/2/2023 ^{6 7}	The Swiss Ambassador to Indonesia visited the OIKN office (8/2/2023)	Olivier Zehnder, Swiss Ambassador to Indonesia
20/1/2023 ^{6 8}	Introduction of IKN at the World Economic Forum (WEF) annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland (20/1/2023)	Investors from all over the world
27/11/2022 ^{6 9}	During the APEC economic leaders meeting in Bangkok, Jokowi met the head of government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region and invited Hong Kong investors to support IKN's development. (N/A)	John Lee, head of government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region
25/10/2022 ^{7 0}	Briefing on investment opportunities in IKN at the Embassy of Indonesia in Japan (N/A)	Ministries/agencies and investors from Japan
2/9/2022 ^{7 1}	The global infrastructure cooperation conference (GICC) 2022 in Seoul (30–31/8/2022)	Investors from Korea and other countries

Source: Authors.

Note: The position title is as of the report date

3. Social concerns

Negative social impact is also a critical issue. In particular, residents in East Kalimantan perceive that the social impact of capital relocation is greater than its environmental and economic impacts (Kalalinggi et al., 2023). There are two major social concerns among opponents of the development of IKN, such as local communities and NGOs: the problem of land acquisition governed by customary law and the lack of involvement of residents and communities in planning IKN (Kodir et al. 2021; Amir 2023).

Regarding the land management system, several villages and subdistricts still use customary law instead of state law (Kodir et al. 2021). With regard to infrastructure development, land acquisition is one of the critical issues causing delays in projects, involving insufficient compensation, even though state law is established. Therefore, the acquisition of land governed by customary law makes the process more difficult and complicated. There are many indigenous communities around the planned area: 19 groups in Penajam Paser Utara District and two groups in Kutai Kartanegara District, with a total population of approximately 20 thousand (Bahzar 2024). Indigenous people have their own cultural identities and environmental surroundings, such as forests and farmlands, which make them vulnerable to relocation or inaccessibility to customary land (Hariawan 2024; Bahzar 2024).

The involvement of residents, communities, and all relevant stakeholders in planning is important to develop IKN in a democratic manner and to make it possible for IKN to play integrative, symbolic, and cultural functions (Perwira et al. 2024; Amir 2023; Bahzar 2024). Less stakeholder participation could lead to unwelcome consequences of capital relocation, as precedents show; for instance, Myanmar's capital relocation from Yangon to Naypyidaw without enough community participation remains a challenge due to the lack of attractiveness of the city

due to limited commercial and educational facilities (Syaban and Appiah-Opoku, 2023, Fikri and Bakri, 2024). Some scholars also suggest that the planning process for IKN's development is not ideal, and is too unstructured and unsystematic to accelerate the process anyway (Hudalah 2023). Only 43 days were spent making decisions on capital relocation (i.e., the establishment of Law No. 3 of 2022) without inclusive public participation (Perwira et al. 2024). This extraordinarily speed-oriented approach, without involving stakeholders, has been causing people anxiety about the future of IKN.

The Jokowi administration undertook a series of actions and provided positive statements to promote social consideration and obtain public understanding. First, several policies and regulations related to social aspects were applied or considered under the Jokowi administration, as summarized in **table 4**. Presidential regulations on land acquisition and spatial plan for IKN's development were issued in April 2022. Despite these regulations, there have been many land disputes and claims due to the lack of community involvement in the processes of land acquisition and IKN's development, as discussed later. One of the biggest issues was that the regulations issued in 2022 allowed the government to acquire necessary land without clear and detailed procedures.^{7 2} The government aimed to address these issues by establishing a task force to manage land disputes in June 2023 and issuing presidential regulation No. 75/2024, which secured the rights of residents affected by IKN's development in July 2024. In particular, presidential regulation No. 75/2024 is deemed important because it provides clear rules on compensation for acquired land (money, replacement of land and housing, and/or other forms agreed upon by the government and residents).^{7 3} In addition, there have been government attempts to enhance social aspects in the future through the regulation of investors and the master plan.

