


Legal Reform in the Relocation of Indonesia's Capital: Challenges and Implications

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Abstract

Moving Indonesia's capital city to the archipelago is a strategic policy aimed at addressing development inequality, reducing the burden on Jakarta, and creating a more sustainable center of government. However, the rapid legislative process and lack of public participation raise questions regarding the legitimacy of the policy. This study aims to analyze the legal politics of the National Capital City Law (UU IKN) as well as the social, economic, and environmental implications of relocating the capital city. Using a normative method with a descriptive and comparative approach, this study examines relevant regulations as well as other countries' experiences in capital city relocation. The results show that capital city relocation faces challenges in governance, protection of indigenous peoples' rights, as well as environmental impacts such as deforestation and increased carbon emissions. From an economic perspective, while it is expected to boost investment and regional development, the project faces funding constraints as well as social risks for affected communities. Therefore, more inclusive, transparent and sustainability-based policies are needed to ensure the success of this project. Strong regulations, fair compensation mechanisms for affected communities,

and strict environmental policies should be top priorities. With a comprehensive approach, the archipelago can develop into a modern, competitive and sustainable capital city.

Keywords

Capital Relocation, Legal Politics, Governance, Socio-Economic Impacts, Environmental Sustainability.

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Introduction

The relocation of Indonesia's capital city to the archipelago presents various challenges in law, philosophy and sociology that emphasize the urgency of a political-legal analysis of the National Capital City Law (IKN). Key issues include the rapid legislative process, centralization of authority, impacts on human rights and indigenous peoples, and social, economic and environmental implications.

From a legal perspective, the speedy legislation and centralization of authority is a major concern. The IKN Law was passed in just 43 days, raising questions about the legitimacy and rigor of the legal process undertaken.¹ Centralization of decision-making in the Nusantara Capital Authority and lack of regional representation exacerbate threats to democratic governance.² In addition, land acquisition regulations have been criticized for authoritarian practices and weak protection of indigenous peoples' rights, potentially infringing on public rights and removing their autonomy.³ The absence of adequate regulations to protect the rights of indigenous peoples further exacerbates this problem.⁴

Philosophically, the Nusantara project is linked to human rights values, especially the right to development. However, its implementation

¹ M.S. Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix," *Law and Development Review* 16, no. 1 (2023): 185–223, <https://doi.org/10.1515/ldr-2022-0063>; R.P. Wadipalapa, P.P. Nainggolan, and R. Katharina, "Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia's New Capital City," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 45, no. 3 (2023): 520–43, <https://doi.org/10.1355/cs45-3n>.

² Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina, "Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia's New Capital City."

³ Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix"; P. Listiningrum et al., "The Space Between Us: Questioning Multi-Spatial Justice in the Upcoming Indonesia's Capital," *Journal of Human Rights, Culture and Legal System* 3, no. 3 (2023): 706–30, <https://doi.org/10.53955/jhcls.v3i3.169>; I. Permadi et al., "Resolving Disputes Arising from Land Acquisition for Public Purposes Involving Indigenous Peoples in the Nusantara Capital Region," *Journal of Law and Legal Reform* 5, no. 2 (2024): 705–48, <https://doi.org/10.15294/jllr.v5i2.731>.

⁴ Permadi et al., "Resolving Disputes Arising from Land Acquisition for Public Purposes Involving Indigenous Peoples in the Nusantara Capital Region."

shows inconsistencies that raise concerns about procedural and substantive justice.⁵ From an environmental philosophy perspective, the primary goal of environmental law and spatial planning policy is to balance development with sustainability. However, the project has been criticized for potentially exacerbating the ecological crisis in East Kalimantan, reflecting a shift from philosophical idealism to complex practical challenges.⁶

From a sociological point of view, the capital relocation project has a major impact on indigenous peoples, especially in terms of land rights conflicts and unfair compensation. The lack of an effective dispute resolution mechanism further complicates the issue.⁷ In addition, the Nusantara's development is projected to create significant social and economic inequalities. Marginalized groups are at risk of gentrification and segregation due to inequalities in land compensation and distribution of development benefits.⁸ Strong public participation and stakeholder engagement are critical to achieving a sustainable and inclusive urban environment. However, the current approach has been criticized for its lack of public involvement and transparency in the planning and project implementation process.⁹

⁵ Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix"; Listiningrum et al., "The Space Between Us: Questioning Multi-Spatial Justice in the Upcoming Indonesia's Capital."

⁶ E. Lisdiyono, "Legal Idealism and Implementation: An Analysis of the Gap between Environmental Policy and the Local Regulation in Indonesia," *Journal of Legal, Ethical and Regulatory Issues* 21, no. Specialiss (2018); H.R. Susmiyati, W. Harjanti, and R. Al Hidayah, *Development of the Nusantara Capital, Sustainable Extraction for East Kalimantan, Advances in 21st Century Human Settlements*, vol. Part F1137, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-3533-8_11.

⁷ Permadi et al., "Resolving Disputes Arising from Land Acquisition for Public Purposes Involving Indigenous Peoples in the Nusantara Capital Region."

⁸ Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix"; Listiningrum et al., "The Space Between Us: Questioning Multi-Spatial Justice in the Upcoming Indonesia's Capital."

⁹ Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina, "Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia's New Capital City"; A. Julian Perdana, "Building Nusantara: A Comparative Study on Capital City Relocation and the Path towards a Smart, Sustainable Urban Future," in *E3S Web of Conferences*, vol. 495, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202449501001>.

The environmental implications of building a new capital city are also a major concern. The project carries significant environmental risks, including increased exploitation of natural resources and potential ecological degradation. A major criticism of the project is its failure to address the already existing ecological crisis in East Kalimantan.¹⁰ Although the archipelago's vision includes the concept of green and sustainable cities, the balance between urban development and environmental conservation remains a major challenge.

In addition, the social impact of the relocation of civil servants and other community groups to IKN has the potential to cause culture shock and mental health problems, so adequate preparation and support measures are needed.¹¹ In terms of governance, the success of the project relies heavily on public engagement and strong coordination between the state, businesses and communities. However, the current approach has been criticized for weak coordination among stakeholders, which can hinder the achievement of development goals.¹² This requires more inclusive governance and a stronger legal framework to protect indigenous communities, ensure fair compensation, and facilitate equitable relocation processes.

Recommendations for policymakers include strengthening participatory approaches to decision-making to ensure the legitimacy and success of the capital relocation project. In addition, the implementation of robust environmental policies and legal protections for local communities should be prioritized to realize the vision of a sustainable, equitable and inclusive city. By addressing these challenges through a transparent and participatory process, the relocation of IKN has the

¹⁰ Susmiyati, Harjanti, and Al Hidayah, *Development of the Nusantara Capital, Sustainable Extraction for East Kalimantan*; P.H. Pusung et al., "Mapping Environmental Problems in the New Capital City of 'Nusantara' as a Foundation for Sustainable Development Governance," *Environment and Social Psychology* 9, no. 2 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.54517/esp.v9i2.1808>.

¹¹ Simatupang and Pangaribuan, *Managing Culture Shock in Nusantara to Prevent Mental Health Problems*.

¹² Julian Perdana, "Building Nusantara: A Comparative Study on Capital City Relocation and the Path towards a Smart, Sustainable Urban Future"; A.R. Rahman, F. Noor, and M. Kosandi, *New Capital City's Geopolitical Landscape, Advances in 21st Century Human Settlements*, vol. Part F1137, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-3533-8_15.

opportunity to become a model of sustainable urban development that is responsive to the needs of the community.

The relocation of Indonesia's capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan has been the subject of extensive research, covering political, economic, environmental and social aspects. Politically and economically, the main objective of the move is to promote equitable development and reduce economic inequality that has been concentrated in Java.¹³ In addition, the move is considered a political legacy of President Joko Widodo that reflects his ambition of modernization and strengthening national identity.¹⁴ However, there are legislative and financial challenges, including concerns about financial sustainability amid Indonesia's current economic conditions and global economic uncertainty.¹⁵

From an environmental point of view, Jakarta faces various environmental problems such as flooding, pollution, and land subsidence that make it less suitable to be the capital city.¹⁶ Meanwhile, East Kalimantan, as a new location, offers a more sustainable environment, although there are significant ecological risks.¹⁷

¹³ R. Sugihartati, D. Susilo, and T.D. Putranto, "Discourse about the Government's Political Goal to Move the Capital of Indonesia," *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change* 12, no. 10 (2020): 462–80; M. Kamal, "Prospects for the New Capital City Policy in Law and Economic Perspectives," *Substantive Justice International Journal of Law* 5, no. 1 (2022): 86–108, <https://doi.org/10.56087/substantivejustice.v5i1.205>.

¹⁴ D. Hudalah, *Planning Indonesia's New Capital City: Behind Nusantara*, *Planning Indonesia's New Capital City: Behind Nusantara*, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003529668>.

¹⁵ Kamal, "Prospects for the New Capital City Policy in Law and Economic Perspectives."

