

Indonesia's National Capital Relocation Policy: An Analysis of Political Support in Parliament and the Public Responses on Twitter

Muhammad Ulfi Ikfina

Al-Falah Boarding School, Sumberadi, Kebumen, Indonesia

Corresponding Author: ulfiikfina@indonesiamaju.or.id

Article Info

Article History;

Received:

2023-01-30

Revised:

2023-06-27

Accepted:

2023-07-21

Abstract: This study aims to explain the policy of relocating Indonesia's capital city from the perspective of political support in parliament and public response on Twitter. This research used a qualitative method with a case study approach. The findings revealed that the policy of relocating the National Capital (IKN) in quantity has received dominant political support in parliament. Eight of the nine political parties with parliament seats agreed to approve the policy. However, at the beginning of the plan to relocate the national capital, the government, as the initiator of the approach, has yet to gain political support in parliament and has minimal communication with the public. Thus, the relocating policy caused a powerful polemic among the people, even in the vortex of the parliamentary elite. Interestingly, the public response on Twitter, content, and narratives turned predominantly positive after circulating explanations from the government regarding the policy. So, public policy and communication are closely related; both must go hand in hand.

Keywords: National Capital Relocation Policy; Political Support in Parliament; Public Responses; Twitter

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18196/jgpp.v11i1.17760>



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/).

INTRODUCTION

The national capital relocation is a controversial and significant policy that President Joko Widodo took at the end of his term. This policy raises questions and debates for the public. However, this situation did not stop President Joko Widodo's serious attempt to realize this policy. On January 18, 2022, the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) and the government officially passed the Draft Law (RUU) on the National Capital City (IKN) of the Archipelago into Law (Nainggolan, 2022). It is a concrete step in President Joko Widodo's policy of moving the IKN. Previously, on August 26, 2019, the plan to move the IKN was officially announced by Joko Widodo at a press conference at the State Palace. Then, President Joko Widodo also announced East Kalimantan Province as the location of the IKN Nusantara, precisely, as parts of North Penajam Paser Regency and elements of Kutai Kartanegara Regency (Putri, 2022).

Historically, the idea of relocating the country's capital was first proposed by Indonesia's first president Soekarno on July 17, 1957. Soekarno chose Palangkaraya as the capital city because it was located in the center of the Indonesian archipelago and had a large area. Soekarno also wanted to show the world that Indonesia could build a modern capital city. Soekarno's idea was never realized. Instead, President Soekarno established Jakarta as Indonesia's national capital

with Law Number 10 of 1964, dated June 22, 1964. During the New Order era in the 1990s, there was also a discourse on moving the national capital to Jonggol.

Meanwhile, during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's presidency, the relocation discourse reappeared due to the congestion and flooding that hit Jakarta. However, this idea was again seriously worked on by President Joko Widodo. On April 29, 2019, President Joko Widodo moved the capital out of Java, included in the 2020-2024 State Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) (Ayundari, 2022).

The urgency of moving the national capital was taken by President Joko Widodo, first to face future challenges. By Indonesia's Vision 2045, called Advanced Indonesia, Indonesia's economy will enter the top 5 in the world in 2045. That year, the estimated Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita was US\$ 23,119. In 2036, Indonesia will exit the middle-income trap. Therefore, economic transformation is needed to achieve Indonesia's Vision 2045. Economic change is supported by industrial downstream by utilizing human resources, infrastructure, regulatory simplification, and bureaucratic reform starting from 2020-2024. Therefore, IKN is needed to support and encourage this economic transformation (Ernawati et al., 2022). Second, IKN must encourage inclusive and equitable economic growth, including in Eastern Indonesia. So far, Jakarta and its surroundings are famous as the center of everything (government, politics, industry, trade, investment, technology, culture, and others). Unsurprisingly, the circulation of money in Jakarta reaches 70 percent in only 664.01 km² or 0.003 percent of Indonesia's total land area of 1,919,440 km². Its population is 10.56 million or 3.9 percent of Indonesia's 270.20 million (2020 data), leading to uneven development and welfare in Indonesia. Development is centralized in Jakarta and Java.

This condition is unsuitable for Indonesia's economic growth, which is expected to be sustainable, needs to optimally utilize regional potential, support justice between regions, and be vulnerable to national unity (Ernawati et al., 2022). Third, the objective condition of Jakarta is no longer suitable as IKN, as seen from the "burden" that Jakarta must bear, among others: population density of 16,704 people/km² while Indonesia's population density is only 141 people/km². Jakarta's congestion was the 10th most congested city in the world in 2019, although it decreased to 31 out of 416 major cities in 57 countries in 2020 (TomTom Traffic Index). Environmental and geological problems have been acute, including floods that hit Jakarta yearly and land subsidence, resulting in parts of Jakarta below sea level (Purnama & Chotib, 2023).

The relocation policy of IKN has drawn many pros and cons, both among the political elite and the public. The different views are spreading in the real world and on social media, especially Twitter. Opponents have put forward several arguments, mainly about the urgency of moving the capital city despite Indonesia's high poverty rate. Secondly, there are other priorities besides moving the capital city to address national strategic issues. Third, there are accusations of only working on infrastructure projects. Fourth, it is highly political. Fifth, in-depth academic research is needed, especially from a constitutional perspective. For example, the 1945 Constitution states that the capital city is the place of decision-making for all Indonesians. The People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) is held in the provincial capital with state funds provided by state institutions Being used and Monitored by a capital-based institution, namely the Supreme Audit Agency (BPK) (Anam, 2022).

