

Public Trust: Indonesian Policy in Developing a New Capital City (IKN)

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Abstract: Public trust is a key factor in assessing government policies, as it strengthens the connection between the state, government, and society, forming the basis for successful policy implementation. This study investigates public trust in the development of Indonesia's new capital city (IKN), employing a qualitative approach with descriptive content analysis. Twitter discussions on IKN policies were analyzed using Nvivo 12 Plus software. The findings reveal that public trust in IKN development is generally positive, driven by the vision of IKN as a future model world city, promoting economic equality and prosperity. President Joko Widodo's leadership also plays a pivotal role. However, concerns about environmental damage and budgetary issues have contributed to a decline in trust. The study concludes that public trust will be critical to the long-term sustainability of IKN development. This research advances the field by integrating social media analytics, particularly Twitter discussions, with public policy analysis, offering real-time insights into public sentiment toward major government projects like IKN. The novelty of this study lies in its examination of public trust specifically in the context of developing a new capital city, a rare topic within existing literature. This study contributes to the broader discourse on public trust and policy implementation by providing a unique case study on IKN. It highlights the factors that enhance and diminish public trust in large-scale government projects, offering policymakers insights on how to address concerns and build sustained trust, which is crucial for the project's future success.

Keywords: *New capital city; IKN; trust; sustainable development; city development*

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INTRODUCTION

The recent policy of moving the National Capital has generated various controversies. The controversy began to emerge when the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, announced plans to move the capital city to Kalimantan. These controversies include design issues, environmental issues, and budget issues. These controversies include design issues, environmental issues, and budget issues (Baharuddin, Nurmandi et al., 2022). This idea then initiated the idea of building a new capital city (IKN), which was stipulated through Law Number 3 of 2022 (BPK, 2022). The controversy over this idea influenced other political narratives, thereby encouraging the government to be able to initiate public support and trust (Suswanta et al., 2021). That is to support a better government policy direction. Public support assessed through the level of trust

has consequences on a much more comprehensive range of policy issues (Rudolph & Evans, 2005). Therefore, public trust is an essential element in formulating a policy plan (Tsang, Burnett, Hills, & Welford, 2009; Lanin & Hermanto, 2019; Guo, He, & Lian, 2017). Public trust helps control a policy from the government (Baharuddin, Jubba, et al., 2022). In constructing a new capital city (IKN), which is still causing controversy, initiating public trust for policy directions and future sustainable development is required.

President Soekarno first initiated the development of the national capital (IKN) in 1957. Soekarno chose Kalimantan as the IKN because the area was in the middle of the Indonesian archipelago and was vast demographically. However, this idea has yet to materialize (Power, 2018; Baharuddin, Nurmandi, et al., 2022). During the era of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the discourse on relocating IKN reappeared due to traffic congestion, flooding, spatial irregularities, and the burden of service functions and Jakarta's feasibility being considered to be less than optimal (VIVAnews, 2010). In 2019, President Joko Widodo decided to work on the construction of the IKN seriously and moved the national capital there (B et al., 2022), as included in the 2020-2024 RPJMN (Medium-Term National Development Plan). The urgency of the transfer is based on the issue of future challenges by Indonesia's 2045 Vision, called Advanced Indonesia. Another urgency is to encourage inclusive and equitable economic growth. It requires economic transformation and sustainable Indonesian economic growth, identified with equitable development (Baharuddin, Nurmandi et al., 2022).