¹⁶ L. Agustino, M.D. Hikmawan, and J. Silas, "Is It Possible for Sustainability? The Case from the New Capital City of Indonesia," *Frontiers in Political Science* 6 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2024.1362337>; T.X. Hackbarth and W.T. de Vries, *Urban Growth Modelling for a City Built from Scratch-Case Study of the New Indonesian Capital*, *Geospatial Science for Smart Land Management: An Asian Context*, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1201/9781003349518-8>.

¹⁷ A.S.N. Syaban and S. Appiah-Opoku, "Building Indonesia's New Capital City: An in-Depth Analysis of Prospects and Challenges from Current Capital City of Jakarta to Kalimantan," *Urban, Planning and Transport Research* 11, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1080/21650020.2023.2276415>; K.L. Spencer et al.,

Kalimantan, which is known as an area with high biodiversity, has the potential to experience habitat destruction and biodiversity loss if management is not carried out properly.¹⁸ Therefore, strict implementation of nature conservation laws is required to mitigate this negative impact.¹⁹

Social and governance issues are also a major concern. The rapid drafting process of the transfer law and the centralization of decision-making have raised concerns about democratic rights and inclusive governance.²⁰ Public opposition and lack of local representation reinforce these challenges.²¹ Moreover, as other relocation projects in Indonesia have shown, moving the capital city can disrupt social cohesion and community integration. Therefore, building strong social capital is crucial to creating a stable and sustainable community in the new capital city.²²

In the context of global comparisons, research shows that the experiences of other countries, such as Myanmar and Malaysia, highlight the importance of infrastructure and information technology in supporting the successful relocation of capital cities.²³ From a geopolitical perspective, the transfer is also analyzed in relation to

“Implications of Large-Scale Infrastructure Development for Biodiversity in Indonesian Borneo,” *Science of the Total Environment* 866 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2022.161075>.

¹⁸ Spencer et al., “Implications of Large-Scale Infrastructure Development for Biodiversity in Indonesian Borneo”; P. Van de Vuurst and L.E. Escobar, “Perspective: Climate Change and the Relocation of Indonesia’s Capital to Borneo,” *Frontiers in Earth Science* 8 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.3389/feart.2020.00005>.

¹⁹ Hackbarth and de Vries, *Urban Growth Modelling for a City Built from Scratch-Case Study of the New Indonesian Capital*.

²⁰ Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina, “Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia’s New Capital City.”

²¹ Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina.

²² P. Daly et al., “Social Capital and Community Integration in Post-Disaster Relocation Settlements after the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami in Indonesia,” *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 95 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2023.103861>.

²³ R. Rachmawati et al., “Best Practices of Capital City Relocation in Various Countries: Literature Review,” in *E3S Web of Conferences*, vol. 325, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202132507004>.

Indonesia's strategic position in Southeast Asia and its maritime boundaries.²⁴

However, the project faces major challenges, mainly related to its high cost and the need for adequate financial resources.²⁵ Addressing this requires effective resource management and funding. In addition, a comprehensive environmental impact assessment is imperative to anticipate possible ecological consequences.²⁶ The implementation of sustainable development practices, including the use of modern technologies and conservation strategies, is critical to minimizing negative impacts and ensuring long-term sustainability.²⁷

This study aims to analyze the legal politics of the establishment of the National Capital City Law, with a focus on the social, economic and environmental implications, to provide a comprehensive understanding and support evidence-based and sustainable decision-making. One of the main objectives is to understand the legal and political dimensions of relocating the capital city. The swift passage of the IKN Law, which generated controversy over its legitimacy, demonstrates the need for an in-depth assessment of the legal and political processes involved.²⁸ This includes an analysis of the centralization of decision-making and the lack

²⁴ Y. Pan, T. Song, and F. Li, "Research on the Indonesian Capital Relocation Plan under the Push and Pull of Multi-Scale Geopolitical Elements | 多尺度地缘政治要素推拉作用下的印度尼西亚迁都计划研究," *World Regional Studies* 32, no. 11 (2023): 57–68, <https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1004-9479.2023.11.2021718>; Rahman, Noor, and Kosandi, *New Capital City's Geopolitical Landscape*.

²⁵ Sugihartati, Susilo, and Putranto, "Discourse about the Government's Political Goal to Move the Capital of Indonesia"; Kamal, "Prospects for the New Capital City Policy in Law and Economic Perspectives."

²⁶ Spencer et al., "Implications of Large-Scale Infrastructure Development for Biodiversity in Indonesian Borneo"; Van de Vuurst and Escobar, "Perspective: Climate Change and the Relocation of Indonesia's Capital to Borneo."

²⁷ Hackbarth and de Vries, *Urban Growth Modelling for a City Built from Scratch-Case Study of the New Indonesian Capital*; B.A. Hidayat et al., "Government Infrastructure Investment Stimulation through Booming Natural Resources: Evidence from a Lower-Middleincome Country," *PLoS ONE* 19, no. 5 May (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0301710>.

²⁸ Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix"; Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina, "Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia's New Capital City."

of local representation that threatens democratic governance.²⁹ In addition, an analysis of the legal status and hierarchy of regulations issued by the National Capital Authority (IKN Authority) is important to understand the governance structure and ensure legal clarity and consistency.³⁰ The rights of indigenous communities and marginalized groups, such as land expropriation, loss of autonomy, and inadequate legal protection, are important issues that need to be studied further.³¹ Community impacts also include the potential for social segregation and gentrification due to unequal land compensation, making inclusive urban development an urgent necessity.³²

From an economic perspective, the project aims to attract foreign investment and boost economic growth. However, it is necessary to analyze how the legal framework supports or hinders the achievement of these economic goals, including the role of dispute resolution mechanisms in foreign investment contracts.³³ In addition, the economic impacts on local communities, including potential displacement and changes in the local economy, should be assessed to ensure the benefits of development are fairly distributed.³⁴ The vision of the archipelago as a

²⁹ Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina, "Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia's New Capital City."

³⁰ H.S. Nugraha, M.Y. Al Arif, and M.Z. Fikri, "Examining the Legal Standing of IKN Authority Regulations within Indonesian's Legislation System," *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi* 6, no. 2 (2023): 261–80, <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v6i2.9394>.

³¹ Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix"; Listiningrum et al., "The Space Between Us: Questioning Multi-Spatial Justice in the Upcoming Indonesia's Capital"; Permadi et al., "Resolving Disputes Arising from Land Acquisition for Public Purposes Involving Indigenous Peoples in the Nusantara Capital Region."

³² Listiningrum et al., "The Space Between Us: Questioning Multi-Spatial Justice in the Upcoming Indonesia's Capital"; W.R. Jati et al., "Assessing the Implementation of a 'City for All' within the New Indonesian Capital City: Smart and Green City Perspective," *Journal of Regional and City Planning* 34, no. 3 (2023): 232–47, <https://doi.org/10.5614/jpwk.2023.34.3.1>.

³³ K. Angela, "Choice of Law Clause in Foreign Investment Contracts for the Development of the Nusantara Capital City," *Jurnal Suara Hukum* 6, no. 1 (2024): 160–77, <https://doi.org/10.26740/jsh.v6n1.p144-161>.

³⁴ Susmiyati, Harjanti, and Al Hidayah, *Development of the Nusantara Capital, Sustainable Extraction for East Kalimantan*.

green and sustainable city requires an evaluation of planned environmental policies and initiatives. This includes assessing the project's contribution to climate change mitigation, adaptation and resilience..³⁵ The ecological impacts of moving the capital, particularly in East Kalimantan, should also be a concern. The ongoing extraction of natural resources and its potential to increase due to the construction of the new capital city could trigger significant environmental risks.³⁶ These elements collectively lay the groundwork for further research and policy development in addressing the social, economic and environmental implications of legislation.

The relocation of Indonesia's capital city from Jakarta to the archipelago of East Kalimantan presents complex legal, political and socio-economic challenges. Various studies have highlighted the urgency and significance of research on this issue, particularly in terms of democratic rights, governance, Islamic legal perspectives, economic and legal analysis, and its impact on sustainable development and the national political system.

In terms of democratic rights and governance, the rapid legislative process and centralization of decision-making in this project pose serious threats to democratic principles in Indonesia. Some of the main concerns include public opposition being denied deliberation space, lack of local representation in decision-making processes, and the strengthening of centralized authority in determining policies for the development of the new capital city.³⁷ The limited public participation in this high-impact policy raises questions about the legitimacy and transparency of the capital relocation project.

³⁵ Julian Perdana, "Building Nusantara: A Comparative Study on Capital City Relocation and the Path towards a Smart, Sustainable Urban Future"; M. Fisher et al., "Nusantara: Climate Dilemmas of a 'Green' Capital City in Indonesia," *Asia Pacific Issues* 27, no. 169 (2024): 1–10.

³⁶ Susmiyati, Harjanti, and Al Hidayah, *Development of the Nusantara Capital, Sustainable Extraction for East Kalimantan*.

³⁷ Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina, "Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia's New Capital City"; I. Perwira et al., "Capital City Relocation in Indonesia: Compromise Failure and Potential Dysfunction," *Cogent Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2345930>.

