

Indigenous People Participation As A Representation Of The Inclusive Development In The New Capital City Of Indonesia

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ABSTRAK

Pemerintah Indonesia memutuskan melakukan pemindahan ibukota ke pulau Kalimantan dengan nama Ibu Kota Nusantara pada tahun 2024. Keputusan tersebut dibuat akibat sejumlah masalah ekologi dan sosial yang menyebabkan Jakarta tidak mampu lagi berperan sebagai pusat administrasi Indonesia. Akan tetapi, beberapa kelompok adat bermukim di wilayah Ibu Kota Nusantara. Akibatnya, pemerintah berkewajiban untuk mengakomodasi partisipasi mereka untuk mewujudkan sebuah ibu kota negara yang inklusif. Berangkat dari situasi tersebut, penelitian ini dirancang untuk menginvestigasi partisipasi kelompok adat sebagai representasi kota inklusif di Nusantara. Metode kualitatif deskriptif digunakan untuk menerangkan secara komprehensif partisipasi kelompok adat di Nusantara. Peneliti menggunakan Teori Partisipasi Publik sebagai perangkat analisis. Kemudian, data diperoleh dengan menggunakan teknik wawancara, observasi, dan studi kepustakaan. Hasil penelitian menjelaskan bahwa pemerintah harus mengoptimalkan partisipasi kelompok adat. Optimalisasi dapat dilaksanakan dengan membangun sebuah perangkat yang mampu mengakomodasi representasi masyarakat secara elektronik. Kemudian, sosialisasi secara masif dapat dilaksanakan untuk memaksimalkan partisipasi masyarakat adat dalam kegiatan pemerintahan di Ibu Kota Nusantara.

ABSTRACT

The governments of Indonesia will relocate the capital city in Borneo Island which is called Nusantara Capital City in 2024. This government agenda was designed due to massive ecological and social problems which made Jakarta cannot be a central administration of Indonesia. Nevertheless, multitudinous indigenous people live in the sphere of the proposed region. As a consequence, the authorities of Indonesia should accommodate their participation in order to construct an inclusive capital city which can be lived appropriately. Based on the earlier situation, this research was designed to investigate indigenous people participation as a representation of an inclusive city in Nusantara. Qualitative descriptive method was used to expose comprehensive understanding about local communities' participation to construct an inclusive city in Nusantara. Researcher used Public Participation Theory as the grand analysis. In addition, essential data to strengthen this study was collected by doing several methods such as interview, observation, and literature study. The result of this research explains that the authorities of Indonesia should optimize indigenous people participation. The optimization of local participation can be implemented by constructing a suitable platform which can accommodate their participation electronically. Moreover, massive socialization should be applied as a way to promulgate local communities participation during the governance agendas in the Nusantara Capital City.

INTRODUCTION

During the Seventh President of Indonesia era, the governments considered to supersede the capital of this country. After being a center of governments' occupations for more than seven decades, Jakarta will lose its status as a political center region of Indonesia in 2024. This consideration had been legalized by the existence of Law Number 3 of 2022 about the Capital City which had been released on 15 February 2022. As a consequence of this political movement, the executive chose a new site which would be constructed as a capital city. After several determinations, a new region in Borneo island had been chosen by the authorities. This new area has a size around 2.561 km² or more than four times bigger than the previous administrative center of Indonesia. The planned chief city is called Nusantara Capital City which refers to the ancient name of Indonesia. Tempo (22/2/2022) reported that President Joko Widodo hoped this new capital city will be a representation of unity and keep away from the Java centric paradigm. As a matter of fact, by seeing the map, this proposed area is located in the center of Indonesia. It was said by Mr Joko Widodo as the Seventh President of Indonesia who was published by Jakarta Globe (9/8/2023) that Nusantara Capital City was designed as a new paradigm, namely Indonesia centric. By using this approach, the development of Indonesia can be equal in different areas.

Several pertinent reasons exist behind this government agenda. Mr. Joko Widodo which was cited by the New York Times (16/5/2023) cleared out that this massive transformation was extremely required. He believed that moving the capital city would not mean just supersede physical components such as buildings. On the other hand, a new paradigm of country which will be represented by the new government center with some elements, namely: new work ethics, new mind-sets, and new green economy concepts. Obviously, this political movement can be a massive transformation of Indonesia later. Furthermore, according to several studies, Jakarta is facing a number of ecology, economy, and social issues. For example, BBC (13/8/2018) had reported that Jakarta was a part of fastest-sinking cities which would be submerged around three decades from now.

