

Mitigating Conflicts in the New National Capital City (IKN)

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ABSTRACT

The relocation of Indonesia's capital city has the potential to trigger conflicts across various domains due to population movement and the interactions that will emerge. This study examines the potential conflicts that may arise from such relocation, drawing on historical cases by analyzing the root causes, conflict resolution processes, and conflict transformations. The objective is to address the question of how the government can develop effective strategies to prevent conflicts during the construction and migration to the new capital. This research employs a literature review method. Findings indicate that past conflicts provide insights into potential triggers in the new capital (IKN), which may stem from cultural, economic, political, and religious factors. Accordingly, the following mitigation measures are proposed: (1) Cultural factor, ensuring equitable treatment across economic, political, cultural, and religious dimensions, with freedom and equality for all; (2) Economic factor, promoting equitable prosperity and minimizing socio-economic disparities between indigenous and migrant communities; (3) Political factor, ensuring equal access and opportunities to acquire and utilize resources, including strategic positions in society; and (4) Religious factor, reinforcing the values of unity and their implementation in daily social life. These mitigation measures aim to prevent conflict and maintain social stability in the new capital.

Keywords: *IKN, Conflict Mitigation, Conflict Transformation*

INTRODUCTION

Jakarta continues to dominate Indonesia's economic cycle (Toun, 2018), indicating that the country's economic hub remains concentrated in the capital. This is reinforced by the view that business activities centered on the island of Java, particularly in Jakarta, have hindered the emergence of new economic centers outside Java (Kodir et al., 2021). Consequently, the government introduced the policy of relocating the national capital (IKN) to establish a new center of economic growth beyond Java.

On Monday, August 26, 2019, President Joko Widodo officially announced through a press conference that the new capital city would be located in East Kalimantan Province, specifically in the Penajam Paser Utara (PPU) region and part of Kutai Kartanegara Regency (Nugroho, 2020). However, when one thinks of Kalimantan, it is difficult to overlook the history of violent ethnic conflicts that have occurred there, largely fueled by interactions among diverse ethnic groups. Similar patterns of ethnic conflict have also been observed in Maluku Province (Ambon). Therefore, the large-scale migration of populations from Java or other regions to the new capital will likely lead to

increased interethnic interactions, which could potentially escalate into conflict. This study draws on several historical cases of ethnic conflict as the basis for its argument.

First, the Sambas conflict challenged the perception that the ethnic Malay community would never engage in violent conflict with other ethnic groups, particularly the Madurese (Alqadrie, 1999). Historically, ethnic conflicts in West Kalimantan occurred 11 times between 1962 and 1999 (Sambas, 1999), with only one incident—in 1999, involving the Malays in violent clashes with the Madurese. The other ten conflicts consisted of one between the Dayak and Chinese communities, and nine between the Dayak and Madurese (Alqadrie, 1999). The peak of violence in Sambas occurred in 1999 between the Malay and Madurese communities.

Second, the Ambon conflict, which took place in Maluku Province, had ethnic dimensions as it involved Christian Ambonese and Muslim Ambonese communities (including members of the BBM ethnic groups: Bugis, Buton, and Makassar, who are predominantly Muslim) (Alqadrie, 1999). Historically, the conflict’s roots can be traced to the Dutch colonial monopoly over spices, which later shifted to the Indonesian government in the 1970s under the New Order regime. The government’s monopoly, justified as an effort to meet the demand for cloves in the cigarette industry in Java, exacerbated socio-economic tensions (Alqadrie, 1999).