From an Islamic legal perspective, the relocation of the capital city is categorized as a secondary need (*hajiyat*) rather than a primary need (*dharuriyat*) within the framework of *maqāṣid ash-sharī'ah* (the goals of Islamic law). This classification indicates that the project is not an urgent need that must be realized immediately, but rather a complementary one, thus potentially facing challenges in terms of policy priorities in the future.³⁸

The economic and legal analysis shows that the National Capital City Law mandates the relocation of the capital city despite domestic and global challenges. The policy aims to create economic equity and sustainable development, but faces threats from financial factors, foreign debt, and global inflationary pressures that could affect the sustainability of the project.³⁹ In the context of political discourse and economic equality, the government promotes the narrative that moving the capital city aims to create equitable development and support the smart city concept. However, the enormous cost of the project and the state's financial condition raise concerns regarding the feasibility and sustainability of this project in the long run.⁴⁰

In addition, the relocation of the capital city is also driven by the ambition to create a long-term political legacy. The pragmatic and fast-paced approach to planning emphasizes political symbolism over quality planning, reflecting the hidden agenda behind this policy.⁴¹ One of the main objectives of this project is to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly in relation to sustainable urban development and inclusive communities. However, public opposition and the filing of

³⁸ Asmuni and U.J. Farida, "Relocating the Capital City of Indonesia: A Maqāṣid-Based Critical Evaluation," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 2 (2024): 913–46, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol23.iss2.art13>.

³⁹ Kamal, "Prospects for the New Capital City Policy in Law and Economic Perspectives."

⁴⁰ Sugihartati, Susilo, and Putranto, "Discourse about the Government's Political Goal to Move the Capital of Indonesia."

⁴¹ D. Hudalah, "Building a Capital City, Carving out a Megaproject Legacy?," *Habitat International* 141 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2023.102933>.

a judicial review against the IKN Law show that public involvement in the policy-making process is still very limited.⁴²

The lack of a democratic and participatory approach in the decision-making process regarding the relocation of the capital city has been highlighted. Rushed decisions and a lack of public deliberation raise concerns about the democratic basis of the project. To ensure the success and functional effectiveness of the new capital city, it is important to ensure that the policy is designed with a democratic and participatory approach.⁴³

From a political dimension and global impact, the project reflects the president's political ambitions as well as the interests of the ruling coalition. The relocation of the capital city is considered a symbol of modernization and prosperity that is expected to be part of the political legacy of the current administration. However, the long-term sustainability of the project is highly dependent on the effectiveness of the institutional mechanisms established to support the new capital city.⁴⁴

Considering the various perspectives above, the urgency of legal reform in the capital relocation project is very clear. Rapid legislative processes and centralization of decision-making can threaten democratic principles, so immediate efforts need to be made to ensure more inclusive and participatory governance.⁴⁵ In addition, an in-depth understanding of the political, economic and legal implications of the project is crucial to overcome the challenges and ensure the long-term success and sustainability of the new capital city. Studies have shown that the relocation of the capital city is a highly complex and multidimensional

⁴² E. Ratnaningsih and I. Banjarnahor, "Comparative Study of the Legal Basis of Relocating the National Capital of Indonesia and South Korea in Fulfilling the SDGs Goals," in *E3S Web of Conferences*, vol. 426, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202342601054>.

⁴³ Perwira et al., "Capital City Relocation in Indonesia: Compromise Failure and Potential Dysfunction."

⁴⁴ Hudalah, *Planning Indonesia's New Capital City: Behind Nusantara*.

⁴⁵ Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina, "Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia's New Capital City"; Perwira et al., "Capital City Relocation in Indonesia: Compromise Failure and Potential Dysfunction."

issue, which requires comprehensive legal reforms and careful consideration to be realized effectively and sustainably.

The normative research method used to analyze the legal politics of the Indonesian Capital City Law (IKN) focuses on a theoretical approach that includes an in-depth study of relevant regulations, legal principles, and legal doctrines. This research is conducted descriptively to provide a detailed description of the legal and political governance underlying the policy of relocating the capital city.

The research stage began with the identification of legal issues arising from the ratification of the IKN Law, such as legislative legitimacy, local representation, and protection of indigenous peoples' rights. This research utilizes primary data sources in the form of the IKN Law, its derivative regulations, and related policies, as well as secondary data sources such as academic journals, policy reports, and legal literature.

The data was analyzed using legal interpretation methods to evaluate the consistency of the regulation with the national legal system, assess its implications for social, economic, and environmental rights, and identify challenges in implementing the policy. The analysis also includes a comparative approach by comparing the experiences of other countries that have conducted capital city relocation, in order to find best practices and avoid potential similar problems.

In addition, the research highlights the relationship between the Nusantara project's vision of sustainable development and ecological challenges, such as the risk of environmental degradation and increased carbon emissions. Social implications such as public participation, fair land compensation, and inclusive development are also highlighted. With this method, the research aims to provide a thorough analysis that can serve as a basis for policy makers to structure more equitable, inclusive and sustainable governance.

A. Legal Legitimacy and Legislative Governance of the IKN Law

The relocation of Indonesia's capital is based on juridical, philosophical, and sociological objectives as reflected in the National Capital Law (IKN Law) No. 3 of 2022. Juridically, this law establishes a legal obligation for the government to carry out the capital relocation,

regardless of future changes in administration.⁴⁶ However, concerns have been raised regarding the rapid drafting and enactment of this law, which involved minimal public participation, potentially undermining democratic principles and legal integrity in the policymaking process.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the legal framework for relocation must address challenges related to financial sustainability and compliance with broader legislative principles.

Philosophically, the relocation aims to achieve equitable national development and reduce the excessive concentration of economic and political activities in Jakarta. By designing a new capital that embodies modernity and sustainability, the government seeks to strengthen national unity and promote more evenly distributed prosperity.⁴⁸ However, some critics argue that the policy also carries political motives, particularly as a legacy project of President Joko Widodo, intended to leave a lasting symbol of progress and prosperity for future generations.⁴⁹ Additionally, the smart city concept underlying the development of IKN is expected to align with global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).⁵⁰

From a sociological perspective, the relocation aims to mitigate Jakarta's urban problems, such as congestion and environmental degradation, by redistributing the population and economic activities to a more developed region.⁵¹ This policy is also seen as an effort to promote

⁴⁶ Kamal, "Prospects for the New Capital City Policy in Law and Economic Perspectives."

⁴⁷ Perwira et al., "Capital City Relocation in Indonesia: Compromise Failure and Potential Dysfunction."

⁴⁸ Sugihartati, Susilo, and Putranto, "Discourse about the Government's Political Goal to Move the Capital of Indonesia."

⁴⁹ Hudalah, "Building a Capital City, Carving out a Megaproject Legacy?"; Hudalah, *Planning Indonesia's New Capital City: Behind Nusantara*.

⁵⁰ Ratnaningsih and Banjarnahor, "Comparative Study of the Legal Basis of Relocating the National Capital of Indonesia and South Korea in Fulfilling the SDGs Goals."

⁵¹ Y. Pan, T. Song, and F. Li, "Research on the Indonesian Capital Relocation Plan under the Push and Pull of Multi-Scale Geopolitical Elements | 多尺度地缘政治要素推拉作用下的印度尼西亚迁都计划研究," *World Regional Studies* 32, no. 11 (2023): 57–68, <https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1004-9479.2023.11.2021718>.

economic equality and reduce regional disparities.⁵² However, the sociological impact is complex, particularly due to public resistance and concerns about the centralization of decision-making and the lack of local representation in the governance of the new capital.⁵³ The swift and relatively opaque decision-making process has further amplified criticism regarding the inclusivity and democratic nature of this policy.⁵⁴

The lack of local representation in the decision-making process further magnifies public resistance and raises concerns about the democratic integrity of the project.⁵⁵ The government has also been criticized for applying an autocratic approach to the land acquisition process, with little legal protection for indigenous peoples and local residents, which has exacerbated conflicts and reduced public confidence in the project.⁵⁶ The speed of the legislative process and the centralization of authority have triggered public resistance, with many citizens feeling that they were not meaningfully involved in the planning and development of the new capital city.⁵⁷

Not to mention, regulations issued by the IKN Authority have a significant legal position. Based on Article 5 paragraph 6 of the IKN Law, regulations issued by the IKN Authority are equivalent to regulations issued by ministers, institutions, or agencies at the central level. This equality is due to the status of the IKN Authority as a ministerial-level institution.⁵⁸ The regulation is designed to emphasize the position of the

⁵² Sugihartati, Susilo, and Putranto, "Discourse about the Government's Political Goal to Move the Capital of Indonesia."

⁵³ Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina, "Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia's New Capital City."

⁵⁴ Perwira et al., "Capital City Relocation in Indonesia: Compromise Failure and Potential Dysfunction."

⁵⁵ Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina, "Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia's New Capital City."

⁵⁶ Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix"; Permadi et al., "Resolving Disputes Arising from Land Acquisition for Public Purposes Involving Indigenous Peoples in the Nusantara Capital Region."

⁵⁷ Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix"; Wadipalapa, Nainggolan, and Katharina, "Authority or Authoritarian? The Democratic Threats behind Indonesia's New Capital City."

⁵⁸ Nugraha, Al Arif, and Fikri, "Examining the Legal Standing of IKN Authority Regulations within Indonesian's Legislation System," 2023.

