

**Government Responses to Socio-Economic Disparities
and Public Resistance in East Kalimantan: A Study of
Indonesia's Capital Relocation**

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Abstract

The rising socio-economic insecurity in terms of uneven development faced by the local community in East Kalimantan due to the capital city relocation triggered debates among Indonesian citizens regarding the government's decision to realize the capital relocation project that has been discussed since Indonesia's independence era. This research will focus on the Indonesian government's attitude towards the issue, specifically observing the way the Indonesian government responds to the socio-economic disparities faced by local communities in East Kalimantan and observing the way the Indonesian government addresses the socio-political implications of the resistance exhibited by local communities in East Kalimantan by focusing on their decision-making and policymaking. Capital relocation as a massive project to achieve the Advanced Indonesia vision by 2045 definitely will not satisfy everyone, however, the best solutions through legal law are expected to maintain the well-being of people, especially in this case the local community in East Kalimantan.

Keywords: Capital relocation, East Kalimantan, Socio-economic disparities

摘要

由於東加里曼丹當地社區面臨的發展不均衡問題，導致其社會經濟安全感日益削弱，隨著首都遷移計畫的推行，該決策引發了印尼公民間的廣泛討論。自印尼獨立以來，遷都議題屢次被提及，現已邁入實施階段。本研究旨在探討印尼政府對該議題的立場，特別是分析政府如何應對東加里曼丹當地社區所面臨的社會經濟差距，並檢視政府在面對當地社區對遷都計畫的反抗時，所採取的應對措施，重點關注其決策過程與政策制定。遷都作為實現 2045 年先進印尼願景的重要項目，固然難以令所有人滿意，但預期透過合法的法律途徑，能夠找到最佳解決方案，進而維護人民，特別是東加里曼丹當地社區的福祉。

關鍵字：遷都計畫、東加里曼丹、社會經濟差

PREFACE

The capital relocation from Jakarta to East Kalimantan remains an intriguing topic for discussion today. The sudden plan to move the capital has sparked numerous pros and cons among the Indonesian people, especially the residents of Jakarta and East Kalimantan, who are directly affected by this decision. As a Jakarta resident accustomed to the bustling atmosphere of the capital, the news of this relocation surprised me and piqued my curiosity about the country's prospective new capital. The widespread opposition from the indigenous communities in East Kalimantan became the foundation for this research.

Throughout the design, writing, and finalization of this research, I would first like to express my gratitude to Almighty God for granting me the strength and comfort to complete this work. I am also deeply grateful to my advisor, Professor Yuan-Ming Chiao, whose experience was invaluable in helping me organize the structure of my writing and develop ideas that I had not initially considered. Additionally, I would like to thank ChatGPT for providing me with better writing ideas, especially given English is my second language. The grammar checks were incredibly helpful in aligning this research with academic writing standards. Finally, I want to extend my thanks to my partner and close friends who offered emotional support and provided positive feedback, enabling me to complete this research successfully.

Through the writing of this research, I personally gained new insights, particularly in the process of analysis and academic paper writing itself. I hope that this research can contribute meaningfully to society at large and serve as a guide for the future development of knowledge in this field.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

Capital city may not be the largest city in the country, however, it is the most important city where all the political and economical executions happen. For this matter, the malfunction of a capital city could lead to the malfunction of the nation as a whole. The case that would be the topic of this study is the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta.

Back in the history, Jakarta became the national capital de facto on August 17, 1945, because of an independent declaration by President Soekarno and his vice, Mohammad Hatta. However, due to the return of the Dutch East Indies civil government to Jakarta, Indonesian government secretly move to Yogyakarta and it became Indonesian new capital city on January 4, 1946. Not long after that, the second dutch military aggression occurred in Yogyakarta which caused the president and several state officials got arrested and exiled. Due to this emergency situation, Minister Syafruddin Prawiranegara, who was in Bukittinggi at that time was entrusted by the President to become coordinator of the Emergency Government of Republic of Indonesia. This was when Bukittinggi got its title as the capital city on December 19, 1948.¹

The attempts to suppress Indonesian independence through violence ended in failure. After getting heavy criticism from the international community, the Netherlands and Indonesia then held several meetings to diplomatically resolve this problem through the Linggarjati negotiations, the Renville agreement, and the Roem-

¹ "Perjalanan Perpindahan Ibu Kota Indonesia," Indonesiabaik.id, 2023, <https://indonesiabaik.id/infografis/perjalanan-perpindahan-ibu-kota-indonesia>.