In addition to policies and regulations, the government has provided a series of actions and commitments for considering indigenous people and communities and gaining public

understanding, as summarized in **table 5**. Special consideration has been given to land acquisition and IKN's development processes. For instance, Hadi Tjahjanto, then minister of agrarian affairs and spatial planning (ATR) and head of the National Land Agency (BPN), emphasized land acquisition considering indigenous people and community, stating that "*Saya pastikan proses pengadaan tanah dilakukan dengan memperhatikan hak atas tanah masyarakat, khususnya masyarakat adat (I ensure that the land acquisition process is conducted by considering the land rights of the community, especially indigenous peoples)*,"^{7 4} during the site visit to IKN on September 14, 2022. Other ministers and high-ranking officials have also emphasized the importance of a proper land acquisition process that considers indigenous people and communities.^{7 5, 7 6, 7 7}

The government is committed to considering indigenous people and communities not only in land acquisition, but also in IKN development processes. For instance, in November 2022, Jokowi instructed ministers to foster human resources for communities around IKN through training programs for local communities.^{7 8} In the same month, prior to the construction of government office buildings in IKN, Jokowi committed to the government building a Dayak Center around the IKN area, based on a request from the Dayak tribe.^{7 9} Following Jokowi's leadership, other ministers and high-ranking officials promoted community involvement in IKN's development. For instance, Alimuddin, then deputy for socio-cultural and community empowerment of the OIKN, emphasized that IKN's development would improve the welfare of the people and empower the community, and introduced training programs for small and medium enterprises and local communities.^{8 0, 8 1} Hamdan, then regent of Penajam Paser Utara (PPU) East Kalimantan, echoed Jokowi's policy as the following statements: "*Proses perpindahan IKN ini seperti arahan Pak Presiden Jokowi tidak boleh sama sekali meninggalkan warga lokal... Pemerintah pusat melalui program-programnya dan melalui kementerian mulai melakukan*

pelatihan pada masyarakat lokal (the process of the IKN development, as directed by the president Jokowi, must not leave local residents behind... The government has begun to provide training to local communities).”^{8 2}

The seriousness of the government’s concerns for indigenous people and communities is also observed in its treatment of events such as Indonesia’s Independence Day ceremonies in IKN. Indigenous people were treated as the most important guests, especially during the 79th ceremony in 2024.^{8 3} However, collaborations with well-known and knowledgeable institutions are limited with regard to by social considerations. The government has involved important and authoritative institutions such as the UN and the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) to enhance local community rights. However, fewer collaborations, especially with international institutions, are noticeable compared with government actions in terms of environmental aspects.

Social issues related to land acquisition and indigenous people are sensitive topics, and this is true in the case of IKN’s development as well. Even though the government has tried to address the issues through various actions and statements, criticism of the lack of a government response has remained, as **table 6** shows. There have been numerous criticisms of improper land acquisition and development without considering or involving communities, although some local communities appreciated IKN’s development.^{8 4, 8 5} Some experts consider that two high-ranking government officials in the IKN authority resigned because of prolonged land disputes.^{8 6} Under such difficult circumstances, the Jokowi administration responded to criticism to foster public understanding. For example, the government started conducting a study related to complaints from communities just after the East Kalimantan Civil Society Coalition criticized the government for attempting to force land acquisition and demolition of resident’ homes.^{8 7, 8 8}

Presidential regulation No. 75/2024 is expected to solve social issues and minimize future criticism. However, there are still some criticisms of imperfections and enforcement issues in

regulation^{8,9,90}. Therefore, appropriate government handling of social issues by paying attention to social considerations would be critical for the success of IKN's development in the future.

Table 4: Policies and regulations on the social aspects

Report date	Policy/Regulation (Date)
8/8/2024 ⁹¹	Jokowi formed a task force for the acceleration of investment in IKN, which covers issues related to land acquisition and spatial planning. (5/8/2024)
14/7/2024 ⁹²	The government set the presidential regulation (PR; Perpres) No. 75/2024, which secures rights of residents affected by IKN's development. (11/7/2024)
18/2/2024 ⁹³	The OIKN drafted regulations/policies related to environmental, social, and governance (ESG) principles for IKN, with which investors must comply. (18/2/2024)
28/12/2023 ⁹⁴	The government launched the biodiversity management master plan for a sustainable forest city, which also contributes to increasing the capacity of indigenous and local communities. (26/03/2024)
15/6/2023 ⁹⁵	Jokowi issued presidential decree (Keppres) No. 14/2023 on the task force for the acceleration of land acquisition and investment in IKN, which aims to address potential disputes over land acquisition. (13/6/2023)
20/10/2022 ⁹⁶	The government held a socialization forum for disseminating the following laws/regulations and strengthening community involvement and participation (19/10/2022): - PR No.65/2022 on land acquisition and land management in IKN (18/4/2022) - PR No. 64/2022 on the spatial plan for the IKN national strategic area (18/4/2022)

Source: Authors.