IKN entity as a unique local government entity, by regulating the types of regulations to be issued, the source of authority, and the formation process in line with the creation of regional legal products.⁵⁹

In the hierarchy of laws and regulations, regulations issued by the IKN Authority have a position equivalent to Regional Regulations. Consequently, these regulations are treated equally with other central-level regulations and can be reviewed by the Supreme Court.⁶⁰ The process of establishing this regulation includes detailed stages, from determining the subject of authority to a review mechanism that allows escalation to the Supreme Court if necessary.⁶¹

The transfer of the capital city status from Jakarta to the archipelago also brings significant changes in legal and administrative aspects. Jakarta will lose its status as the capital city after the issuance of the Presidential Decree regarding the transfer. Until then, Jakarta continues to fulfill its role as the country's capital.⁶² After the Presidential Decree is issued, Law No. 29/2007 that regulates Jakarta as the capital city will no longer apply. However, Jakarta will still function as an autonomous region.⁶³

B. Dynamics of Global Market Competence in Indonesia's Capital Relocation

The relocation of Indonesia's capital city from Jakarta to the archipelago is a multifaceted project influenced by various global and domestic factors, including the dynamics of global market competence. Geopolitically and economically, the move is seen as a strategic step in responding to changes in the global and domestic context involving aspects of resources, territory, space, power, and national interests in the

⁵⁹ Nugraha, Al Arif, and Fikri.

⁶⁰ Nugraha, Al Arif, and Fikri.

⁶¹ Nugraha, Al Arif, and Fikri.

⁶² F. Angelia Gunawan et al., "THE MOVING OF INDONESIA'S CAPITAL CITY AND ITS LEGALITY WITHIN ITS CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM," *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum Dan Keadilan* 10, no. 2 (2022): 327–41, <https://doi.org/10.29303/ius.v10i2.1111>.

⁶³ Angelia Gunawan et al.

international geopolitical order.⁶⁴ However, the main challenge lies in trying to establish a clear global identity for the archipelago. The concept of cosmopolitanism is proposed as an approach that allows the new capital city to evolve in line with global trends while maintaining its unique characteristics.⁶⁵

From an economic and trade perspective, this transfer has the potential to affect regional trade and investment dynamics. The Indonesian government seeks to improve the competitiveness of export products and expand international market access to integrate the archipelago into the global economy.⁶⁶ Indonesia's involvement in global value chains (GVCs) also plays an important role in determining the resilience of the archipelago's economy to global economic shocks. Deeper integration with GVCs can strengthen the economic stability of the new capital city, but on the other hand, it also increases the risk of exposure to economic fluctuations from key countries.⁶⁷

Despite its great potential, the project faces significant political and social challenges. The rapid decision-making process and lack of public deliberation raise concerns about the democratic legitimacy of moving the capital. This risks hindering its functional effectiveness and reducing the symbolic role expected of the archipelago as the new capital city.⁶⁸ In addition, environmental and social impacts are a major concern,

⁶⁴ Rahman, Noor, and Kosandi, *New Capital City's Geopolitical Landscape*.

⁶⁵ I.S.S. Basuki, *Remembering Jakarta, Imagining Nusantara: Identity, Space and Structure, Advances in 21st Century Human Settlements*, vol. Part F1137, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-3533-8_5.

⁶⁶ M Sood, "INDONESIAN FOREIGN TRADE POLICY DEALING WITH THE GLOBAL MARKET IN FRAMEWORK ASEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (AEC)," *Journal of Legal, Ethical and Regulatory Issues* 24, no. 1 (2021): 1–8, <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85105141969&partnerID=40&md5=23ac55ee6b0dacd62a52e633c510b454>.

⁶⁷ I M Hendrati et al., "Propagation of Economic Shocks from the United States, China, the European Union, and Japan to Selected Asian Economies: Does the Global Value Chain Matters?," *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy* 13, no. 1 (2023): 91–102, <https://doi.org/10.32479/ijeep.13789>.

⁶⁸ Perwira et al., "Capital City Relocation in Indonesia: Compromise Failure and Potential Dysfunction."

particularly in relation to potential cultural shocks for relocated civil servants and increased ecological vulnerability in East Kalimantan.⁶⁹

In terms of sustainable development, the archipelago's planning includes environmentally friendly initiatives such as the development of green open spaces, sustainable transportation systems, and balanced land use. However, there are still gaps in disaster risk mitigation and social aspects that need further attention.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, while the project seeks to address climate change challenges, there are indications that current policies could increase carbon emissions and create new vulnerabilities. Therefore, a more adaptive strategy is needed for the archipelago to truly develop as a sustainable and climate resilient capital city.⁷¹

C. Social Implications of Relocating the Capital

The National Capital City Law has significant impacts on indigenous communities and land rights in East Kalimantan. One of the main implications is the loss of autonomy and land ownership rights for indigenous communities. Criticisms of the law include the lack of legal protection for indigenous groups, particularly as a result of the legislative process taking place very quickly, in just 43 days. This speed raises concerns of authoritarian practices in land acquisition, which often involve cooperation between extractive industries and local elites. As a result, indigenous peoples in the affected areas have lost their land rights and experienced a weakening of their autonomy.⁷²

In addition, aspects of procedural and substantial justice in land acquisition for the new capital city are also a concern. Inconsistencies in legal provisions can trigger injustices that have the potential to cause

⁶⁹ Simatupang and Pangaribuan, *Managing Culture Shock in Nusantara to Prevent Mental Health Problems*; Fisher et al., "Nusantara: Climate Dilemmas of a 'Green' Capital City in Indonesia."

⁷⁰ R. Rachmawati et al., "Achieving Sustainable Urban Development for Indonesia's New Capital City," *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning* 19, no. 2 (2024): 443–56, <https://doi.org/10.18280/ijstdp.190204>.

⁷¹ Fisher et al., "Nusantara: Climate Dilemmas of a 'Green' Capital City in Indonesia."

⁷² M.S. Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix," *Law and Development Review* 16, no. 1 (2023): 185–223, <https://doi.org/10.1515/ldr-2022-0063>.

segregation and gentrification, thus further marginalizing local communities.⁷³ Relocation and development associated with the new capital city also have the potential to disrupt the social and cultural structures of indigenous peoples. Land is not just an economic asset for them, it has deep cultural value. Losing access to land directly impacts their quality of life and cultural practices.⁷⁴

Furthermore, this development project raises questions regarding possible human rights violations, particularly with regard to the right to development and human rights values in general. The absence of an adequate legal framework to protect these rights further increases the vulnerability of indigenous communities.⁷⁵ From an economic perspective, the economic activities of indigenous peoples, which are highly dependent on land and natural resources, are likely to be negatively impacted. The influx of large capital and development projects may lead to economic displacement and increased poverty levels among indigenous communities.⁷⁶

Environmental impacts are also a major concern, especially due to the involvement of extractive industries in the development of the new capital city. Uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources can result in environmental degradation that will further deteriorate the welfare and health of indigenous communities.⁷⁷ Therefore, in order to achieve inclusive development, the concept of multi-spatial justice needs to be integrated in development planning. This includes fair treatment of

⁷³ Listiningrum et al., "The Space Between Us: Questioning Multi-Spatial Justice in the Upcoming Indonesia's Capital."

⁷⁴ Listiningrum et al.

⁷⁵ Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix."

⁷⁶ P. Astomo and Asrullah, "Legal Protection for The Indigenous Law Communities and Their Traditional Rights Based on the Verdict of the Constitutional Court | Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Hak Tradisional Masyarakat Adat Berdasarkan Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi," *Padjadjaran Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 6, no. 1 (2019): 90–108, <https://doi.org/10.22304/pjih.v6n1.a5>.

⁷⁷ Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix."

various spatial entities as well as an emphasis on procedural and substantial justice in land acquisition and inclusive urban development.⁷⁸

Strengthening the legal framework is an important step to ensure the protection of indigenous peoples' land rights. Their active participation in decision-making processes also needs to be guaranteed to mitigate the negative impacts of this policy. This involves aligning legal instruments with the principles of multi-spatial justice and human rights.⁷⁹ Thus, while the IKN Law brings major challenges to the autonomy, cultural integrity, and economic stability of indigenous peoples, collective efforts oriented towards equity and inclusiveness are needed to ensure sustainable and pro-local development practices.

D. Economic and Financial Implications

The development of the Capital City of the Archipelago (IKN) has great potential in attracting foreign investment, supported by its strategic vision as a green, smart and sustainable city that is in line with global investment trends in sustainable and environmentally friendly infrastructure.⁸⁰ Plans to develop large green open spaces, environmentally friendly transportation systems, and a green economy are the main attractions for foreign investors.⁸¹ In addition, the relocation of the capital city from Jakarta to Kalimantan aims to redistribute economic activities, create new economic opportunities, and increase the

⁷⁸ Listiningrum et al., "The Space Between Us: Questioning Multi-Spatial Justice in the Upcoming Indonesia's Capital."

⁷⁹ Buana et al., "The Nusantara Capital City Project: Why Development and Human Rights Do Not Always Mix"; Listiningrum et al., "The Space Between Us: Questioning Multi-Spatial Justice in the Upcoming Indonesia's Capital."