Royen agreement. The final meeting was held in Den Haag, Netherlands which known as the Dutch-Indonesian Round Table Conference that ended with the cession of sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia.² In this event, Yogyakarta successfully regain its title as the capital city of Indonesia on December 27, 1949.³ Operation as an united states was not very succesful where there were too much pressure to form into a unitary state. After several considerations, President Soekarno finally dissolved the United States of Indonesia and turned it into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). To this matter, on August 17, 1950 Jakarta officially became the capital city of Indonesia until 2024.⁴

History mentioned Indonesia has moved its capital from time to time due to the emergency situation. However, the capital city relocation of Jakarta to another city itself has been thought since the period of the first president. One of the historians called JJ Rizal reported that President Soekarno once stated that he wanted to move the capital from Jakarta to Palangkaraya. This plan began in 1957 when President Soekarno laid the first stone in Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan with the purpose of build a sister city for Jakarta with the aim of sharing the burden on the nation's capital. The projection of Palangkaraya becoming the new capital city had to be dashed because at that time there was a major political upheaval which resulted the replacement of Indonesian President to President Soeharto.⁵

² Nibras Nada Nailufar, "Konferensi Meja Bundar: Latar Belakang, Tujuan, Hasil, dan Dampaknya," (2022). <https://www.kompas.com/skola/read/2020/02/11/100000169/konferensi-meja-bundar-latar-belakang-tujuan-hasil-dan-dampaknya>.

³ Finaka, "Perjalanan Perpindahan Ibu Kota Indonesia."

⁴ Adminkesbangpol, "Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia vs Republik Indonesia Serikat," (2022). [https://kesbangpol.kulonprogokab.go.id/detil/576/negara-kesatuan-republik-indonesia-vs-republik-indonesia-serikat#:~:text=Akhirnya%2C%20Presiden%20Soekarno%20membubarkan%20RIS,Kesatuan%20Republik%20Indonesia%20\(NKRI\)](https://kesbangpol.kulonprogokab.go.id/detil/576/negara-kesatuan-republik-indonesia-vs-republik-indonesia-serikat#:~:text=Akhirnya%2C%20Presiden%20Soekarno%20membubarkan%20RIS,Kesatuan%20Republik%20Indonesia%20(NKRI)).

⁵ M Nurhadi, "Fakta Menarik! Alasan Presiden Soekarno Dulu Ingin Pindahkan Ibu Kota Indonesia," (2024). <https://www.suara.com/bisnis/2024/02/08/180839/fakta-menarik-alasan-presiden-soekarno-dulu-ingin-pindahkan-ibu-kota-indonesia>.

The projection to move the capital city finally executed in 2019, when the seventh president of Indonesia, Joko Widodo announced it on Monday, August 26, 2019, at the presidential palace. Since the beginning of Indonesia's independence, Jakarta has been considered not good enough to be a capital city. The urgency to move the capital city is arising due to the never-ending problems occurring in Jakarta, such as traffic, flood, and pollution triggering the relocation to happen. According to data from Statistics Indonesia in 2017, Jakarta has the highest population density in Indonesia, reaching 15,366.87 people/km² while the average of Indonesia's population density is only 141 people/km².⁶ Population density then leads to more branches of problems such as traffic congestion. In 2019, Traffic congestion in Jakarta was ranked as the 10th most congested city in the world. Acute environmental and geological issues also need to be mentioned due to annual floods that hit Jakarta and land subsidence, causing parts of Jakarta to be below sea level.⁷

President Joko Widodo also stressed that the reputation of the nation's capital city itself is extremely important that the relocation is designed not only as the symbol of the nation's identity but also to represent the nation's development with the concept of smart, modern, and green city, with the usage of the newest energy and not depend on the fossil energy. "This is for the realization of economic equality and justice. This is for the Advanced Indonesia vision".⁸ According to the 2045 vision of Advanced Indonesia, Indonesia's economy is predicted to become one of the Big 5 in the world with a predicted GDP per capita of around USD 23,119. Also, in 2036 Indonesia is

⁶ Muhammad Rasyid Ramadhan, "Paradigma Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara." https://bem-feb-ugm-ac-id.translate.googleusercontent.com/paradigma-pemindahan-ibu-kota-negara/?_x_tr_sl=id&_x_tr_tl=en&_x_tr_hl=en&_x_tr_pto=sc.

