
RESEARCH ARTICLE

The New City Megaproject's Issues: Network Discourse Analysis of the Development of the Pros and Cons of the Archipelago's Determination and Capital Development (IKN)

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ABSTRACT

President Jokowi signed Law Number 3/2022 on February 15, 2022, which declared Nusantara as the name of the new capital city, which is known in Indonesia by its abbreviation, IKN (*Ibu Kota Nusantara*). Since the passage of the law, both supporters and opponents of the decision have raised their voices in public places. IKN will replace Jakarta, which has existed as the capital of Indonesia since 1945. In the midst of concerns and issues regarding democratic regression, oligarchic dominance, the displacement of indigenous peoples, the COVID-19 pandemic, and forecasts of a global recession, these pro and con voices are becoming more and more abrasive. The paper attempts to discuss the debate between proponents and opponents of IKN's determination and development. Discourse can be interpreted in this context as a set of concepts or ideas that are communicated by actors in order to influence public policy. The research mixes discourse analysis (qualitative content) with social networking techniques by applying the discourse network method (DNA) analysis. The idea of discourse coalition adds depth to the DNA approach by mapping every discourse that emerges about an issue (what), as well as the players who express the discourse (who) related to the issues and actors who are pro and contra to the IKN.

KEYWORDS

IKN, DNA method, pros and cons, discourse, oligarchy, NGO.

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1. Introduction

The move to the capital city is nothing new. This is a global phenomenon that has been implemented by numerous nations around the world for a variety of reasons, justifications, and the pros and cons arguments that come with it. Of course, not every relocation of the capital city results in success. Consider the case of Myanmar. In 2005, the ruling generals in Myanmar decided to move the capital from Rangoon to a new capital known as Naypyidaw (Royal City of the Sun), located in a remote region of the country, 320 km away from Rangoon. This decision was already made in 2001. The transfer of the capital took place in just one day when the country's bureaucrats were instructed to pack up their belongings and move to the new capital. (Rossman, 2017). The history of Myanmar's capital city's relocation has never actually been made public. There was no official notice regarding the reasons for the transfer from the municipal administration. The construction of the new capital city is expected to cost four billion US dollars. Naypyidaw is now referred to as a "ghost city" by several media outlets because of its extremely low population density despite the large land area. Highways, commercial malls, and tourist hotspots all appear deserted and desolated. However, in contrast to what happened to Myanmar, more than 30 nations have practically succeeded in shifting their capitals over the past century. Consider, for instance, Malaysia (from Kuala Lumpur to Putrajaya, but only the executive government), Australia (from Melbourne to Canberra), Brazil (from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia), India (from Kolkata to New Delhi), and Pakistan (from Karachi to Islamabad). About 30 nations are currently preparing to relocate their capitals, and several, like Egypt, Iran, and Liberia, are actively starting the

construction process. Noting what history has recorded, a transfer of capital occurs every three to four years in many nations, and more recently, it has happened nearly every two years. However, from one nation to another, different causes contribute to the relocation of capital cities.

In 1900, there were only about 40 capital cities in the world, and now there are nearly 200. About 40% of all countries have also considered relocating their capital as they've grown too big - and at least five new capitals are now being planned (Pojani, 2022).

Now, what about Indonesia? There are at least four essential, interconnected reasons why the national capital has to be transferred. These include (a) history, (b) the objective state of Jakarta, (c) how Indonesia is perceived among Southeast Asian countries, and (d) pursuing equitable development, justice, as well as nation and state-building. The *first* reason is intimately tied to Indonesia's history as Soekarno, the country's first president and founding father, proposed to shift the capital from Jakarta (present capital)—which is on the island of Java—to *Palangka Raya*, which is located outside of Java, in 1957. The unstable socio-political and economic climate of the period prevented this idea from being executed, and Soekarno was eventually politically degraded as a result of the parliament's rejection of his accountability speech. Soekarno's successor, Soeharto, then reiterated the concept. However, Soeharto still chose Java, more specifically in Jonggol, West Java (1980), which made it differed from Soekarno's concept in terms of geography. But until Soeharto retired under the weight of the reform movement (1998), these plans were not put into practice. Then, the sixth president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, rekindled the idea of moving the capital city to *Palangka Raya* (Kalimantan) or *Jonggol* (West Java) in 2010 (Rossman, 2017). However, there were no further updates to the idea until the administration of President Joko Widodo (2017) with reference to a location outside of Java and in the central point of Indonesia. It was approved by the DPR, and then it was immediately put into action with the stages of implementing the construction of the national capital in East Kalimantan, specifically in the North *Penajam Paser* Regency and *Kutai Kartanegara* Regency.

The *second* reason for the capital transfer is related to the objective situations of the Jakarta metropolitan area and its surrounding cities (*Jabodetabek*, an acronym of Jakarta-Bogor-Depok-Tangerang-Bekasi), which is marred by uncontrolled population expansion and insufficient urban carrying capacity. Jakarta is the fourth most populated city in the world, after Manila, New Delhi, and Tokyo, with a population density of 15,835 people/km² (BPS, 2016). This indicates that the strain is too much for both the island of Java and its major city, Jakarta. Around 56.56% of Indonesia's population, according to the inter-census population survey conducted in 2015, is concentrated on the island of Java, whereas the island of Kalimantan, which is much broader than Java, is only home to only 6.05% of the country's inhabitants. In addition, the government reported that the islands outside of Java lagged significantly behind in terms of their economic contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) than the island of Java. According to BPS data in 2018, Java Island's economic contribution to GDP was 58.49%, of which 20.85% came solely from *Jabodetabek*. On top of that, Jakarta has been sinking in recent years. Jakarta is sinking by an average of 1-15 cm a year (BBC, 13/08/2018). Many residents depend on wells that pump underground aquifers dry up, leading to subsidence of more than 10 centimeters annually along the city's northern suburbs, on the edge of Jakarta, Bay-even as sea levels rise due to climate warming. The 2020 floods killed more than 60 people and left more than 60,000 homeless (Normille, 2022). Jakarta has trouble supplying necessities like sanitary plumbing, safe drinking water, and housing. Not to mention when we discuss the transportation management system and traffic congestion (traffic hours). In terms of rush-hour traffic congestion, Jakarta is regarded as the fourth worst city overall and ninth worst for driver satisfaction. This has a direct correlation to the road infrastructure ratio, which is just 6.2% of the total area, while it should be 15%. Even though there have been improvements to the public transportation system over the past five years, including the revitalization of the LRT, commuter line, MRT, and public buses, it is still far from adequate. In addition, there is still insufficient coordination and communication between related institutions. Due to groundwater drainage and rising sea levels due to climate change, 96% of the river water in *Jabodetabek* is extremely contaminated, and these cities are prone to flooding. Furthermore, Jakarta is sinking by an average of 1-15 cm a year (BBC, 13/08/2018).

The *third* factor has a lot to do with how Indonesia is perceived among Southeast Asian countries, and this is demonstrated in part by the quality of its capital. Indonesia goes to great lengths to promote itself as an economic leader in the Pacific, and it is also the personal ambition of President Jokowi to build a reputation as an important regional reformer. ASEAN's headquarters is located in Jakarta, and there are ambitions to make the capital Brussels of Southeast Asia. The problem is that Jakarta is far from supranational status and, in fact, is considered by many to be substandard and inadequate even for domestic and national needs. Hence, the capital relocation project is seen by some politicians as an opportunity for Indonesia to strengthen its leadership role in Southeast Asia and make a statement about its new economic and political position (Rossman, 2017).

