

## Discourse on moving the new capital city in East Kalimantan Province a political economy perspective

### *Wacana pemindahan ibu kota negara baru di Provinsi Kalimantan Timur perspektif ekonomi politik*

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#### Abstract

This paper aimed to examine the discourse on moving the new state capital in Indonesia. The relocation of the national capital city was highly controversial, with many significant indicators of displacement according to the level of interest in it. The new capital city of Indonesia will be located in Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Penajam Paser Utara Regency. This study looks at the discourse of moving the national capital from a political economy perspective. This study uses qualitative research methods, with a literature review and NVIVO12 analysis. The discourse on moving the state capital explained many interests of the government and people in East Kalimantan Province. This discourse has pros from a political and economic point of view considering the benefits it could bring and cons from a judicial and academic perspective on the reasons and urgency behind relocating the state capital. It is assumed that the development of the National Capital will be evenly distributed, although in fact the management of urban planning has not been carried out properly. This study recommends that a more in-depth study is needed so that the relocation of the capital can provide greater benefits to the people of Indonesia in accordance with national goals.

**Keywords:** discourse of moving a new capital city; national capital; political economy perspective

#### Abstrak

*Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji wacana pemindahan ibu kota negara baru di Indonesia. Pemindahan ibu kota negara sangat kontroversial, banyak indikator perpindahan yang signifikan sesuai dengan tingkat kepentingan di dalamnya. Ibu kota baru Indonesia akan berlokasi di Kabupaten Kutai Kartanegara dan Kabupaten Penajam Paser Utara. Studi ini melihat wacana pemindahan ibu kota negara dari perspektif ekonomi politik. Studi ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif, dengan tinjauan pustaka dan analisis NVIVO12. Wacana pemindahan ibu kota negara menjelaskan banyak kepentingan pemerintah dan masyarakat di Provinsi Kalimantan Timur. Wacana ini memiliki pro dari segi politik dan ekonomi mengingat manfaat yang dapat ditimbulkan dan kontra dari segi yuridis dan akademis mengenai alasan dan urgensi di balik pemindahan ibu kota negara. Pembangunan ibu kota negara dianggap akan merata, meskipun kenyataannya dalam hal pengelolaan tata kota belum dilakukan dengan baik. Studi ini merekomendasikan bahwa perlu kajian yang lebih mendalam lagi agar pemindahan ibu kota dapat memberi manfaat yang lebih besar kepada masyarakat Indonesia sesuai dengan tujuan nasional.*

**Kata kunci:** wacana pemindahan ibu kota baru; ibu kota negara; perspektif ekonomi politik

## Introduction

History shows that capital cities play an important role in the image, representation and identity of a country (De Vries 2021). The capital city of a country plays a very strategic role (Santoso 2020). Moving the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia is a necessity (Agustina & Hendry 2021), but is a sensitive matter to discuss (Huda & Hidayat 2020). The plan to move the capital city from Jakarta to a new place is actually not a new idea (Salim & Negara 2019). The relocation of the national capital has been carried out by several countries, for various reasons (Yahya 2018). Indonesia planned to move the capital city to East Kalimantan (Syafitri et al. 2021). The relocation of the national capital today is believed as one of the solutions to overcome the country's problems (Sudarwani et al. 2019). The main reasons for the

capital relocation are growth and economic equality for the eastern part of Indonesia (Farida 2021). The relocation of the state capital has become a discourse from the era of government led by President Sukarno with the chosen area being Kalimantan because it is seen as an ideal area to replace the City of Jakarta (Dadang 2018). On August 26, 2019, President Joko Widodo announced the relocation of the state capital to East Kalimantan Province (Silalahi 2019). The common reasons for moving the capital are socioeconomic considerations, political considerations, and geographical considerations (Farida 2021). The majority reasons for the capital relocation range from the old capital is already too dense, to balancing the development, or certain military reasons (Muluk & Suprayitno 2020). The relocation of the new capital city of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia will be in the Administrative Region of Penajam Paser Utara Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency, East Kalimantan (Safra & Zuliarso 2020). The relocation of the capital city has the potential to increase national economic growth while the inflation rate remains low. Realizing economic equity in the territory of Indonesia is not an easy thing (Taufiq 2020). There are aspects that need to be considered carefully regarding the relocation of the new capital city in Indonesia. Socialization of this program has been done by the government (Muluk & Suprayitno 2020). The government's decision to move the capital of the Republic of Indonesia from DKI Jakarta to Kalimantan has drawn pros and cons among the public (Azmy 2021).

Moving the state capital is a relevant option in simplifying regulations to support the policy of moving the state capital (Aditya & Fuadi 2021). The plan to move the capital city to Kalimantan must take into account the impacts that occur on the environment (Mutaqin et al. 2021). Considerations in moving the national capital include geopolitical, geostrategic, economic, social, cultural, historical, and other factors. The relocation of the capital will have an equitable development effect. Regional development is carried out as an integral part of national development carried out through regional autonomy, thus providing opportunities to improve democracy and regional performance (Habibi & Suswanta 2019). The relocation of the nation's capital city has also been stated in the National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) for 2020-2024, with the aim of, among other things, spreading economic equity, development, and developing human resources throughout Indonesia (Malisan et al. 2020). The government has budgeted funds for Rp 6.500 Trillion which was obtained in three financing schemes, namely the APBN, Government Cooperation, PPP, and the private sector (Olivia 2022). Urban development and development that are not well-planned have the potential to have an impact on the economic, social, and quality of the urban environment, mainly due to population growth and migration (Mutaqin et al. 2021).