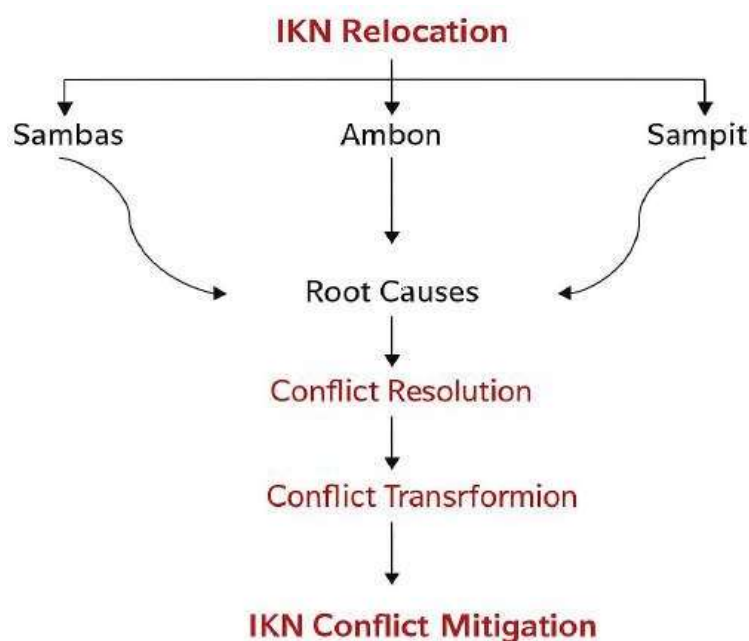
Third, the Sampit conflict was essentially an extension of the Sambas conflict. In Sambas, the conflict was never fully resolved, as its root causes were not adequately addressed, leaving deep-seated resentment between the Madurese and the indigenous population of Kalimantan (Ruslikan, 2001). As noted earlier, ten of the conflicts in West Kalimantan involved Dayaks and Madurese, fostering long-standing animosity among the Dayak community. The escalation was further compounded by the temporal proximity of the two major events, Sambas in 1999 and Sampit in 2001.

Based on the above discussion, it is evident that the migration of populations and the interactions between newcomers and local residents in a new environment can generate tensions that are prone to escalating into conflict. Consequently, the relocation of the national capital is highly likely to produce multidimensional conflicts, spanning cultural, economic, political, and religious dimensions. This study therefore examines past conflicts, specifically those in Sambas, Ambon, and Sampit in detail, analyzing their root causes, conflict resolution processes, and conflict transformations as the basis for understanding the potential implications of the IKN relocation. The central question guiding this research is: How can the government prepare effective strategies to prevent conflict during the construction and migration to the new capital city?

The theoretical framework employed in this study is Lewis A. Coser’s *functional theory of conflict*. This theory views conflict in terms of its functions, emphasizing its role in facilitating social adjustment (or transformation), rather than solely focusing on its dysfunctional aspects as seen in structural functionalism (Rofiah, 2016). Coser defines conflict as a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power, and resources, in which the aim is to neutralize, injure, or eliminate one’s rivals (Irving, 1998). Importantly, Coser argued that no single theory of social conflict can explain all conflict phenomena.

Instead of formulating a general theory, he produced analytical works aimed at explaining the concept of social conflict, stressing that conflict can have positive functions within a group or society, particularly when conflict issues are acknowledged and addressed openly rather than suppressed (Coser, 1956).

Building on this theoretical perspective, the present study underscores the importance of examining past ethnic conflicts such as those in Sambas, Ambon, and Sampit from a functionalist standpoint. The aim is to identify and learn from the root causes, resolution strategies, and transformation processes of these conflicts. By doing so, valuable lessons can be drawn to prevent similar conflicts in the new national capital, which shares a comparable social context with these historical cases. To provide clarity, the conceptual framework of this study is illustrated as follows:



METHODS

This study employs a descriptive-qualitative design using a literature review method. According to Sarwono, literature-based research can explore a broader range of books, verify data and previous research findings, and thus provide a strong theoretical foundation for the problem under investigation (Sarwono, 2006). Based on this approach, the study involved collecting secondary data such as information and findings from prior research and studies related to the conflicts in Sambas, Ambon, and Sampit, as well as literature reviews relevant to the topic. Additional information and reports were also sourced from mass media covering the relocation of Indonesia’s capital city.