⁷ Ayundari, "Urgensi Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara," (2022). <https://www.djkn.kemenkeu.go.id/kanwil-kalbar/baca-artikel/14671/Urgensi-Pemindahan-Ibu-Kota-Negara.html>.

⁸ "Pemindahan Ibu Kota Untuk Pacu Pemerataan dan Keadilan di Luar Pulau Jawa," (2019). <https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/20729/pemindahan-ibu-kota-untuk-pacu-pemerataan-dan-keadilan-di-luar-pulau-jawa/0/berita>.

predicted to be out of the middle-income trap. To achieve the goal of this vision, Indonesia needs to make a great move, and one of the decisions that has been made by the government, especially by the President is moving the capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan.⁹

East Kalimantan, specifically Kutai Kartanegara Regency and Penajam Paser Utara Regency was chosen as the place to build the new capital city which will be named Nusantara. According to President Joko Widodo, lots of considerations were taken to finally choosing East Kalimantan as the location for the new capital city. East Kalimantan has minimal disaster risk, not only floods, but also disasters like earthquakes, tsunamis, forest fires, volcanic eruptions, and landslides. East Kalimantan is also a very strategic location because it is located in the central part of Indonesia and located near several more developed cities such as Balikpapan and Samarinda that match the promoted purpose of this massive project: to have a more equal economic development. Around 180.000 hectares of land in East Kalimantan is also owned by the government and has relatively complete infrastructure, making the city suitable for becoming the new capital city.¹⁰

However, the good vision of developing a better capital city clashes with lots of challenges happening in East Kalimantan. Not only the environmental problems such as flood, which contradicts the reason why the government decided to move the capital city to East Kalimantan, but also the rising problems happening to the local community in East Kalimantan, specifically to those who live at Kutai Kartanegara, Penajam Paser Utara, and their neighbor regencies. These problems were discussed

⁹ Ayundari, "Urgensi Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara."

¹⁰ "Ibu Kota Negara Pindah ke Wilayah Penajam Pasir Utara dan Kutai Kartanegara," (2019). <https://www.kominfo.go.id/content/detail/20899/ibu-kota-negara-pindah-ke-wilayah-penajam-pasir-utara-dan-kutai-kartanegara/0/berita>.

through an interview by Indonesian famous political journalist, Najwa Shihab with the head of the Balik ethnic group in Sepaku village, Penajem Pasar Utara, and with some Sepaku village's citizens. The interview was focused on the resistance by the residents who felt their opinions were not considered by the government. There were debates where the local community felt that the government did not provide "space" for them to participate in the discussion of the capital city relocation. They believe this mega project should go through permission from the local people due to the usage of their land. Local residents are very optimistic about the inability to compete with the migrant workers that will come from another island especially Java, specifically from the former capital city, Jakarta. This insecurity emerging due to the uneven development of facilities such as education, healthcare, technology, and even the economy happening in Indonesia. Compared to big cities on Java Island, local community in East Kalimantan still rely on natural resources as their source of living which is far from the image of the metropolitan city. Another concern also emerges by taking the example from several companies' investments in East Kalimantan that had huge impacts, causing deforestation in Kalimantan, which led to the shift of jobs for some local residents due to the loss of their forest. In this case, capital city relocation needs lots of land to be constructed, which means greater sacrifice of forests and people's houses that will make the local residents need to give up not only their homes but also their source of living.

Motivation

Capital city relocation is still a fresh topic to be discussed and learned with so many pros and cons debate over this mega project, directed by the seventh president of Indonesia, Joko Widodo. Exploring deeper into this mega project makes the author

realize that there are interesting issues that can be further analyzed. The plan to relocate the capital city had actually been planned since the early days of independence certainly didn't make this major project surprising for the people of Indonesia. However, the announcement of the capital city relocation came at a time when Indonesia was grappling with the ongoing pandemic crisis, Covid-19. At that time, Indonesia was in a state of despair as the country experienced an economic downturn caused by the pandemic, which made the capital city relocation seemed to a very impulsive strategy to achieve the vision of Advanced Indonesia. Throughout the relocation process, there were numerous debates between proponents and opponents. Author acknowledges that any national project is bound to be contentious, but there is an issue that the author finds particularly intriguing, which is the position of the local population in East Kalimantan, who seem to be caught in the problems caused by this capital city relocation.