The Joko Widodo administration carried out an assessment of alternative locations for the candidate for Indonesia's new capital city which was also assisted by the National Planning and Development Agency, until it was decided on April 29, 2019, that the relocation of the state capital must be outside Java (Arianto 2020). The move of the state capital to a new location is also expected to be able to represent the character and vision of national development governance, relieve tensions in the development process that has been uneven so far and be able to accommodate future developments, given the dynamics of multidimensional development at the global level which is growing rapidly so that Indonesia is able to follow these developments with the support of the new state capital region (Ridhani et al. 2021). National development governance also looks at the environmental impact of the current population—there are fewer than 900,000 people in Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Paser Penajam Utara Regency (Salsabila et al. 2020). Development of the state capital will apply several main concepts, namely smart, green, beautiful, and sustainable (Arianto 2020).

Previous research is used as a comparison in distinguishing this research, the following is the explanation of previous research: According to Bappenas, there are six reasons why the state capital needs to be relocated. First, to reduce the burden on Jakarta and Greater Jakarta. Second, to encourage equitable development in the eastern part of Indonesia. Third, to change the development mindset from Java-centric to Indonesia-centric. Fourth, Indonesia has a state capital that represents the nation's identity, diversity, and appreciation of Pancasila. Fifth, to improve public services to create efficient and effective central government management, and sixth, to have a state capital that applies the smart, green, and

beautiful city concept to improve regional and international competitiveness (Jayani 2019). In his research "Socio-Economic Changes in the Community in the Infrastructure Development of the Capital City of Madiun District, Mejayan District," Prasetyo (2018) stated that the infrastructure development in the Mejayan District brought a change to community life as follows: (1) Economic changes meant the availability of field employees and an increase in income. (2) Social changes where there is a change in land use, bad habits of the community such as consumptive and hedonistic lifestyles, and security.

Santoso's previous research (2020) explained "Mutatis Mutandis on the Use of Law Number 29 of 2007 With Law Number 5 of 1985 Regarding Relocation of the Capital City of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia" discussing a statement from the Minister of National Development Planning (PPN) Head of the National Development Planning Agency. National Development Planning (Bappenas) and Bambang Brodjonegoro (National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) submitted the results of a study on the relocation of the capital through a Limited Cabinet Meeting (Ratas) on Monday (29/4/2019), saying that the relocation of the capital is necessary for six main reasons: (1) Reducing the burden on Jakarta and Jabotabek, (2) Encouraging equitable development in the eastern part of Indonesia, (3) Changing the development mindset from Java-centric to Indonesia-centric, (4) Having a national capital that represents national identity, diversity, and appreciation of Pancasila, (5) Improving the management of the central government, right efficient and effective, and (6) Having a capital city that applies the smart, green, and beautiful city concept to improve competitiveness.

Research by Hadi (2021) on the Implementation of the Smart City Concept in Malang City Towards Sustainable Development explains that the concept of a smart city is a development concept from various sectors to fulfill six smart city indicators, namely smart economy, smart mobility, smart environment, smart people, smart living, and smart governance. The city of Malang is still designing and there are some obstacles to the occurrence of a smart city because the community is still lacking in maintaining the existing regional application systems, and the knowledge that the government has prepared for the community is in development. Previous research by Francelino Sarmiento Martins with the title "Planning for Development of Special Autonomous Regions" explains that the government's role in planning the development of land transportation and sea transportation for the Oe-Cusse district as well as transportation infrastructures such as road infrastructure, bridges, terminals, ports, and airports has also begun. This was built after Oe-Cusse Ambeo was applied as a special administrative area and a special economic, social, and trade zone.

Compared to several previous research related to the transfer of the national capital and the ideal development of an area, this research focused on the discourse of moving the new capital city of Indonesia to Kutai Kartanegara and Penajam Paser Utara regencies on a political economy basis by looking at development to advance the new capital city for reasons of inadequate environmental conditions for development. Environmental conditions or disasters that are very concerning in the construction of a facility for the New State Capital will add to the problems that occur in East Kalimantan Province, precisely in Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Penajam Paser Utara Regency. The purpose of this study is to examine the political economy related to the movement of the state capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. Following Rachbini (2001:96), there is full authority from the state/government to allocate policies to groups (economy) with an interest in these policies. In this redistributive pattern, economic resources are combined, productive assets and capital are distributed in a limited way only among a few people. So here comes the injustice. Second, the existing (economic) interest groups do not always assume the expected level of equity.

The discourse of moving the capital to East Kalimantan Province on different arguments of the pros and contra's perspective in the political economy perspective was an interesting approach to study. This research was chosen because the discourse on moving the state capital had been discussed many years before. The discussion of moving the capital city has not only become an interesting discussion among the people of Jakarta, but also the residents of East Kalimantan as to the destination of the move. This move has reasons based on economic growth and equitable development and will have implications for

resettlement policies capital city which must also be accompanied by a policy of economic growth and equitable distribution of development throughout Indonesia. The thing that becomes a problem is what kind of policy instruments will be made to achieve these goals, and whether the relocation of the capital will automatically realize economic justice and equitable development.

## Research Method

This study uses a qualitative method. The data in this study were sourced from journals and BPS (Central Statistics Agency). The criteria for the journals selected in this research are, first, journals that support the movement of the Nation's Capital City. Journals that fall into this category represent an explanation of pro discourse. The second category is journals that refuse to move the state capital to East Kalimantan Province. Journals of this category represent counter-discourse. Data processing is done using NVIVO 12 PLUS and NCapture. Data processing is carried out through four stages, including (1) Reading and reanalyzing the journals that have been collected by taking into account research needs. (2) Researchers then inputting data through NVivo 12 PLUS by paying attention to some of the data needed by researchers to strengthen arguments and analysis studied in the study. (3) Researchers classified the website data obtained. Website data are also very important data to see the argument as well as complete the analysis. Data from the researcher's website were obtained by using NCapture. (4) The data resulting from NCapture processing were then reprocessed through NVivo12 PLUS.

The results of data processing and analysis in this study are in the form of descriptive data and making a list of criteria. The collected data are then compiled and separated according to the pro and con arguments to further explain the reasons behind these arguments, starting from the selection of the location of the IKN (national capital city) to the ratification of the Act, which is considered rushed. Data analysis also shows that there is a view of the IKN development plan as a big and strategic idea for the progress of the nation, but there are also those who view it as a crazy idea, a diversion of opinion and strong political nuances, amid Indonesia's economic condition which is still slumped.