The pros also argue that Java's demographic distortions have caused environmental damage, leading to drinking water crises, floods, and landslides. The second is labor productivity. State Civil Servants and non-ASNs living in Jakarta's buffer zone are overworked and stressed at the same time. The third is equitable development of the archipelago. Fourth, it will create new metropolitan cities that positively impact the business world and investment—fifth, efficiency. The new capital city will adopt the brilliant city concept, using electric vehicle transportation and others. Sixth, Java is prone to disasters that can occur at any time, such as earthquakes and tsunamis (Duryat, 2022).

The IKN relocation policy has become a polemic. It is essential to examine more deeply how elite politics support this matter. Since the public policy taken by the president as an executive is also directly related to the political dynamics in the parliament or legislature, the response from the community is no less critical. Later, the community will be the natural element that will receive the impact of public policies taken by the government. Furthermore, social media is now a new world for people constantly using the internet. Social media is a means to express opinions

and communicate with others and groups (Gonca Guzel Sahin & Sengün, 2015). Twitter provides facilities to respond to all events according to their wishes. Twitter is an expansive chat room for people today (Enli, 2017). Therefore, this research is significant because it seeks to see the political support of the parliamentary elite and the public response on Twitter related to the policy of moving the capital city.

Many studies are relevant to the theme of this research. (Shalih et al., 2018) explained the readiness of the Central Kalimantan Government to move the IKN. Then, (Yahya, 2018) analyzed Central Kalimantan's discourse as Indonesia's capital. Furthermore, (Hutasoit, 2018) explained the address of moving federal money, which is always discussed yearly. Moreover, (Aditya & Fuadi, 2021) identified and analyzed the history of regulatory legal arrangements in Indonesia, efforts to improve the quality of regulations in Indonesia, and conceptualize a comprehensive law on relocating the national capital. (Nahak, 2019) investigated the impact of the agricultural law on relocating the national capital to East Kalimantan. Based on community expectations and local wisdom about moving the national money to East Kalimantan in the agricultural law for investment. Meanwhile, (Taufiq, 2020) assumed that new growth centers of national importance would emerge outside Java; he found an opportunity to create economic parity through the capital relocation policy. Migration flows, investment, and internal and external connections make it possible.

Therefore, several previous studies relevant to this research can be grouped into discourse, readiness, law, and economic impact. However, no one has comprehensively explained the policy of relocating Indonesia's capital city from a political and social perspective. Therefore, the novelty of this research is that it focuses more on parliamentary political support and public response on Twitter. Hence, this study aims to explain the policy of relocating Indonesia's capital city from political support in parliament and public response on Twitter.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research method used was qualitative with a case study approach. The data was collected through library studies and Twitter analysis, while the sources came from credible online news such as *kompas.com*, *Tempo.com*, *cnnindonesia.com*, *liputan6.com*, *detiknews.com*, and relevant journal articles. Then this research also used data on trending hashtags on Twitter related to the policy of capital city relocation. The source hashtags used included #PindahIbukotauntuksiapa, #IKN, #iknnusantara, #IKNSejahterakanIndonesia, and #Pindahibukota. This research used descriptive analysis techniques: data collection and processing, data selection, inter-variable analysis, data verification, and interpretation and conclusion drawing.

This research also used Nvivo 12 plus software from Twiter as a data analysis tool. Nvivo 12 plus software facilitates academic researchers' analysis of qualitative data. Using software in research aims to analyze data, which is displayed effectively as attractive images. So the authors could interpret the findings and read them better (Zamawe, 2015). The features used in Nvivo 12 plus were chart analysis and word frequency. The flow of data analysis using Nvivo 12 plus was first to capture the hashtags selected from Twitter, then to import the data results into the Nvivo 12 plus software, auto-code the captured file, use chart analysis to get the content contained in the hashtags, to get the narrative contained in the hashtags through the word frequency feature is used. Figure 1 shows the flow of this research.

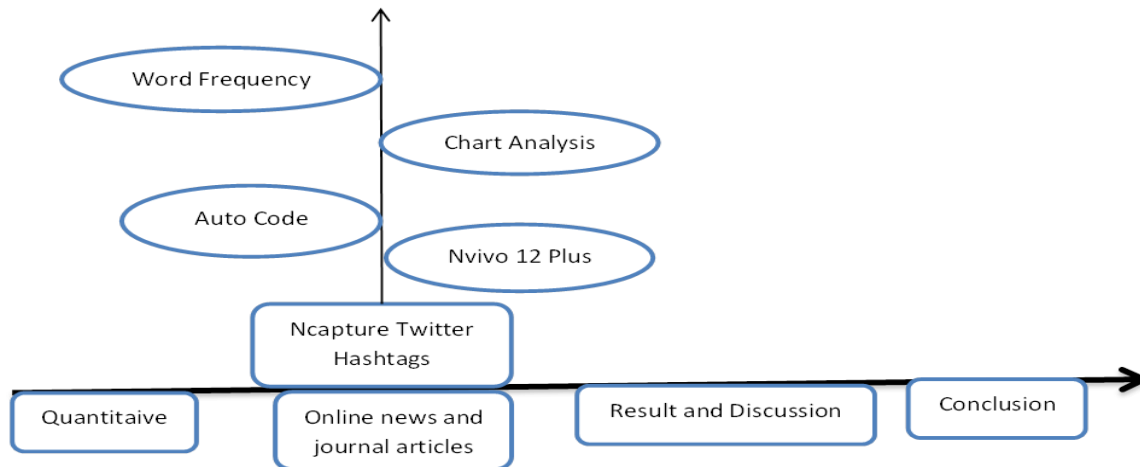


Figure 1. Research flow

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of Parliamentary Political Support

The capital city is the center of government, allowing it to become a symbol of the nation, and the people behind it can control the government at the national level. It is also the center of the national economy and government. Therefore, most countries try to make money a symbol of the dynamism of social and economic life, attract foreign investors, and increase the country's productivity (Ramadhan, 2020). The Indonesian government's policy of relocating the IKN has drawn several criticisms. Some aspects that have been criticized include the first relating to regulations. Yandris Santo, a House of Representatives Commission II member of the National Mandate Party (PAN) faction, said that the relocation can only be done if a law is passed. Development is illegal if the government continues to do so before passing the law.