So far, there have been many studies on government policies to relocate the national capital of Indonesia or build a new capital city, especially in recent years. However, there are still few studies that specifically analyze and assess the level of public trust in the new policy, especially those that precisely assess the level of trust online. Nevertheless, at least some trends from previous studies can be mapped. *First*, moving the capital city needs to pay attention to important issues, including urbanization, regional development, economic development, political geography, modernization, identity construction, environment, and climate change (Baharuddin, Nurmandi, et al., 2022). *Second*, the idea of moving the capital city has been carried out by many countries for various reasons. The construction of a new capital city is not taboo for the development of a country (Gritsai & Wusten, 2000; Schatz, 2003; Morten & Oliveira, 2018; Azhar, Putri Fatima, & Tamas, 2020). *Third*, public evaluation of policies is essential to provide an overview to the government. It can only encourage the sustainability of a policy (Sutoyo & Almaarif, 2020). *Fourth*, trust can be converted online by assessing public discussions in digital space (Baharuddin, Jubba, et al., 2022).

This paper seeks to fill in the gaps left by previous researchers. It complements the deficiencies in previous studies by conducting an analysis that focuses on online public trust in the Indonesian government's policy ideas regarding the relocation and development of the new capital city (IKN). The formulated research questions are mapped as follows. (1) What is the level of public trust in the new capital city development policy? (2) What are the dominant factors influencing public trust? (3) What is the urgency of public trust in the Indonesian government's policy on new capital policy? The answers to these three questions allow for discovering disagreements between the government and the public regarding developing a new capital city. It is also possible for public assessment of this study to contribute to building a new capital city. The government can consider it for future development ideas.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study used a qualitative approach with descriptive content analysis. The subject of this research was Twitter users in policy discourse regarding developing a new capital city (IKN). This case study was chosen due to the government's recent idea to move and build a new national capital in Indonesia. The results showed that it could accommodate these interests in the future. The data was obtained from a Twitter search focusing on searching for keywords IKN and IKN Nusantara. The search results for IKN found 16591 tweets captured, while a search for IKN Nusantara found 16931 tweets captured. The total number of tweets captured was 33522, modified on 16-01-2023. The research data analysis tool used was Nvivo 12 Plus through a data coding process. Automatically, using Nvivo 12 Plus could also reduce the tendency of researchers to produce unreliable or invalid research results. Reliability and validity are determined

automatically following data coding results with a significant percentage. The percentage of items with a low weight value needs to be displayed in this process. The process of collecting and analyzing data using Nvivo 12 Plus is described as follows.