## Results and Discussion

The discourse of moving the capital city of Indonesia from Jakarta to East Kalimantan Province, precisely in Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Penajam Paser Utara Regency, was driven by several components. The discourse of such moving raises pros and cons both in society and the government. Problems then arise not only in the sector but also in development decisions that will be made to support equitable development.

There is something related to the new national capital which is a sufficient solution for the community. The discourse of moving to a new capital city was drafted by Sukarno during his leadership because he saw the imminent occupation and other factors in it that required the provision of a new state capital for the state of Indonesia. There are many perspectives from community elements regarding the relocation of the state capital. One of the factors that will be seen in this research is that the country that will continue to increase if there is a displacement from the capital city of the new state. When the National Capital only visited the only one that had a very large state debt. The talk of the new state capital in East Kalimantan Province also received support, wherein the community and the government will get an even distribution of development that occurs in their area. The number of districts and villages in East Kalimantan is an obstacle for local governments to carry out development and there is an insufficient budget for the availability of such development. Not only that, the abundance of tourism in East Kalimantan Province is one of the regional economic factors in the existing APBD. The relocation of the new state capital was chosen not based on the area and number of islands with the aim of developing a strategy for the placement of new Indonesian state capital migration placements. The following will describe data related to the area in East Kalimantan and the number of islands in each district, see Table 1.



**Table 1.**  
Area and number of islands in East Kalimantan Province

Kabupaten/Kota Regency/Municipality	Regional Capital	Areas (km <sup>2</sup> )	Percentage to Total Area	Number of Islands
Paser	Tanah Grogot	11 096.96	8.71	7
Kutai Barat	Sendawar	13 709.92	10.77	15
Kutai Kartanegara	Tenggarong	25 988.08	20.41	79
Kutai Timur	Sangata	31 051.71	24.38	22
Berau	Tanjung Redeb	21 735.19	17.07	70
Penajam Paser Utara	Penajam Paser Utara	2 923.72	2.30	14
Mahakam Hulu	Long Bagun	19 449.41	15.27	-
Kota Balikpapan	Balikpapan	512.25	0.40	5
Kota Samarinda	Samarinda	716.53	0.56	1

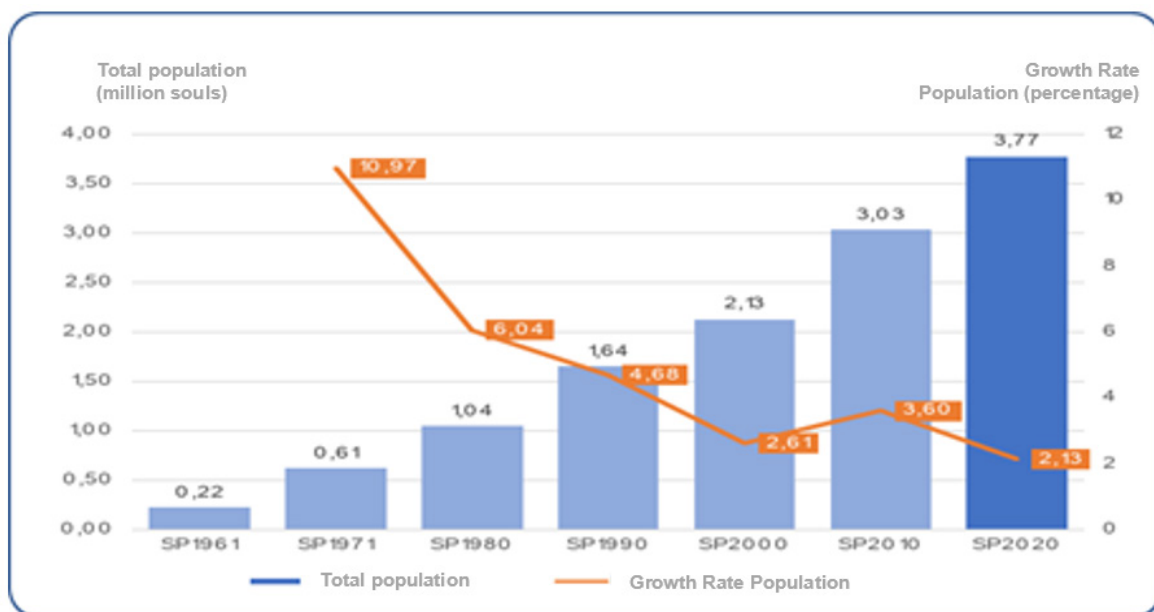
Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (2020)

The presentation of the data in Table 1 states that there are several regencies in the province of East Kalimantan with the regional capital, area, percentage of the area, and the number of islands. In accordance with the provisions of the government's explained that the relocation of the new capital city will be placed on the border between Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Penajam Paser Utara Regency. From the study by Sudarwani et al. (2019), the decided area is considered to fulfil the requirement for the new state capital to be build based on its strategic location and the geographical condition with minimum risk of natural disaster. The data presented by the researcher explain that Kutai Kartanegara Regency, which has a capital city named Tenggarong, has an area of about 25,988.08 with a percentage of an area of 20.41 and the number of islands in the Regency is 79. According to Yudhistira (2020), the government continues to intend to move the new capital city from Jakarta to Penajam Paser Utara, East Kalimantan. The government named the new nation's capital as "Nusantara." The relocation of the Indonesian capital from the Special Capital Region (DKI) Jakarta will be to two districts in East Kalimantan, namely Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Penajam Paser Utara Regency.