Second, on the budget, Guerindra Party Faction Chairman Eddie Prabowo said his party opposes the government's plan to include the private sector in the financing plan to construct Indonesia's new capital city in East Kalimantan Province. Penajam Paser and parts of Kutai Kartanegara must be sourced from the State Budget (APBN). Third was reported by the Mining Advocacy Network (JATAM), which suspects Prabowo Subianto's political compensation after the 2019 presidential election is behind the plan to move the capital to East Kalimantan. JATAM East Kalimantan Dinomist Pradharna Lupan said that most of the land in North Penyam Pasar Province, especially in Sepak District, is managed by PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal IKU and ITCI Kartika Utama. Prabowo and Hashim Djojohadikusumo named the two companies holding forest property rights (HPH) as the central commissioners (Erdianto, 2019).

Nevertheless, when the IKN relocation policy was passed into law, it received dominant political support from the parliament, inseparable from the government coalition in parliament, which was prominent during the 2019 presidential election. According to President Joko Widodo, the policy has received political support from the parliament because the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI) has approved the idea with eight factions. Therefore, the policy cannot or no longer needs to be opposed again (Noviansyah, 2022). The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) faction is the only parliamentary faction that rejects the draft law (RUU) on IKN into law. The parties that approved the IKN law were the PDIP, PPP, Nasdem, Golkar, Democrat, PKB, PAN, and Gerindra factions (Rijal, 2022).

The Chairman of Bappenas, Bambang Brodjonegoro, said that political support is essential to ensure the implementation of the IKN relocation plan. However, the term of government is limited to five years (Akbar, 2019). The political dimension of the government's policy towards the national capital has an interrelated content, such as separating the center of government and economy as a symbol of national identity and party political map. With corporate government and the government's political capacity, the relocating policy must be implemented clearly at each stage. The fundamental point concerns the need for a transition period from Jakarta to the East Kalimantan. It requires strong political leadership, even at the city manager level within the IKN body.

The need for IKN leadership stems from the fact that IKN's responsibilities and administrative powers deal with not only the technical issues of the city government but also the political interests of partisan political organizations and entrepreneurs with solid networks (Prayudi, 2020). Most broadly, the corporate conceptions of government and people provide an alternative to the dichotomous view of state and individual. Corporate theory's critical role in constitutionalism warns against trying to understand our polity solely regarding the individual and the sovereign. In the sovereign's power, corporate theory offers an idea of a legal association. In individual isolation, the corporation provides an additional group that mediates between the individual and the government (Jackson, 2020). Thus, the relocating policy is no longer a matter of the government as a policy maker and with the community as a recipient. There should be corporate involvement, in this case, private entrepreneurs with economic and otherwise interests. Moreover, the basic political capacity of government explains how the ability of power holders to control the interest side. The political capacity of the government is related to making regulations to determine these interests (Kugler, 2018; Kugler & Arbetman, 2018; Pinson, 2002).

The relocation of IKN is a public policy to overcome the various problems faced by DKI Jakarta. This general policy requires formal ratification through laws, regulations, government decisions, and action programs. Given the many actors in formulating public policies, public policies have generated controversy. The actors involved usually have different interests that must be met (Pülzl & Treib, 2017). For successful policy implementation, the policy development stage must be taken seriously, considering the voices of all stakeholders. The formulation stage is an essential stage of the policy process. Poor policy development leads to failed implementation (John, 2013). This formulation stage involves agenda-setting (problem recognition) and proposing possible solutions (Howlett & Cashore, 2014).

The policy of relocating the national capital, which has become a polemic, should be discussed more in the public domain. News about IKN mostly comes directly from the government. The public participation process is fictitious, indicated by determining where the local community is uninvolved and only informed (R. S. Hamdani, 2020). Community leaders welcomed the plan to move IKN to their area. However, the civil society coalition said that moving IKN to Kalimantan would damage the ecosystem, and a new IKN would be placed, impacting people who depend on the land (Katharina, R. 2021).

Therefore, the government's policy at the beginning of the plan went smoothly due to minimal public involvement and political support in parliament, which is also still dynamic. Then, in the extreme, even the initial plan to move IKN became a polemic, both politically and in the community. However, with the passage of time and communication that began to run smoothly with the parliament, political support in parliament was obtained. Then, the IKN law was passed by the DPR together with the government. So, public policy must get political support from its partners; the government needs political help from parliament to continue moving IKN to East Kalimantan.

Interesting discussion material that needs further discussion is related to the parliamentary formations that approve and disapprove of the IKN law. The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) was the only party not supporting the relocation policy. PKS has been a consistent party to be outside the government so far. PKS has been a constant party outside Joko Widodo's government for two periods. Thus, the government's policy of moving the capital city became the center of criticism for PKS. PKS considers that the plan to move to the new capital city in the first semester of 2024 is still too early amid the economic crisis due to the COVID-19 pandemic. PKS estimates that moving to the new capital city will take a long time. It mainly builds basic facilities such as water sources, roads, and bridges to settlements. Financing the new capital city requires a state budget of at least Rp 90 trillion. This condition is impossible because the country's economy is sluggish due to the pandemic (CNN Indonesia, 2022).