The *fourth* factor for the transfer is the concern with equitable development, justice, and nation and state-building, which also became the government's political statement through the President's speech. *Jabodetabek* dominates the contribution to the national economy, accounting for about 19.15% of the national GDP, with Jakarta solely accounting for 85% of it. Thus, it wouldn't be mistaken if the President repeatedly said that *Jabodetabek's* economic growth, which represents Indonesia's development to date, has been Jakarta- or Java-centric. As its antithesis, the government then began a national development with Indonesia-centric

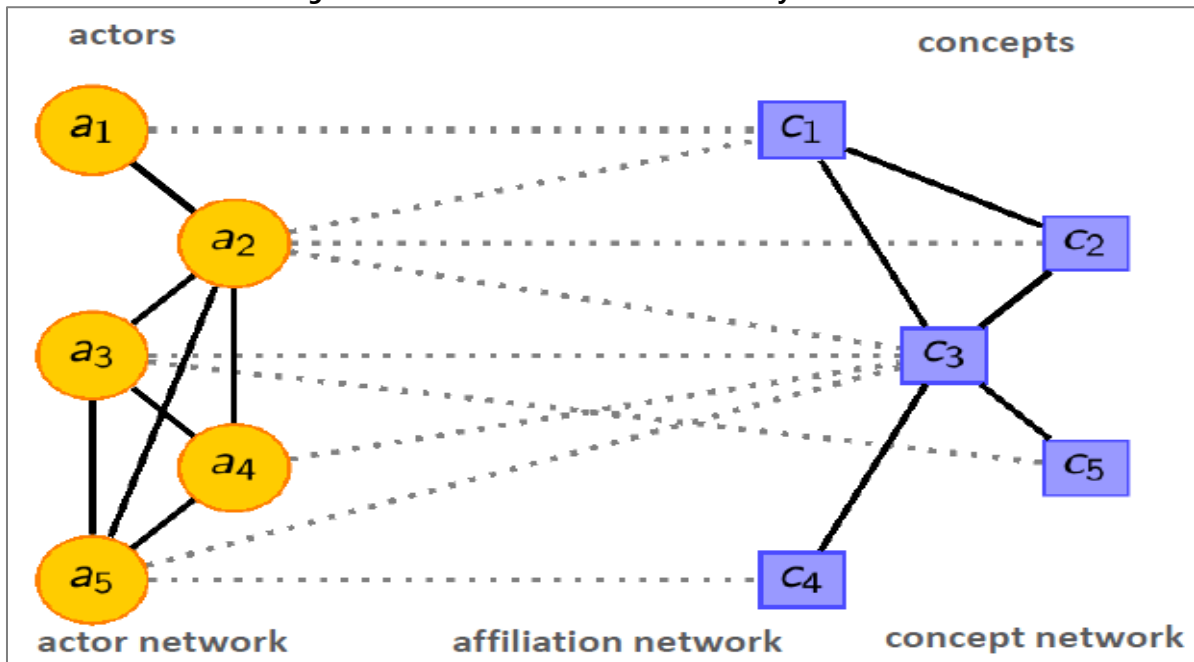
characteristics by constructing a new capital outside of Java that served as a symbol of national identity and unity within the context of nation and state-building. The design for this new capital is intended to reflect Indonesia's diversity, as well as foster a growing appreciation for *Pancasila* as the national ideology. The goal is to pursue more equitable distribution of development, non-Java-centric economic growth, the emergence of smart cities, smart citizens, and smart governments, as well as the institutionalization of "justice."

We can infer that what has been said reflects both the voice of the administration and the supporting actors, whether it be state or non-state ones. Even so, public policy is more than just an administrative or technological issue. Public policy can't exist in a social or political vacuum chambers. This translates to disagreements and consensus, which, in this case, is the discourse of the transfer of a new capital city, which is known in Indonesia by its abbreviation, IKN (*Ibu Kota Nusantara*). On the one hand, there are those who firmly agree with and support the government's voice and others who do so, with all the justifications and arguments that have been put forward. On the other hand, there are those who oppose it with all the justifications and arguments, such as a very large budget that burdens the state budget, a lack of public consultation, the vulnerability of Indigenous people and their lands because of the concern that they will be affected due to the policy of moving the capital, and the existence of an increasingly powerful oligarchy. There are many discourses about the pros and cons of relocating the national capital, as well as actors (individuals, groups, and organizations) who support those discourses. They include the government, legislators, businessmen, academics, politicians, members of parliament, NGOs, along with others. To map emerging and growing discourses, the dominant actors, and the relationships between discourses and actors, this study will utilize the DNA approach, which will be thoroughly detailed in the following sections.

2. Research Method

This research used Discourse Network Analysis (DNA), a method that essentially combines network analysis and qualitative content analysis techniques (Leifeld, 2009; Leifeld & Hauns, 2012). In DNA, there are three main ideas. First, actors are understood as people or organizations that deliver statements. Second, the concept behind an actor's argumentative discourse. Third, an agreement refers to an actor's orientation and attitude (support or opposition) towards an issue. The actors involved in the debate over moving the national capital were mapped using the DNA approach in this study. Actors in this study are individuals or groups who voice opinions about the transfer of IKN. The concept is the discourse put forward by actors regarding the transfer of IKN. Meanwhile, approval refers to the actor's orientation (positive or negative) related to the transfer of IKN.

Figure 1 – Ideas on Discourse Network Analysis

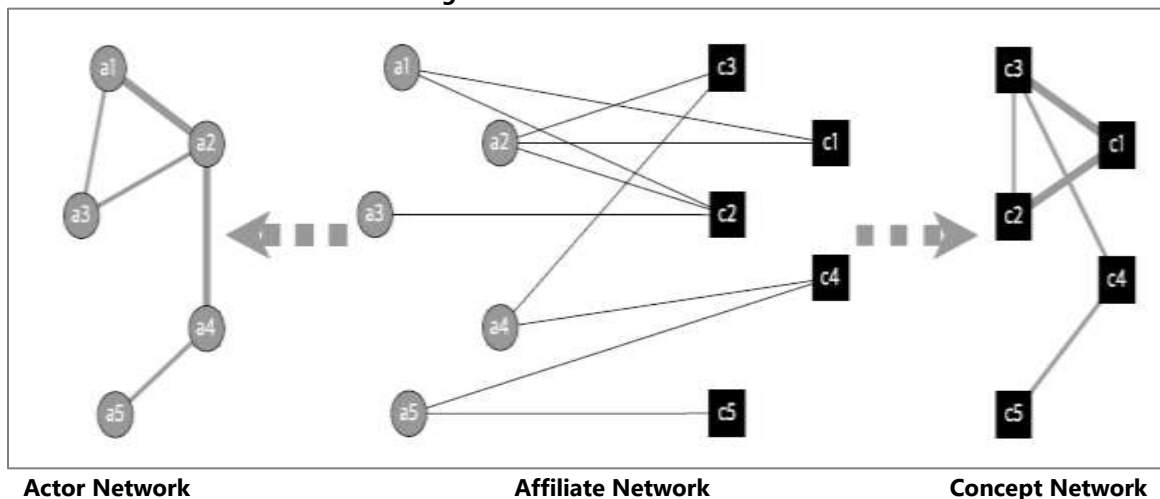


Source: Leifeld (2009); Leifeld & Hauns (2012)

In this study, the players' relationships and the theories they advanced regarding the IKN issue were examined using the DNA approach. Three relationships (relationships) are constructed. The actor network comes first. When discussing IKN, this network is used to illustrate the connections between various actors. When two actors portray the same discourse (idea) about a subject, it is

said that the actors are in a relationship (Leifeld & Haunss, 2012). The second is the idea of a network. This network explains how various discourses in discussions of IKN relate to one another. If a notion is proposed by the same actor as another concept, then the two concepts are said to be related (see Leifeld & Haunss, 2012). In other words, actors—individuals or groups—propose certain ideas. The same actor's conceptions are characterized as having a link to other concepts. The affiliate network comes in third. The actors' interactions with the proposed discourse are depicted in this network.

Figure 2 – Actor's Interactions



Source: Markard (et.al, 2021)

2.1 Source Statement

The fundamental unit of analysis in DNA is a statement (Leifeld, 2017: 306; Leifeld, 2013: 174). Statements are defined as the actors' public assertions of their opinions (views) on a certain subject. Statements in DNA are seen as an idea or discourse that a certain actor is willing to share with the public. These statements can be supported by a number of sources, such as discussions on radio and/or television, social media posts, and online publications. The statements as the data source for this study are taken from Detik.com, one of the online news portals with the largest audience in Indonesia. Researchers used the phrase "IKN OR transfer of IKN OR the national capital." This study resulted in the identification of 2,738 news items. The researcher reviews all news, excluding any that is not relevant. From those numbers, 1,982 news articles that were relevant to the inquiry were obtained.