At the same time, this raises many pros and cons in various levels of society. The latest Indonesian Public Opinion Study and Discussion Group (Kedai Kopi) survey revealed that 61.9 percent of respondents disagreed with moving the capital city from DKI Jakarta to East Kalimantan. Budget wastage was the main reason why respondents disagreed. Other reasons are the assumption that the chosen location is not strategic, Jakarta's facilities are considered adequate, and there are concerns that debt will increase if the capital city is moved. The results of the National Survey Media (Median) survey results show that 40.7 percent of respondents agree with the plan to move the country's capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. The main reason respondents support moving the capital city is economic equity. The other reason is because this plan is considered to reduce the population density of DKI Jakarta or there is also the reason that it is only following the government's decision. Meanwhile, Penajam Paser Utara Regency with the capital city of Penajam Paser Utara or PPU has a total area of 2,923.73 and a percentage of 2.30 and there are 14 islands. The data were obtained from the website at the BPS (Central Statistics Agency) in East Kalimantan Province. The selection of these two districts is indeed a strategy for development to support the movement of the nation's capital city.

As is well known, uneven development occurs in East Kalimantan Province due to a large number of islands and many areas that are not generally detected or known by the local government. Another cause of the uneven development factor in East Kalimantan Province is that the budget received by each region feels lacking in the provision of the budget that has been given by the central government in carrying out development in areas that have been given a budget. Budgets that have fallen into the hands of the government are usually cases that occur in the development of an area or the distribution of development runs very slowly to carry out the development that has been budgeted for. Not only that but also many other factors affect the uneven development in East Kalimantan Province.

After analyzing the area, it is closely related to the population in East Kalimantan Province. The selection of the new state capital is also related to the area, it is also seen the number of residents in East Kalimantan Province and there are also factors that influence the movement of the new state capital to the East Kalimantan Province. East Kalimantan province is an area that does not have mountains where earthquakes do not occur like other islands and are very unlikely to occur in the region. This statement is an explanation as well as a reality that occurred in the past before the inappropriate development. The transfer of the state capital is expected to strengthen the resilience of the people of Kalimantan, both ecologically, economically, socially, and culturally so as not to cause the marginalization of local communities by migrants. Migrants are not only ASN but also families and other economic actors. In the plan for the transfer of state civil servants (ASN), two scenarios have been developed that estimate the displacement of 182,462 ASN and 118,513 ASN (if the age is limited to 45 years). The transfer of ASN will be followed by families and other economic actors, which is estimated at 1.5 million people in the future. This is further in line with the presentation of population data in East Kalimantan which can be used as the basis for the benefits of moving the state capital as shown in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.**  
Population data of East Kalimantan Province every 10 years  
Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (2020)

Figure 1 shows the increasing number of residents in East Kalimantan Province which continues to increase in line with the discourse of relocating the state capital, where many outsiders enter and settle in East Kalimantan Province. This drastic increase has made it difficult for local governments to find jobs, and appropriate places and manage development to the conditions or conditions in East Kalimantan Province. The presentation delivered by BPS (Central Statistics Agency) in the Official Gazette of Statistics explains that the increase in the number of residents in the last 10 years has reached 73,755 people every year. The decline in the population growth rate in the last 10 years is different from the growth rate that occurred from 2000 to 2010. Figure 1 above explains that by 2.13 percent in 2010-2020 the population growth rate is smaller than 3.60 in 2010 for the period 2000-2010. The increase in population in East Kalimantan Province strengthens the discourse that the movement of the state capital will be carried out quickly. The community hopes that the integration of equitable community life can occur so that the benefits of state capital development are felt by the entire people of Kalimantan in particular and Indonesia in general.

The existence of data related to population increase is also an advantage for certain parties in carrying out existing businesses, such as buying and selling land. The economic movements through the sale and purchase of land in the area of the state capital, East Kalimantan Province, need to be considered

carefully. Because, on the other hand, it is also necessary to look for land freezing in the area. The practice cannot be fully restricted, for, if it is limited, there is no point of having state capital Nusantara to trigger economic movement. Therefore, the government needs to regulate the potential for land sale and purchase transactions at the state capital. Every human being lives on land. This business is another factor in the discourse of moving the country's capital city to East Kalimantan Province. The discourse is one of moving the capital city into a business field with increased land sales and a very large number of land sales and purchases. Not only that, but the governments in East Kalimantan are also enthusiastic because there will be equitable development in making a better and superior province. The existence of a political role in facilitating the movement of the new state capital in East Kalimantan Province has made it quite common in the business world. This is in line with the study by Farida (2021) which showed that the potential infrastructure development in the new state capital is deemed reasonable, given the vast landbanks in East Kalimantan and the low risks of earthquake and forest fire.

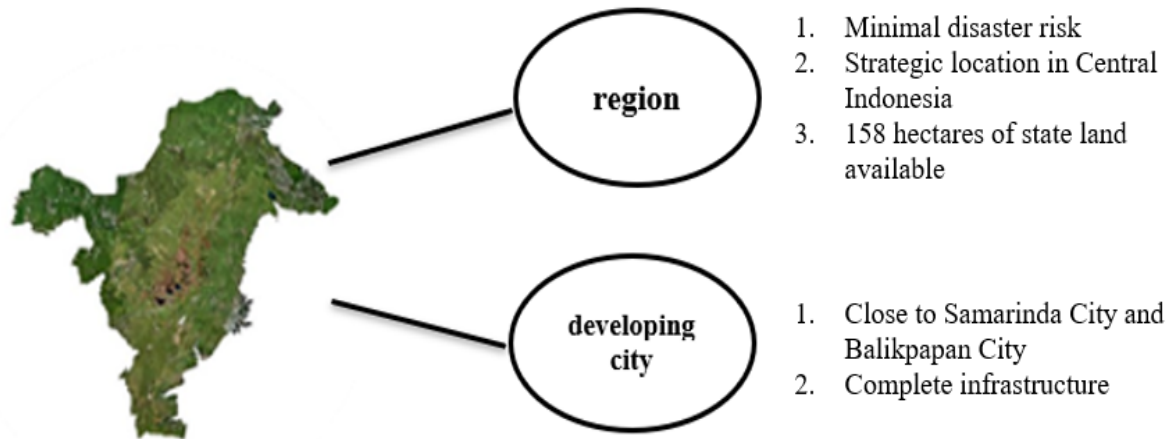
The discourse of this displacement makes the movement quite profitable for every community in the province of East Kalimantan. Every element of society in East Kalimantan Province is competing to open its own business. The existence of these arguments makes the Province of East Kalimantan a field to carry out buying and selling transactions that are quite profitable. With this, the economy in East Kalimantan Province has increased drastically to provide benefits for every businessman in carrying out the targets to be achieved. Supporting the occurrence of the state capital must also be supported by the existence of development by the criteria that have been agreed upon together to make the state capital not left behind with other state capitals. The city development phase is one of the spearheads of development in East Kalimantan Province in the form of a modern and sustainable city according to previous studies. This explanation was strengthened by the explanation given by Minister Suharso in interviews held in certain situations and meetings which stated that: "The Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas itself calculates that this year's economic growth will be 2.3 percent if the current situation lasts until June" (Interview article on the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas, 12 December, 2021).