The earlier catastrophe is caused by numerous factors such as exploiting groundwater extremely, increasing sea level as an implication of global warming, and ground which sinks in many locations. Additionally, overpopulation is a big problem which is being faced by Jakarta. Published news from Tempo (28/4/2023) exposed that Jakarta has been overcrowded due to the fact that there are more than ten million lives who live in the area which has size 661,5 km². This statistic will increase in view of newcomers who initiate to gain jobs in Jakarta every holiday such as Eid holiday.

In order to ensure that the planned capital city will not have several discussed social and ecological issues, clearly, the governments of Indonesia should concern appropriately on the development of the planned region for the heart of the administrative area of Indonesia. It should be implemented immediately due to the fact, there are several countries who failed to address and avoid some problems after they relocated their administrative centers. As a well-known illustration, Myanmar governments decided to replace their capital city into an area which was located in the middle of this country. In 2005, they announced to build Naypyidaw as a new capital which superseded Yangon as a former capital. On the other hand, according to some studies, this political movement did not have massive constructive implications for Burmese. This was written by Seekins (2021:400) who said that Yangon lost its title as an administrative zone for Myanmar due to irrational elite vision who controlled Myanmar. As a consequence, there are numerous public facilities which are not operated appropriately in order to serve its population.

The failure of the relocation of Myanmar's capital city was also captured by another scholar. For example, Maizland (2021:2) wrote in his journal that this city was designed just for the military government which had power in that country. It was a second great movement which had been done by the authorities after they changed the name of the country from Burma to Myanmar in 1989. Furthermore, a complex overview was given by Abusaada and Elshater (2022:1) who pointed out that several countries had constructed Planned Capital Cities across Asia and Africa continents. In this overview, they argued that the previous scheme was required as a way to ensure that they could relocate the capital city appropriately even if some countries after several years did not achieve exceptionally the constructed goals due to government-related issues in developing states such as demographic, economic, and social crisis. They also gave some factors which should be considered excellently with a purpose to ensure that the planned points which are written in the Planned Capital Cities Scheme are able to be achieved, namely: geographical, political, socio-cultural, aspiration, culture, and spatial formation. The earlier deep explanation can be concluded that changing the capital city has to be done to achieve wealth for the country. It is not a political project which can release positive implications to some societies or the regime. With a huge budget, obviously, citizens should obtain massive advantages from this reallocation plan.

Based on the previous scientific contention, obviously, the governments of Indonesia should consider several social aspects as a way to create an appropriate city which can be the center authority of this country. One of several aspects which should be focussed exceptionally is indigenous people participation. This component should be learned appropriately due to the fact that there are several local communities who live in the sphere of Nusantara Capital City. Several parties have a discrepancy notion when they define the indigenous people. To exemplify, Jacobs (2019:149) argued that indigenous people can be defined by seeing native constitution. Moreover, there was a concept namely tribal membership. Those points can be used to investigate local communities due to the majority of indigenous people have a highest rule which rules every member and there is a strong bond among them. Another perspective was given by the United Nations. This organization pointed out that indigenous communities apply their social norms and cultures which are different from other people. As a consequence, preserving their cultures by allowing them to do their ways of life is required to keep away from the extinction of the local ways. In addition, the bill of law which will regulate about indigenous people says that indigenous people are communities which live in the specific geographic region, sharing ancestral origins, cultural identity, environmental surroundings, as well as a value system that shapes economic, political, social, cultural, and legal institutions. According to the proposed statement, it can be concluded that indigenous people are people who implement their culture and ways of life in the specific region which should be preserved by the state legally.

In order to ensure that indigenous people will be accommodated by the governments of Indonesia while the planned city of Nusantara is being constructed, obviously, it requires academic suggestion. Several experts have initiated to concern about this issue. To illustrate, Firnaherera & Lazuardi (2022:73) gave a full concentration about this problem in view of local communities have several local rights which should be accommodated by the state. By accommodating the indigenous people during the governance process, the governments of Indonesia will implement a regulated point which has been ruled by the Indonesian constitution. Article 18B verse (2) from the Constitution 1945 explains that "State recognizes and respects indigenous people with their local rights". Obviously, their existence should be recognized by the state by accommodating their indigenous rights. Furthermore, they also cited data from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry which showed that the planned area which will be used for Nusantara Capital City has been lived by several native communities. These indigenous groups live in the two main regions which will be used as an area of Nusantara Capital City namely North Penajem Paser Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency. Several indigenous communities which live in the sphere of Nusantara Capital City are represented in the below table.