Research Purpose

A country can be called a country because within it there is a group of people known as society and a government structure that are both regulated by a set of rules. Position of both society and the government are equally important for the progress of a country, especially in issues related to national-scale projects. In this issue, the pressure felt by the local community in East Kalimantan can clearly be seen by the world through a series of interviews with local people and through social media coverage. Therefore, this research aims to focus on analyzing the behavior of the government, especially the central and regional governments, in handling the problems arising from the mega project of relocating the capital city. This research aims to provide an understanding of the government's mindset and the ways in which

the Indonesian government, in the era of President Joko Widodo, addresses issues related to its citizens.

Research Questions

1. How does the Indonesian government perceive and respond to the socioeconomic disparities faced by local communities in East Kalimantan?
2. How does the government address the socio-political implications of the resistance exhibited by local communities in East Kalimantan towards the government's capital city relocation project?

Contribution

This research is conducted to provide an understanding of the government's attitudes and the approaches of the Indonesian government during the administration of Joko Widodo in addressing issues related to citizens, particularly the local community in East Kalimantan. The findings obtained from this research are expected to serve as an evaluation and consideration for the Indonesian government in carrying out future mega projects. Additionally, this research is also anticipated to broaden the awareness of Indonesian society regarding the government's attitude towards issues occurring in Indonesia, particularly concerning the uneven distribution of public facilities which poses problems for the local community in East Kalimantan. Lastly, this research also conducted to give insights to citizens especially Indonesians about the government's perspectives towards issues happening that need to deal with a certain community in the country.

Limits

In conducting this research, there are several limitations that the writer cannot avoid, such as the limited direct access to sources from the government, especially considering that this research will discuss some of the government regulations, which is extremely necessary to have sources who truly understand and have been involved in planning these regulations. Hence, in carrying out this research, the author pursued several alternative methods. These include analyzing news related to the issues discussed in the research, observing regulations issued by the government concerning the issues discussed, analyzing video interviews that may have been conducted by journalists or activists with similar concerns regarding the issues discussed, and observing whether there is any resistance action taken by the community and how the Indonesian government addresses it.

Delimits

This research will focus on the fact that Indonesia still experiences uneven development issues among its regions, especially between urban and rural areas. In this case, this research will focus on the uneven development between Kalimantan Utara dan Jakarta that will be concentrated on three aspects: education, healthcare facilities, and the economic sector; which are the major aspect of insecurities faced by the local communities in East Kalimantan. According to these 3 major aspect, this research will include up-to-date informations on government's regulations, progress of the capital city relocation, and state of the local community. This research will only collect data from 2019-2024 sources, starting from the year of the announcement of the capital city relocation, until the present year.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Capital City Relocation Overview

Capital city relocation is a mega project a country could have done with hope that the new capital will bring fortune to the country or solve the national issues. The process of moving the capital city is also not simple and need lot of sacrifices. The outcome of moving it is also uncertain, some could success and some could fail. However, uncertainty did not stop countries to move the national capital due to achieve greater outcomes. The practice of moving the capital city usually will taken place to the less develop regions in order to distribute the development and to decrease the control of the big cities on them.¹¹

History noted 16 countries have relocated their capital city after the World War II. Among them were countries from the South-East Asia region such as Myanmar and Malaysia. In the case of Myanmar, it moved the capital due to geographical motive and warfare history. Naypiytaw had chosen as the new capital city because the location was more centered than Yangon (the old capital city). It was totally different from Malaysia where it only transffered some of its administrative function from Kuala Lumpur to Putrajaya.¹²

Deciding a particular city to become the national capital needs to meet specific standards. Many scholars concur that a nation's capital is an essential location for all nations worldwide. Numerous ideas have been proposed to explain the existence of capital cities. According to Illmann, territory of the capital city is the hub of power and authority. This idea is also align with the idea from several scholars, mentioned in

¹¹ Rini Rachmawati et al., "Best Practices of Capital City Relocation in Various Countries: Literature Review," *E3S Web of Conferences* (2021).