⁸⁰ A. Julian Perdana, "Building Nusantara: A Comparative Study on Capital City Relocation and the Path towards a Smart, Sustainable Urban Future," in *E3S Web of Conferences*, vol. 495, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1051/e3sconf/202449501001>; M. Fisher et al., "Nusantara: Climate Dilemmas of a 'Green' Capital City in Indonesia," *Asia Pacific Issues* 27, no. 169 (2024): 1–10; R. Rachmawati et al., "Achieving Sustainable Urban Development for Indonesia's New Capital City," *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning* 19, no. 2 (2024): 443–56, <https://doi.org/10.18280/ijstdp.190204>.

⁸¹ Rachmawati et al., "Achieving Sustainable Urban Development for Indonesia's New Capital City."

competitiveness of the region, so as to attract more foreign investment.⁸² In an effort to support investment, the Indonesian government also continues to improve the regulatory environment by harmonizing various rules in the omnibus law to simplify the investment process.⁸³

However, despite its great potential, the financing of IKN development faces various complex challenges. In terms of logistics and infrastructure, the existing ports in Handil and Muara Samboja are considered inadequate to support the logistics needs of IKN construction, so large investments are needed in port development and other supporting infrastructure.⁸⁴ On the other hand, regulatory uncertainty and bureaucratic complexity are still major obstacles for foreign investors. Complicated licensing processes and the absence of a clearer dispute resolution mechanism may be factors inhibiting the entry of foreign capital.⁸⁵ In addition, the development of the capital city in East Kalimantan also poses environmental risks, such as increased emissions and the emergence of new ecological vulnerabilities. From a social perspective, relocating the capital city may pose challenges in the form of potential culture shock for relocated civil servants.⁸⁶

⁸² L. Aprianti et al., "CONCEPTUAL DESIGN OF PORT DEVELOPMENT TO SUPPORT THE LOGISTICS SUPPLY OF INDONESIA'S NEW NUSANTARA CAPITAL CITY," in *World Construction Symposium*, vol. 1, 2023, 367–79, <https://doi.org/10.31705/WCS.2023.31>.

⁸³ A.A.S.L. Dewi et al., "The Urgency of Indonesian Omnibus Law Implementation Related to Foreign Investment," *Substantive Justice International Journal of Law* 6, no. 2 (2023): 83–93, <https://doi.org/10.56087/substantivejustice.v6i2.239>.

⁸⁴ Aprianti et al., "CONCEPTUAL DESIGN OF PORT DEVELOPMENT TO SUPPORT THE LOGISTICS SUPPLY OF INDONESIA'S NEW NUSANTARA CAPITAL CITY."

⁸⁵ Dewi et al., "The Urgency of Indonesian Omnibus Law Implementation Related to Foreign Investment"; Angela, "Choice of Law Clause in Foreign Investment Contracts for the Development of the Nusantara Capital City"; A. Halimatussadiyah et al., "The Country of Perpetual Potential: Why Is It so Difficult to Procure Renewable Energy in Indonesia?," *Renewable and Sustainable Energy Reviews* 201 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rser.2024.114627>.

⁸⁶ Fisher et al., "Nusantara: Climate Dilemmas of a 'Green' Capital City in Indonesia"; O. Simatupang and T. Pangaribuan, Managing Culture Shock in Nusantara to Prevent Mental Health Problems, *Advances in 21st Century Human Settlements*, vol. Part F1137, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-3533-8_3.

The development of the Capital City of the Archipelago (IKN) aims to create a green, smart and sustainable city. However, infrastructure readiness still faces various challenges that need to be overcome so that development can run optimally. One of the main challenges is the implementation of the Intelligent Transportation System (ITS) which faces financial constraints with a budget requirement of IDR 582.6 billion. To bridge this funding gap, the government utilizes the Government and Business Entity Cooperation (PPP) scheme.⁸⁷ In addition, the development of IKN also focuses on the integration of technology, digital infrastructure, and data management to realize the concept of smart cities. However, the balance between environmental conservation and urban development must be maintained so as not to cause negative impacts on the surrounding ecosystem.⁸⁸ Furthermore, the relocation of the capital city also brings complex geopolitical and social challenges, including the dynamics of domestic and international conflicts, which require strong coordination between the state, the business world, and the community.⁸⁹

In supporting development, economic incentive policies are important instruments to attract investment and accelerate the growth of the archipelago. Given the limited state budget, the PPP scheme is one of the main mechanisms in funding infrastructure projects, especially in the transportation sector.⁹⁰ The availability of adequate infrastructure also plays a major role in increasing investment attractiveness. Balikpapan City, as a buffer city of IKN, is expected to drive regional economic growth due to its developed infrastructure and strategic location to the

⁸⁷ C.R. Putri et al., “Development of Public Private Partnership Scheme in the Development of Intelligent Transportation System in Nusantara Capital City (IKN) to Support Mobility and Connectivity: A Literature Review,” in *AIP Conference Proceedings*, vol. 3215, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0235745>.

⁸⁸ Julian Perdana, “Building Nusantara: A Comparative Study on Capital City Relocation and the Path towards a Smart, Sustainable Urban Future.”

⁸⁹ A.R. Rahman, F. Noor, and M. Kosandi, *New Capital City’s Geopolitical Landscape, Advances in 21st Century Human Settlements*, vol. Part F1137, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-3533-8_15.

⁹⁰ Putri et al., “Development of Public Private Partnership Scheme in the Development of Intelligent Transportation System in Nusantara Capital City (IKN) to Support Mobility and Connectivity: A Literature Review.”

new capital city.⁹¹ In addition, empirical evidence from various countries shows that financial and physical incentives, such as tax breaks and infrastructure investments, are effective in stimulating regional development and reducing unemployment.⁹²

The successful development of IKN is highly dependent on the active involvement of stakeholders, including the government, private sector, and local communities. A high level of agreement and coordination is required for infrastructure projects to run well.⁹³ In addition, the policies implemented must be oriented towards sustainable development, integrating economic, environmental and social aspects to ensure long-term benefits.⁹⁴ Improving the quality of human resources is also a crucial factor in utilizing technological advances and increasing productivity. Therefore, capacity building through education, training, and linkages with industry must continue to be strengthened.⁹⁵

E. Environmental Impact and Sustainability

The relocation of Indonesia's capital city to East Kalimantan poses major risks to the region's forests and biodiversity. Land cover change due to land acquisition and conversion in the development of the Capital City of the Archipelago (IKN) has led to a significant reduction of forest

⁹¹ D. Ajeng Nugrahaning et al., "Analysis of Factors That Determine Investment Attractiveness in Balikpapan City," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, vol. 1186, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/1186/1/012022>.

⁹² K.S. Sridhar, *Incentives for Regional Development: Competition among Sub-National Governments*, *Incentives for Regional Development: Competition Among Sub-National Governments*, 2005, <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230513808>.

⁹³ G. Di Foggia, "Infrastructure-Driven Development Policies: An Empirical Impact Analysis," *Journal of Applied Economic Sciences* 11, no. 8 (2016): 1642–49.

⁹⁴ L. Horoshkova et al., "Monitoring and Modeling of Infrastructure Indicators Development of United Territorial Communities'," in *16th International Conference Monitoring of Geological Processes and Ecological Condition of the Environment, Monitoring 2022*, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.3997/2214-4609.2022580057>.

⁹⁵ S.M. Indrawati and A. Kuncoro, "Improving Competitiveness Through Vocational and Higher Education: Indonesia's Vision For Human Capital Development In 2019–2024," *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* 57, no. 1 (2021): 29–59, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2021.1909692>.

area in Kalimantan, largely due to conversion of forests to agriculture, plantations, and other uses with lower ecosystem service values.⁹⁶ In addition, infrastructure development such as roads and other supporting facilities has the potential to accelerate deforestation, as demonstrated by previous infrastructure projects that led to increased forest clearing and habitat fragmentation.⁹⁷ The ecological footprint of the new capital is expected to expand rapidly, threatening sensitive ecosystems such as protected forest areas, mangroves and peatlands. This expansion will not only result in loss of forest cover but also significantly increase deforestation emissions, which contribute significantly to Indonesia's greenhouse gas emissions.⁹⁸

In addition to threats to forest cover, IKN development also threatens biodiversity. Borneo is one of the world's most important biodiversity hotspots, home to many endemic and threatened species. However, high deforestation rates have worsened the state of the island's biodiversity.⁹⁹ One of the most worrying impacts is habitat fragmentation, which disrupts ecosystem connectivity, especially for species such as clouded leopards. This fragmentation reduces the amount

⁹⁶ F.M. Yasminnajla, R. Virtriana, and A.B. Harto, "Identification of Land Cover Changes and Its Impact on Biodiversity in Kalimantan Island," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, vol. 1276, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/1276/1/012029>.