Interestingly, the Democratic Party is the party that agrees to the policy of relocation of the capital city even though its position is not part of the coalition of the government. The Democratic party has its considerations in approving the law on IKN. In a parliament meeting to ratify the IKN law, the Democratic Party agreed by inserting several important notes. These notes first emphasize that the government prioritizes the needs of the people. In this case, these priorities include social, transportation, and health facilities. Secondly, the policy must think about environmental planning. The important note is not to let environmental and land issues become

severe problems in the future. Residents become foreigners in their area due to the influx of new people in the new capital city area. Third, the IKN Nusantara's relocation policy must aim at citizens' interests, not personal or group interests (Safitri, 2022).

Opposition is an essential instrument in the political-legal system that functions in the parliament or legislature. There is no doubt that great expectations are placed on the role of the checks and balances system, as the majority vote balances policies in favor of the government (coalition parties). Of course, as a minority that determines the direction and policies of the opposition, the opposition must be able to make concrete steps so that its presence becomes a counterweight to produce good results from the people in the government, starting with critical initiatives that can provide policies (Effendi, 2022). The word 'opposition' cannot be separated from the country's democratic system. In other words, democracy underlies the presence of opposition. Of course, as a democratic country, Indonesia gives its citizens the right to criticize existing policies if they are considered fair to them. So that opposition political parties can freely attack and propose (Effendi, 2022).

Content Analysis of Public Response on Twitter

Twitter allows users to post any 140-word event, known as a tweet. These tweets can be published through third-party applications such as Facebook, email, and websites (Fatanti, 2014). Two types of relationships are built on Twitter. The first is being able to know who is uploading information to Twitter. Second, being followed is when a person is followed by several other accounts on their Twitter account (Small, 2010). Figure 2 displays the content of Twitter users' public responses regarding the policy of moving the National Capital City. Figure 2 shows results from Nvivo 12 plus analysis with the chart feature. This figure explains the content in #PindahIbukotauntuksiapa, #IKN, #iknnusantara, #IKNSejahterakanIndonesia, and #Pindahibukota.

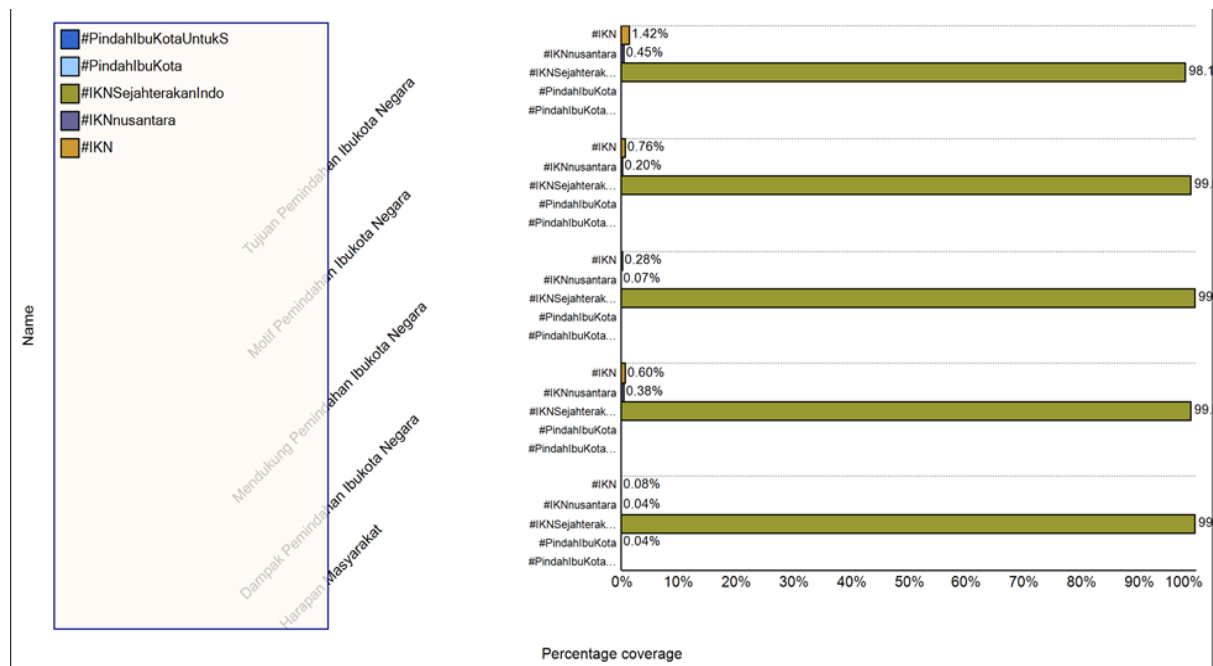


Figure 2. Content on Twitter about the policy of relocating the National Capital City
 Source: Nvivo 12 plus chart analysis features, (2022)

Figure 2 shows that #IKNSejahterakanIndonesia is the most dominant in each content. #IKNSejahterakanIndonesia has a percentage of 98.1%. At the same time, the others are only under 2%. #IKNSejahterakanIndonesia is dominant from other hashtags in talking about the purpose of moving the capital. Then, in the motive for moving the capital city, #IKNSejahterakanIndonesia is also dominant, with 99%. These hashtags talk about the motives for moving the capital city on Twitter.