¹² Rachmawati et al., "Best Practices of Capital City Relocation in Various Countries: Literature Review."

his journal that stated the capital serves as a symbol of a nation's identity because it represents its citizens and the rest of the world the characteristics that the country wishes to project, such as its history, capitalism, revolution, religion, or sense of pride.¹³ This definition of capital city is also similar to Susanti and Hardimansyah who stated that the presence of a capital city typically serves as a symbol of the nation's identity, which build to help create the nation.¹⁴ This theory is also align with the concept of capital city from a constitutional perspective or known as declarative theory by Hadi and Ros. According to this notion, the State Capital serves as both a unique location and the home of a nation's center of government. This means that a country must have a place of government in the National Capital region in order to run effectively and efficiently.¹⁵

Nation's capital city holds great significance that it occasionally becomes essential for it to relocate. According to Hutasoit, socioeconomic, political, and geographic factors are the main drivers behind capital city move.¹⁶ These three factors are also the main lead factors of the capital city relocation in Indonesia. All economy activities are occurring in Jakarta, government offices are centered in Jakarta and due to that, there were so many migrant came to Jakarta which lead to population density that rised problems not only in environmental sector such as floods and air pollution but also economic sector due to higher competition. These fact then linked to the theory that a city's ability to function as a capital can be jeopardized if it is constantly

¹³ Erik Illmann, "Reasons for Relocating Capital Cities and Their Implications," (2015).

¹⁴ Vera Susanti, "Building Shadow City: The Social and Cultural Effects of National Capital Relocation on National Unity" (paper presented at the 3rd Borneo International Conference on Islamic Higher Education (BICIHE) 2023, 2023).

¹⁵ Etika Rahmawati and Waskur Waskur, "Solution or Ambition? Relocating the National Capital to Borneo Island (Juridical Analysis of Eco-Justice Perspective)" (paper presented at the 3rd Borneo International Conference on Islamic Higher Education (BICIHE) 2023, 2023).

¹⁶ Wesley Liano Hutasoit, "Analisa pemindahan ibukota negara," *DEDIKASI: Jurnal Ilmiah Sosial, Hukum, Budaya* 39, no. 2 (2019).

in danger of natural disasters like floods or earthquakes, or if it has other issues like inadequate infrastructure, excessive population density, or pollution.¹⁷

Capital city relocation might be the best solution for the arising issues.

However, there are still some considerations to think further. Shifting a nation's capital has the ability to impact not just its political and economic landscape but also its social and cultural fabric. These consequences may include new dynamics in national unity, modifications to social interaction patterns, and changes in national identity.¹⁸

Capital City Relocation: Urban Planning

Indonesia plans to shift its status from developing country to developed country by 2045 through its vision to become the fourth world's highest GDP. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) predicted in 2030-2045 Indonesia will have a demographic bonus due to the increase in productive age. Population growth will encourage urbanization and the development of small and middle-scale cities in Indonesia. To achieve the great vision, capital city relocation was one of the decisions that the government would like to take into consideration. According to Deputy for Regional Development of the Ministry of National Development Planning (Bappenas), Rudy S. Prawiradinata, capital city relocation was not only moving the government from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. There was a big goal to achieve Gold Indonesia Vision 2045.¹⁹ Moving the capital city to Kalimantan is based on several considerations such as equity development and burden reduction

¹⁷ Illmann, "Reasons for Relocating Capital Cities and Their Implications."

¹⁸ Susanti, "Building Shadow City: The Social and Cultural Effects of National Capital Relocation on National Unity."

¹⁹ "Bappenas Tekankan Tujuan Besar IKN Untuk Mewujudkan Visi Indonesia 2045," 2022, <https://www.bappenas.go.id/id/berita/bappenas-tekanan-tujuan-besar-ikn-untuk-mewujudkan-visi-indonesia-2045-q6ojv>.

on Jakarta as one of the centers of national economic activity.²⁰ Bambang Susantono, the former head of Nusantara Capital City Authority stated that building a city is not only about building its physical form, but more importantly about its social cohesion, interactions between its citizens, and how the city becomes a livable and humanistic city.²¹ Therefore, there are 8 principles and main performance indicators of the national capital city (IKN) development such as aligned with nature, unity in diversity, connected, active, and easy to access, low carbon emission, circular and tough, safe and affordable, convenient and efficient through technology, and the last is having economic opportunities for all.