The collected data were analyzed based on the conceptual framework presented earlier, in order to provide a concrete depiction of the phenomenon under study. The

focus of this research is to identify solutions to potential problems that may arise. As explained by Yohanes et al. (2024), literature-based research is a series of investigative activities aimed at solving problems, where the task of the researcher is to seek explanations and answers to the issues while offering alternative solutions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The planned relocation of Indonesia's capital from Jakarta to Kalimantan reflects the government's commitment to equitable development. As is well known, the center of growth and development has long been concentrated on the island of Java. Therefore, relocating the capital outside Java is expected to create a new hub for growth and development. However, such a move will inevitably bring various aspects of social, cultural, economic, and political life to the new location, which may trigger potential conflicts. For this reason, lessons from past conflicts are crucial in anticipating the potential tensions arising from the capital relocation.

Root Causes of Conflict

Sambas

The underlying causes of the Sambas conflict share similarities with other ethnic conflicts, particularly regarding ethnicity. Ethnic identity is shaped by a shared sense of belonging and solidarity within an ethnic group, fostering *ethnic consciousness* and *ethnically based solidarity* (Usman Pelly in Alqadrie, 1999). This ethnic sentiment emerged as a result of the marginalized and disadvantaged condition of the local ethnic group following the arrival of other ethnic groups (migrants). This marginalization did not only occur through excessive domination and exploitation of natural resources reducing locals to passive bystanders but also through displacement, extortion, and the unlawful takeover of property and means of production (intimidation) (Alqadrie, 1999). In understanding riots or ethnic conflicts anywhere, researchers must examine not only the structural aspects and root causes but also the historical context (Usman Pelly in Alqadrie, 1999). In the case of Sambas, the historical dimension is particularly significant. One key factor is demography. According to data from the Sambas Regency Government, the ethnic composition of West Kalimantan in 1997 was as follows: Malays constituted around 47% (including Dayaks and others who had converted to Islam and identified as Malay), Dayaks 31%, and Madurese 3% (Kalimantan Barat, 1998).

Although Madurese made up only 3% of the total population of West Kalimantan (around 120,000 people), approximately 80,000 of them were concentrated in Sambas in 1996, and by 1998 the number had reached 90,000 (Alqadrie, 1999). This demographic concentration of the Madurese in Sambas became a key factor in the conflict. The growing Madurese presence in Malay settlements in Sambas led to other triggers, such as competition over job opportunities and fields of work, both of which were closely tied to land ownership and control over means of production. These factors collectively contributed to disputes that escalated into ethnic conflict (Alqadrie, 1999).

Ambon

In 1970, during the New Order regime, the Indonesian government imposed a monopoly on local spices, particularly cloves, under the pretext of meeting the demand from the cigarette industry in Java. This policy led to economic hardship for many Maluku farmers, most of whom were Christian. The situation was further compounded when both the New Order central government and the Maluku provincial government prioritized programs for the Muslim community in Maluku. This was largely because the Muslim community was predominantly engaged in small- to medium-scale businesses and often collaborated with the BBM ethnic groups (Bugis, Buton, Makassar) and Ambonese of Arab descent (Alqadrie, 1999). While the Ambon conflict is often perceived as religiously motivated, the underlying reality, as outlined above, reveals that it was rooted in a *conflict of interest* between competing groups. The New Order regime, whether intentionally or not, perpetuated and managed competition between these interest groups. To prevent the real issues from surfacing, the conflict was framed and presented as a religious dispute, creating the impression that religion was the primary cause, when in fact it served as a cover for deeper socio-political inequalities (Alqadrie, 1999).

Sampit

The causes of the Sampit conflict are complex, involving multiple dimensions, cultural, economic, and political which accumulated over time, leading to frustration and its eventual outburst against the Madurese ethnic group. From a cultural perspective, the conflict was fueled by the failure of acculturation. One contributing factor was that the Madurese tended to live in clusters with fellow Madurese, often residing in villages separate from other ethnic groups, including the Dayak (Alexandra, 2018). This indicates that while the Madurese are known for their strong sense of kinship, it is primarily confined within their own ethnic community, which had adverse effects on their relations with the Dayak.