The explanation through the interview becomes a very small advantage when compared to the budget that has been allocated for the development of the state capital itself. Development from the beginning has become a big cost incurred by the government in moving the state capital to East Kalimantan Province, involving a large enough budget or cuts to other budgets besides the budget that aims to move the state capital to East Kalimantan. Economic growth for the new state capital in East Kalimantan Province was 2.3 percent but was not able to cover the budget that had been spent to carry out development in relocating the state capital. Meanwhile, the budget for the relocation of the state capital itself is 466 trillion with the preparation of a budget from the government's himself amounting to Rp 510 billion with the explanation of the budget for the initial stages of building the new state capital in East Kalimantan Province.

The budget that has been given by the government's build a state capital is very large but is not in accordance with the economic growth that will be obtained by the state. The discussion on economic growth where the focus is on discussing the capital city sees the perspective of the discussion on the state capital. A move of the state capital has endless discussions, both within the community and the government in the State of Indonesia. In the previous discussion explaining the movement of the state capital, where there is a level of development and population in East Kalimantan, the author will explain several reasons why the government's wants to move the state capital to East Kalimantan Province as shown in Figure 2.

The brief description in Figure 2 explains that the reasons given by the government's are that there are several very supportive considerations in moving the state capital to East Kalimantan Province. First, from the perspective of the area, the new state capital is considered to have minimal disaster risk due to its natural geography and being located in a strategic location in Central Indonesia with almost 158 hectares of state land available for development. Second, Kutai Kartanegara Regency is a district that is very close to Samarinda City and Balikpapan City. There is still a kingdom called the Kutai kingdom in Kutai Kartanegara which is adjacent to Samarinda City. The city of Samarinda is partly surrounded by the

Kutai Kartanegara Regency. Meanwhile, Penajam Paser Utara Regency is adjacent to Balikpapan City. Where both Samarinda City and Balikpapan City are developing cities and have adequate development in terms of management and supporting infrastructure. Both developing cities have the advantage of being able to create cities that make it easier for the people who live there to carry out activities with the development and the technology used closely following other developing cities (Salya 2022).



**Figure 2.**  
Reasons for moving the national capital  
Source: Muluk & Suprayitno (2020)

In discussion related to strategic areas in the selection of districts that want to be made into East Kalimantan Province, there are several other things that made the government's choose East Kalimantan Province to be an area with very minimal disaster risk-related strategies. Suh as the brief explanation that the author conveyed that the risk of natural disasters is very minimal in the province of East Kalimantan. In contrast to the conditions in the current era, due to development that is not in accordance with the conditions of the development area, small disasters occur that disturb the environment in the community. The latest condition regarding disasters that often occur when there is rain at several points in East Kalimantan Province is flooding. When it rains, Samarinda City experiences extreme flooding, whereby the community together with the city of Samarinda has sunk. This very worrying condition is caused by development that is not in accordance with city governance in accordance with existing regulations. This condition has been studied by Rahmat et al. (2021) before that also conveyed the potential risk of the new state capital area, which is moderate both in Penajam Paser Utara Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency such as floods, forest, and land fires and landslides, thus it needs appropriate mitigation efforts to solve those problems.

Not only related to the facts of the government's reasons for minimal disasters in East Kalimantan Province, but he also gave answers related to other reasons in East Kalimantan Province, namely the province which is right in the middle of the State of Indonesia, is very strategic in approving the new capital city. This statement is true if the Province of East Kalimantan is a province right in the middle of the State of Indonesia but it is not as measured by the distance from the Central Capital City of the State of Indonesia. East Kalimantan is a province with uneven development which causes a lot of vacant land in certain areas. Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Penajam Paser Utara Regency are the two regencies that have sufficient vacant land for relocating the state capital. The area of vacant land in the two districts is 158 hectares. Where the vacant land will be used for development, relocating the state capital is useful in placing government officials to carry out tasks that have been approved and determined by the central government in the best way for the State of Indonesia. The government's presentation of several reasons that were delivered orally held at the State Palace gave a very positive response in the two regions for the election of the new national capital.

In the explanation, the Chairman of the Dayak Customary Council in Penajam Paser Utara Regency, Mrs. Helena, gave a statement at the National Webinar with the theme "The Future of State Capital and Buffer Areas" as follows:



“As the head of the Dayak custom in Penajam Paser Utara Regency, I was very happy when the State Capital election was held in Penajam Paser Utara Regency, as was the response of our community. After learning about the determination, we immediately held a prayer and thanksgiving related to State Capital in Penajam Paser Utara Regency.” (Statement via Webinar, January 12, 2022).