Table 5: Government's actions/commitments for consideration for indigenous people and community

Report date	Government's actions/commitments (Date)
5/9/2024 ^{9 7}	The Ministry of ATR/BPN announced to certify customary land of around 3.8 million hectares in 5 years to avoid land acquisition conflicts with local communities. (N/A)
24/8/2024 ^{9 8}	The Indonesian government prepared a budget of IDR 140 billion to compensate 2,086 hectares land for the IKN project, according to presidential regulation (Perpres) No. 75 of 2024. (23/8/2024)
4/8/2024 ^{9 9}	The Gerbangtara consortium was established by various civil society groups to strengthen the representation of local communities in the development process of IKN. (N/A)
5/8/2024 ^{1 0 0}	The OIKN stated it is planning to develop IKN as a living museum that attracts tourists, like Bali, preserving and showcasing local wisdom and involving the local community. (3/8/2024)
3/6/2024 ^{1 0 1}	Basuki Hadimuljono, minister of public works and public housing, stated that the Community Social Impact Management (PDSK) Plus, which prioritizes compensation for the community and the plants in the land, is applied for the land acquisition. (3/6/2024)
29/4/2024 ^{1 0 2}	Jokowi formed a team to accelerate investment in IKN, coordinating with all stakeholders, including ministries, regional governments, indigenous communities, and investors. (29/4/2024)
6/4/2024 ^{1 0 3}	The National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) met with the OIKN and the relevant stakeholders to encourage to solve public complaints about land disputes, considering the rights of the community. (1–3/4/2024)
26/3/2024 ^{1 0 4}	The OIKN conducted a study related to complaints from the community whose land was taken for IKN development. (N/A)
7/3/2024 ^{1 0 5}	Basuki Hadimuljono, minister of public works and public housing, announced a series of infrastructure cooperation efforts, including land acquisition, between the Indonesian and Australian governments. (5/3/2024)
17/12/2023 ^{1 0 6}	Armida Salsiah Alisjahbana, executive director of the UNESCAP, visited IKN and confirmed the empowerment activity to residents for sustainable livelihoods. (17/12/2023)
11/12/2023 ^{1 0 7}	The OIKN stated it emphasizes community involvement, and it is implementing tailor-made training programs for the local community in each village. (11/12/2023)
6/7/2023 ^{1 0 8}	Alimuddin, the deputy for socio-cultural and community empowerment, the OIKN, emphasized that IKN's development would improve the welfare of the people and empower the community. (5/7/2023)
10/4/2023 ^{1 0 9}	Moeldoko, chief of staff to the President of Indonesia, stated that compensation must be paid immediately once the price had been agreed upon, in response to the request from indigenous people for quick settlement of the land acquisition issue. (10/4/2023)
29/11/2022 ^{1 1 0}	Jokowi said that the government will build a Dayak Center around the IKN area at the request of the Dayak tribe. (29/11/2022)
13/11/2022 ^{1 1 1}	Jokowi instructed ministers to foster human resources for communities around IKN. The government began to provide training programs to local communities. (N/A)
20/10/2022 ^{1 1 2}	The socialization forum was held for disseminating the relevant laws and regulations to the community and for strengthening community involvement and participation. (19–20/10/2022)
15/9/2022 ^{1 1 3}	Hadi Tjahjanto, minister of ATR/head of BPN, committed to ensure that the land acquisition process for IKN's development takes into account the rights of indigenous peoples. (14/9/2022)

Source: Authors.