⁹⁷ R. Damania et al., "The Road to Growth: Measuring the Tradeoffs between Economic Growth and Ecological Destruction," *World Development* 101 (2018): 351–76, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.06.001>; Kaszta et al., "Projected Development in Borneo and Sumatra Will Greatly Reduce Connectivity for an Apex Carnivore," *Science of the Total Environment* 918 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scitotenv.2024.170256>; J. Siqueira-Gay, L.J. Sonter, and L.E. Sánchez, "Exploring Potential Impacts of Mining on Forest Loss and Fragmentation within a Biodiverse Region of Brazil's Northeastern Amazon," *Resources Policy* 67 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.resourpol.2020.101662>.

⁹⁸ H.C. Teo et al., "Environmental Impacts of Planned Capitals and Lessons for Indonesia's New Capital," *Land* 9, no. 11 (2020): 1–17, <https://doi.org/10.3390/land9110438>.

⁹⁹ Kaszta et al., "Projected Development in Borneo and Sumatra Will Greatly Reduce Connectivity for an Apex Carnivore"; Van de Vuurst and Escobar, "Perspective: Climate Change and the Relocation of Indonesia's Capital to Borneo."

of prime habitat available and increases the risk of species extinction.¹⁰⁰ In addition, land cover change has also resulted in a decline in ecosystem services, including carbon storage and support for biodiversity. The ecosystem services index shows a decline in the high and medium categories since 1990, indicating a reduction in areas that support biodiversity.¹⁰¹

In terms of environmental sustainability, the IKN development plan includes the provision of large green open spaces to enhance biodiversity and provide ecological benefits.¹⁰² In addition, erosion mitigation strategies have been prepared to address high-risk areas.¹⁰³ However, despite its green vision, the development of IKN raises concerns about deforestation and its impact on biodiversity and carbon storage in Kalimantan.¹⁰⁴

In the aspect of smart and integrated infrastructure, eco-friendly transportation systems that support connectivity will be developed to reduce emissions and improve mobility efficiency.¹⁰⁵ In addition, digital infrastructure and data management are key elements in realizing the smart city concept.¹⁰⁶ From an economic perspective, the development of IKN is directed to encourage a green economy that harmonizes

¹⁰⁰ Kaszta et al., "Projected Development in Borneo and Sumatra Will Greatly Reduce Connectivity for an Apex Carnivore."

¹⁰¹ Yasminnajla, Virtriana, and Harto, "Identification of Land Cover Changes and Its Impact on Biodiversity in Kalimantan Island."

¹⁰² Rachmawati et al., "Achieving Sustainable Urban Development for Indonesia's New Capital City"; Y. Yenita and R. Soegiarso, "The Implementation of Green Construction in IKN Development by Integrating Sustainable Triangle Concept into Sustainable Development Goals," *Frontiers in Political Science* 6 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpos.2024.1489034>.

¹⁰³ A.N. Wahid et al., "Assesment of Morphometric Characteristics of Riko Manggar Sub-Catchments to Identify the Soil Erosion Risk of Nusantara New Capital City, East Kalimantan, Indonesia," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, vol. 1343, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/1343/1/012033>.

¹⁰⁴ Teo et al., "Environmental Impacts of Planned Capitals and Lessons for Indonesia's New Capital"; Spencer et al., "Implications of Large-Scale Infrastructure Development for Biodiversity in Indonesian Borneo."

¹⁰⁵ Rachmawati et al., "Achieving Sustainable Urban Development for Indonesia's New Capital City."

¹⁰⁶ Julian Perdana, "Building Nusantara: A Comparative Study on Capital City Relocation and the Path towards a Smart, Sustainable Urban Future."

economic growth with environmental preservation.¹⁰⁷ To support this principle, sustainable construction practices with the use of environmentally friendly materials and energy efficiency are the main focus.¹⁰⁸

Social sustainability is also integral to the development of IKN. Community and stakeholder engagement is seen as an important factor in creating an inclusive urban environment.¹⁰⁹ In addition, the city design is designed to accommodate traditional Indonesian cultural elements to honor cultural heritage and local wisdom.¹¹⁰ However, despite its great potential, the project faces a number of challenges, including potential environmental degradation due to increased emissions and habitat disturbance.¹¹¹ In addition, there are differences in views between the government and local communities, especially indigenous groups, which can hinder the success of the project if not managed properly.¹¹² Disaster risk mitigation aspects also need to be strengthened to accommodate social and environmental challenges more comprehensively.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Rachmawati et al., “Achieving Sustainable Urban Development for Indonesia’s New Capital City”; Yenita and Soegiarso, “The Implementation of Green Construction in IKN Development by Integrating Sustainable Triangle Concept into Sustainable Development Goals.”

¹⁰⁸ Yenita and Soegiarso, “The Implementation of Green Construction in IKN Development by Integrating Sustainable Triangle Concept into Sustainable Development Goals.”

¹⁰⁹ Julian Perdana, “Building Nusantara: A Comparative Study on Capital City Relocation and the Path towards a Smart, Sustainable Urban Future”; Jati et al., “Assessing the Implementation of a ‘City for All’ within the New Indonesian Capital City: Smart and Green City Perspective.”

¹¹⁰ S. Sofian and D. Zerlina, “New Direction in the Culturally Inspired Urban Forms of Indonesia’s New Capital City of Nusantara,” *Journal of the Siam Society* 111, no. 2 (2023): 175–94.

¹¹¹ Teo et al., “Environmental Impacts of Planned Capitals and Lessons for Indonesia’s New Capital”; Spencer et al., “Implications of Large-Scale Infrastructure Development for Biodiversity in Indonesian Borneo”; Fisher et al., “Nusantara: Climate Dilemmas of a ‘Green’ Capital City in Indonesia.”

¹¹² Jati et al., “Assessing the Implementation of a ‘City for All’ within the New Indonesian Capital City: Smart and Green City Perspective.”

¹¹³ Rachmawati et al., “Achieving Sustainable Urban Development for Indonesia’s New Capital City.”

To address these challenges, stronger environmental governance policies are needed to reduce the negative impacts of development and ensure the implementation of sustainable development practices.¹¹⁴ The planning process should also be more inclusive by involving local communities and stakeholders to accommodate diverse social and cultural interests.¹¹⁵ In addition, the implementation of rigorous monitoring and evaluation mechanisms is key in ensuring the project stays on track and allows for ongoing policy adjustments.¹¹⁶

As such, the vision of IKN as a green and sustainable capital city is an ambitious and multidimensional initiative that aims to balance environmental, economic and social aspects. While there are various opportunities to make it a model city of the future, the challenges must be addressed through inclusive and sustainable practices for this vision to be optimally realized.

F. Comparative Study with Other Capital Movements

The experiences of Myanmar and Malaysia demonstrate the importance of infrastructure development in successful capital relocation. The relocation from Yangon to Naypyidaw emphasized the need for the development of strong transportation and communication networks to ensure Naypyidaw can function as an effective administrative center.¹¹⁷ Meanwhile, the relocation of Malaysia's capital city from Kuala Lumpur to Putrajaya highlights the significance of the integration of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in

¹¹⁴ Julian Perdana, "Building Nusantara: A Comparative Study on Capital City Relocation and the Path towards a Smart, Sustainable Urban Future"; Fisher et al., "Nusantara: Climate Dilemmas of a 'Green' Capital City in Indonesia."

¹¹⁵ Jati et al., "Assessing the Implementation of a 'City for All' within the New Indonesian Capital City: Smart and Green City Perspective"; A. Bachechi, *Ibu Kota Nusantara: Understanding the Dynamics of Indonesia's New Capital Construction, Lecture Notes in Civil Engineering*, vol. 527 LNCE, 2025, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-4988-1_2.

¹¹⁶ Teo et al., "Environmental Impacts of Planned Capitals and Lessons for Indonesia's New Capital"; Spencer et al., "Implications of Large-Scale Infrastructure Development for Biodiversity in Indonesian Borneo."

¹¹⁷ Rachmawati et al., "Best Practices of Capital City Relocation in Various Countries: Literature Review."

the planning and construction of the new capital city, contributing to the creation of a modern and efficient administrative center.¹¹⁸ In addition, environmental aspects are also a major concern in this relocation. Myanmar's capital relocation process highlights the importance of sustainable development practices to minimize ecological impacts, including careful planning to avoid deforestation and preserve biodiversity.¹¹⁹ Meanwhile, Putrajaya was designed with environmental sustainability in mind, including the development of green spaces, which can serve as a model for the archipelago to keep ecological aspects in mind in its development.¹²⁰

More broadly, the experiences of other countries demonstrate the importance of democratic and inclusive planning in capital relocation processes. The history of relocations in countries such as the United States, Canada and Australia demonstrates the benefits of approaches involving public participation and inclusive deliberation, which contribute to the success and acceptance of the new capital city by the community.¹²¹ In contrast, non-democratic approaches, such as the one in Nigeria, exhibit challenges and resistance due to lack of stakeholder involvement in decision-making.¹²² In addition, the economic and social impacts of relocating the capital city also need to be carefully considered. Capital relocation often aims to address economic imbalances and promote regional development. In the Indonesian context, the move to the archipelago is largely driven by the need to alleviate Jakarta's urban problems and promote economic growth in Kalimantan.¹²³ However,

¹¹⁸ Rachmawati et al.