President Joko Widodo explained the primary purpose and reason for moving the capital city: spur equity and justice outside Java because the wave of economic activity is currently concentrated in Jakarta and Java, causing Java Island to grow dense and creating disparities with non-Java islands. Inequality will only worsen without serious efforts (Kominfo, 2019). However, this motive is debatable because it is not strong enough to be used as a basis for relocating IKN. According to NTU Singapore Associate Professor Prof. Zulfikar Amir, there is no good model for moving IKN from DKI Jakarta to East Kalimantan, where various industries, educational institutions, and so on are still in Java. So if the economy is the reason, it will take a very long time for development and progress in the new capital later because everything will be rebuilt again, industrially and in the economic environment (Aditya & Fuadi, 2021). Moreover, (Herdiana, 2020) explained the conditions for the successful relocation of Indonesia's national capital, visionary leadership and consistency of commitment, the comprehensive rule of law, Participatory and accommodative planning process, Professional human resources, Cultural characteristics, and openness of local communities, Government organizational culture and social values.

Furthermore, in supporting the relocation of the capital city, #IKNSejahterakanIndonesia also dominates with 99%. In these hashtags, the content is primarily positive in viewing the relocation of the capital city. These hashtags also talk about the goals and motives for moving the IKN. It directly educates the public, especially Twitter users, on the urgency of moving IKN. This finding is interesting because, in layperson's terms, the policy of relocating IKN is controversial in the community, but naturally, it is proven that people who support IKN also dominate. Therefore, socialization with the public regarding the urgency of moving the IKN is essential for the government. Polemics in the community result from ignorance about the policy. (Katharina, R. 2021) found that at the beginning of the IKN relocation policy plan, communication was only carried out in one direction by the government. Then, the government needed to be more robust in mobilizing public participation and the DPR.

Furthermore, in the impact of moving the capital city #IKNS, the welfare of Indonesia has the highest number, with 99%. Similarly, public expectations that #IKNSimprosperity for Indonesia is the highest at 99%. The relocation of IKN to a new location is expected to positively impact the community's welfare. This hope for the future aligns with the government's intention behind the policy. One of the realizations of implementing public interest is public services organized by the state and implemented by the State Civil Service Agency (ASN). Good public services reflect the level of competence and professionalism of ASN, which is formed and improved through competency development. Especially in ASN capacity development, the positive impact of IKN transfer is also expected. ASN capability development has only been concentrated in Java, but after the transfer of IKN, equal rights can be expected in the future (Soantahon, 2022).

Then, the transfer of IKN is based on the Special Capital Region (DKI) Jakarta, which now bears the burden of being the center of government and business. The IKN transfer has the potential to boost the country's economic growth while keeping inflation low. In addition, developing industrial estates with downstream value chains will increase people's income, reducing the financial gap between Java and non-Java. The transfer of the national capital also carries risks, mainly due to its financing needs. Financing the development of a new city and its infrastructure, mainly as the center of government, contains long-term risks. The government should consider aspects of regional planning and land use planning to ensure that land use is efficient and potential inflation from uncontrolled land price increases is minimized. The House of Representatives should continue to monitor the development of IKN through oversight mechanisms, including Committee V (Infrastructure), Committee XI (Finance), and other relevant committees (Hasibuan & Aisa, 2020).

Narrative Analysis on Twitter of the National Capital Relocation Policy

Social media truly materializes or changes the human communication process. Before social media, face-to-face, group, or mass communication was the communication process. However, with increasingly modern communication technology, face-to-face connections between humans can be replaced by interfacing or interfacing with technological "terminals" in communication (Ligariaty & Irwansyah, 2021). Social media can become a discourse arena or a new public space

where individuals and groups can actively convey or respond to a phenomenon critically (Burke & Şen, 2018).

In this study, Figure 3 displays the narratives contained in #Pindahbukotauntuksiapa, #IKN, #iknnusantara, #IKNSejahterakanIndonesia, and #Pindahbukota. The data in Figure 3 comes from NVivo 12 Plus with the word frequency feature, collecting famous words on social media and counting them using Nvivo 12 Plus, with the maximum displayed in the analysis image being 40 words. Words that appear include "development," "community," "support," "infrastructure," "economy," and "impact."



Figure 3. Twitter narrative about the IKN relocation policy
Source: Nvivo 12 plus word frequency features, (2022)

Figure 3 displays a narrative on Twitter related to the public's response to the policy of relocating the State Capital of the Archipelago. Figure 3 mentions "development and "infrastructure"; the policy is inseparable from infrastructure development. The law is the basis for IKN in East Kalimantan. The archipelago's capital city is agreed upon as a particular regional government unit at the state level whose territory is the country's capital city. The appointment of the IKN Bureau as the Special Regional Government of the Archipelago Capital is given to keep up with developments in the current digital era and to facilitate the implementation of all IKN developments (Prarono, 2022).

Then, related to infrastructure, it is essential to move the National Capital because it will be a supporting facility for the area's development. The Indonesian government is committed to reducing deforestation and carbon emissions. The 2019-2020 net deforestation rate decreased by around 75.03% to 115.46,000 hectares compared to the deforestation rate of 462.46,000 hectares in the capital city in 2018-2019 net deforestation. Kalimantan is one of the world's lungs, famous for its rainforest vegetation. The IKN development plan considers environmental principles based on the Ministry of Environment and Forestry's 2019 Strategic Environmental Study (KLHS) recommendations. All factual data, analysis, and planning of the IKN Master Plan will be checked for compliance with the Environmental Sustainability and Capacity document by considering population projections, biodiversity, food security, water infrastructure, energy infrastructure, and waste infrastructure. This compatibility is further deepened in the IKN Masterplan study prepared by the Bappenas in 202 (Mayasari, 2022).