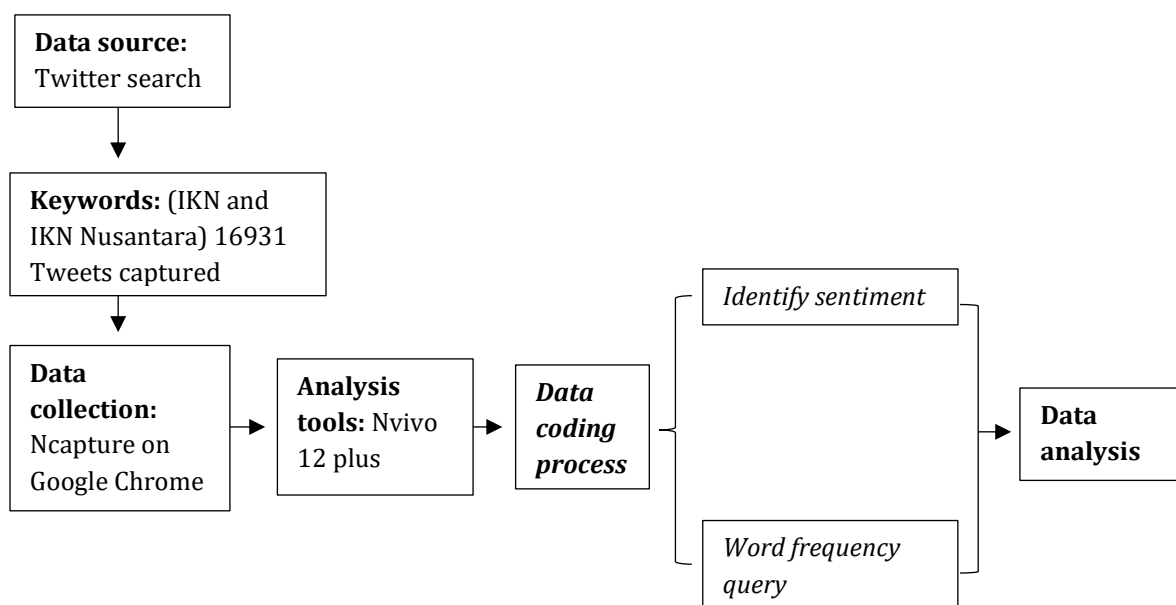


Figure 1. Data analysis process

Figure 1 shows that the data retrieval process originates from Twitter searches. Twitter was chosen because it can generate extensive discussion results from the public. The search focused on the keywords IKN and IKN Nusantara. This keyword was chosen because it displays more specific results on discussions or public opinion regarding the development of the new capital city (IKN). Data collection was done using Ncapture in Google Chrome. The process adapts Twitter search results to predefined keywords. The collected data is then transferred into an analysis tool, namely Nvivo 12 Plus. Next, the coding process is carried out on the data by maximizing features by identifying sentiments and querying word frequencies. The feature of sentiment identification is used to identify public sentiment on the topic being analyzed. It helps determine the level of public trust, whether it tends to be positive or negative. A word frequency query is used as a visual representation of frequently appearing words or text. It helps to reject any topic that affects the level of public confidence. The coding results on these data are then visualized and analyzed to answer research questions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Public trust in the new capital city development policy (IKN)

The government's policy on the idea of moving the national capital, as well as the development of a new capital city (IKN), is a significant and fantastic development project (Suswanta et al., 2021; Baharuddin, Nurmandi et al., 2022). This situation has influenced many public responses, including on social media (Sutoyo & Almaarif, 2020). In this section, the authors will map the results of the level of public trust and the dominant factors that influence the government's policy regarding the transfer of the national capital, as well as the development of a new capital city (IKN).

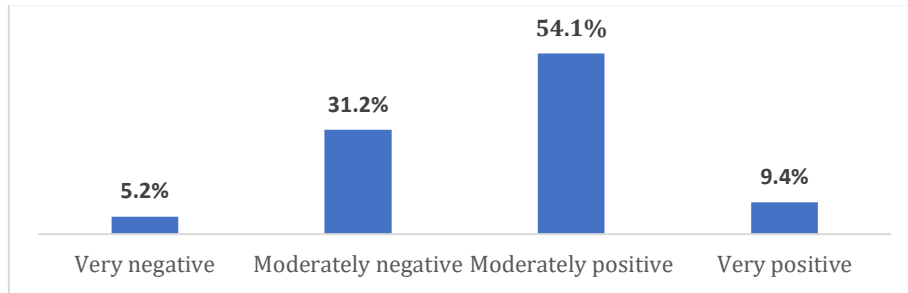


Figure 2. Public Trust in the New Capital City Development Policy (IKN)
Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 Plus (2023)

Figure 2 shows that the government's policy regarding relocating the national capital and developing a new capital city (IKN) has received quite positive public trust. Public trust in the policy was identified as 54.1%. Positive public trust has a good impact on sustainable development plans (Hartanto et al., 2021). From these data, there is still a tendency for negative results of 31.2%. This proof leaves a challenge for the government to accommodate these public interests. Even low public trust can influence socio-political situations and impact planning and policy effectiveness (Baharuddin, Sairin, et al., 2022). Several trends or dominant factors affect the level of public trust in the development policies for the new capital city (IKN). This study succeeded in identifying factors that influence the level of public trust to be positive and negative.