Tabel 1. Local Communities in Nusantara Capital City

No	Regency	Indigenous Communities
1	North Penajem Paser	Dayak Paser Balik Bajao
2	Kutai Kertanegara	Dayak Kenyah Dayak Benuaq Ohokng Sangokng Dayak Basap Jonggon Kutai Lawas Dayak Punan Baketan Modang Kayan

Source: Firnaherera & Lazuardi (2022:73)

By making sure that the indigenous people who live in the sphere of the planned area for the capital city will be accommodated, later, the government of Indonesia is able to construct an inclusive city in Nusantara Capital City. Those terms which are inclusive city and people participation have cannot be separated. It happens due to by ensuring that multitudinous citizens can release their contention in the governance ecosystem will cause an effect namely implementing inclusive norms during the political agendas. In other words, the authorities are unable to reach a status namely an inclusive city while they never allow wide participation from the citizens. The essence of the public participation during the

government agendas can be identified in numerous scientific papers. For instance, Bobbio (2019:1) expounded that public participation could be considered as an occasion when the public policymakers allow citizens to take a massive portion in the middle of the public policy decision making. He clarified that citizens were able to be a new actor for public policy making. As a new actor, it can be translated that they are not just an object which is seen by classic policy designing paradigm. Actor means they can be a participative subject which can release several necessary contention and respond to the policies. This contention can be understood because all this time the majority of policy design process agendas did not accommodate external participation, specifically from the public. Consequently, in numerous cases, the constructed policies did not gain any success in the implementation field due to there was no required support from the citizens. By ensuring that civilians are able to obtain massive participation, a positive result such as policies which will be supported by citizens can be achieved.

Different point of view was deciphered by Fung (2015:3) who also noted that citizen participation was extremely required, however, he illustrated several points which should be considered. Firstly, he argued that the targeted group should be defined accurately. This occasion is required as a way to avoid inaccurate groups which can make the authorities can concentrate on the accurate stakeholders. After the targeted communities are defined, he highlighted the essence of good communication between governments and citizens. Then, as a final point of this perspective, there is an extent of influence which should be focussed. By considering these components, society participation is able to be implemented by the public policymakers. These points are also good guidance for the authorities to ensure that they are able to ameliorate people participation. The result of this political agenda such as an inclusive city is also tracked by several scholars. Many experts who were concerned on this topic argued that it was an undeniable effect when people from multitudinous backgrounds are allowed to be involved by giving their perspective when the policies are being constructed or other governance routine agendas. To exemplify, Carnemolla et al. (2021:3) wrote that the main constructed result from this concept was that numerous stakeholders would have the same understanding and shared goals. This occasion is able to be acquired by making a comprehensive system which can manage good relationships among authorities, business, and the public. Moreover, Rolfe which was cited by Carnemolla (2021:3) also noted that this agenda could be implemented by inviting people from different spheres to be involved together. Later, a strong cooptation can be an essential variable in view of it can release a straightforward measure which can resolve the problem. Similar notion was also exposed by Liang et al. (2021:61) who argued scientifically that this concept has been popular in numerous countries.

It could happen in view of urban development which is considered to be done inclusively allowing massive participation from numerous citizens. As a result, citizens are accommodated appropriately when this concept is applied in the governance ecosystem. From the provided observational points, it might be concluded that inclusive cities should be acquired due to this paradigm can produce necessary solutions. This statement can exist because multitudinous stakeholders are able to be involved to construct preferable measures which can be implemented appropriately. Apparently, wide public participation should be applied as a way to achieve the result of this paradigm. Using the discussed notions, it might be deduced that citizen involvement has constructive results for the public policy sector. Firstly, societies are not just seen as an object, nevertheless, they can be seen as a subject who can decide something. Moreover, regulated programs can be implemented appropriately due to people will support them as a consequence that their demands are accommodated. Considering this empirical fact, the governments of Indonesia will achieve those positive implications by ensuring that the native tribes which live in the same area of the planned capital city.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research was designed by Ladder of Citizen Participation Theory. According to Arnstein (2020:189), there are several necessary steps which should be implemented by the governments in order to realize citizen participation. This perspective differentiates every various levels from the extent of the societies participation in the governmental ecosystem, it begins with the non-existence of public participation in the authorities sector until the public have massive control as a subject of policies such as other stakeholders. Several different levels according to this concept which should be determined by public policymakers namely: (1) non-participation, (2) degrees of tokenism, and (3) degrees of citizen power. In the further explanation, Arnstein wrote that each level can be divided into several different sublevels.