Economically, the Dayak were increasingly marginalized in local economic activities, as predominantly Madurese-inhabited villages engaged intensively in economic endeavors and the exploitation of available resources. Moreover, cases of land and property belonging to Dayak residents being seized by migrants exacerbated the situation (Alexandra, 2018). This economic displacement left the Dayak disadvantaged and alienated in their own homeland, fostering negative perceptions toward the Madurese.

Politically, the situation deteriorated when law enforcement institutions failed to act impartially during disputes between the Dayak and Madurese, compounded by weak political structures, which deepened the sense of disillusionment among the Dayak community (Alexandra, 2018).

Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution can be simply defined as the process of addressing and resolving a dispute. This process generally follows specific stages; in this study, the conflict

resolution framework of Heru Cahyono et al. (Pusat Penelitian Politik – LIPI, 2006) is adopted. The stages are as follows:

1. De-escalation Stage

This initial stage takes place when conflict erupts and causes casualties, prompting a resolution approach that is often oriented toward military intervention. However, genuine resolution efforts begin only when the level of escalation between disputing parties starts to decline (Suryani, 2016). Escalation here refers to the intensification of the conflict, which, according to Kriesberg & Lopez (2016), progresses through several pathways:

- a) Internal changes within communities or individuals that can contribute to escalating tensions.
- b) Socio-psychological factors that influence cognitive perceptions about the opposing group. Organizational structure changes within conflicting parties, which can shape their expectations and strategic direction.
- c) Shifts in relationships with adversaries, influenced by conflict logic, prejudice, and various patterns of intergroup interaction.
- d) Involvement of external actors in the ongoing conflict.

2. Humanitarian Intervention and Political Negotiation Stage

This stage occurs when escalation is already underway. Humanitarian assistance such as the provision of essential goods is provided to each party involved in the conflict. Meeting these central needs can create openings for negotiations between group leaders, facilitating the path toward resolution.

3. Problem-Solving Approach Stage

At this point, the resolution process focuses on establishing socially conducive conditions for the conflicting parties. This stage can only be achieved when the fundamental triggers of the conflict are identified and addressed.

4. Peace-Building Stage

This stage marks the beginning of positive change, characterized by reconciliation and consolidation. However, the consolidation process is often difficult, as rebuilding a society that has experienced conflict requires considerable time. Sustainable mechanisms must also be put in place to prevent the recurrence of similar conflicts.

The conflict resolution process in Sambas can be considered slow, as the Madurese ethnic group is still prohibited from entering the region (Aulia, Mitamimah, & Pratiwi, 2023). In fact, the primary reason for their return would be to visit the graves of relatives; however, this has been hindered by the restriction. This indicates that conflict resolution efforts have not progressed effectively, largely due to minimal

government involvement and the fact that many victims still have assets such as ancestral graves in their original hometowns but not in their relocation areas (Suryani, 2016).

Deep-seated tendencies for revenge have further hindered resolution efforts. Nonetheless, pre-existing social relations such as neighborhood coexistence and interethnic marriages have created some potential for reconciliation. Several limited-scale resolution measures have been implemented successfully (Erlin Dharmayanti et al., 2020). These include relocation programs, the issuance of land certificates for abandoned assets, and weapons confiscation operations to prevent renewed open conflict. All of these measures have been undertaken with the sole aim of achieving conflict resolution and reaching the peace-building stage.