Note: The position title is as of the report date

Table 6: Criticism for lack of the government's considerations for indigenous people and community

Report date	Criticisms (Date)
19/9/2024 ^{1 1 4}	A resident claimed that some parts of compensation payment was delayed and not yet made. (14/9/2024)
27/8/2024 ^{1 1 5}	A Pemaluan customary leader in Sepaku sub-district reports the loss of livelihood for the Pemaluan indigenous community because residents' gardening land was taken without enough compensation. (11/8/2024)
14/7/2024 ^{1 1 6}	The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) claims that the Perpres No. 75 of 2024 cannot solve the land acquisition issue, because thousands of indigenous people, such as the Balik Pemaluan, Balik Sepaku, and Paser Maridan, have lived there for generations. (14/7/2024)
7/7/2024 ^{1 1 7}	Professor Firmanto Laksana (Sultan Agung Islamic University) states that IKN's development has the potential to create conflicts related to customary land due to lack of recognition of customary rights, non-transparent land acquisition processes, and inappropriate compensation. (N/A)
12/4/2024 ^{1 1 8}	The East Kalimantan mining advocacy network (JATAM) reports to the East Kalimantan Ombudsman that the land eviction became a critical issue among the residents who disagreed with the eviction plan, which was made with no community involvement. (22/3/2024)
20/3/2024 ^{1 1 9}	Residents of Sepaku claim that they have been threatened and intimidated by the government about the eviction for IKN's development. (19/3/2024)
20/3/2024 ^{1 2 0}	Kasmita Widodo, head of BRWA (NGO), highlighted that IKN's land acquisition of does not consider the indigenous community. (19/3/2024)
14/3/2024 ^{1 2 1}	The East Kalimantan Civil Society Coalition criticized the government for attempting to force land acquisition and demolition of residents' homes for IKN's development. (N/A)
5/3/2024 ^{1 2 2}	Rio Rompas, spokesperson of Greenpeace Indonesia (NGO), stated that IKN's development caused many disputes with indigenous people due to the land acquisition. (N/A)
11/8/2023 ^{1 2 3}	Achmad Nur Hidayat, an economist of UPN Veteran Jakarta, expressed concerns that the cultivation rights title (HGU) incentive to be provided to investors in IKN has the potential to harm existing residents. (N/A)
30/1/2023 ^{1 2 4}	Prof. Mochammad Maksum, the chairman of the UGM Board of Professors, stated that land acquisition is an issue harming the people living around IKN; some transmigrant farmers' land was acquired without proper compensation. (N/A)

Source: Authors.

Note: The position title is as of the report date

4. Lack of finances

Financial constraints are always at the center of discussions on infrastructure development. This is the case especially for the development of IKN, as all the relevant infrastructure need to be developed from scratch, which involves unprecedentedly huge costs. The total project cost was estimated to be Rp 466 trillion (US\$ 30 billion) by the government in 2019. However, real costs could exceed previously estimated costs (Rifaid et al. 2023; Negara and Rebecca 2024). Three main financial arrangements were considered for financing the projects. The first is the state revenue and expenditure budget (APBN) with Rp 89.4 trillion, the second is the state/regional-owned enterprises with Rp 123.2 trillion, and the third is the Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) and the private sector with Rp 253.4 trillion (Nugraha, Wulan, and Yulianus 2023).

The budget arrangement seems non-problematic at first glance. However, scholars and the mass media have highlighted the difficulties of this financing arrangement. The plan relies heavily on private financing. Approximately 80% of these costs are expected to be borne by private financing. However, it is not easy for the government to attract such a large amount of private money, especially from foreign investors, without proving a project's feasibility (Rivandi and Pramono 2024). Only a small portion of private financing was secured as of November 2023 (Nugraha, Wulan, and Yulianus 2023). The government has been looking for a major foreign investor since Japan's SoftBank, which previously showed interest in US\$30-40 billion investment, pulled out of the project in 2022 (Reuters 2022).

To attract private investment and eliminate skepticism about the lack of financing, the Jokowi administration took a series of actions and provided positive statements to promote private investment and gain public understanding. First, the Jokowi administration established several policies and regulations on investment in IKN development, as summarized in **table 7**. The first important regulation, government regulation (PP) No. 12/2023, was issued in March 2023, approximately one year after the OIKN officially started the capital relocation project. The regulation includes clauses for business licenses, increasing the ease of doing business, and

creating investment facilities for IKN development. In particular, the regulation is critical in that it provides various incentives, such as tax holidays, the right to cultivate (HGU) for 95 years (with the possibility of renewal up to 190 years), and the right to build (HGB) for 80 years (with the possibility of renewal up to 160 years).^{1 2 5} Following this regulation, government regulation (PP) No. 27/2023 and presidential regulation (PR; Perpres) Number 75/2024 strengthened the incentives for investors with a simple acquisition process for the investment permit and tax exemption. In addition to these regulations, the government has attempted to promote investment through a task force for investment and land acquisition.