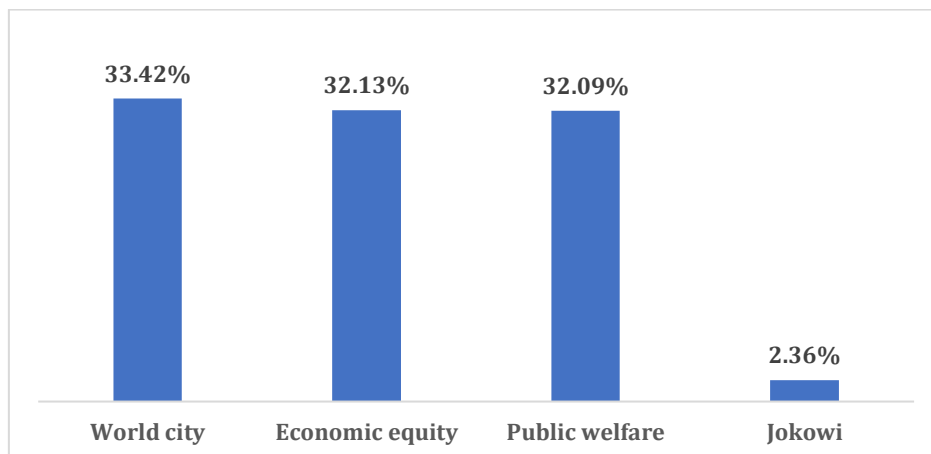


Figure 3. The dominant factor influencing public trust is positive
Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 Plus (2023)

Figure 3 shows that public trust identified as positive regarding government policies in developing the new capital city (IKN) is influenced by several dominant factors. The idea of developing IKN is predicted to be an example of a world city (33.42%); IKN can influence economic equality (32.13%), encouraging welfare or prosperity (32.09%), and other influential factors, the leadership of Joko Widodo (Jokowi) as President of Indonesia (2.36%). The public considers that the development of a new capital city (IKN) will emerge as a world city design that can become an example of modern and accommodative development for the future. In the presidential regulation, the term 'world city' is projected together with the idea of a new capital city. World cities are characterized by global access, strategic roles in investment flows, advanced economic activities, high competitiveness, and technological innovation (Presidential Regulation, 2022). A world city is considered an essential point in the world economic system (Sassen, 2001). The economic system of a world city also requires political stability (Glaeser, 2022). The government might consider that to legitimize public trust further.

Another influential factor is the development of a new capital city (IKN), which could affect the national economy's distribution. The development of IKN based on Presidential Regulation Number 63 of 2022 also initiates a new economic development center that promotes economic equity (Presidential Regulation, 2022). It affects the positive response from the public to these

efforts. The problem of national economic equality has become an intensively discussed issue, especially considering economic inequality outside Java (Erlando et al., 2020). This economic inequality underlies the public's support for government policies to develop the idea of a new capital city (IKN). It is expected to be able to create economic equality nationally. The next dominant factor is welfare. Welfare is a consideration for the public to put their trust in government policies. Welfare is related to the problem of economic equity (Schefold, 2022). Through Presidential Regulation Number 63 of 2022, the government also campaigns for welfare issues in the development of IKN (Presidential Regulation, 2022). The public is also considering the campaign to support the government's plans.

Another factor is the leadership of Joko Widodo (Jokowi), who is essential in planning the new capital city (IKN). The characteristics of Jokowi have sufficiently influenced the level of public trust to be positive towards the government's policy of moving the national capital from Jakarta, as well as the development of a new capital city (IKN) in Kalimantan. During Jokowi's leadership, the IKN development plan began to be carried out seriously (Buana et al., 2022), which is different from the leadership period of Soekarno and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who also planned to build the IKN but failed (Baharuddin, Nurmandi et al., 2022; VIVAnews, 2010). This old idea can only be realized gradually by Jokowi. It also influences the public's evaluation of Jokowi and affects public support and trust in the development of the new capital city. Encouraging stakeholders to develop new ideas can change the situation and increase economic growth (Kim, 2010). Public support, assessed from the level of trust, can motivate the government to implement its policies for the better (Cairney & Wellstead, 2021).