This explanation from Mrs. Helana supports the transfer of the state capital with a positive response from the indigenous peoples and communities in the Penajam Paser Utara Regency. Not only that but, from the webinar, there was also a resource person, Mr. Ir. Awang Yacob Lutman, MM as Secretary of the Kutai Kartanegara Sultanate, Ing Martadipura, who explained that he strongly agrees with the relocation of the state capital in East Kalimantan Province, precisely in Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Penajam Paser Utara Regency. So that there is an even distribution of development for the regions in East Kalimantan Province. The webinar, which was held through a Zoom meeting, also had two other speakers, namely Prof. Dr. HM. Masjaya, M.Si as the rector of Mulawarman University from the academic field and Dr. H. Irianto Lambrie, MM as a community leader in East Kalimantan Province or better known as the former Governor of Kaltara Province. The webinar was also very supportive of the transfer of the state capital in several aspects, one of which was related to development in East Kalimantan Province.

At the virtual meeting to discuss the state capital, present as a speaker was one of the education figures and a legal figure named the Chairman of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Prof. Dr. Jimly Asshiddiqie SH who gave a presentation related to the issuance of the IKN Law on January 14, 2022, and listened to the aspirations of the community regarding the movement of the national capital and was not far from discussing the webinar, namely the future of the state capital and buffer areas. The presence of Prof. Jimly became the main attraction for several people who participated in the webinar, especially Mrs. Helena as Chair of the Dayak Customary Council of Penajam Paser Utara Regency, stating several statements related to the bill drafted by the government, as follows:

“Every time there is a meeting related to the State Capital Bill or anything related to State Capital, we as a community in Penajam Paser Utara Regency are not involved in it. We, as residents of the State Capital transfer area, should have the right to provide aspirations and opinions regarding State Capital transfer. The transfer of this State Capital would be better if it was discussed openly by involving parties who are determined to live in Penajam Paser Utara Regency.” (Exposure via webinar, 12 January, 2022).

Mrs. Helena’s explanation provides an understanding that when the central government implements plans related to the state capital, especially the State Capital Bill, the involvement of the surrounding community and community leaders who are there is not included in the planning. The obligation or participation of traditional leaders, community leaders and the community itself is very necessary because those who live in the area to be relocated to the state capital will take into account the reality of the conditions and situations that exist in the area of displacement. This statement made Prof. Dr. Jimly Asshiddiqie, S.H. vote or respond to Mrs. Helena’s statement as Chair of the Dayak Customary Council of Penajam Paser Utara Regency, as follows:

“I will convey to the relevant parties that in discussions on the design of the State Capital, I will involve the local community in making and discussing various State Capital discussions. I will help convey the aspirations of the leaders in the two regions.” (Webinar “The Future of State Capital and Buffer Areas, 12 January, 2022).

The response given by Prof. Dr. Jimly Asshiddiqie, S.H. provides assistance and pleasing answers to the community in Penajam Paser Utara Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency in moving the state capital. The presentation delivered by Prof. Jimly will be conveyed again by the central government in organizing the state capital in East Kalimantan Province. The role of the community is important in carrying out the national capital movement regarding the development to be carried out in the two regencies in East Kalimantan Province. Discussing the movement of the state capital to East Kalimantan Province, to be precise in Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Penajam Paser Utara Regency, is a wise thing without considering environmental conditions that are not in accordance with the original conditions in

the two regions. As stated by Kodir et al. (2021) one of the reasons for the negative reaction toward the plan of moving the new state capital to East Kalimantan is because there is no involvement of the local community in making policies.

The most concerning case is related to environmental issues, where the Province of East Kalimantan has a very bad case related to the environment. The data obtained showing the condition of environmental damage makes environmentalists concerned and require the environment destroyer to take responsibility. Many environmental cases occur due to irresponsible coal mining companies in carrying out the extraction of natural resources in East Kalimantan Province. With the discourse of moving the state capital to East Kalimantan Province, public attention will be more focused so that it can attract attention to efforts to resolve environmental damage caused by coal mining, so that the government, companies and the community can be more proactive in solving these problems. The relocation of the capital city is indeed a discourse for more state development to a more developed city, but based on data from sand miners who cause environmental damage, there is a transfer of the capital to sand miners. The relocation person will only spend money or waste because the value and budget spent will be very large in addition to the development that will be carried out. Table 2 presents the incoming coal mining companies to carry out mining business permits in East Kalimantan Province, to illustrate the possible challenge on mining business regarding issuing permits to mine due to the discourse of moving the state capital:

Based on Table 2 the data show the number of data on coal mining companies in East Kalimantan Province to be approximately 6,000 that request IUPs (Mining Business Permits) to extract natural resources in an area. Illegal coal mining companies are not included, so there are many coal mining companies that want to take natural resources. The usual case is that the government will agree and not see the current conditions regarding the area that a coal mining company will enter. Cases like this cause the surrounding community and the region to suffer huge losses, especially the related environment. One of the cases that often occur is in Kutai Kartanegara Regency, where many coal mining companies just take natural resources in the area without carrying out reclamation in accordance with mutual agreements. Several areas in Kutai Kartanegara Regency have become uninhabitable due to mining companies. The discourse of moving the new state capital to Kutai Kartanegara Regency will provide opportunities to strengthen the mining policies and gives pressure to the reclamation by the coal mining companies.