The outbreak of the Ambon conflict was initially addressed by the imposition of Martial Law in 1999, followed by Civil Emergency status in June 2000, as a form of resolution to the ongoing unrest. However, during the implementation of both measures, neither succeeded in reducing the escalation of the conflict (Center for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2011). This failure can be attributed to the deeply rooted and multidimensional nature of the conflict, which caused the violence to spread beyond the mere destruction of places of worship. While military intervention may not be the most effective tool for conflict resolution, it remains an irreplaceable component in the early stages to suppress violence, as it can create a sense of security among the population (Ismail, 2021). A significant decline in the conflict's escalation in Ambon occurred following the Malino II Peace Agreement in 2002, a development that was acknowledged and accepted by the Ambonese community itself (Center for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2011). Prior to this agreement, the Governor of Maluku, along with the so-called "Team of Six," attempted to prevent the spread of violence and vandalism against religious buildings, but these measures were deemed ineffective in the broader resolution process (Ismail, 2021). The Malino II Peace Agreement was a continuation of the Malino I Peace Declaration, which, according to the people of Ambon, was merely a "peace declaration" rather than a binding "peace agreement." The Malino II Agreement reframed the public perspective in Maluku, fostering a shared understanding that vandalism, violence, and criminal acts were common enemies, unrelated to religious or ethnic tensions, and should therefore be prosecuted rigorously (Ismail, 2021). As a result, violent escalation in Ambon and Maluku decreased sharply following the agreement.

In contrast to Sambas, the government played a significantly more active role in the resolution of the Sampit conflict (Suryani, 2016). This proactive stance was partly due to lessons learned from Sambas, as the Sampit conflict was recognized as a residual effect of the earlier unrest. During the resolution process, several key government actors were involved. According to Mardiyanto (2006), the central government facilitated dialogue between the conflicting parties and provided humanitarian assistance to victims. The provincial governments of Central Kalimantan and East Java coordinated efforts to address the conflict, with additional support from the provincial governments of East Kalimantan and South Kalimantan during the reconciliation phase. Local governments, such as Kotawaringin Timur, Kotawaringin Barat, Barito Utara, Kapuas, and Palangka Raya were also directly engaged in peacebuilding efforts, particularly in high-conflict zones.

The seriousness of the government’s commitment to resolving the Sampit conflict is evident in the number of meetings and mediations conducted between disputing parties, culminating in the enactment of local regulations (*Peraturan Daerah*, *Perda*). At the provincial level, the Government of Central Kalimantan issued *Perda* No. 9/2001 on the Management of Populations Affected by Ethnic Conflict. At the municipal and regency levels, several local regulations were enacted in response to the unrest. Examples include: Barito Utara Regency’s *Perda* No. 7/2002 on the Management of Refugees Affected by Ethnic Conflict; Palangka Raya City’s *Perda* No. 15/2003 on Managing the Impact of Ethnic Conflict; and Kotawaringin Timur Regency’s *Perda* No. 5/2004 on the Management of Populations Affected by Ethnic Conflict (Tryatmoko, 2006).

Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation is a long-term effort aimed at resolving conflicts that have already occurred. According to Lederach & Maiese in Kriesberg & Lopez (2016), conflict transformation is defined as a prolonged process of addressing the root causes of a past conflict, serving as a turning point to shift its destructive impacts toward constructive outcomes. Kriesberg further explains that several key components are essential in conflict transformation:

1. **Envisioning and Responding:** Conflict transformation must encompass two key aspects, having a positive direction and bringing about constructive change.
2. **Ebb and Flow:** Conflict should be understood as a natural and recurring phenomenon in human relationships.
3. **Providing Life Components:** Conflict should not be viewed solely as a potential threat, but rather as an opportunity to enhance mutual understanding.
4. **Constructive Change Process:** Conflict transformation should focus on fostering constructive changes to address the consequences of conflict.
5. **Reducing Violence and Increasing Justice:** Efforts to reduce violence must take into account hidden patterns of conflict, since visible issues often represent only the surface. Furthermore, enhancing justice involves ensuring that communities have access to political needs that directly influence their lives.
6. **Direct Interaction and Social Structure:** Conflict transformation must be seen as an essential process for building significant change at multiple levels interpersonal, intergroup, and structural so that the objective of achieving conflict resolution becomes clear.
7. **Human Relationships:** The relationships formed between individuals are at the heart of conflict transformation.

The conflict transformation in Sambas has, in fact, already taken place and encompasses several of the components described above. Examples include peace-oriented attitudes displayed by Madurese residents from Sambas who had relocated to

Pontianak and later met Sambas Malays there, as well as events in 2006 when several women of mixed Madurese–Malay identity (resulting from intermarriage) attended the wedding ceremonies of their relatives in Pemangkat. By 2011, some Madurese individuals had even returned to Sambas, specifically in Kartiyasa District, and settled there (Suryani, 2016).