RESEARCH METHOD

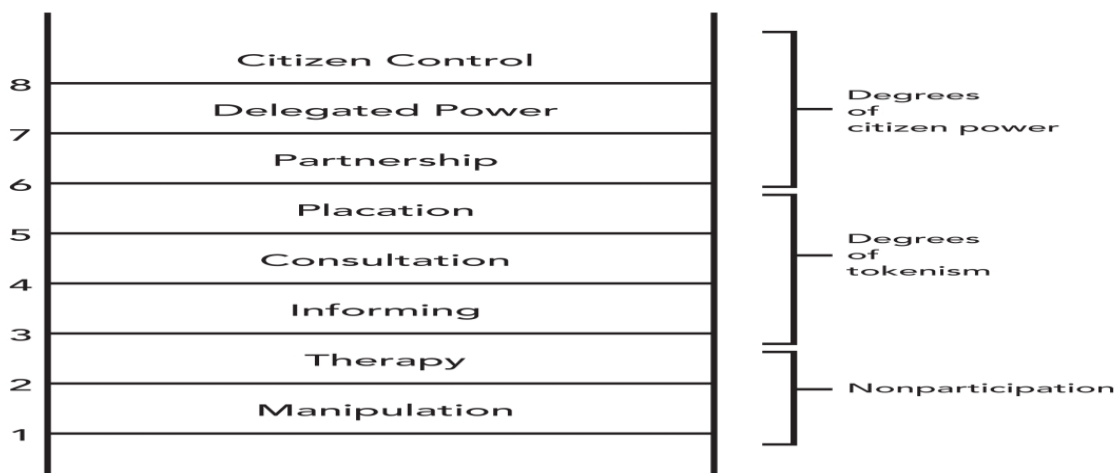
Qualitative descriptive was chosen as a research method of this research. There are several pertinent explanations behind this selected method. Gerring (2017:18) stated that this method was relevant

as a way to describe a social phenomenon. Moreover, he also detailed that this approach could be used when the researcher had small samples due to the focus of this method being concerned with particular individuals, events, contexts, etc. With a purpose to collect data, several techniques were preferred such as interview, observation, and literature study. In addition, purposive sampling was chosen which was explained by Obilor (2023:4) who said that purposive was a non-probability sampling technique and it could be implemented by choosing appropriate subjects.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

According to Arnstein (2019:189), public participation in the governance ecosystem can be identified by various different levels. Those levels are extremely required to be concerned by all stakeholders with a purpose to map the achieved progression from the implementation field. The different points which exist among those levels have dissimilar influences of citizen involvement. The following image represents various different levels of citizen involvement which can be used to comprehend the used grand theory.

Image 1. The Ladder of Citizen Participation



Source: Arnstein (2019:189)

Non-Participation Stage

According to Ladder of Citizen Participation Theory, this stage could be separated into three dissimilarity sublevels, namely: manipulation, therapy, and informing. This theory reveals that society does not have adequate access to release their contention in the middle of public policies decision making process. As a clear consequence, public participation cannot be identified maximally in this phase. Even if it exists, citizens do not have a wide platform to be accommodated very well in the middle of governance routines. To illustrate this condition, in the manipulation sublevel, the governments argue that they have accommodated citizen participation in their governance features. On the other hand, in the implementation realm, the authorities just initiate to influence a bunch of citizens to accept constructed results from their perspectives. In other words, according to this sublevel, there is a manipulation process when citizens are invited to release constructive suggestions, nevertheless, they are unable to identify the suggested notion in the middle of the governance ecosystem.

The similar condition is able to be identified in various cases, particularly countries which are driven with authoritarianism policies. For example, several totalitarian regimes such as North Korea, Laos, Cuba, Myanmar, China, etc. always elucidate that they implement citizens' involvement in a wide capacity. According to their perspectives, democracy systems are driven very well with local characteristics such as general obeying to the leaders and avoiding people's suggestions which can be a threat to national development. However, using the Ladder theory model, it is clear that pseudo-democracy is being implemented under their reigns. As an interpretation, there is mass manipulation that the dictatorial

governments have allowed mass involvement in the public decision making, while from the actual situation, it is just communal illusion participation.