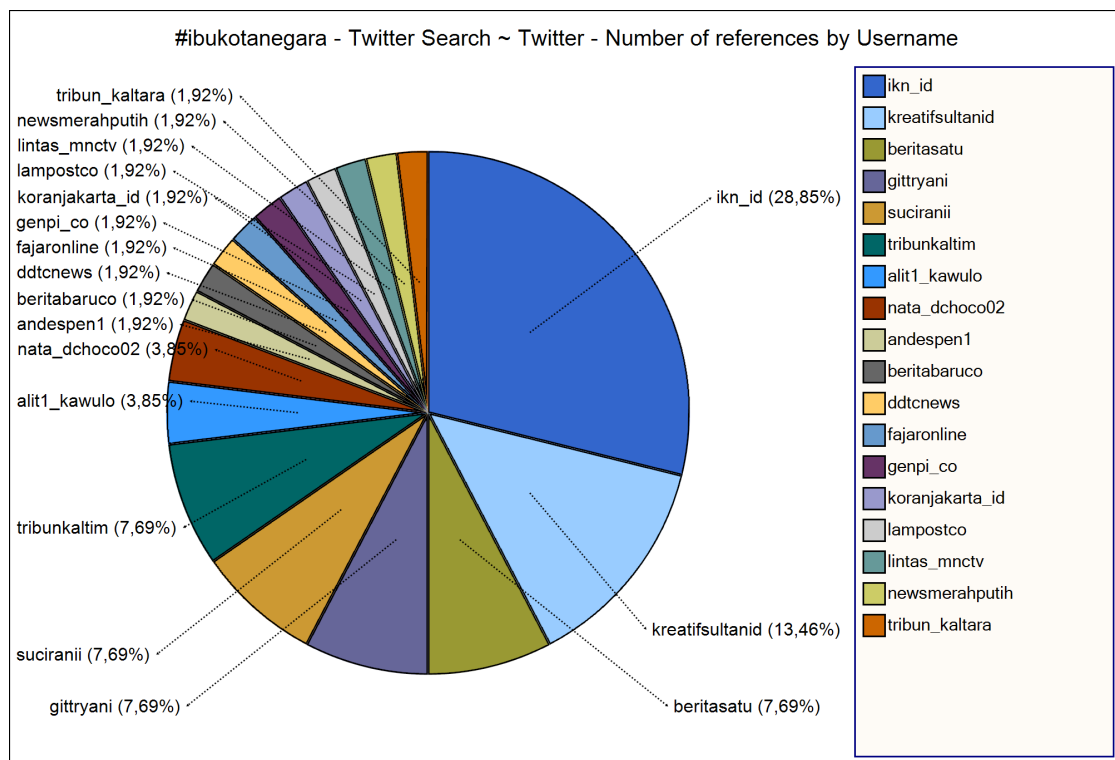
**Table 2.**  
Data on coal mining companies in East Kalimantan

No	Company name	Deed number	Deed Date	Licensing Type
1	4 Srikandi Callie	4	2021-05-07	IUP
2	Aal Rizki Tadang Palie			IUP
3	Abadi Berkah Alam	AHU-0017682-AH.01.14 Tahun 2021	2021-03-02	IUP
4	Abadi Mineral Resources			IUP
5	Abadi Ogan Cemerlang			IUP
6	Abata Mitra Abadi			IUP OPK
7	Abbasy Anugrah Jaya			IUP OPK
8	Abd Latif		1970-01-01	IUP
9	Abd Rohim			IUP
10	Abdul Gani			IUP
11	Abdul Ghofur			IUP

Source: Afkarina et al. (2019), author's modification

In these cases, there is also a political economy that occurs where there are several authorities who assist coal mining companies in extracting natural resources, especially in areas where natural resource extraction should not be necessary. A very common case in Kutai Kartanegara Regency, in other words, provides benefits for natural resource takers and provides losses for areas whose natural resources have been taken. Therefore, many people ask questions about the state capital of the Province of East Kalimantan as to whether the moving of the state capital to East Kalimantan Province could provide a better solution to the mining problems, not only for the limited group interest but also for the public interest. Many of the explanations given by the government's related to the state capital are not in accordance with the current reality or conditions in East Kalimantan Province. When discussing development, the people in East Kalimantan Province strongly agree with the management of urban development that is not appropriate and causes a lot of harm to the community.

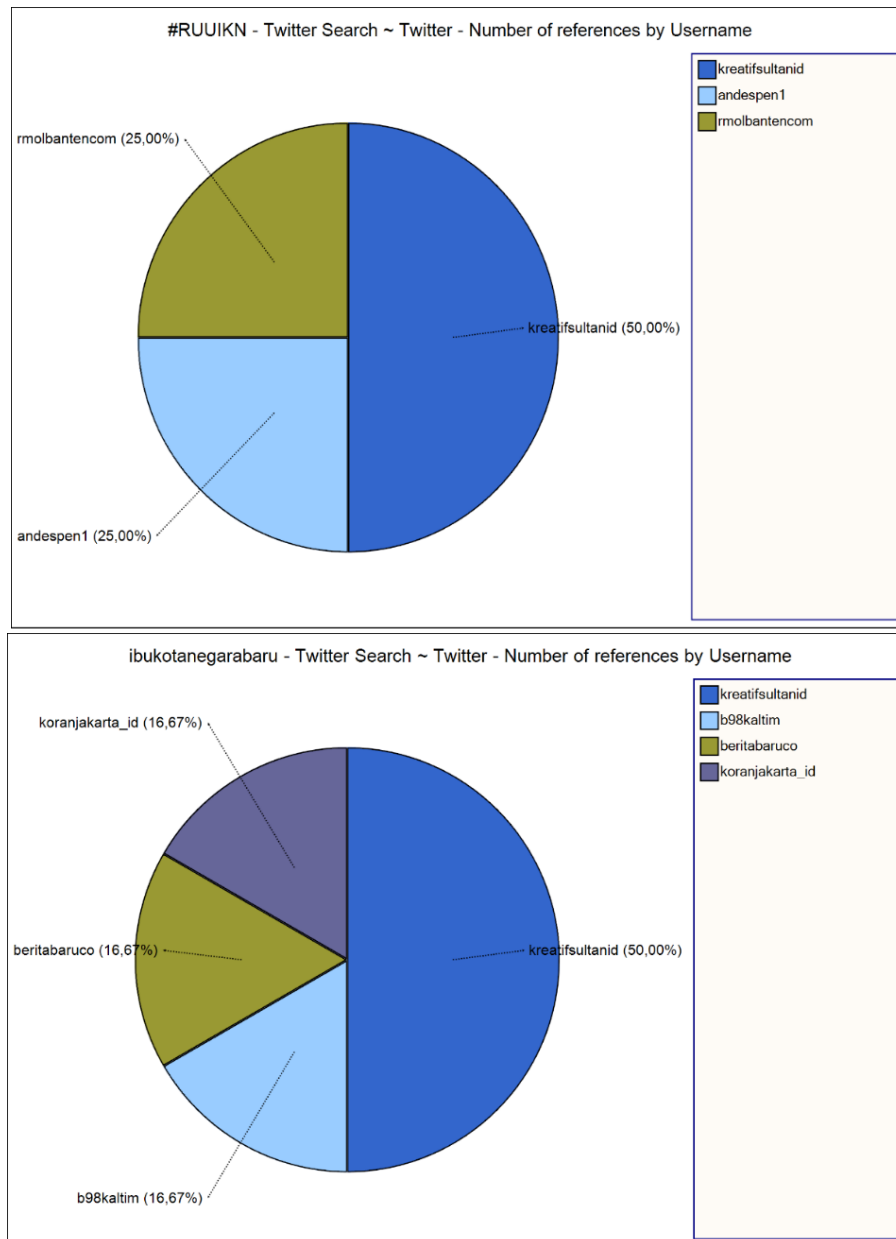
Community participation is one of the factors in implementing a decision. People usually express their aspirations through social media platforms in voicing their opinions and criticisms of a problem or policy taken. In this study, the public will voice their opinions through several hashtags related to the movement of the state capital in East Kalimantan Province. The role of the community can get the perspective of the government or those who make a decision so that they can be more careful in making a decision. Social media platforms help people to pour their hearts out, one of which is Twitter. Twitter is a social media that has attracted the attention of all people. The following data will present related Twitter accounts that often talk about moving the national capital using three hashtags, namely #ibukotanegara, #RUUIKN, and #ibukotanegarabaru.