The government also especially promoted investment from foreign investors through various bilateral and international meetings, as seen in **table 3**. Consequently, the government obtained positive responses from several potential investors from many countries in Asia (e.g., Singapore, Japan, Malaysia, China, and South Korea), Europe, and the Middle East, and from the United States, as summarized in **table 8**. The government emphasized the successful attraction of foreign investment by introducing investment agreements and letters of intent/interest (LoIs) from potential investors to advertise the smooth progress of financial arrangements. The number of LoIs increased from 90 in January 2023 to 475 in August 2023. However, an LoI does not have legal enforceability and does not guarantee investment (Rivandi and Pramono, 2024; Fujii, 2023). Indeed, actual investments were provided only just recently, in September 2024.^{1 2 6}

Insufficient private financing leads to the need to increase the state budget in the future, which could place an additional financial burden on the government (Kalalinggi et al. 2023). The share of the budget for IKN development in the total budget for infrastructure projects in the country has increased and will reach approximately 9% by 2024 (Negara and Rebecca, 2024). Hence, the additional use of the state budget seems difficult, considering Indonesia's financial condition and public opinion. Indeed, citizens feel anxious about the use of a high state budget for IKN's development, especially given other important issues (Rifaid et al. 2023; Muhtadi 2022).

The mass media watched the financing issue at first. However, it began reporting a prolonged situation of no actual investment from foreign investors in 2023. It is noticeable that

all major news media outlets (e.g., *Jakarta Post*, *Kompas*, *Bisni.com*, *Tempo*, *Media Indonesia*, and *Jawa Pos*) have reported a lack of financing from foreign investors. It is deemed that reports by major news media were impressive enough to make people worried or skeptical about IKN's development, considering that the lack of financing is a tangible issue.

The Jokowi administration has responded to this public concern to maintain public understanding by explaining that the government prioritizes domestic investors in the early phase and foreign investors would join IKN's development at a later stage. **Table 9** shows news articles reporting this discourse, as explained by the government. The government started using this discourse repeatedly from November 2023, when the mass media started to report no actual investment from foreign investors. Jokowi explained that "*Saya sampaikan kepada Kepala Otorita IKN, rem (investasi) untuk yang dari luar (I told the head of the IKN authority to brake [investment] from foreign investors).*"^{1 2 7} to prioritize the domestic investors. Jokowi also stated that "*Sampai saat ini belum ada (investasi asing). Tapi saya yakin bahwa setelah investor di dalam negeri bergerak, semakin banyak setiap bulannya, investor dari luar akan segera masuk (Until now there has been none [foreign investment]. But I am sure that foreign investors come soon once domestic investors increase every month).*"^{1 2 8} In addition, to maintain public understanding, the government has used another explanation that foreign investors have already joined the investment as partners of domestic investors (e.g., hotels, malls, and apartment development projects by the Pakuwon Group in partnership with Marriot International from the US).^{1 2 9}

Overall, the government has established policies and regulations for promoting foreign investment and advertised the smooth attraction of foreign investment by showing concrete agreements and LoIs from foreign investors. Additionally, it tried to dispel public doubts about the feasibility of IKN's development by explaining the reasons for the lack of actual foreign investment. No foreign investments have been made for a long time. However, several foreign investments were made just before Jokowi stepped down.

Table 7: Policies and regulations on investment

Report date	Policy/Regulation (Date)
8/8/2024 ^{1 3 0}	Jokowi formed a task force for the acceleration of investment in IKN, which covers issues related to land acquisition and promotions for investments. (5/8/2024)
17/7/2024 ^{1 3 1}	The government set the presidential regulation (PR; Perpres) No. 75/2024, which includes incentives for investors (e.g., tax exemption for innovative investors.) (11/7/2024)
15/6/2023 ^{1 3 2}	The government set the presidential decree (Keppres) No. 14/2023 on the task force for the acceleration of land acquisition and investment in IKN. (13/6/2023)
7/6/2023 ^{1 3 3}	The government set the government regulation (PP) No. 27/2023 on the special authority of IKN, which includes clauses for granting investment permits (e.g., the online single submission). (15/5/2023)
24/5/2023 ^{1 3 4}	The government set the government regulation (PP) No. 12/2023 for business licenses, increasing the ease of doing business, and creating investment facilities for IKN's development. (6/3/2023)

Source: Authors.