2.2 Statement Identification and Coding

The researcher then looked for comments from the 1,982 news articles. There are various claims made in a single news report. Researchers dissect the news into its constituent statements. A statement unit is a statement with only one actor and one concept. With this method, 2,610 statements were identified. Following that, categories are assigned to statements, including person (the speaker), organization, category (the expressed argument), and agreement (positive-negative). The data coding procedure was carried out using the DNA Analyzer application (Leifeld, 2016). The data coding technique produced 421 concepts from 211 actors (discourses). The data coding results were then further evaluated to provide visualizations and statistical analysis using Visone software.

2.3 Data Analysis

The analysis is conducted to determine four matters. Firstly, degree refers to the number of relations (links) between actors in a network. In this research, degree refers to the most popular actors and concepts related to the IKN. Centrality reflects how far a specific actor or concept (discourse) dominates the exchange of an issue. This degree can be in-degree and out-degree.

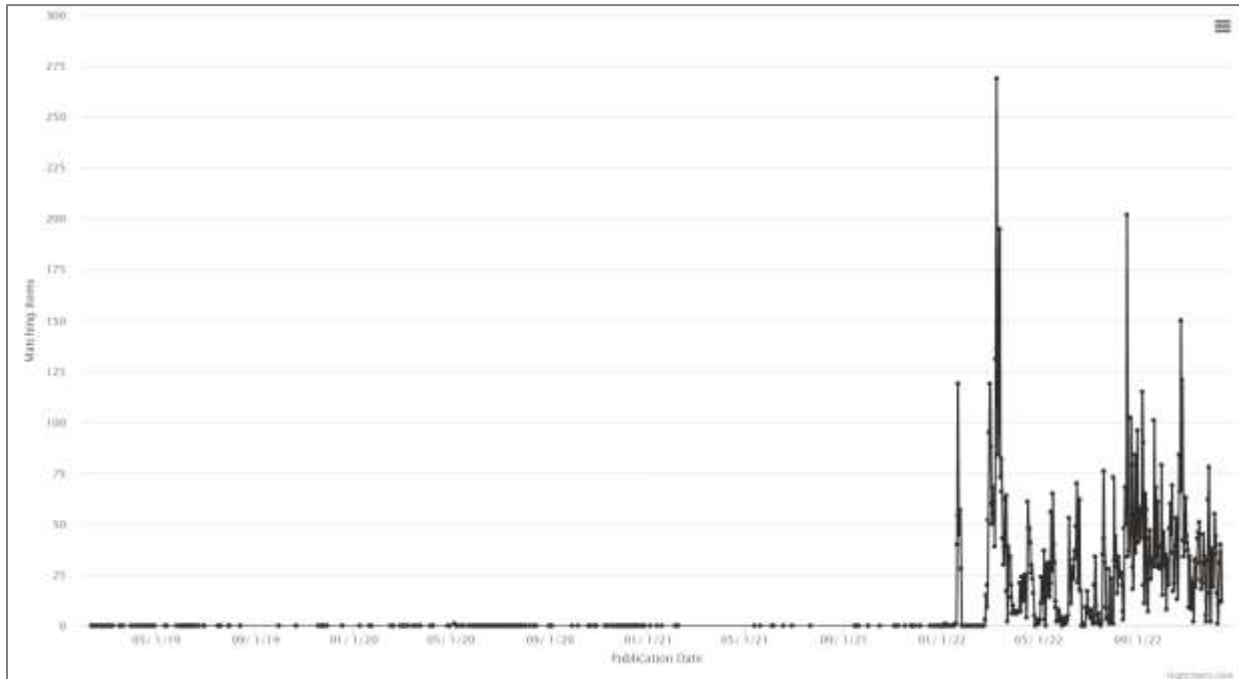
Secondly is closeness centrality. Closeness centrality describes how close a node is to all other nodes in a network. In this research, a node is an actor (person or organization) and a concept (argumentation of IKN). Thirdly is betweenness centrality. Betweenness' centrality shows the node position as an intermediary (betweenness') of a relation between a node and other nodes in a network. In this research, this node refers to an actor (person or organization) or a concept (discourse) of IKN. The position of intermediary is taken by an actor or discourse opposing each other.

3. Research Result

The idea to relocate IKN from Jakarta to East Kalimantan was first presented in 2019. On April 29, 2019, President Joko Widodo made the decision to relocate the nation's capital outside of Java during a closed government meeting. The new capital city's site in East Kalimantan Province, which encompasses North *Penajam Paser* Regency and portions of *Kutai Kartanegara* Regency, was

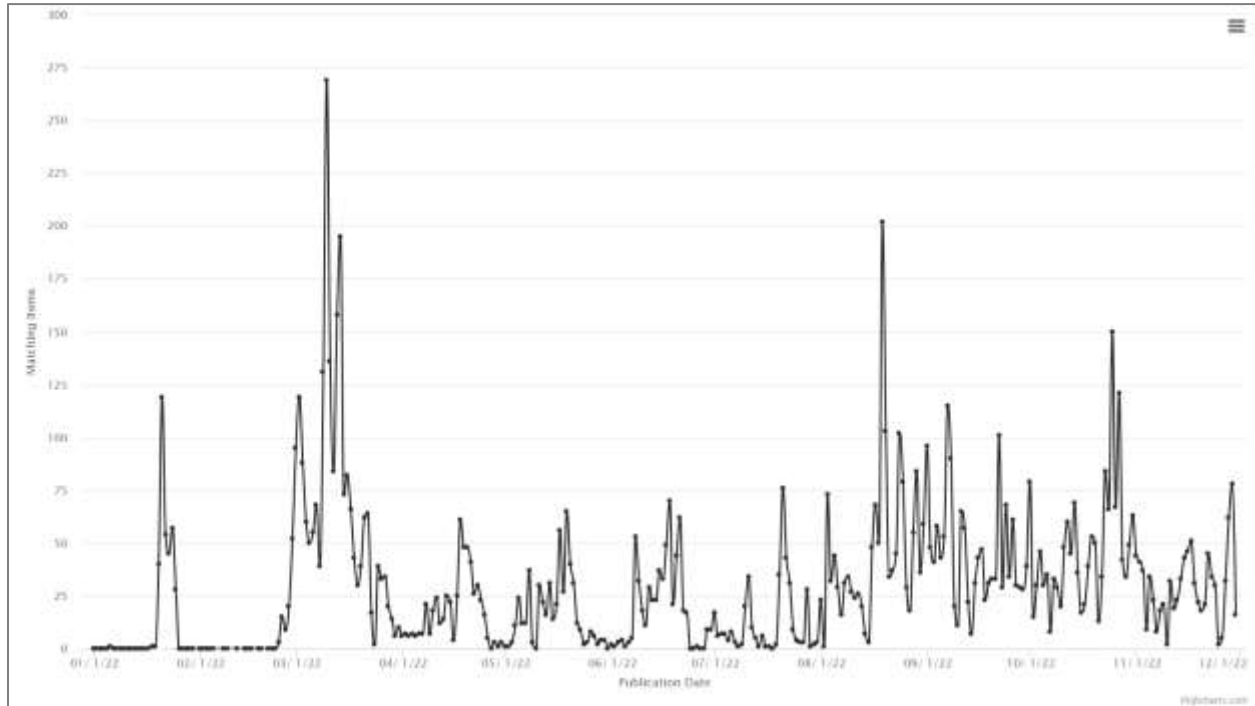
then declared by the government on August 26, 2019. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, discussions about the transfer of IKN didn't come up very often in the first half of the study period. Media reports were more concerned about the pandemic. When the pandemic was seen as coming to an end in early 2022, the discourses on the relocation to IKN started to re-emerge. The graph depicts the number of news articles about IKN that were published online and stored in the media cloud database (mediacloud.org). This information indicates that the IKN relocation discussions appeared largely in 2022.