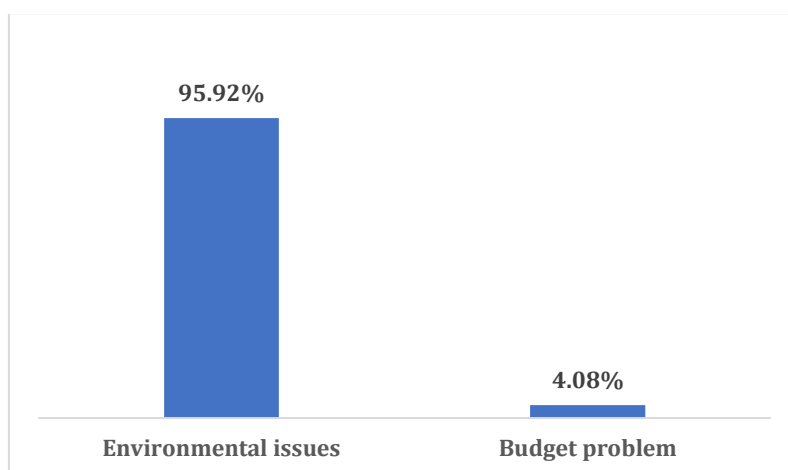


Figure 4. The dominant factor influencing public trust is negative
Source: Processed by researchers using Nvivo 12 Plus (2023)

Figure 4 shows that the new capital city development policy (IKN) has also received quite a negative response, and there are two dominant influencing factors. The dominant factors identified are environmental and budgetary issues. Environmental problems become issues debated by the public. The idea of developing a new capital city can potentially damage natural resources and the environment around the development area. The new capital city in Kalimantan has sparked concerns over massive environmental damage (Ibrahim et al., 2023; Rifaid et al., 2023; Sari, 2023). Kalimantan is one of the centers of biodiversity and the most crucial carbon sink in the world (Teo et al., 2020). Urban development generally has the potential to cause environmental damage (Wei et al., 2015). Environmental damage and change have implications for the surrounding population (Hsiang et al., 2019). This problem will also affect adaptation to urban development (Carter et al., 2015). Risks from environmental problems require the government's active role in formulating and implementing policies (Araos et al., 2016).

Environmental damage concerns public trust in the new capital city development policy (IKN). Dealing with these problems is a response that the government must anticipate. That could change the public trust to be more positive, thus affecting the effectiveness of future city development. Another factor that influences public trust to be harmful is financing or budget.

Developing a new capital city requires a considerable amount of budget readiness. Through the Minister of Finance, Sri Mulyani Indrawati, the government has ensured that the development project for the new capital city (IKN) in Kalimantan will continue in line with the budget allocation that has been prepared. The government has budgeted IDR 23.9 trillion from the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN 2023) for the IKN development project. The budget will be used to prepare basic infrastructure (Medianti, 2023). Budget issues have been debated in recent years.

Previously, in 2022, the official IKN website released details of the overall budget requirements for developing the new capital city. The total need for developing the new capital city reaches Rp 466 trillion. However, the data on the site has been deleted (Rosana, 2022). The government still needs to fully succeed in determining the total required overall budget. The budget may be larger than previously stated. In other studies, new capital city development projects are considered expensive, which may result in the effectiveness and smoothness of future development policy plans (Abubakar & Doan, 2017). Developing a new capital city in Indonesia also encourages the development of smart cities. It requires a large budget capacity (Sugihartati et al., 2020). Several other cases also show that smart city development requires a large budget relocation (Akande, Cabral, Gomes, & Casteleyn, 2019; Iqbal, 2021). In several cases, such projects have come to the government's attention (Engelbert et al., 2019). The high cost of developing a new capital city (IKN) affects the intensity of public discussion, so it negatively affects the level of public trust.