There are five major stages in the timeline of IKN development. The first stage is the early moving stage (2022-2024) where the main basic infrastructures are completely built and can be operated such as drinking water supply, electricity, waste management, and information and communication technology for pioneer citizens. In this stage, the main facilities are built such as presidential palace, offices, and housing areas. Civil servants and government employees with employment agreements are moved and there is initiation of economic priority sectors.

The second stage (2025-2029) is the stage of building Nusantara capital city as a strong core area. In this stage, public transportation (both primary and secondary) are expected to be used. There is expansion of residential areas for civil servants and government employees with employment agreements and central government offices. The civil servants and government employees with employment agreements are expected to be complete, and there are also research and talent development as well as

²⁰ Tri Mulyani Sunarharum, *Perencanaan Pembangunan Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN)* (2022).

²¹ "Sekilas Mengenai Rencana Pembangunan Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) Nusantara," Kementerian Keuangan Republik Indonesia, 2023, <https://www.djkn.kemenkeu.go.id/artikel/baca/16126/Sekilas-Mengenai-Rencana-Pembangunan-Ibu-Kota-Negara-IKN-Nusantara.html>.

superior universities and continued development and maintenance of basic infrastructure.

The third stage (2030-2034) is the stage of continuing the development of Nusantara capital city in a more progressive manner. This stage includes the development of integrated utilities and railway access to Balikpapan airport to the central government core area, continued transfer of Indonesian National Army and Republic of Indonesia police personnel, development of industrial areas and other sectors in the superhub economic cluster, strengthening smart cities, digital centers, and 21st century education, and also increasing investment and production capacity of economic clusters.

The fourth stage (2035-2039) is the stage of building the whole infrastructure and ecosystem of three cities to accelerate the development of Kalimantan. This stage includes rapid developments in the fields of education and health which are the driving forces of the economic sector, strengthening the socio-cultural resilience of society and increasing the capacity of educational and research institutions, addition of basic infrastructure capacity as population increases, and increased capacity and diversification of economic clusters and enabling infrastructure in Partner Regions.

Lastly, the fifth stage (2040-2045) is the stage of cementing its reputation as a “World City for All”. This stage includes development of road-based mass public transportation from trains in IKN and surrounding Partner Regions, strengthening integrated infrastructure and utilities, stable population growth in IKN, achieve net zero carbon emissions and 100% renewable energy, sustainable industrial development, and to become the leading city in the world in terms of competitiveness.²²

²² Sunarharum, *Perencanaan Pembangunan Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN)*.

Urban Planning: Environmental Considerations

In contrast to Jakarta, East Kalimantan still has many large fields and forests where local people rely heavily on nature and its riches to survive. Solid urban planning is necessary to avoid environmental damage caused by infrastructure development, especially forest and land fires, which Kalimantan has struggled with for many years whether by intentional or natural cause. In early September 2019, East Kalimantan Province experienced forest and land fires, even the North Penajam Paser regency which is one of the locations for the new capital city was not free from fire and smoke disasters. This phenomenon was believed happen due to El Nino which was triggered by increases in surface water temperatures in the Central and Eastern Pacific Oceans.²³ However, Uly Arta Siagan, manager of NGO The Indonesian Forum for Living Environment (WALHI) believes that the forest and land fire incidents in Kalimantan continuously happen due to the unseriousness of government in managing the natural resources, primarily the absence of strict protection for important and vulnerable areas such as the peatland and forest. To support the statement, WALHI noted that 900 companies are operating on peatlands and forests. Additionally, there are 2 intentional forest fire factors. The first factor mostly was intentionally done by companies for land clearing due to cheaper costs, and the other factor was done to apply for insurance.²⁴

Due to this unfortunate phenomenon, building infrastructures in East Kalimantan and the cities surrounding it requires great consideration, especially since Kalimantan is the habitat of the Bornean Orangutan which is one of the typical fauna

²³ "Kebakaran Hutan dan Lahan di Kalimantan Timur, Nasib Ibu Kota Negara?," 2019, <https://satpolpp.kaltimprov.go.id/516-2/>.