Turning to the empirical situation in Indonesia as a main problem of this study, there are several cases which represent that public participation from indigenous people in the sphere of the planned capital city of Indonesia is not implemented exceptionally. As an illustration, there was a demonstration which was done by indigenous communities in the location of Nusantara Capital City in 2023. Multitudinous local people have protested to the governments that they refused to be relocated from their homes. For example, the Balik tribe which lives in Sepaku Lama Village disagreed with a proposal which would like to change their village into an area for several facilities of Nusantara Capital City. There were several demands which have been released by protesters. Mareta Sari as a part of East Kalimantan Mine Advocacy Circle Dynamisator who was cited by CNN Indonesia (15/3/2023) explained several protesters' demands namely: (1) refusing to be moved into different areas by the authorities, (2) rejecting the eviction of ancestral historical sites, graves, or specific locations which were believed by Balik Tribe as their heritages through generations, (3) contradiction with a notion to rename their village and river, (4) asking the public policymakers to design a policy which would recognize and protect the Indigenous Community of Balik Tribe in Sepaku district, (5) inquiring the executive to concern on several environmental and social implications from the development of Nusantara Capital City, and (6) declining individuals or groups who claim as a representation of Balik Tribe to be involved in several agreements without involving the actual local community.

Degrees of Tokenism

Using Ladder theory perspective, Arnstein cleared out that there are three sublevels after the executives pass the non-participation level. These three levels are accommodated by a level which is known as degree of tokenism. According to this theory, several sublevels in the degree of tokenism are: (1) informing, (2) consultation, and (3) placation.

From the first sublevel with a purpose to ameliorate citizens' involvement appropriately, obviously, the governments of Indonesia should comprehend the essence of the non-manipulation phase. For example, they can promulgate the substance of being involved across the relevant stakeholders. Promulgating this condition would be an essential agenda due to the initiative to encourage public participation wider. Furthermore, by using this method which is informed as mentioned above from this theory, pseudo-democracy situations which are common to be identified in various countries which are ruled using dictatorial concepts could be evaded. As a positive implication, in forthcoming years, the development of the new heart of administration area in Indonesia is able to be implemented inclusively. Additionally, the development agenda concepts namely Golden Indonesia 2045 which offers to the executives to design inclusive and diversity development can be executed maximally. In empirical conditions, the authorities of Indonesia have used this method to encourage people from across backgrounds, particularly communities who live near the location of Nusantara capital city. However, the problem is the executives do not mark targeted groups appropriately. This situation is a reason why several local indigenous people like the Balik tribe stand on a position that their existence is not accommodated very well.

This problem could be tackled by using exceptional government communication. In the implementation realm, the executives are expected to have capability to use public communication efficiently. By choosing this method, obviously, the planned projects will have the prowess to be informed widely to the society. Then, it can lead to several continuous effects such as the released programs can be supported massively and citizens are not just a passive element, moreover, they can have a wide portion in the middle of participatory governance. Ho and Cho (2017:229) wrote a theory that driving the governance means the executives should concern on mass communication. Based on this consensus, it would be essential, particularly for the public management ecosystems and service delivery which is expected to serve many citizens. In the deeper explanation, when a lot of communities are informed very well, they will have a better understanding of participating in the planned political scheme by their public policymakers.

In this step, making sure citizens will be well informed is not just a main aspect of degree of tokenism. After the earlier sublevel has been driven into the realization domain, consultation is a necessary thing which could not be forgotten to be accommodated. This sublevel offers to many executors of public policies to see that suggestions from the societies under their governments as a fundamental aspect of governance. There are many ways to take it into the execution scope. One of them is doing activities namely focus discussion groups and designing partnership studies. The earlier notions are also comprehended by the Authority of Nusantara Capital City. This institution as a representation of national executives made a

promise that conserving local wisdom and rights for the indigenous communities are their main attentiveness. It could be tracked by a journalism product which was issued by Koran Kaltim (28/10/2023) which reported a focus group discussion between Nusantara Indigenous People Alliance and the Authority of Nusantara Capital City. This commitment was elucidated by Alimuddin as the Deputy of Social, Culture, and Social Empowering of the Authority of Nusantara Capital City who explained that protection of their existences is a command from the Law No. 3/2022 and Presidential Law No. 27/2023. Nevertheless, the created program such as doing focus group discussion should track the needs of local communities. It could be done by identifying appropriate targeted groups. As a consequence, there will be zero aspiration from the local groups who believe that they are forgotten in the middle of the advancement of Nusantara Capital City.