Figure 2 – Articles about IKN in Media Cloud (August 2019 to December 2020)



Data on mediacloud (<https://mediacloud.org/>) shows that from January 1 to November 30, 2022, a total of 9,798 pieces of news about IKN were published in online media. Every month, there is always news about the transfer of IKN. This study sampled online media news on Detik.com from 2019 to 2011. The total news analyzed was 1,982, with a total of 2,610 statements.

Figure 3 – Articles about IKN in Media Cloud (January 2021-August 2022)



3.1 Discourse Network for the Period of August 2019- December 2020

The analysis of IKN relocation discourse is divided into two time periods. The first period ranges from August 2019 to December 2020. The map showing various types of discourse surrounding the IKN issue is displayed in the image. This graph demonstrates how little the IKN discourse has progressed. The most prominent subject in the discourse is economic issues. Both the supporting and opposing actors presented arguments relating to the economic consequences of the capital relocation project. The supporting actors argued that the relocation to IKN is a means of promoting equitable development, thus lowering development inequality between Java and outside Java. The opposing actors, on the other hand, argued about the high financial load and lack of funding for the project.

Figure 4–Actor Network and Discourse on IKN Issues, Period August 2019-December 2020

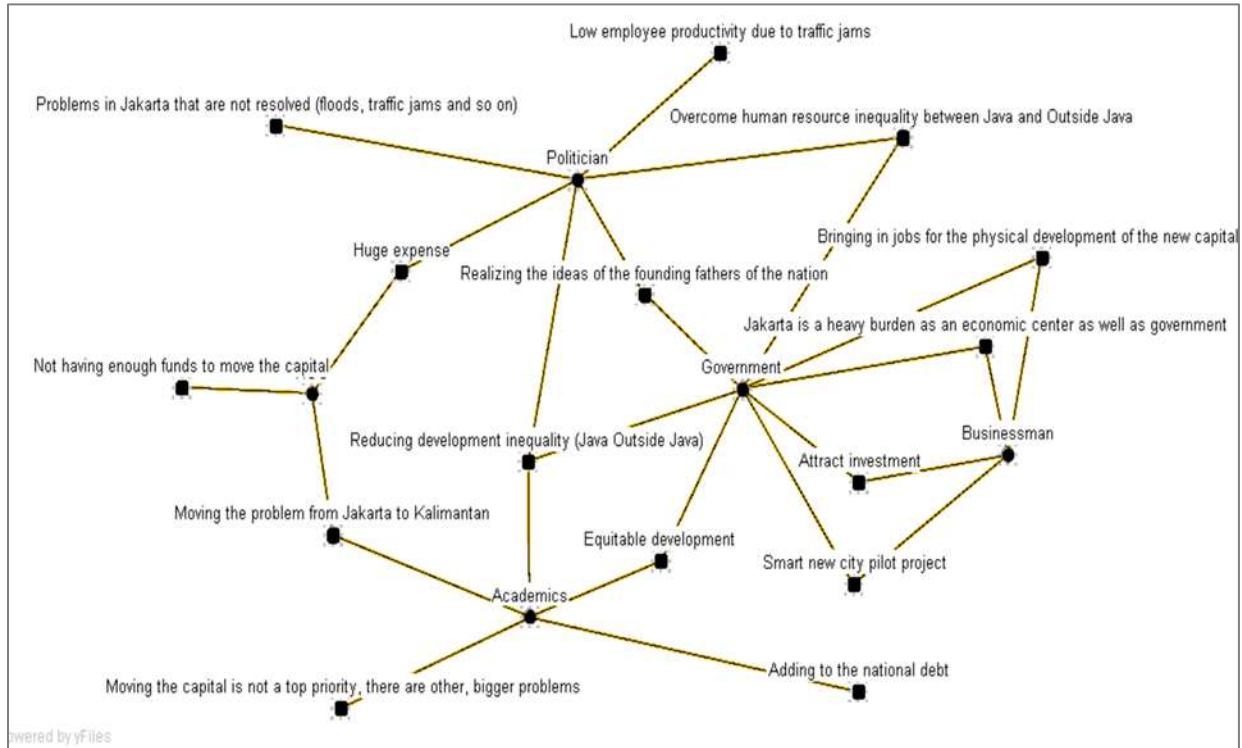
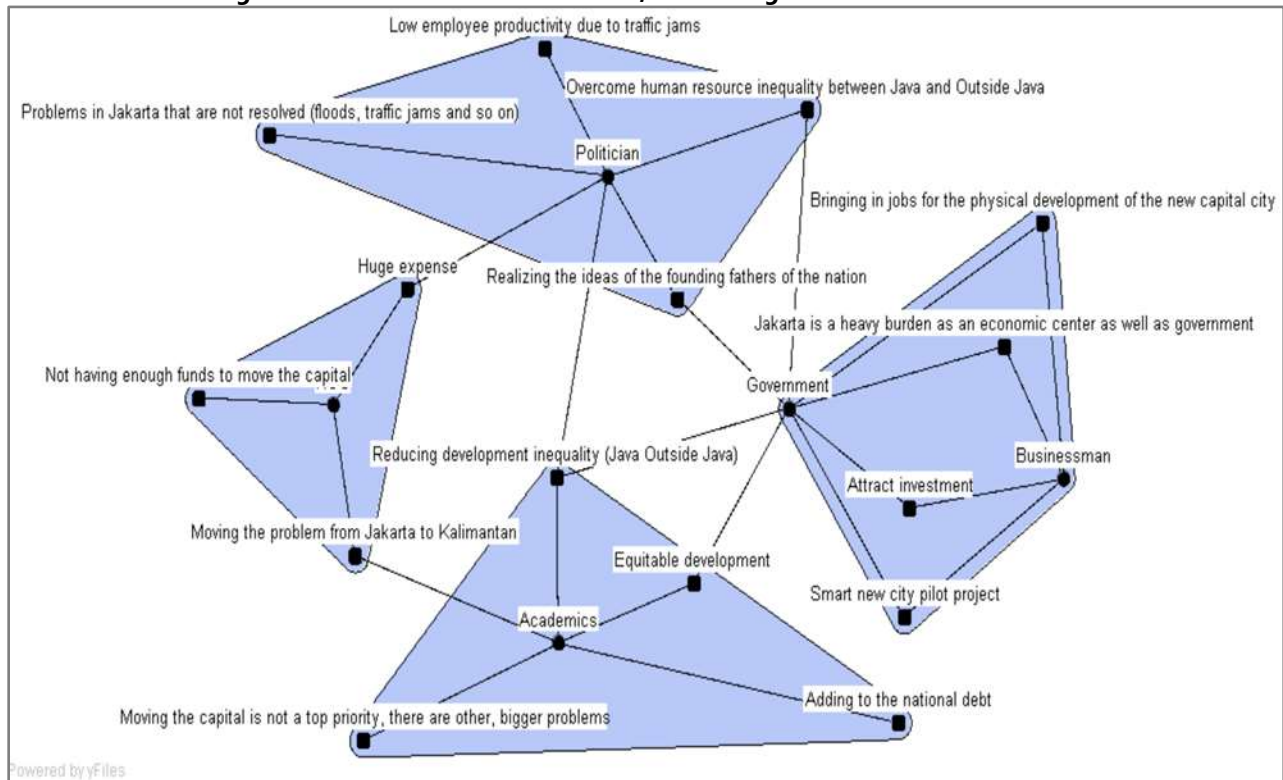


Figure 5 – IKN Issue Discourse Cluster, Period August 2019 - December 2020



Four clusters have been identified from the diverse discourses on IKN relocation. The first group is the political cluster, consisting of government actors and politicians. This cluster's discourse subjects mostly express their support of IKN relocation due to political

concerns, such as achieving the country's ambitions, increasing the country's employee productivity, and so forth. The second group is the economic cluster, which consists of businessmen and the government itself. Their arguments to justify the relocation are to prioritize economic discourses, emphasizing the possibilities of job creation, attracting investment, smart city pilot projects, and so forth. The third cluster consists of discourses about equitable development. Supporting arguments for IKN relocation from cluster emphasize equal development, lowering disparity between Java and outside Java, and other related topics. The fourth and final cluster is the IKN funding cluster. This group of discourses argued that the IKN relocation project requires numerous financial requirements, yet Indonesia lacks the cash necessary for its project development. These four elaborated clusters show that the supporting discourses predominate over the discourses against the IKN relocation project, as three out of four discourse clusters support the project.