These developments indicate that the ethnic conflict in Sambas, which peaked in 1999 and involved severe violence, has seen a reduction in its escalation. Over time, this has evolved into a positive transformation, as reconciliation between Malays and Madurese has begun to take root. This represents the seeds of conflict transformation, currently being nurtured to achieve constructive and sustainable change in Sambas, particularly for the Malay and Madurese ethnic communities.

The conflict transformation in Ambon can be observed from the successful implementation of peacebuilding, which was structured through a comprehensive and integrative conflict resolution approach encompassing political, cultural, religious, and educational dimensions. This has positioned Ambon as a model city for interfaith harmony and tolerance; in fact, in 2019 Ambon received the *Harmony Award* from the Indonesian Minister of Religious Affairs as a "Tolerant City" (Ismail, 2021). The revitalization of *Pela Gandong* is also a notable outcome of this transformation, as Ambon residents acknowledged that recovery from existing issues occurred more rapidly when *Pela Gandong* was revitalized as a shared cultural symbol. This symbol serves to reunite the Muslim and Christian communities. Its form is a pledge of brotherhood made between a Muslim village and a Christian village, regardless of ethnicity, religion, or other backgrounds, viewing one another solely as brothers and sisters (Ismail, 2021).

The conflict transformation in Sampit demonstrates that community integration occurred more quickly and more positively compared to Sambas. Within a decade after the conflict, many Madurese at the grassroots level (village communities) returned to their hometowns in Sampit and perceived no lingering issues with the Dayak community. As a result, reconciliation efforts initiated by the government and mediators were considered unnecessary, as they believed they were merely victims of unrest rather than active parties in the conflict (Wiyata, 2006). In one study referenced in this paper, interviews with Madurese returnees revealed that there was no lingering resentment, with the events of 2001 being regarded simply as a misfortune. Similarly, an interview with an academic of Dayak descent from the University of Palangka Raya indicated that the Sampit conflict provided valuable lessons for the Madurese community, not only in Central Kalimantan but across the archipelago. From the Dayak perspective, the post-2001 period brought noticeable behavioral and attitudinal changes among the Madurese, particularly in economic interactions (Suryani, 2016). Based on the above explanations, it is evident that the conflict in Sampit has undergone significant reduction and positive transformation. There is no longer lingering animosity, and the Dayak community's negative perceptions toward the Madurese have shifted positively, as the unrest of 2001 is now viewed as a source of lessons and wisdom.

Based on the analysis of conflict roots, resolutions, and transformations above, it is found that conflict is an inherent part of human life, often arising from differences in

culture, economy, politics, or religion. In the context of relocating Indonesia’s capital city (IKN), large-scale population movements have the potential to generate new conflicts if not properly managed.

1. Cultural Factors

Culture can be a primary trigger of conflict, especially when differences between groups evolve into ethnic tensions. The Sambas case illustrates how cultural differences can escalate into violence. Cultural integration in IKN poses the risk of friction between groups.

2. Economic Factors

Economic inequality can create social jealousy and spark conflict. Unequal distribution of economic resources between indigenous populations and newcomers could lead to unrest, as seen in the Ambon and Sampit cases.

3. Political Factors

The dominance of newcomers in strategic positions can foster a sense of injustice among indigenous populations. When the government fails to address community needs equitably, tensions may arise, similar to Ambon, where the administration prioritized one group over another.

4. Religious Factors

Religion is a sensitive issue in social interaction. Tensions involving religion— although often initially triggered by economic or ethnic issues—frequently develop into religious conflicts, as was the case in Ambon. Learning from past conflicts, managing the relocation to IKN requires well-prepared strategies to prevent social tensions.

Mitigation of Potential Conflicts in the New Capital City (IKN)

Mitigation in this context refers to preventive measures necessary to address potential conflicts arising from the various factors described above. By identifying possible issues that may emerge during the relocation of the capital city, we can prepare strategies to prevent or reduce latent conflicts that may begin to surface during the IKN development process.