¹¹⁹ T.X. Hackbarth and W.T. de Vries, "An Evaluation of Massive Land Interventions for the Relocation of Capital Cities," *Urban Science* 5, no. 1 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.3390/urbansci5010025>.

¹²⁰ Rachmawati et al., "Best Practices of Capital City Relocation in Various Countries: Literature Review."

¹²¹ I. Perwira et al., "Capital City Relocation in Indonesia: Compromise Failure and Potential Dysfunction," *Cogent Social Sciences* 10, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2024.2345930>.

¹²² Perwira et al.

¹²³ Syaban and Appiah-Opoku, "Building Indonesia's New Capital City: An in-Depth Analysis of Prospects and Challenges from Current Capital City of Jakarta to Kalimantan"; Y. Pan, T. Song, and F. Li, "Research on the Indonesian Capital Relocation Plan under the Push and Pull of Multi-Scale Geopolitical Elements | 多

the large financial burden and potential economic challenges, such as inflation and global economic instability, must be properly managed to make the project sustainable.¹²⁴

In addition to economic and infrastructure aspects, the establishment of the identity of the new capital city is also a crucial factor in this relocation. The development of the archipelago must reflect the national identity while accommodating global values in order to build a sense of ownership and pride for its residents.¹²⁵ In addition, the symbolic and cultural role of the capital city also needs to be considered, so that the archipelago not only functions as the center of government, but also represents the nation's heritage and aspirations.¹²⁶

By learning from the experiences of Myanmar, Malaysia and other countries, Indonesia can ensure that the process of relocating the capital to the archipelago is sustainable with a focus on building solid infrastructure, inclusive planning, and managing economic and environmental challenges. With the right approach, the archipelago can develop into a successful capital city that benefits the entire nation.

Policy Recommendations for Sustainable

A. Strengthening governance and transparency in IKN policy

To strengthen governance and transparency in the development of Indonesia's National Capital City (IKN), various strategies are needed that refer to the findings of various studies. One crucial step is the implementation of an effective communication strategy to disseminate accurate information and reduce misunderstandings in the community. Communication models such as those proposed by Laswell and

尺度地缘政治要素推拉作用下的印度尼西亚迁都计划研究,” *World Regional Studies* 32, no. 11 (2023): 57–68, <https://doi.org/10.3969/j.issn.1004-9479.2023.11.2021718>.

¹²⁴ Kamal, “Prospects for the New Capital City Policy in Law and Economic Perspectives.”

¹²⁵ Basuki, *Remembering Jakarta, Imagining Nusantara: Identity, Space and Structure*.

¹²⁶ Perwira et al., “Capital City Relocation in Indonesia: Compromise Failure and Potential Dysfunction.”

Schramm can be used to map communication indicators and address public concerns through SWOT analysis.¹²⁷ In addition, transparency policies should be developed and enforced, including the development of a legal framework that guarantees easy access to information for the public. A similar approach has been adopted by the Manado City Government in ensuring accountable public information disclosure.¹²⁸

In addition to transparency policies, strengthening governance also requires a clear regulatory framework. The IKN Authority must draft regulations that not only define the governance structure, but also determine the hierarchy of regulations equivalent to the central level and ensure an oversight mechanism by the Supreme Court to ensure accountability.¹²⁹ The involvement of the central government is also an important factor in enforcing transparency at the local level. Studies show that strategies implemented by the central government, such as enforcement mechanisms and guidance, contribute significantly to local government transparency.¹³⁰

The utilization of technology in the form of e-government solutions is also a crucial aspect in supporting transparency and accountability. Factors such as performance expectations, business expectations, and supportive conditions are influential elements in the adoption of technology in government services.¹³¹ By ensuring that these

¹²⁷ C.S.D. Takariani, D. Sari, and D. Dirgahayu, *Communication Strategy for the Development of the New National Capital City Nusantara, Advances in 21st Century Human Settlements*, vol. Part F1137, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-3533-8_9.

¹²⁸ A. Supriati and T. Pangalila, "Transparency Policy Implementation Process Manado City Government," *International Journal of Engineering and Advanced Technology* 8, no. 5 (2019): 529–32, <https://doi.org/10.35940/ijeat.E1076.0585C19>.

¹²⁹ H.S. Nugraha, M.Y. Al Arif, and M.Z. Fikri, "Examining the Legal Standing of IKN Authority Regulations within Indonesian's Legislation System," *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi* 6, no. 2 (2023): 261–80, <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v6i2.9394>.

¹³⁰ G. Piña and C. Avellaneda, "Central Government Strategies to Promote Local Governments' Transparency: Guidance or Enforcement?," *Public Performance and Management Review* 42, no. 2 (2019): 357–82, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15309576.2018.1462215>.

¹³¹ B. Benosa, C. Omorog, and C.D. Ramos, "Exploring the Influencing Factors of E-Government Adoption in Rural Municipalities," in *2023 IEEE 15th International*

factors are met, technology implementation can improve the quality of public services and information disclosure. In addition, regular monitoring and evaluation processes are important mechanisms in assessing the effectiveness of governance systems. The use of actionable governance indicators will provide detailed information on the design, capacity and performance of the governance system.¹³²

However, in its implementation, there are various challenges and considerations that must be considered. One of them is public participation, which plays an important role in the IKN development process. Therefore, strategies that ensure the public is well-informed and can contribute to the decision-making process must be implemented.¹³³ In addition, strengthening the legal and institutional framework is a fundamental aspect in supporting transparency initiatives, including through clear regulations for the IKN Authority and other related entities.¹³⁴ The capacity of local governments and institutions involved also needs to be improved to effectively manage and implement transparency policies. This can be realized through training and provision of adequate resources.¹³⁵

By focusing on these strategies, IKN's governance and policy transparency can be significantly strengthened. Increased openness and

Conference on Humanoid, Nanotechnology, Information Technology, Communication and Control, Environment, and Management, HNICEM 2023, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1109/HNICEM60674.2023.10589182>.

¹³² S.E. Trapnell, "Actionable Governance Indicators: Turning Measurement into Reform," *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law* 3, no. 2 (2011): 317–48, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1876404511200095>.

¹³³ Takariani, Sari, and Dirgahayu, *Communication Strategy for the Development of the New National Capital City Nusantara*; P.P. Houtzager et al., "Social Accountability in Metropolitan Cities: Strategies and Legacies in Delhi and São Paulo," *Development Policy Review* 39, no. 1 (2021): 59–81, <https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12481>.

¹³⁴ H.S. Nugraha, M.Y. Al Arif, and M.Z. Fikri, "Examining the Legal Standing of IKN Authority Regulations within Indonesian's Legislation System," *Volksgeist: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum Dan Konstitusi* 6, no. 2 (2023): 261–80, <https://doi.org/10.24090/volksgeist.v6i2.9394>; Trapnell, "Actionable Governance Indicators: Turning Measurement into Reform."

¹³⁵ R.L. Holzhacker, R. Wittek, and J. Woltjer, *Decentralization and Governance in Indonesia, Decentralization and Governance in Indonesia*, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-22434-3>.

accountability will not only build public trust, but also encourage active community participation in the development of a more sustainable and democratic new capital city.

B. Protection of Local Community Rights and Fair Compensation Mechanism

The protection of local communities' rights and fair compensation mechanisms for victims of the development of Indonesia's National Capital City (IKN) include various crucial aspects that must be considered. Legally, the Indonesian government has established regulations regarding the location of the new capital city, but the effectiveness of these laws in providing legal protection for indigenous peoples in affected areas is still questionable. Therefore, the National Capital City Law needs to include provisions that specifically guarantee the legal status and protection of indigenous peoples and local communities.¹³⁶

In addition, the development of IKN has the potential to cause conflicts related to land and natural resources. Various forms of exclusion, such as regulation, market dynamics, legitimacy, and coercive pressure, are factors in the peri-urbanization process that can encourage resistance from local communities.¹³⁷ In terms of fair compensation mechanisms, land acquisition processes for infrastructure development are often arbitrary to the detriment of affected communities. Therefore, providing fair compensation is essential to prevent prolonged conflict. The principles in Islamic law emphasize a fair and profitable system of buying and selling land rights for the community as a solution that can be applied.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ M. Jamin et al., "Legal Protection of Indigenous Community in Protected Forest Areas Based Forest City," *Bestuur* 10, no. 2 (2022): 198–212, <https://doi.org/10.20961/bestuur.v10i2.66090>.

¹³⁷ R. Nurjaman and T. Rusata, *Exclusion and Resistance: The Potential of Agrarian Conflicts Overshadowing the New Capital City, Advances in 21st Century Human Settlements*, vol. Part F1137, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-99-3533-8_10.

¹³⁸ A. Nurhayati, "Creating a Model of Land Procurement in Order to Support and Accelerate Infrastructure Development," *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change* 13, no. 4 (2020): 74–91.