²⁴ "Kebakaran Hutan di Kalimantan Meningkat, Walhi Sebut Pemerintah Tak Serius Mengatasinya," 2023, <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1762068/kebakaran-hutan-di-kalimantan-meningkat-walhi-sebut-pemerintah-tak-serius-mengatasinya>.

that can be found in Indonesia where its population is already threatened with extinction due to deforestation.

Uneven Development

Moving the capital city to East Kalimantan which is less developed than cities in Java Island is expected to create a more equal distribution of power and sources. As the capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta and the cities surrounding it are known as the center of all such as governmental and political activities, industries, trade, investment, technology, culture, etc. It is not surprising that money circulation in Jakarta reaches 70 percent, which covers an area of only 664.01 km² or 0.003 percent of Indonesia's total land area of 1,919,440 km² and causes unequal development and welfare in Indonesia. Development is mostly centralized in Jakarta and the island of Java. This condition is not good for Indonesia's economic growth which is expected to be sustainable, regional potential is not utilized optimally, does not support justice between regions, and is vulnerable to national unity and unity.²⁵

By uneven development, it often means the self-evident truth that societal development does not take place everywhere at the same speed or in the same direction (Smith, 1982).²⁶ In this case, Indonesia became one of the solid evidence which government is trying to solve by moving the capital city to Kalimantan with the hope that Indonesia can develop from Java-centered to Indonesia-centered and successful gentrification of Kalimantan is expected to achieve the vision, which is the Oxford dictionary defines as the process whereby the character of a poor urban area is

²⁵ Ayundari, "Urgensi Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara."

²⁶ Neil Smith, "Gentrification and Uneven Development," *Economic Geography* 58, no. 2 (1982), <https://doi.org/10.2307/143793>, <http://www.jstor.org.wenzao.idm.oclc.org/stable/143793>.

changed by wealthier people moving in, improving housing, and attracting new businesses, often displacing current inhabitants in the process.

Neil Smith mentions that there are two distinct assessments of the future of gentrification and the two are contradictory. The first position of gentrification is a localized, small-scale process which, while maybe symbolically important, is purely temporary and of little long-term significance. Factors that encourage gentrification: the high cost of suburban housing, low housing vacancy rates, and lifestyle changes in the baby boom generation. In opposition to this, the second position of gentrification is only part of a larger “revitalization” of the core and the inner city, and recentralization of certain urban activities. There is a back-to-the-city movement, which at this point admittedly represents only a trickle of migrants back from the suburbs, but which also involves the spontaneous re-emergence of the very services, recreational facilities, and employment opportunities that will encourage this trickle to expand.²⁷

Most of the uneven development happens in the economic sector. However, due to the unequal distribution of human resources, uneven development in other sectors also emerges following the supply and demand. Java with the most populated island in Indonesia is blessed with many great public facilities and infrastructures. On the other hand, other provinces can only get a bare minimum of facilities especially areas that have not been urbanized. Unfortunately, even the very crucial facilities such as health and education facilities are still becoming the sectors that the government still needs to improve, especially in the new location for the new capital city (IKN).

²⁷ Smith, "Gentrification and Uneven Development."

Economic Development

The economy is one of the most important sectors that measures successfulness of a country. Due to the variation of conditions in each of the cities, a country has to try its best to create the most equal distribution and outcome for each city to promote greater economic development. However, no one can deny that some countries do have an uneven distribution of power that could result in uneven economic development.

According to Bhanoo and Kumari (2022), economic development is a discipline of economics that is concerned with the study of macroeconomic factors that could influence long-term economic growth and microeconomic factors that could influence individuals and businesses. They also mentioned that as the nation's economy grows, the socioeconomic structure of the nation gradually shifts. Therefore, in contrast to economic growth, it also considers modifications to institutional and technological production and distribution channels. There are four key metrics for measuring economic advancement, including: (1) Gross National Product (GNP): measures the long-term growth in real national incomes; (2) GNP per Capita: measures the long-term growth in per capita related income; (3) Welfare: measures the supply of goods and services to individuals; and (4) Social Indicators: measures the consideration of individuals' basic needs.²⁸

Economic policy accelerates economic activity and job creation, which plays a vital role in economic development. A strategic and complete aspect of economic activities, potential economics resource management also enables staff members to successfully and productively contribute to the growth of the economy as a whole

²⁸ Namita Kumari and Suman Bhanoo, "From the concept of economic development to local economic development," *World Journal of Advanced Research and Reviews* 13, no. 2 (2022).