Table 8: Foreign investors/governments that showed positive response to investment

Report date	Foreign investors/governments that showed positive response to investment (Date)
30/9/2024 ^{1 3 5}	Investment from an investor of Singapore: Sembcorp Utilities PTe Ltd invested USD 65 million to build a 50 MW solar panel (N/A)
24/9/2024 ^{1 3 6}	The first investment from foreign investors: Chinese company Delonix Bravo officially invested mixed-use projects from hotels, apartments, offices, to shopping centers in IKN. The Australia Independent School and Russian investor PT Magnum Investment Nusantara also committed to investments. (25/9/2024)
10/8/2024 ^{1 3 7}	475 Letters of Intent (LoIs) from investors, including from Japan, China, Korea, Russia, and Australia (N/A)
30/7/2024 ^{1 3 8}	Potential investor from the United Arab Emirates (UAE) for the Dubai International Financial Center (DIFC) (N/A)
20/6/2024 ^{1 3 9}	Potential investor from China (Anhui Guangxin Agrochemical) (N/A)
26/5/2024 ^{1 4 0}	Potential investor from the UAE (Mohamed Alabba, founder of Emaar Properties) (26/5/2024)
22/5/2024 ^{1 4 1}	Potential investor from the UAE (Masdar, a clean energy company, for a renewable energy PPP project) (21/5/2024)
3/5/2024 ^{1 4 2}	Potential investors from European countries: European Business Chamber of Commerce for Indonesia, the European Union Ambassador to Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam, and 30 private companies visited IKN to explore investment potential. (2/5/2024)
19/4/2024 ^{1 4 3}	The government of China (meeting on economic cooperation) (18/4/2024)
7/3/2024 ^{1 4 4}	Potential investors from China and Malaysia for 70 high-rise apartments for state civil servants (ASN) (7/3/2024)
12/1/2024 ^{1 4 5}	Potential investors from China (meeting with the Indonesian Employers' Association (Apindo)) (12/1/2024)
12/12/2023 ^{1 4 6}	323 LoIs from investors, including from Singapore, Japan, China, Malaysia, and South Korea (N/A)
21/11/2023 ^{1 4 7}	Potential investors from Russia visit IKN (N/A)
20/11/2023 ^{1 4 8}	305 LoIs from investors, with 133 foreign investors including from Asia (e.g., Singapore, Japan, Malaysia, and China), Europe, the Middle East, and the United States (20/11/2023)
20/9/2023 ^{1 4 9}	4 LoIs from French investors (20/9/2023)
11/9/2023 ^{1 5 0}	281 LoIs from investors, including 27 investors from Singapore, 25 from Japan, 19 from Malaysia, and 17 from China (11/9/2023)
24/8/2023 ^{1 5 1}	Potential investors of 10 ASEAN member countries and China (meeting with the Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs' Association (HIPMI)) (N/A)
22/8/2023 ^{1 5 2}	Over 250 LoIs from investors (22/8/2023)
19/7/2023 ^{1 5 3}	Potential investors and governments of Malaysia and Singapore (Jokowi's visit in May 2023)

24/5/2023 ^{1 5 4}	Over 220 LoIs from investors including 24 from Japan (21/5/2023)
6/3/2023 ^{1 5 5}	The former British Prime Minister Tony Blair (6/3/2023)
3/2/2023 ^{1 5 6}	90 LoIs from domestic and foreign investors (31/1/2023)
2/12/2022 ^{1 5 7}	Potential investors from Malaysia (IKN investment forum in Kuala Lumpur) (20/11/2022)
30/11/2022 ^{1 5 8}	Potential investors from Japan (meeting on IKN's development) (29/11/2022)
29/11/2022 ^{1 5 9}	The governments of 21 EU countries including Italy, Poland, Belgium, Hungary, Romania, Sweden (meeting on IKN's development) (24/11/2022)
18/11/2022 ^{1 6 0}	The Government of Japan (G20 Summit in Bali) (18/11/2022)
2/9/2022 ^{1 6 1}	Potential investors and government of South Korea (Global Infrastructure Cooperation Conference [GICC] 2022 in Korea) (30–31/8/2022)

Source: Authors.