The last sublevel of this phase is placation. From Hurlbert and Gupta (2015:105), placation sublevel could be understood pessimistically. This sublevel explains that in many cases the elected governments just design and execute symbolic political agendas. This condition could exist due to they have an elephantine obligation to ensure that the public could be controlled. The process of the control agendas is able to be achieved by doing programs which are not impactful. Consequently, the significance effects cannot be identified by numerous people. Using this perspective, implemented political actions by the governments of Indonesia like making a commitment can be translated to a placation scheme. The result of this activity is ensuring that local communities can support them widely. Furthermore, it can make a situation that they have been involved massively while their representation is just a symbolic governmental initiative.

Degrees of Citizen Power

Using the public participation which can be understood by ladder steps, it can be known that citizen power is the final level of this theory. This stage is quite different with the explained stages, while the previous levels just have minimum participation from the societies, in this level, citizens engagement is more massive. With this theory, Arnstein exposed that democracy and open governance would lead a nation into full participation. As an alternative conclusion, there would be diversity and inclusive governance where numerous adherent stakeholders are encouraged to participate widely. This phase has three sublevels, namely: (1) partnership, (2) delegated power, and (3) citizen control.

From the first sublevel which is partnership, it is clear enough that citizens should be driven as an essential partner. This new approach is similar with the characteristic of the management sector where customers are not seen as an object which can be exploited profitly, moreover, they are a fundamental aspect which should be recognized as a partner who has an equal position. Storey and Hillmer (2013:5) noted that this mechanism would lead to several positive impacts such as increasing trust, commitment, and satisfaction. While it is used into the political agenda such as the advancement of the Nusantara Capital City, obviously, it can avoid unnecessary situations namely the lack of indigenous people participation and non-mutual understanding between local societies and public policymakers. This partnership approach is still a predicament agenda of the authorities of Indonesia at this time. For illustration, Sibukdin as a Chief of Balik Tribe who lives in North Penajem Paser as a concentrated area for the new capital city explained at the University of Mulawarman (6/7/2023) that he could not avoid the development plans of Nusantara. Nonetheless, he revealed that there was no sufficient participation from his tribe as a community which is damaged directly from this political agenda. In his speech, he admired that the governments should have a wide platform and accessibility to be used with a purpose to expose their participation.

Delegated power is the subsequent step after the implementation of partnership. After this sublevel happens, it will end to citizen control. The last one condition contains a picture when control from the societies exists. Subsequently, inclusive governance and diversity development are able to be driven. As a way to do these points, clearly, the governments of Indonesia have to release their maximal efforts. For example, rather than making a placation situation where the constructed policies are released without any significant implication, they can ensure that various stakeholders can be involved appropriately. In the main focus of this study which is the lack of participation from indigenous communities, the executives of Indonesia can design integrated platforms which can be used by societies to participate massively.

Moreover, tracking appropriate targeted communities is also indispensable in view of the fact it will ensure that the development has driven participatively.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

From all the aforementioned, indigenous people participation in the Nusantara Capital City should be ameliorated by using diversity and inclusive development perspectives. According to the Ladder of Public Participation Theory from Arnstein, it could be concluded that the governments of Indonesia should comprehend several sublevels in degrees of tokenism and degrees of citizen power. This condition is necessary due to consultation and partnership as characteristics of the earlier levels are still minimal in the application realm. For example, several discussions from targeted groups such as the Balik Tribe as an indigenous people who live near the proposed area and activists reveal that they still face the lack of platforms which can be used to encourage more their participation. After those steps are implemented, it will lead to a positive result, namely wide control from citizens who are participated actively in the middle of development agendas.

In order to diminish this phenomenon, there are several necessitated proposals which can be considered by the public policymakers of Indonesia. Firstly, the existence of integrated platforms for indigenous people participation is required to be designed. Another essential point is comprehensively targeting people who should be accommodated. By identifying appropriate targeted communities, later, the representation of every parties can exist. As a consequence, required public needs will be considered in the public decision making ecosystems. In addition, the executives have to implement the regulated laws about Nusantara Capital City excellently. To ensure it will be driven positively, undoubtedly, the legislative institution such as the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia has a massive responsibility to be involved as a way to check and balance agendas.

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