The chart presents further details about the key actors and discourses surrounding the transition of IKN from August 2019 to December 2020. The government is the most noticeable actor, as can be seen from this table. Many government representatives voiced their thoughts and justifications for why the IKN relocation project is crucial. Adding to that, equitable development is the topic of discussion that is most frequently brought up.

Table 1 – Actor Centrality and Discourse Analysis, Period August 2019 to December 2020

Name	Variables	Outdegree (%)	Betweenness (%)	Degrees (%)	Indegree (%)	Closeness (%)
Bringing in jobs for the physical development of the new capital city	concept	3.85	1.03	3.85	3.85	4.70
Smart new city pilot project	concept	3.85	1.03	3.85	3.85	4.70
Realizing the ideas of the founding fathers of the nation	concept	3.85	3.13	3.85	3.85	5.70
Overcome human resource Inequality between Java and Outside Java	concept	3.85	3.13	3.85	3.85	5.70
Businessman	organization	7.69	0.83	7.69	7.69	3.88
Politician	organization	11.54	17.36	11.54	11.54	6.23
Low employee productivity due to traffic jams	concept	1.92	0.00	1.92	1.92	4.39
Problems in Jakarta that are not resolved (floods, traffic jams and so on)	concept	1.92	0.00	1.92	1.92	4.39
Academics	organization	9.62	15.28	9.62	9.62	5.95
NGOs	organization	5.77	6.25	5.77	5.77	4.39
Huge expense	concept	3.85	5.56	3.85	3.85	4.87
Not having enough funds to move the capital	concept	1.92	0.00	1.92	1.92	3.39
Adding to the national debt	concept	1.92	0.00	1.92	1.92	4.25
Moving the problem from Jakarta to Kalimantan	concept	3.85	4.27	3.85	3.85	4.70
Moving the capital is not a top priority, there are other, bigger problems	concept	1.92	0.00	1.92	1.92	4.25
Government	organization	15.38	23.37	15.38	15.38	6.53
Equitable development	concept	3.85	4.66	3.85	3.85	5.70
Reducing development inequality (Java-Outside Java)	concept	5.77	12.04	5.77	5.77	6.87
Jakarta is a heavy burden as an economic center as well as government	concept	3.85	1.03	3.85	3.85	4.70
Attract investment	concept	3.85	1.03	3.85	3.85	4.70

One of the main arguments against the transfer of IKN in this initial phase is that it costs a significant amount of money to develop IKN. The plan to move the new national capital would cost up to 35 billion dollars, or over IDR 501 trillion, according to President Joko Widodo' statement when in Dubai for the Indonesia-United Arab Emirates Investment Forum (Kompas, 4/11/2021). The IKN finance plan, however, will not solely rely on the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN), according to Deputy Director of the Presidential Chief of Staff (KSP) Juri Ardiantoro. It will also depend on investment (NYTimes.com, 15/05/2023; VOA, 23/08/2022).

The majority comes from private contributions or investments as well as public-private partnership (PPP) collaboration (Kompas, 28/6/2021). Other than that, the discussion of significant money is strongly tied to the issue of whether or not the government can afford it, as well as whether or not moving the capital is currently a high priority. The government's proposal to relocate the nation's

capital to Kalimantan Island has been criticized by DPR Deputy Speaker Fadli Zon. Fadli emphasizes that the strategy must take into account all factors, particularly Indonesia's current economic situation. "We also need to consider our financial situation. Identifying our priorities. In light of the current economic climate, should we move the capital city? The debt is increasing; there is a trade war, purchasing power is decreasing, and so on. Fadli Zon stated the same thing at Senayan, Jakarta's Parliament Complex (Kompas, 16/8/2019).

The vice-presidential candidate for the 2019 presidential election, Sandiaga Uno, made similar remarks. Moving the capital to Kalimantan Island, in his opinion, was not crucial. Sandiaga stated this in reaction to President Joko Widodo's speech at the MPR, DPR, and DPD Joint Session at the Parliament Complex in Senayan (Kompas, 16/8/2019). According to the former deputy governor of DKI Jakarta, moving the capital city must be done properly and after giving it due attention. When relocating the capital city, a few variables need to be investigated, including budget availability, employment opportunities in the new capital city, and land availability. He predicted a possible increase in land and property values on the island of Kalimantan in addition to relocating the capital city. Because of this, the locals cannot afford the high cost of living (Kompas, 16/08/2019).

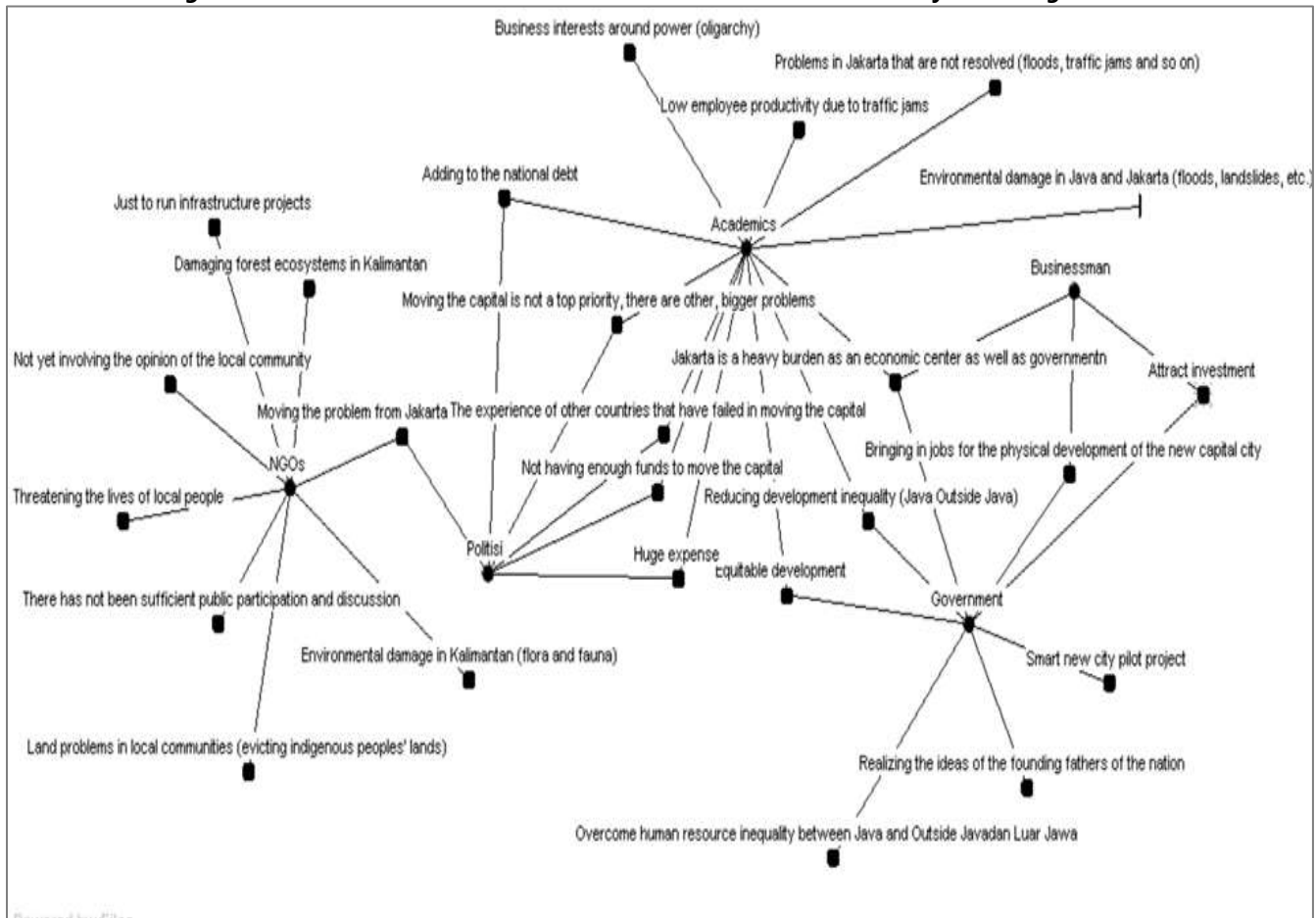
Indonesia, meanwhile, owes a sizable amount of foreign debt. At the conclusion of the fourth quarter of 2020, Indonesia's foreign debt was at US\$417.5 billion, made up of US\$209.2 billion in debt owed by the public sector (the government and central bank) and US\$208.3 billion in debt owed by the private sector (including State-Owned Enterprises or BUMN). Due to these developments, Indonesia's external debt increased by 3.5% (yoy) at the end of the fourth quarter of 2020, above the growth of 1.6% (yoy) in the third quarter (Bank Indonesia Communications Department, 15/02/2021). Hence, it is not shocking that the conversation that has emerged has questioned the government's budget and ability to implement it.