Table 9: Government's explanation for no investment from foreign investors using the discourse that the government prioritizes domestic investors

Report date	The person who explains (Date)
14/8/2024 ^{1 6 2}	Jokowi (statement to the press in IKN) (14/8/2024)
12/8/2024 ^{1 6 3}	Bahlil Lahadalia, the minister of investment/head of BKPM (statement to the press in IKN) (12/8/2024)
4/8/2024 ^{1 6 4}	Bahlil Lahadalia (statement to the press after the press conference on investment realization for the second quarter of 2024 in Jakarta) (29/7/2024)
25/6/2024 ^{1 6 5}	Bahlil Lahadalia (statement in a working meeting at the commission VI of the DPR) (11/6/2024)
29/4/2024 ^{1 6 6}	Bahlil Lahadalia(statement to the press in Jakarta) (29/4/2024)
6/1/2024 ^{1 6 7}	Agung Wicaksono, the deputy for funding and investment of the OIKN (statement to the press) (5/1/2024)
7/12/2023 ^{1 6 8}	Bahlil Lahadalia (statement in the national investment coordination meeting in Jakarta) (7/12/2023)
21/11/2023 ^{1 6 9}	Agung Wicaksono (statement to the press) (20/11/2023)
20/11/2023 ^{1 7 0}	Jokowi (statement to the press after the APEC CEO summit forum in San Francisco) (16/11/2023)
6/11/2023 ^{1 7 1}	Jokowi (statement to the press at the groundbreaking ceremony in IKN) (1/11/2023)

Source: Authors.

Note: The position title is as of the report date.

5. Continuous government leadership

Government leadership is extremely critical in realizing capital relocation, although this issue has received less attention than the environmental, social, and financial issues. In particular, continuous leadership is essential for such a controversial and long-running project; 48.5% of respondents in the public opinion survey on capital relocation conducted in 2022 agreed on capital relocation, while 44% disagreed with it due to nagging worries (Muhtadi 2022). Scholars attribute the successful implementation of the first phase of IKN's development to Jokowi's strong leadership. Jokowi advertised the benefits of capital relocation as well as countermeasures for negative issues and received support from the parliament and the public (Ikfina 2024; Rifaid et al. 2023). In addition, Jokowi was "skillful with this negotiation and political arrangement" to realize the projects (Rukmana 2024). Indeed, the Jokowi administration has maintained its strong leadership for promoting the capital relocation and gaining public understanding through numerous actions and statements regarding environmental, social, and financial issues, as seen in previous sections.

Jokowi's leadership was remarkable especially in 2024, the last year of his term as president. In 2024, Jokowi pledged that IKN would use 100% green energy without greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions. The government also established Presidential Regulation No. 75/2024 to solve prolonged social issues and realized actual foreign investments. In particular, during the several months before Jokowi stepped down, Jokowi successfully showed that IKN was almost ready for capital relocation by holding cabinet meetings^{1 7 2} and the Independence Day ceremony^{1 7 3} in IKN, which would become his legacy in the future. These actions were important because Jokowi successfully realized his political commitment to capital relocation. Moreover, these symbolic and memorable events were important in maintaining the government leadership for IKN's development, at least for a while, after Jokowi's administration.

During the last months of the presidential term, Jokowi attempted to secure future continuity of government leadership for IKN's development in two ways: holding symbolic

events involving Prabowo, the successor in IKN, and handing over the responsibility for the execution of the capital relocation to Prabowo, as summarized in **table 10**. Jokowi held the 79th Independence Day ceremony in August and cabinet meetings in IKN in August and September; Prabowo attended the events, which gave people the impression that IKN's development would continue under the Prabowo administration. In addition, Jokowi opened his office in IKN in September despite the limited time remaining as president, which was regarded as Jokowi's message to Prabowo requesting the continuity of IKN's development. ¹⁷⁴