Although Indonesian law has regulated the right to restitution for victims, its implementation still faces various obstacles. Many victims have difficulty obtaining restitution due to limited knowledge of their rights and complicated procedures in filing claims.¹³⁹ To overcome these challenges, inclusive policy formulation that is sensitive to the social-ecological context and local aspirations is needed to mitigate conflict and ensure fair treatment of affected communities.¹⁴⁰ In addition, clear and transparent compensation guidelines should be communicated early on in the resettlement process to prevent further risk of poverty for affected households.¹⁴¹

In order to strengthen legal protection for indigenous peoples and local communities, the National Capital City Law must be formulated comprehensively by including norms that automatically guarantee the rights of indigenous peoples during the development process.¹⁴² Therefore, to ensure the protection of local community rights and fair compensation mechanisms, inclusive, locally contextualized policies, the implementation of transparent and fair compensation mechanisms, and the strengthening of legal protections for indigenous peoples are required. These measures will help mitigate conflict and ensure that the development of the new capital city is done fairly and equitably for all affected communities.

C. Green Development Strategy and Adaptation to Climate Change

Indonesia is committed to a green growth strategy that emphasizes long-term development sustainability and environmental protection. This includes reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions while creating

¹³⁹ M. Iksan et al., "Fulfilling the Restitution Rights of Crime Victims: The Legal Practice in Indonesia," *Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies* 12, no. 4 (2023): 152–60, <https://doi.org/10.36941/ajis-2023-0101>.

¹⁴⁰ Nurjaman and Rusata, *Exclusion and Resistance: The Potential of Agrarian Conflicts Overshadowing the New Capital City*.

¹⁴¹ A. Nikuze et al., "Livelihood Impacts of Displacement and Resettlement on Informal Households - A Case Study from Kigali, Rwanda," *Habitat International* 86 (2019): 38–47, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.habitatint.2019.02.006>.

¹⁴² Jamin et al., "Legal Protection of Indigenous Community in Protected Forest Areas Based Forest City."

new economic opportunities.¹⁴³ In order to reduce dependence on fossil fuels and mitigate the impacts of climate change, the government encourages the utilization of renewable energy such as geothermal, hydropower, and solar power.¹⁴⁴ The strategy is also integrated into sustainable urban development, with planning that focuses on increasing the resilience of cities through the development of green spaces, efficient public transportation, and waste management systems to reduce pollution and improve the quality of life of the community.¹⁴⁵ In addition, climate adaptation measures in urban development are crucial to minimize the impacts of climate change and increase the overall resilience of cities.¹⁴⁶

In natural resource management, digital transformation plays an important role, especially in forest management. Digitalization policies in forest management contribute to mitigating the impacts of climate change and supporting a green economy by ensuring sustainable development that takes into account human well-being and social equality as well as environmental aspects.¹⁴⁷ Adaptation efforts to climate change are also carried out through community involvement and community capacity building. Education and training programs on rainwater harvesting, water saving, tree planting, and urban agriculture

¹⁴³ S. Suphachalasai et al., *Making Indonesia's Growth Green and Resilient, Diagnosing the Indonesian Economy: Toward Inclusive and Green Growth*, 2012, <https://doi.org/10.7135/UPO9781843313786.014>; S. Setiawan et al., "Green Finance in Indonesia's Low Carbon Sustainable Development," *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy* 11, no. 5 (2021): 191–203, <https://doi.org/10.32479/ijee.11447>.

¹⁴⁴ R. Arifin et al., "Indonesian Sustainable Development Policy: How the Government Ensures the Environment for Future Generations," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, vol. 1355, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/1355/1/012005>.

¹⁴⁵ Arifin et al.

¹⁴⁶ N. Wijaya et al., "Drivers and Benefits of Integrating Climate Adaptation Measures into Urban Development: Experience from Coastal Cities of Indonesia," *Sustainability (Switzerland)* 12, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.3390/su12020750>.

¹⁴⁷ A.M. Rohmy and A.I. Nihayaty, "Green Economy Policies in the Digital Transformation of Forest Management in Indonesia," *Environmental Policy and Law* 53, no. 4 (2023): 289–302, <https://doi.org/10.3233/EPL-230026>.

are part of strengthening community resilience.¹⁴⁸ One initiative that has been implemented is the Climate Village Program (Proklam), which involves the community, government, and private sector in mitigating and adapting to climate change.¹⁴⁹

Risk management and infrastructure development are also important aspects of climate adaptation strategies. Integrating climate change adaptation in public asset management involves identifying climate risks, implementing risk management and insurance schemes, and providing reliable data on climate change.¹⁵⁰ Infrastructure development to reduce the risk of disasters, such as floods and droughts, is urgently needed, including the improvement of irrigation systems as well as the adoption of drought-resistant crop varieties.¹⁵¹ In addition, utilizing blue carbon ecosystems is an important strategy in climate adaptation, considering that coastal ecosystems have a large capacity to absorb and store carbon while playing a role in disaster resilience and sustainable development.¹⁵²

The success of climate change adaptation strategies requires policy integration at various levels of government and sectors. The alignment of national development plans with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is an important step in ensuring the effectiveness of climate

¹⁴⁸ H. Herdiansyah, "Climate Village Program for Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation for Green Villages," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, vol. 819, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/819/1/012034>.

¹⁴⁹ R. Rosemary, *Green Media*, *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Sustainability*, vol. 3–3, 2023, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-01949-4_133; A.R. Luthfia and E.N.S. Alkhajar, "Reflections on Climate Change Policy Implementation," in *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, vol. 824, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.1088/1755-1315/824/1/012100>.

¹⁵⁰ J.A. Lukito, C. Susilawati, and A. Goonetilleke, "Climate Change Adaptation in the Management of Public Buildings: An Indonesian Context," *International Journal of Building Pathology and Adaptation* 37, no. 2 (2019): 140–62, <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJBPA-02-2018-0019>.

¹⁵¹ N. Hanani AR et al., "Does the Climate Change Adaptation Affect Technical Efficiency? Empirical Evidence from Potato Farmers in East Java, Indonesia," *Cogent Economics and Finance* 12, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322039.2024.2426528>.

¹⁵² R.T. Vinata, M.T. Kumala, and P.J. Setyowati, "Blue Carbon Ecosystems for Climate Resilience in Indonesia: A Study of Adaptation Strategy," *Environmental Policy and Law* 54, no. 1 (2024): 43–51, <https://doi.org/10.3233/EPL-230049>.

policies.¹⁵³ In addition, multi-stakeholder cooperation involving local governments, private entities, and communities is needed to face the complexity of climate change adaptation challenges.¹⁵⁴ However, challenges remain in the implementation of this strategy, particularly in prioritizing interventions and areas of concern, often resulting in gaps in policy implementation at the local level.¹⁵⁵ In addition, maintaining program sustainability and increasing community capacity remain challenges that must be addressed.¹⁵⁶

Therefore, green development and climate change adaptation strategies for the new capital city should focus on the integration of low-carbon economic principles, sustainable urban development, community empowerment, risk management, and utilization of blue carbon ecosystems. Effective policy integration and multi-stakeholder cooperation are key in addressing the complex challenges posed by climate change, so that the development of the new capital city can be sustainable, inclusive and highly resilient to environmental change.

Conclusion

From a legal perspective, the review shows that the rapid legislative process and lack of public participation raise questions about the legitimacy and inclusiveness of the policy. The centralization of decision-making and limited protection of indigenous peoples' rights are key

¹⁵³ H.S. Tisnanta, R.W. Putri, and O. Davey, "Realizing City Resilience towards Climate Change and the Correlation with Sustainable Development Goals' Framework in Indonesia (Fulfilling a Global Demand)," in *AIP Conference Proceedings*, vol. 2621, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1063/5.0142496>; M. Sherifdeen et al., "Effectiveness of Emerging Mechanisms for Financing National Climate Actions; Example of the Indonesia Climate Change Trust Fund," *Climate and Development* 15, no. 2 (2023): 81–92, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17565529.2022.2057905>.

¹⁵⁴ P. Gaborit, "Climate Adaptation to Multi-Hazard Climate Related Risks in Ten Indonesian Cities: Ambitions and Challenges," *Climate Risk Management* 37 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.crm.2022.100453>; R.F. Adi et al., *Designing Climate Change Adaptation Action for Bogor City*, *Springer Proceedings in Physics*, vol. 305, 2024, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-0740-9_72.

¹⁵⁵ Gaborit, "Climate Adaptation to Multi-Hazard Climate Related Risks in Ten Indonesian Cities: Ambitions and Challenges."

¹⁵⁶ Luthfia and Alkhajar, "Reflections on Climate Change Policy Implementation."

issues that need further attention. From an economic perspective, the relocation of the capital city is expected to reduce development inequality between Java and other regions. However, key challenges include the large funding requirements, investment uncertainty, and socio-economic risks for affected communities. From an environmental point of view, although the project embraces the concept of a green and sustainable city, there is a huge risk of deforestation, biodiversity loss, and increased carbon emissions if not managed properly.

For this project to work as intended, improvements in policy governance are needed, including increased transparency and public participation. The government must ensure there is a fair compensation mechanism for affected communities and stricter environmental policies to reduce ecological impacts. Strengthening regulations that support green development and incentivizing sustainable investment should also be a priority. With an inclusive and evidence-based strategy, the archipelago has the potential to become a modern and globally competitive capital city. However, its success depends on strong coordination between the government, private sector and communities to ensure equitable, sustainable and long-term development..

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