3.2 Second Period Discourse Network Analysis: January 2021-August 2022

In the second period, January 2021 to August 2022, there was more discussion over IKN relocation. This time frame marks the decline in the COVID-19 pandemic (marked by the start of vaccinations, the decreasing number of COVID-19 confirmed cases, etc.). Due to the pandemic, a large portion of funds intended for IKN development have instead been used to treat COVID-19 (among them are the cost of procuring vaccines and caring for patients at the hospital). The pandemic has triggered the change of concepts discussed in IKN relocation discourses.

A map of the discourse around IKN relocation from January 2021 to August 2022, shown in the image below, demonstrates how far the debate over IKN relocation has expanded. Many discourses that were absent in Period I became prominent in Period II, including discourses about land management, the environment, local community rights, and more. The government as actors dominated the discourses in Period I, whereas in Period II, the actors started to diversify.

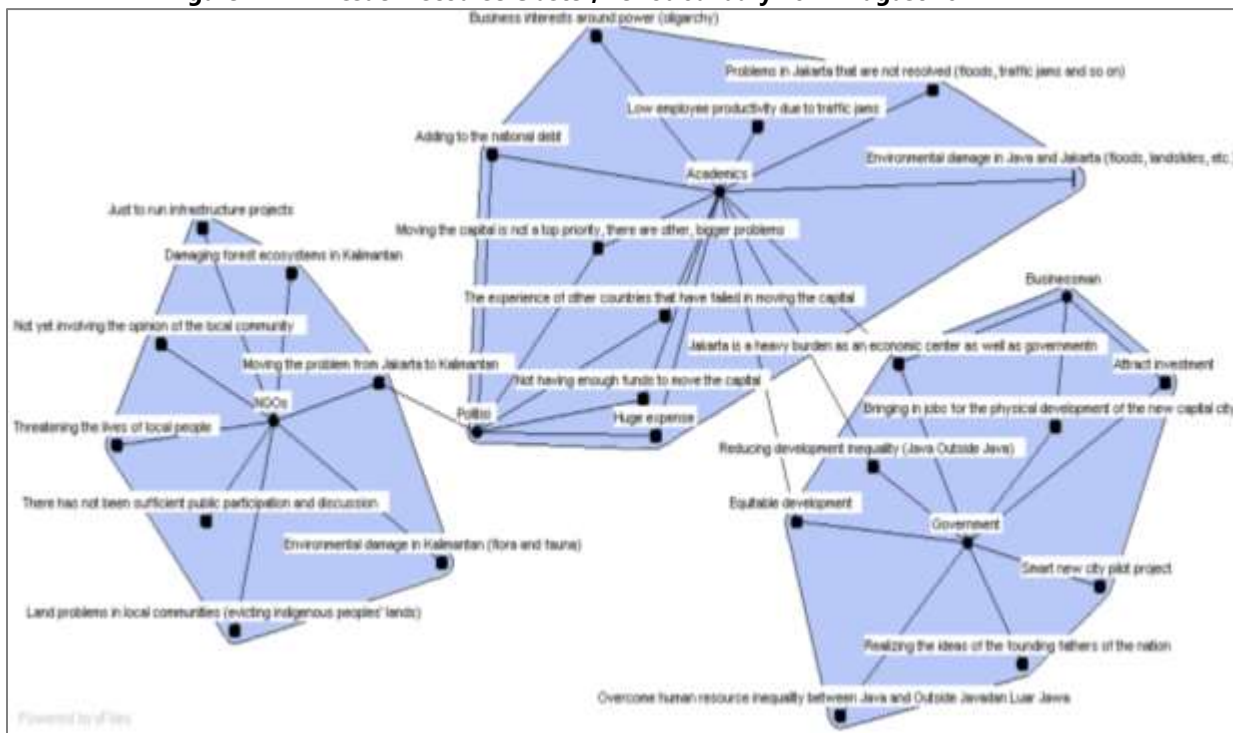
Figure 6–Actor Networks and Discourses on IKN Issues, Period January 2021-August 2022



The discourse coalitions in Period II are depicted in the figure. Comparing period I to period II, the discourse has changed. One of the interesting changes of trends in the second period is the rise of discourse coalitions, where pros and cons coalitions become apparent. Here, the two opposing ideas become more contrasting. The supporting actors offer arguments based largely on economic and equitable development issues, while the opposed group of the discourse raised two main concerns: socio-environmental issues and IKN’s funding. Discourse on socio-environmental issues has been largely presented by NGOs, with the funding issue being the main concern for political actors and scholars.

The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia* or LIPI), now transformed into the National Research and Innovation Agency (*Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional* or BRIN), disclose that funding difficulties and social and environmental issues are the two main points raised by people opposed to the proposal. Discourse on the social environment has been put forward by many NGO actors. Meanwhile, many politicians and academics have raised the issue of funding for the development of IKN.

Figure 7 – IKN Issue Discourse Cluster, Period January 2021-August 2022



The classifications of discussion ideas (pros and cons) are shown in Table 2. Discourses that are against (opposed to) IKN relocation are more prevalent than supporting ones. Compared to period I, there was a shift in the conversation. During the first period, the most prevalent idea in discourses about IKN relocation was the supporting one, while the opposite happened during the second period. Some of the most presented discourse ideas during the second period are the IKN development fund, the concern over rising debt, and the discourse on the distribution of powers.

Table 2 - Actor and Discourse Centrality Analysis, January 2021-August 2022

Name	Variables	Degrees (%)	Closeness (%)	Outdegree (%)	Betweenness (%)	Indegree (%)
Not yet involving the opinion of the local community	concept	1.35	2.53	1.35	0.00	1.35
There has not been sufficient public participation and discussion	concept	1.35	2.53	1.35	0.00	1.35
Just to run infrastructure projects	concept	1.35	2.53	1.35	0.00	1.35
Academics	organization	16.22	4.69	16.22	9.59	16.22
Moving the capital is not a top priority; there are other, bigger problems	concept	2.70	4.24	2.70	2.46	2.70
Politician	organization	8.11	4.14	8.11	15.19	8.11
Huge expense	concept	2.70	4.24	2.70	2.46	2.70
Not having enough funds to move the capital	concept	2.70	4.24	2.70	2.46	2.70
Adding to the national debt	concept	2.70	4.24	2.70	2.46	2.70
The experience of other countries that have failed in moving the capital	concept	2.70	4.24	2.70	2.46	2.70
Moving the problem from Jakarta to Kalimantan	concept	2.70	3.63	2.70	13.79	2.70