Jokowi also elicited positive comments on IKN's development from Prabowo and showed the public the high possibility of continuing IKN's development. For instance, Jokowi emphasized Prabowo's commitment, stating that *"untuk anggarannya, tadi pagi juga presiden terpilih Bapak Prabowo Subianto, juga sudah menyetujui untuk percepatan pembangunan infrastruktur di Ibu Kota Nusantara. Jadi, para investor tidak perlu ragu terhadap komitmen pemerintah berikutnya (for the budget, the president-elect, Prabowo Subianto, also agreed with the acceleration of infrastructure development in IKN, this morning. So, investors do not need to hesitate about the commitment of the next government)." 2024.*¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, Jokowi handed over the responsibility for the final decisions on capital relocation and the transfer of state civil servants to Prabowo to provide an incentive to continue IKN's development with a sense of ownership. Jokowi emphasized the further IKN's development *"nanti terserah Presiden Prabowo setelah 20 Oktober (depends on the President Prabowo after 20 October)." ¹⁷⁶*

However, government leadership is not guaranteed in the long term. It is questionable whether such strong leadership will last over the coming decades under different political administrations, especially considering that the leadership has come from the political motivation to leave a legacy (Amir 2023; Hudalah 2023). As Jokowi stated, capital relocation takes a long time: *"Memindahkan ibu kota butuh waktu. Pindah rumah aja ruwet. Jadi, jangan dikejar-kejar, jangan dipaksakan. (Capital relocation takes time. Just moving house is complicated. So, don't rush it, don't force it)." ¹⁷⁷* In general, projects over a series of political administrations have a risk of termination owing to a change in policy. Fortunately, the current president, Prabowo,

Jokowi's successor, has pledged to continue IKN's development. However, it should be remembered that some other presidential candidates were against IKN's development during the election (Negara and Rebecca 2024; Muhtadi 2022). It is also noteworthy that many of Prabowo's supporters did not support capital relocation during the election (Muhtadi 2022). In addition, some suggest that Prabowo does not have as strong an enthusiasm for capital relocation as Jokowi¹⁷⁸. Prabowo has his own policy priorities, such as the free school lunch program, which may be for his political legacy (Negara and Rebecca, 2024). These facts indicate that capital relocation has the potential risk of being suspended or cancelled if the future president disagrees or if public resistance grows.

Table 10: Jokowi's actions/statements during the last months of his presidential term

Report date	Event (Date)
8/10/2024 ¹⁷⁹	Jokowi instructed transferring state civil servants (ASN) to IKN in the beginning of 2025. The final decision will be made by the next president, Prabowo. (7/10/2024)
6/10/2024 ¹⁸⁰	The presidential decree (Keppres) on the capital relocation was decided to be signed by the next president, Prabowo. (6/10/2024)
9/9/2024 ¹⁸¹	Jokowi held the second cabinet meeting in IKN. (13/9/2024)
11/9/2024 ¹⁸²	Jokowi moved his office to IKN until the end of his term. (N/A)
15/8/2024 ¹⁸³	Jokowi stated that Prabowo, the next president, agreed to continue IKN's development. (14/8/2024)
14/8/2024 ¹⁸⁴	Jokowi stated that decisions related to the capital relocation depend on the next president, Prabowo, after October 20, 2024. (14/8/2024)
13/8/2024 ¹⁸⁵	Jokowi held his first cabinet meeting in IKN. Prabowo, the next president, and almost all 34 cabinet ministers attended. (12/8/2024)
2/8/2024 ¹⁸⁶	Prabowo, the next president, attended the 79th Independence Day ceremony at IKN. (17/8/2024)

Source: Authors.

Note: The position title is as of the report date.

Conclusion

This knowledge report briefly reviews issues on capital relocation in Indonesia and the government's responses to these issues under the Jokowi administration by reviewing extant academic papers and web-based local newspapers. The review showed that both scholars and the mass media have raised environmental, social, and financial issues, as well as the issue of the continuity of government leadership for capital relocation. The review also showed that Jokowi responded to these issues with strong leadership by providing countermeasures and advertising the benefits of capital relocation through various events and statements to maintain support in the parliament and from the public, as extant research suggests. The actual effects of such a governmental approach cannot be examined at this moment. However, it is a fact that Jokowi successfully realized the ceremonial inauguration in IKN on Independence Day.

Capital relocation and IKN's development have just begun. As Jokowi stated, an unprecedented ambitious project requires considerable time for its realization. The government may face various issues and criticism from scholars, mass media, and citizens in the future. Financing arrangements are an urgent and critical issue in physical infrastructure development. It is the current Prabowo administration and future administrations that will realize capital relocation. Will IKN become a real legacy of Jokowi or just a nostalgic pie-in-the-sky dream in the future? We can only know the answers in the coming decades.

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