Furthermore, Figure 3 displays "community" and "support." These two words become related because they mean that the community in the narrative on Twitter predominantly supports the policy of moving the National Capital City (IKN) of the archipelago. A national survey media poll (median) showed that 40.7% of respondents approved of advancing the national capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. Economic justice was the main reason respondents chose to move to the capital city, which was selected by 13.5% of respondents. Overall, 12.3% of those surveyed indicated that DKI Jakarta's population density would likely be reduced due to the capital move. 10.7% said they would follow the government's decision. The next reason was reduced congestion in DKI Jakarta, which was chosen by 2.9% of respondents. On the other hand, 2.7% of respondents stated that moving the capital would be a change for the better. The public opinion poll on the capital relocation plan was conducted from August 26 to 30, 2019.

One thousand people were surveyed. The sample was divided proportionally and divided by multistage random sampling. The study has a margin of error of 3.09% and a confidence level of 95% (Jayani, 2019).

However, there is an interesting discussion regarding why the capital city relocation is challenging to implement. At least according to the researcher's analysis, due to the unclear size of the urgency of moving the capital city, which has implications for the issue of moving the capital city that has not become a public issue that can be accepted by all parties or existing stakeholders at the central government and local government levels. The government has articulated the point of relocating the capital city as a state institution authorized in governance. The measures provided by the government regarding the complexity of the problems of Jakarta that encourage the urgency of moving the capital to the chances of success and the benefits that will be obtained from transferring the money are dominated by studies from the government itself, which is then advocated the public to get broad support. The preceding has implications for the different interpretations made by various parties or stakeholders of the capital transfer plan submitted by the government. This condition opens up opportunities for other stakeholders with different variations to justify that the plan to move the capital city is an internal government issue that is deliberately made and has political elements.

This understanding is in line with the existing reality where there has been a rejection of the plan to relocate the capital city expressed by various stakeholders, such as legislature members and community elements (Herdiana, 2020). The denial came from aspects of the government itself, such as the results of the Indonesia Development Monitoring (IDM) survey, which stated that 94% of the state civil apparatus rejected the plan to relocate the capital city (T. Hamdani, 2019). Various rejections are supported by empirical facts that have occurred floods around the Penajam Paser area, which the government will use as the new capital city area (Ansyari, 2020). These conditions have raised various reactions from various parties, ranging from what aspects are used as the basis for determining the new location of the capital city by the government to strategic guarantees of ecological disasters that may arise if the relocation of the new capital city has been implemented (Hana Dwi Djayanti, I Gede Sumertha, 2022).

Furthermore, Figure 3 also shows the words "economy and "impact." The narrative on Twitter related to the policy of relocating the Archipelago's National Capital City (IKN) has an economic impact. The public has hopes, as outlined in Twitter, that this policy affects economic equality, which was initially only on the island of Java, to be evenly distributed throughout all regions in Indonesia. The relocation will overcome the problems of inequality and justice and promote particular economic and industrial areas on islands other than Java. With the development of the East Kalimantan Central Government, the gross domestic product is also expected to increase by 0.1 of gross domestic opinion (GDP) because it aims to utilize the potential of untapped resources. It will also reduce the socioeconomic gap between individuals and groups through a 0.23% increase in the price of capital and a 1.37% increase in the cost of capital, mainly through increased investment in the service sector.

The prospective new capital city of East Kalimantan, especially Kutai Kartanegara, is one of the most significant contributors to foreign exchange for additional funds for the state budget (APBN). Kutai Kartanegara is the most essential contributor to East Kalimantan's regional economy. East Kalimantan has 5.2 million (ha) of mines, constituting 24% of East Kalimantan's land area and accounting for 26% of East Kalimantan's Gross National Product (GNP). Kutai Kutai is undoubtedly the wealthiest city in Indonesia when looking at Kartanegara's total assets. Besides Kutai Kartanegara, the new capital city, North Penajam, will be the next target. The policy of moving IKN to Penajam Paser Utara has excellent economic opportunities for the community. Investors will have a great opportunity to enter the industry. The city's economy then shifts to the goods and services sector. With the relocation of the capital city, many companies and investors are expected to invest in the Penajam Paser Utara area to improve the region's economy (Bappenas, 2019).

The relocation of IKN is based on DKI Jakarta, which now bears the burden of being the center of government and business. The relocation of IKN can boost the country's economic growth while keeping inflation low. Moreover, the development [of industrial areas will increase people's income, which in the future will have an impact on reducing the social and economic gap between Java and outside Java. However, the policy also has risks, especially in funding needs

(Hasibuan & Aisa, 2020). Relocating the capital city affects opportunities for economic equity. Relocating the capital city can achieve economic justice because it creates a concentration of new centers of economic growth at the national level, with the displacement of the destination population. A capital city relocation will affect internal and external connections and geographical changes. Through internal connectivity, economic development can lead to the development of other outer islands (other than Java), such as Kalimantan, Sumatra, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Papua. External connections will positively impact regional external cooperation in Southeast Asia, and more attention should be paid to the triangle of growth centers such as Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Darussalam, and the Philippines (Taufiq, 2020).

CONCLUSION

This research was conducted to explain the policy of relocating Indonesia's capital city from the perspective of political support in parliament and public response on social media Twitter. Public policy has essential dimensions in the implementation process. The first dimension requires political support from working partners, and the second is strong and smooth communication with the community as recipients of policy impacts. The policy received political support in the dominant parliament. Eight of the nine political parties that have seats in parliament agreed to approve the IKN Bill into law. However, at the beginning of the IKN transfer plan, the government, as the policy initiator, had yet to gain political support in parliament and had minimal communication with the public. Thus, the IKN policy caused a powerful polemic among the people, even in the vortex of the parliamentary elite.