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Name	Variables	Degrees (%)	Closeness (%)	Outdegree (%)	Betweenness (%)	Indegree (%)
Business interests around power (oligarchy)	concept	1.35	3.42	1.35	0.00	1.35
Government	organization	10.81	3.42	10.81	9.81	10.81
Equitable development	concept	2.70	3.87	2.70	3.01	2.70
Reducing development inequality (Java Outside Java)	concept	2.70	3.87	2.70	3.01	2.70
Jakarta is a heavy burden as an economic center as well as government	concept	4.05	3.96	4.05	5.67	4.05
Realizing the ideas of the founding fathers of the nation	concept	1.35	2.69	1.35	0.00	1.35
Overcome human resource inequality between Java and Outside Java	concept	1.35	2.69	1.35	0.00	1.35
Smart new city pilot project	concept	1.35	2.69	1.35	0.00	1.35
Bringing in jobs for the physical development of the new capital city	concept	2.70	2.73	2.70	0.15	2.70
Attract investment	concept	2.70	2.73	2.70	0.15	2.70
Businessman	organization	4.05	3.12	4.05	0.94	4.05
Problems in Jakarta that are not resolved (floods, traffic jams and so on)	concept	1.35	3.42	1.35	0.00	1.35
Environmental damage in Java and Jakarta (floods, landslides, etc.)	concept	1.35	3.42	1.35	0.00	1.35
Low employee productivity due to traffic jams	concept	1.35	3.42	1.35	0.00	1.35
NGOs	organization	10.81	3.17	10.81	14.37	10.81
Damaging forest ecosystems in Kalimantan	concept	1.35	2.53	1.35	0.00	1.35
Threatening the lives of local people	concept	1.35	2.53	1.35	0.00	1.35
Land problems in local communities (evicting indigenous peoples' lands)	concept	1.35	2.53	1.35	0.00	1.35
Environmental damage in Kalimantan (flora and fauna)	concept	1.35	2.53	1.35	0.00	1.35

The issue of a funding plan or funds for moving the IKN is one of the discourses that are still present in period II, particularly from actors that oppose the move of the capital. Later, this plan faced harsh criticism, including that of academician and distinguished economist Faisal Basri. He emphasized the ambiguous project funding plan because, initially, the administration claimed it would only require a small amount of state budget money. However, the government later announced that the financing scheme for the construction of IKN until 2024 would be more borne by the state budget. In fact, the budget for moving the IKN in 2022 will use National Economic Recovery Program (PEN) funds. This means, according to him, everything is not done properly, let alone moving the capital without adequate public participation. Furthermore, he said that the new capital city could not recover from the impact of COVID-19. Besides, the government also introduced the concept of authority for IKN, a concept that was not recognized in the 1945 Constitution (Kompas.com, 23/01/2022).

In addition, one of the major challenges with building a new capital city in Indonesia is land constraints. There are many obstacles to the government's proposal to shift the capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan, including concerns with land acquisition and compensating locals. There are worries that the government's land acquisition procedure could be corruptible and could underpay locals for their land, which could cause social and political instability. Also, because a new capital city requires a substantial amount of land, local communities have been displaced, and valuable ecosystems have been destroyed. Environmental organizations have also expressed concerns about how the new capital will affect the already vulnerable ecosystems of the area, including the loss of carbon sinks and the degradation of wildlife habitats (Pojani, 2022). The Indonesian government has promised to use sustainable development methods to address this problem, but there are still issues with land acquisition and environmental preservation (Normille, 2022).

In reality, some tribes in the East Kalimantan region had previously resided and guarded the territory for decades before the idea of moving the IKN first surfaced and was then carried out by the government to carry it out. The *Bukat* Tribe, *Ohong* Tribe, *Penihing* Tribe, *Punan* Tribe, and *Busang* Tribe are a few of the tribes of West *Kutai*. The *Modang* Tribe resides in East *Kutai*, and the *Ahe* Tribe resides in *Berau* (Sujana, 2019). The *Balik* Tribe, an indigenous group from the North *Penajam Paser* region, whose land will be used for mining operations, is not included in this number (Fathurahman, 2022).

NGOs or civil society organizations are outspoken in their criticism of the government's plan to relocate Jakarta's capital city to East Kalimantan on matters of land, forced evictions, and environmental degradation. The East Kalimantan Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM), the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) and 17 LBH offices, the Srikandi Lestari Foundation, the Sajogyo Institute, and #BersihanIndonesia constitute the coalition of civil society organizations. There appears to be an effort to relocate IKN closer to the corporate centers of various firms whose concession territories are included in the IKN area, which is why the Coalition claims that the relocation of the capital city is nothing more than an oligarchic initiative.

According to JATAM East Kalimantan records, there are 94 mining pits in the IKN area where the responsibility for carrying out reclamation and post-mining should have been carried out by corporations, but instead, it was taken over by the government. The Coalition believes that there is an effort to "wash away the sins" of these corporations.

The Alliance of Indigenous Peoples of the Archipelago (*Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* or AMAN) has suspicions that concessions owned by businesses whose land would eventually be used by the IKN project might be exchanged. So according to the investigations by the National JATAM, East Kalimantan JATAM, National Walhi, East Kalimantan Walhi, Trend Asia, Working Group 30, Coastal and Fishermen Working Group, and Forest Watch Indonesia, there are 162 mining concessions, oil palm plantations, forestry, and coal-fired power plants in the IKN area. According to Muhammad Arman, CEO of AMAN's Advocacy for Policy, Law, and Human Rights, it is impossible for (corporations that have already invested there) to give their concession land to IKN for free. Also, according to Kompas, the IKN project is displacing at least 20,000 indigenous people from two groups in *Kutai Kartenagara* and 19 traditional groups in North *Penajam Paser* (Kompas, 23/01/2022).

According to President Jokowi, the government owns around 180,000 hectares of land for the IKN. However, as has been raised by civil society circles, the issue is that the majority of IKN land has been subject to corporate licenses in the mining, forestry, and agricultural industries. The IKN area is not an empty space that hopes to be a solution to the increasingly "damaged" condition of DKI Jakarta. Instead, it is surrounded by concessions whose main activity is the extraction of natural resources. At least there are 162 concessions for mining, forestry, oil palm plantations, and coal-fired power plants on a total IKN area of 180,000 ha, not including 7 (seven) property projects in Balikpapan city. 148 of these concessions are coal mining, both with Mining Business License (IUP) status and 1 (one) of them with Coal Mining Concession Work Agreement (PKP2B) status (Susmiyati et al in Warsilah et al, 2023).

Elites and conglomerates from Jakarta hold almost all of the new capital. They are anticipated to gain from the relocation plan for the capital city, which has been formally approved by legislation by the DPR RI. Here, the conversation turns to power-related commercial interests (oligarchy). In Indonesia, the term "oligarchy" refers to a group of powerful and affluent businessmen who dominate the nation's politics and economy. Generally speaking, the term "oligarchy" refers to people who accumulated their money and power by illegal methods including cronyism and corruption. In the Indonesian context, these people are frequently linked to the nation's political and economic structure, in which a select few powerful people rule the nation's politics and economy for their personal gain (Robison and Hadiz, 2004; Winters, 2011; Hadiz, 2010). Oligarchy is a strategy used by oligarch subjects to protect their wealth if oligarchs are considered to be subjects who possess significant material resources. Property protection and income defense are two aspects of wealth defense in this context. Securing fundamental claims to wealth and property rights is a part of property defense. In the meantime, income defense refers to maintaining as much of the income and profit from wealth in a secure physical condition (Winters, 2011).

They are well-known individuals, like retired army general Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, the incumbent coordinating minister for Marine Affairs and Investment for Indonesia. Luhut is well-known for being a successful businessman who founded PT Toba Sejahtera Group in 2004 to launch a company in the mining and energy industries. There are currently several companies operating in the oil and gas, plantation, and electricity industries under the PT Toba Sejahtera Group umbrella. The son of the former Speaker of the DPR, Setya Novanto, who has been charged and imprisoned in a corruption case involving the e-KTP (e-National ID) project, is Rheza Herwindo, a politician and businessman affiliated with the Golkar Party. Next is Yusril Ihza Mahendra, a professor, an attorney, and the leader of the government-supporting *Bulan Bintang* Party, as well as Lim Hariyanto Wijaya Sarwono, the nickel baron who is the owner of the Harita Group. The names of several of these people turned out to be those of influential figures in the government. In order to balance out the current power, this is what makes the transfer of the national capital smell like specific interests.