The urgency of public trust in the new capital city development policy (IKN)

Public trust is an important variable to legitimize the realization of good governance (Beshi & Kaur, 2020). Trust also generates public legitimacy that can create social capital (King et al., 2019). It synergizes the government and society to be complementary (Evans, 1996). Since the introduction of information communication technology, social capital has now developed into online social capital (Spottswood & Wohn, 2020). Trust, an essential element of social capital so far, can also be transformed into an online form. This transformation helps accommodate public discussion and response in online social networks, mainly social media users (Baharuddin et al., 2021). Social media users are representatives of the public in discussing current government policies. Many researchers have described this tendency (Freelon, McIlwain, & Clark, 2018; Irawan, Jafar Loilatu, Akbar, & Reynaldi, 2022).

Discussing policies in the digital space, especially regarding government policy on the development of the new capital city (IKN), is considered a positive step to continue to oversee this development project. In discussing it, public assessments may show a positive response or vice versa (Sutoyo & Almaarif, 2020). The public response depends on how the government uses social media to distribute information about the new capital city (IKN). Today, many governments are adopting social media to provide information dissemination, communication, and participation channels. That makes it easier for the public to get involved, as well as to be able to access information about government decisions and policies. Government use of social media will influence public perception. This perception is closely related to public trust in the government (Song & Lee, 2016; Baharuddin, Qodir, & Loilatu, 2022).

Public trust is essential for the government to gain political and social support in government activities, especially in its policies (Lanin & Hermanto, 2019). Low trust will hurt policy implementation efforts (Baharuddin et al., 2021). The competence of the government influences low public trust in running its administration. So, a strategy is needed to reform the bureaucracy to increase public trust (Houston & Harding, 2013). Promoting and communicating the vision and goals of government policies is also considered a strategy to increase public trust (Kim, 2010). In this study, public trust in government policies in developing the new capital city (IKN) is still positive. However, there is a tendency for public trust to be identified as harmful. It could affect the low public trust if the government no longer distributes relevant information. Relevant information can reduce public concern about developing a new capital city, especially the factors that influence it, such as environmental and budgetary issues.

The urgency of trust is an essential aspect of a democratic system that involves the general public (Schmidhuber, Ingrams, & Hilgers, 2021; Kołczyńska, 2020). Trust is the key to connecting and synergizing the state, government, and society (Fitzgerald & Wolak, 2016; Newton, Stolle, & Zmerli, 2018). Initiating a process or interaction is crucial to produce a harmonious balance and

something optimum (Wu et al., 2019). Trust is the foundation for the state in implementing a policy, especially in building a new capital city (IKN). Positive public trust will encourage the sustainability of IKN development in the future. This trust from the public will initiate sustainability, and it will bridge the involvement of the public to participate in supervising the IKN development process. The findings indicate that the idea of developing the IKN will depend heavily on the level of public trust, especially public trust from the areas surrounding the construction of the IKN in Kalimantan. This study assesses that positive trust in IKN, supported by the government's ability to distribute information to the public, will encourage public support for government policies for developing the new capital city (IKN) and its sustainability in the future.

CONCLUSION

The findings showed that the public trusted government policies to develop a new capital city (IKN). Positive trust was influenced by the idea of developing IKN, which was predicted to become an example of a world city. IKN could influence economic equality, promote prosperity, and other influential factors in Joko Widodo's leadership as President of Indonesia. This study also found factors influencing the decline in public trust: concerns over environmental damage and budgetary issues. Low trust will hinder the development of IKN. It could result in enormous losses for the government. The urgency of public trust in policy issues related to IKN is considered to affect the sustainability of the IKN development plan in the future. The contribution of this research is essential as a basis for studies on the future development of IKN, especially for the government, to ensure that aspects of public trust become one of the priority aspects. The limitation of this research lies in the instrument, which only relies on searching public discussions on Twitter so that further research can explore it using a questionnaire instrument. It could help collect data and analyze more complex problems in the future.

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