First, from the cultural perspective often the most vulnerable efforts must be made to ensure that indigenous communities feel comfortable with the culture and customs brought by incoming migrants, who are likely to dominate in number and may hold relatively high positions due to their prior status in their original regions. A historical reflection on the Sambas and Sampit cases shows that migrants, often more prosperous and socially freer, sometimes imposed their cultural practices, creating dominance that triggered jealousy and eventual conflict among locals. Therefore, indigenous communities must also achieve prosperity and cultural freedom, and there must be a cultural balance in which neither group dominates.

Second, in terms of the economic dimension, equal access to welfare and job opportunities must be ensured in the new capital. Social harmony thrives when the population enjoys prosperity and low levels of poverty. Since migrants often arrive with secure employment before relocation, indigenous populations must be supported in attaining similar levels of prosperity to minimize socioeconomic disparities and reduce the likelihood of economically driven conflict.

Third, from the political standpoint, this relates closely to the stakeholders who will hold key positions in the new capital. If such strategic roles are disproportionately assigned to migrants, it may lead to favoritism toward fellow migrants, driven by shared experiences of relocation, over indigenous communities, even when those in power are public servants (civil servants, police, military, or autonomous agency members). To anticipate potential social jealousy, a fair distribution of important positions between migrants and indigenous residents is essential.

Fourth, from the religious aspect, tensions may arise from differences in customs, traditions, and belief systems between indigenous people and incoming populations. Although modern Indonesian society is largely heterogeneous and upholds pluralism, issues related to religion, ethnicity, race, and customs commonly referred to as *SARA* can easily escalate into conflict, even from minor friction. The large-scale movement of people with diverse backgrounds increases the risk of such tensions, whether intentional or unintentional. Therefore, it is necessary to re-instill the values of unity and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (“unity in diversity”) to ensure that pluralism in IKN fosters harmony rather than division. This should be supported by vertical and horizontal communication channels that provide the public with accurate information and enhance community vigilance against *SARA*-related issues, preventing them from escalating into social fragmentation (Adiningrat et al., 2024).

CONCLUSION

Past ethnic conflicts in Indonesia offer valuable lessons for anticipating potential tensions that may arise when large-scale population movements bring together communities of diverse backgrounds such as the anticipated relocation and demographic mixing in the new capital city (IKN). Every ethnic conflict, such as those in Sambas, Ambon, and Sampit, had identifiable root causes, resolution processes, and forms of conflict transformation. These cases demonstrate that various aspects of human interaction, culture, economy, politics, and religion, can serve as triggers for conflict. Consequently, with the IKN expected to host people from multiple backgrounds who will engage in continuous interaction, the potential for conflict will inevitably be high.

This study finds that the Sambas conflict was rooted in the dominance of a migrant group, both in terms of population size and economic control (job opportunities and fields of work). The Ambon conflict stemmed from conditions that disproportionately benefited one group through government policies, leading to political inequality and unequal access to resources. While the violence manifested in religious forms such as the destruction of places of worship, the underlying cause was rooted in political and economic disparity rather than solely religious differences. The Sampit conflict was

more complex, involving not only economic inequality between migrants and indigenous groups but also deep-seated cultural and customary clashes.

The relocation of IKN will inevitably create significant potential for conflict through interactions between migrants and indigenous populations. Drawing lessons from Sambas, Ambon, and Sampit, the key factors most vulnerable to triggering tensions are culture, economy, politics, and religion. Therefore, the conflict mitigation measures derived from this study include:

1. Cultural factor, Ensure fairness across economic, political, cultural, and religious domains, with equal rights to maintain and express traditions.
2. Economic factor, Guarantee equitable welfare and minimize social inequality between indigenous populations and migrants.
3. Political factor, Provide equal access and opportunities to obtain and utilize strategic positions and resources within the community.
4. Religious factor, Reinforce the values of unity and ensure their practical implementation in daily community life.

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