Hashim Djojohadikusumo, the younger brother of incumbent Defense Minister Prabowo Subianto (NYTimes.com, 15/05/2023), through PT Kartika Utama, and tycoon Sukanto Tanoto through PT ITCI Hutani, are the owners of some of these IKN land concessions that also overlap with forestry concessions with IUPHHK-HA status (business permits granted to utilize forest products in the form of timber in natural forests in production forests through harvesting). Via his business, PT Arsari Tirta Pradana, Hashim Djojohadikusumo, will also play a significant role in supplying drinking water (clean water) to IKN. IKN is situated in a region made up of sandstone, clay, and coal, which is a characteristic that makes it difficult to absorb groundwater or clean water, according to a report by the Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (BPPT), an Indonesian non-ministerial government institution coordinated by the Ministry of Research and Technology/National Research and Innovation Agency. The government then built three dams—at *Sepaku Semoi*, *Selamatyu*, and *Batu Lekek*—at the same time in that region to prepare for this. Due to a lack of funding, the last two events were ultimately cancelled. As a result, the government is dependent on the private sector. Hashim Djojohadikusumo's PT Arsari Tirta can meet this need by constructing a dam in the HGU concession area of PT Kartika Utama, a wood company that is actually Hashim's. The clean water capacity is much higher than the government-owned dams, at about 4,000 liters per second.

The port industry will be extremely advantageous to Hashim and Tanoto as well. According to the spatial plan created by the Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency or Bappenas, two private ports in Balikpapan Bay would play a significant role in the initial and development of the IKN. Later, ships would transport construction loads for the building and development of IKN back and forth through the two ports. These two ports work for Hashim's ITC, Kartika Utama. Due to long-exhausted logging efforts, this port has actually been idle for a while. While the other port is on behalf of ITCI Manunggal Forest, owned by Tanoto, which has been used as the main access for transporting timber from *Sepaku* to paper processing at the April Group in Riau, which is also owned by Tanoto.

The aspect of dangers and security in the IKN is another thing that many parties, both for and against the IKN, may not be conscious of. The capital city of the archipelago, which is located on the island of East Kalimantan, has been warned about potential military threats by the Indonesian National Army from the Air Force. Andi Widjajanto, the governor of Indonesia's National Defense Institute (Lemhanas RI), presented a history of the Japanese invasion of Balikpapan in April 1942. Those were his exact words:

"Let me remind you that Japan attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

The second-largest Japanese attack in April 1942 was on Balikpapan, which was also successful. (Detik.com, 02/11/2022)

According to historical documents, Balikpapan was once a key location for the growth of the Dutch East Indies' economy. There were petroleum refineries, tin factories, paraffin and lubricating oil factories, cracking factories, sulfuric acid factories, and crude oil processing plants at that time. It made sense that Japan proceeded promptly to Southeast Asia after the attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, USA, in order to control resources, particularly oil, which was aimed at Balikpapan. IKN is also close to ALKI II, the Indonesian Archipelago Sea Route. The ALKI II route is a strategic international shipping and trade route, claims the website politics.brin.go.id. The ALKI II route is regarded as cost-effective and secure to cross. The Makassar Strait-Lombok Strait, which is traversed by the ALKI II route, divides the western and eastern parts of Indonesia.

The discussion of the financial strategy or budget for moving the capital city came up in each of these periods, which indicates how important it is now to have this debate. The move of the new capital city known as Nusantara would theoretically be ideal for becoming what David Kaufmann refers to as Secondary Capital Cities (SCCs), but some opponents claim that this was always highly improbable. According to Kaufmann (2018), an SCC is a capital city that is not the nation-state's principal economic center, and that must balance the needs of the local populace with the nation-state's overall needs. IKN was initially chosen as the SCC in order to prevent the consolidation of economic and political power as well as to provide a balance between various areas or cities within a nation-state (not Jawasentris). However, it can be seen how the Jokowi administration is working hard to convince nations

like South Korea, Japan, China, Germany, and the UAE (United Arab Emirates) to invest in IKN. It seems that this picture is increasingly detached from reality. In fact, Indonesia even offers 300 investment packages in the Capital City of the Archipelago (IKN) worth USD2.6 billion or equivalent to IDR38.6 trillion to Singaporean investors. (Rate of exchange: IDR14,854/USD). (BPMI SETPRES and KBRI Singapura 08/June/2023). Not to mention the conglomerates from Jakarta that will contribute to this investment and those that are already heavily invested in a number of licenses that are currently held in economic operations like mining, oil palm plantations, ports, and other similar ones; therefore, it is conceivable that IKN will continue to be surrounded or inhabited by political elites, oligarchs, outside multinationals, and their allies while also displacing and marginalizing local communities or indigenous peoples. This is McLuhan's global village as envisioned by John Meisel (Meisel in Taylor et al., 1993), and it is characterized by the flow of capital, markets, technology, and values passing from various multinational corporations. Globalization has swept all economic and political activities beyond regional, national, and local boundaries. On the other hand, this means that the nation-state model, together with the nation's political and cultural identity, is eroding, to say nothing of becoming irrelevant.

In addition, from a feminist standpoint, the IKN that is currently being constructed, to paraphrase Dorina Pojani, will make certain errors or already has. She explores seven capitals around the world in *Trophy Cities: A Feminist Perspective on New Capitals*, including Canberra in Australia, Brasilia in Brazil, Abuja in Nigeria, New Delhi in India, Nur-Sultan in Kazakhstan, Naypyidaw in Myanmar, and Sejong in South Korea. On the other hand, this means that the nation-state model, together with the nation's political and cultural identity, is eroding, to say nothing of becoming irrelevant. She asserts that the towns founded as new capitals and those constructed after 1900, for the most part, have a very bad type of design. She claims that these cities are desolate, overpopulated, poorly maintained, wasteful, and exceedingly expensive. They are, in essence, the result of an extremely expensive planning mistake (Pojani, 2021).

The IKN of Indonesia, then, what? IKN has at least two flaws that might be criticized, including (a) a very decontextualized and masculine-looking design. The majority of the new capital's architects are male. They are maestros who typically present their plans as a patriarchal model of European urbanization that has evolved since the Renaissance. The present IKN appears to be subject to Pojani's criticism. Strong symbols of patriarchy include sturdy structures, skyscrapers, the majestic Garuda Bird, parks, statues, and fountains. Moreover, (b) dominating nature. With IKN, this is what happened. Nature has been viewed as a woman, a subhuman being who can be subjugated, dominated, and even raped. Nature's colonization is celebrated as a victory for culture and civilization. In reality, a new capital city should be planned with inspiration from nature. The planners should consider the wellbeing of those who will relocate to the IKN area, but they should also keep the diversity of flora and fauna in mind. However, it appears that the planners, whether on purpose or by accident, have disregarded this and are erecting IKN in all its magnificence in the center of a "virgin rainforest" that is home to endangered species in the region where IKN is now being developed.

4. Conclusion

This research descriptively defines ideas, actors, and networks between the pros and cons of Indonesia's state capital relocation during two periods: the first period (August 2019 to December 2020) and the second period (January 2021 to August 2022). The results of this study indicate that discourse coalitions occur in the IKN issues. This study strengthens Leifeld and Haunss's (2011) findings about how actors try to present discourse to dominate public conversation. This research shows the efforts of government actors, businessmen, most members of parliament, and some academics to form a discourse coalition in order to promote the relocation of the capital city of IKN. Although initially gaining a lot of support outside of the voices of the government, the issue of capital relocation then appears to be facing increasingly strong challenges from actors, individuals, groups, and organizations as time went by. This happened due to the diversity of actors, as well as the deeper understanding that underlies the opposing concepts, even rejections. Looking at how the actors, discourses, and networks keep expanding increasingly, the efforts made by the government to deal with this were not sufficient. The discourse presented by the government is often in sharp contrast to the discourse promoted by its opponents. The expansion of arguments is also the result of the government's lack of utilizing communication channels and social media to form a relatively single discourse. This shows that the voice of the government itself, through its apparatus, is not very good at communicating its discourse on IKN.

A discourse network analysis (DNA) analysis makes a theoretical or practical contribution. Theoretically, DNA bridges research on discourse analysis (focus on the content) and network analysis (focus on the actors). DNA combines both methods by mapping discourses, actors who propose discourses, and the networks between these discourses. Practically, DNA research is useful for policy makers to map discourses that develop in society.

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