**Figure 3.**  
Presentation of #ibukotanegara  
Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (2020)

Figure 3 describes several Twitter social media accounts discussing the discourse of moving the capital city of Indonesia. The first Twitter account that voiced the discourse of moving the capital city of Indonesia was *ikn\_id* with 28.85 percent. Several other Twitter accounts explain the successive relocation of the capital city of Indonesia, namely *creativesultanid* with 13.46 percent, *Beritasatu*, *Gifftryani*, *Suciranii*, and *Tribunkaltim* accounts with 7.60 percent, *alit1\_kawulo* and *nata\_dchoco02* accounts with 3.85 percent and finally the *andспен1* Twitter accounts, *beritabaruco*, *ddtcnews*, *Fajaronline*, *Genpi\_co*, *Korjakarta\_id*, *Lambostco*, *Lintas\_mnctv*, *newsmerahputih*, and *tribun\_kaltara* with 1.92 percent. These

Twitter accounts show that the public attention given to the relocation of the capital city of Indonesia is very large. This shows that the public continuously follows the development of the discourse of moving the capital city of Indonesia with full attention and interest. The data in Figure 3 are strengthened by the data in Figure 4 which are based on the hashtags #RUUIKN and #ibukotanegarabaru.



**Figure 4.**  
Presentation of #RUUIKN and #ibukotanegarabaru  
Source: Badan Pusat Statistik (2020)

The two hashtags above have insignificant differences in results. Three Twitter social media accounts are identified that use #RUUIKN, namely the creativesultanid account with 50 percent which is also the account that is most sought after by users. This is followed by andespen1 and rmlbantencom accounts which both have 25 percent. Meanwhile, on social media Twitter, which uses #ibukotanegarabaru, the creativesultanid account is the first rank searched by users with 50 percent, followed by b98kaltim, beritabaruco, and newspaperjakarta\_id accounts with of 16.7 percent each.

The results of the data analysis show that there are more than 10 Twitter social media that use #ibukotanegara and #RUUIKN. Based on the two hashtags, it was also identified that as many as 50 percent of the accounts stated that they were against the relocation of the capital city of Indonesia, and



another 50 percent stated that they were against for the reasons of waste and the environment. Based on the existing Twitter social media accounts, it shows that the community has the same strength between the pros and cons. A study of public sentiment on the discourse of moving the country's capital to East Kalimantan was also carried out by Sutoyo & Almaarif (2020) which showed slightly higher results on positive sentiment. It is hoped that this analysis of social media can be used to provide the necessary data on public opinion and perspectives for the government to make better decisions and policies regarding the relocation of the capital city of Indonesia.

## **Conclusion**

The discourse of moving the state capital in East Kalimantan Province, to Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Penajam Paser Utara Regency to be precise, opened up a new understanding and response from various perspectives for further study. In regard to several previous researchers regarding the transfer of the capital city of Jakarta to the Paser sands of East Kalimantan, there is a novelty in this study, namely the researcher tries to analyze from two social media that have never been used by other research, #bukotanegara and #RUUIKN with analysis of public opinion that is pro and contra toward the discourse of moving the capital, where the results of the analysis of the opinion are obtained from Twitter accounts that respond to or provide comments on the discourse on the development of moving the capital.

Bearing benefit from the political economy perspective, the discourse of moving the new state capital was an opportunity for development both in social and economic aspects. Yet, from the previous literature, some disagreed because there were several discussions that were not in accordance with the conditions under which this law was planned. Despite the positive reaction from both local governments of the two regencies, anxiety also comes from the local community concerning environmental issues. The lack of community involvement in the policymaking was adding to the contra reaction as well.

From the social perspective, the national development will continue with moving of the new state capital. However, from the budgeting perspective, the move would also cause a very large state debt. The economic growth of the new state capital in East Kalimantan Province reached 2.3 percent but was still unable to meet the budget spent on development in the relocation. Even with the funding from the Kingdom, which is located in the state capital itself, amounting to 466 trillion, and the preparation of a budget from the government's himself of Rp 510 billion as a budget for the initial phase of the construction of the new state capital in East Kalimantan Province.

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