Then, looking at the public response on Twitter after the ratification of the IKN Law in the form of content is dominantly positive. Since Jakarta has many issues, Twitter users like Indonesia may have a new capital city. The development needs to be evenly distributed throughout Indonesia. Furthermore, Twitter's narrative also showed positive words related to the policy of moving the national capital. The narratives built by Twitter users dominantly talked about community support, infrastructure development, and economic impact. Thus, the community hopes that the IKN relocation policy will have a good effect on the economy and that infrastructure development will be evenly distributed to all regions in Indonesia. However, this research was limited to only one social media as the data source, Twitter, to see the public response. Therefore, future research should explore public responses from other social media, such as Facebook, to get additional perspectives and a more complete discussion.

REFERENCES

- Aditya, Z. F., & Fuadi, A. B. (2021). Konseptualisasi Omnibus Law dalam Pemindahan Ibukota Negara. *Jurnal Ilmiah Kebijakan Hukum*, 15(1), 149. <https://doi.org/10.30641/kebijakan.2021.V15.149-164>
- Akbar, C. (2019). *Kepala Bappenas: Pemindahan Ibu Kota Perlu Dukungan Politik*. Tempo.co.
- Anam, K. (2022). *Pro Kontra Ibu Kota Baru RI, Simak Perdebatan Ini!* Cnbcindonesia.
- Ansyari, S. (2020). *Penajam Paser Utara, Calon Ibu Kota Baru Dilanda Banjir*. Viva.co.id. <https://www.viva.co.id/berita/nasional/1263845-penajam-paser-utara-calon-ibu-kota-baru-dilanda-banjir>
- Ayundari. (2022). *Urgensi Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara*. Djkn.Kemenkeu.Go.Id. <https://www.djkn.kemenkeu.go.id/kanwil-kalbar/baca-artikel/14671/Urgensi-Pemindahan-Ibu-Kota-Negara.html>
- Bappenas. (2019). *Dampak Ekonomi dan Skema Pembiayaan Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara*. Kementerian PPN/Bappenas.
- Burke, B. R., & Şen, A. F. (2018). Social media choices and uses: comparing Turkish and American

- young adults' social media activism. *Palgrave Communications*, 4(1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-018-0090-z>
- CNNIndonesia. (2022). *PKS Satu-satunya Partai Tolak RUU Ibu Kota Baru*. Cnnindonesia.Com.
- Duryat, M. (2022). *Jadi Pro dan Kontra, Perpindahan Ibu Kota Sebuah Ironi*. Pikiran-Rakyat.Com.
- Effendi, O. (2022). Lemahnya Suara Partai Oposisi Dibalik Sistem Voting Dalam Pengambilan Keputusan Di Parlemen. *Politea: Jurnal Politik Islam*, 5(1), 55–63. <https://doi.org/10.20414/politea.v5i1.4466>
- Enli, G. (2017). Twitter as arena for the authentic outsider: exploring the social media campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US presidential election. *European Journal of Communication*, 32(1), 50–61. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323116682802>
- Erdianto, K. (2019). *Polemik Pemandangan Ibu Kota, Soal Regulasi hingga Dugaan Deal Politik Jokowi-Prabowo*. Kompas.Com.
- Ernawati, A., Wahyudi, J., Astuti, A. D., & Aini, S. Q. (2022). Analisis Kelayakan Pendirian Usaha Pengolahan Limbah Medis untuk Meningkatkan Pendapatan Asli Daerah. *Jurnal Ekonomi Dan Kebijakan Publik*, 13(1), 57–70. <https://doi.org/10.22212/jekp.v13i1.2155>
- Fatanti, M. N. (2014). Twitter dan Masa Depan Politik Indonesia: Analisis Perkembangan Komunikasi Politik Lokal Melalui Internet Twitter and the Future of Indonesian Politics: Analysis of the Development of Local Political Communication over the Internet. *Jurnal IPTEK-KOM (Jurnal Ilmu Pengetahuan Dan Teknologi Komunikasi)*, 16(1), 17–28. <https://doi.org/10.33164/iptekkom.16.1.2014.17-30>
- Gonca Guzel Sahin, A., & Sengün, G. (2015). The Effects of Social Media on Tourism Marketing: A Study among University Students. *Management and Administrative Sciences Review*, 4(5), 772–786.
- Hamdani, R. S. (2020). Proyek Lintas Batas Administrasi: Analisis Partisipasi Publik dalam Proses Perencanaan Ibu Kota Negara Republik Indonesia. *Journal of Regional and Rural Development Planning*, 4(1), 43–62. <https://doi.org/10.29244/jp2wd.2020.4.1.43-62>
- Hamdani, T. (2019). *PNS Tolak Pindah ke Ibu Kota Baru, Ada Sanksinya?* Detiknews.Com. <https://finance.detik.com/properti/d-4681496/pns-tolak-pindah-ke-ibu-kota-baru-ada-sanksinya>
- Hana Dwi Djayanti, I Gede Sumertha, A. P. U. (2022). Potensi Konflik Sosial Dalam Pemindahan Ibukota Negara Republik Indonesia the Potential of Social Conflict in Capital Relocation of the Republic of Indonesia. *Jurnal Damai Dan Resolusi Konflik*, 8(1), 1–15.
- Hasibuan, R. R. A., & Aisa, S. (2020). Dampak Dan Resiko Perpindahan Ibu Kota Terhadap Ekonomi Di Indonesia. *AT-TAWASSUTH: Jurnal Ekonomi Islam*, 5(1), 183. <https://doi.org/10.30829/ajei.v5i1.7947>
- Herdiana, D. (2020). Menemukenali syarat keberhasilan pemindahan ibu kota negara. *Jurnal Politica Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri Dan Hubungan Internasional*, 11(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v11i1.1382>
- Howlett, M., & Cashore, B. (2014). Conceptualizing public policy. In *Comparative policy studies* (pp.

- 17-33). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137314154_2
- Hutasoit, W. L. (2018). Analisis Pemindahan Ibukota Negara. *Dedikasi*, 19(2), 108-128.
- Jackson, H. E. (2020). Washington University Journal of Law & Policy. *Journal of Law & Policy*, 61(2000), 1-11. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15326926CLP0501_1_3
- Jayani, D. H. (2019). *Lima Alasan Masyarakat Mendukung Kependahan Ibu Kota Negara*. Databoks.Katadata.co.id.
- John, P. (2013). *Analyzing public policy*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203136218>
- Kominfo. (2019). *Pemindahan Ibu Kota Untuk Pacu Pemerataan dan Keadilan di Luar Pulau Jawa*. Kominfo.Go.Id.
- Kugler, J. (2018). *Political capacity and economic behavior*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429498244>
- Kugler, J., & Arbetman, M. (2018). Relative political capacity: Political extraction and political reach. In *Political capacity and economic behavior* (pp. 11-45). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429498244-2>
- Ligariaty, Y. I., & Irwansyah, I. (2021). Narasi Persuasi Social Media Influencer Dalam Membangun Konsep Kecantikan Dan Kepercayaan Diri. *Jurnal Pustaka Komunikasi*, 4(2), 173-186. <https://doi.org/10.32509/pustakom.v4i2.1495>
- Mayasari, D. (2022). *Ibu Kota Negara Baru: Integrasi Infrastruktur dan Kelestarian Alam*. Kpbu.Kemenkeu.Go.Id.
- Nahak, S. (2019). Implikasi Hukum Pertanahan Terhadap Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara Republik Indonesia Dari Jakarta Ke Kalimantan Timur. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Program Pascasarjana Universitas Warmadewa Kerjasama Dengan Program Pascasarjana Universitas Mulawarman "Harapan Masyarakat Dan Kearifan Lokal Dengan Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara Ke Kalimantan,"* 31-40.
- Nainggolan, E. U. (2022). *Urgensi Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara*. Djkn.Kemenkeu.Go.Id.
- Noviansyah, W. (2022). *Jokowi Kembali Singgung Dukungan Politik 8 Fraksi DPR Setuju UU IKN*. Detiknews.Com.
- Pinson, G. (2002). Political government and governance: Strategic planning and the reshaping of political capacity in Turin. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26(3), 477-493. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00394>
- Pramono, S. (2022). *Undang-Undang Ibu Kota Negara Menandai Dimulainya Pembangunan IKN*. Kominfo.Go.Id.
- Prayudi. (2020). Aspek Politik Pemerintahan dari Rencana Pemindahan Ibukota Negara RI. *Jurnal Kajian*, 25(3).
- Pülzl, H., & Treib, O. (2017). Implementing public policy. In *Handbook of public policy analysis* (pp. 115-134). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315093192-15>

- Purnama, S. J., & Chotib, C. (2023). Analisis kebijakan publik pemindahan ibu kota negara. *Jurnal Ekonomi & Kebijakan Publik*, 13(2), 153–166. <https://doi.org/10.22212/jekp.v13i2.3486>
- Putri, D. L. (2022). *IKN adalah Singkatan dari Ibu Kota Negara Baru, Apa Itu IKN Nusantara?* Kompas.Com.
- Ramadhan, M. R. (2020). *Paradigma Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara*. Bem.Feb.Ugm.Ac.Id.
- Rijal, K. (2022). *8 Fraksi DPR Setuju RUU Ibu Kota Negara Jadi UU, Kenapa PKS Menolak?* Poskotabanten.
- Riris Katharina. (2021). Keberlanjutan Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara Baru Pada Masa Pandemi. *INFO Singkat*, 13(April), 25–30.
- Safitri, E. (2022). *Demokrat Setujui RUU IKN dengan Sederet Catatan Ini*. Detiknews.Com.
- Shalih, O., Toun, N. R., Kebencanaan, B. T., Aprinae, O., Ito, Y., Faculty, I. S., Komiya, K., Kotani, Y., Supriyatno, M., & Yahya, M. (2018). Analisis Kesiapan Pemerintah Provinsi Kalimantan Tengah dalam Wacana Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara Republik Indonesia ke Kota Palangkaraya. *Jurnal Academia Praja*, 14(1), 21. <https://doi.org/10.36859/jap.v1i01.45>
- Small, T. (2010). Canadian politics in 140 characters: party politics in the twitterverse. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, 33(3), 39–45.
- Soantahon, S. M. (2022). *Dampak Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara Terhadap Pengembangan Kompetensi Aparatur Sipil Negara*. Politik.Brin.Go.Id.
- Taufiq, M. (2020). PEMINDAHAN IBU KOTA dan POTENSI KONEKTIVITAS PEMERATAAN EKONOMI. *Jurnal Vokasi Indonesia*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.7454/jvi.v8i1.156>
- Yahya, M. (2018). Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara Maju dan Sejahtera. *Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Masyarakat*, 14(1), 21. <https://doi.org/10.23971/jsam.v14i1.779>
- Zamawe, F. C. (2015). The implication of using NVivo software in qualitative data analysis: Evidence-based reflections. *Malawi Medical Journal*, 27(1), 13–15. <https://doi.org/10.4314/mmj.v27i1.4>