(Subroto et al, 2017).²⁹ All economists also concur that there is a positive correlation between the amount of investment and the pace of economic growth. A large investment will boost manufacturing capacity, which will eventually result in the creation of additional job possibilities (Wulandari, et al 2023).³⁰ In accordance with this, Šušić (2018) also stated that investments constitute a crucial component of any economic strategy since their existence not only creates a foundation for economic growth but also a necessary prerequisite for the stability of social and economic trends.³¹

To promote economic development, in fact, Indonesia has been blessed with a richness of natural resources such as plants that have been successfully introduced to other parts of the world like spices, coffee, rice, corn, vegetables, and variety of fruits. Not only that, Indonesia is well-known for its fine woods such as teak, bamboo, rattan, and number of other indigenous woods and also best known for its mineral resources such as coal, manganese, nickel, and diamonds in South Kalimantan.³² Apart from its extraordinary natural wealth, Indonesia also has numerous human resources. Based on Worldometer website, Indonesia population by June 24, 2024 is 279,761,591 (and still updating) and its population is equivalent to 3.45% of the total

²⁹ Waspodo Tjipto Subroto et al., "Perception of society toward populist economic policy for development economic: Empirical research in east Java," *International Journal of Economics and Financial Issues* 7, no. 5 (2017).

³⁰ Dyah Sri Wulandari, A Firsya Ariza, and Nurhayati Nurhayati, "Pengaruh Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara terhadap Investasi di Kabupaten Tabalong Kalimantan Selatan," *Journal on Education* 5, no. 2 (2023).

³¹ Milan Šušić, "Importance and impact of foreign investment on the economic development of Bosnia and Herzegovina," *ECONOMICS-INNOVATIVE AND ECONOMICS RESEARCH JOURNAL* 6, no. 1 (2018).

³² Everett D. Hawkins, "Prospects for Economic Development in Indonesia," *World Politics* 8, no. 1 (1955), <https://doi.org/10.2307/2009099>, <http://www.jstor.org.wenzao.idm.oclc.org/stable/2009099>.

world population. According to this website, Jakarta is the most populated city that holds 8,540,121 citizens.³³

From the data above, we could see that the cycle of economy in Indonesia is mostly centered in Java Island, especially in Jakarta. With numerous of people migrating to Jakarta, it created two side effects. From the positive sides, it is enhanced the economy of Jakarta and give a great impact for Indonesian economy. Many people not only Indonesia citizens but also people from outside of the country sees Jakarta as the place that has good opportunity for investment. However, it will bring bad impacts accordingly to Indonesia in the long-term due to the population density that affecting not only traffic jams, but also air pollution, decrease of green open space, and increase of economy competition among people who live in Jakarta due to the reduced of job opportunities (high in demand but low in supply).

Bambang Brodjonegoro as the head of Minister of National Development Planning (Bappenas) stated that moving the capital city could enhance and complement the existing service sectors and more than 50 percent of Indonesia's territory will experience an increase in trade flows. Calculations of Bappenas were also based on the study conducted in 2015 on the impact of moving Brazil's capital from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia. It took the government five years to build basic infrastructure when moving the capital from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia. Based on this study, the government concluded that the estimated output multiplier from moving the new capital to the national economy was 2.3 percent.³⁴ Moving the capital city is expected to have a positive impact on Indonesia, especially reducing the burden on

³³ Worldometers. https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/indonesia-population/#google_vignette.

³⁴ "Pemindahan ibu kota sebagai pemerataan stimulus ekonomi," Antara, 2019, <https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/985144/pemindahan-ibu-kota-sebagai-pemerataan-stimulus-ekonomi>.

Jakarta. By moving the capital city to the island of Kalimantan, it is expected to distribute not only job opportunities but also economic equality, for instance through foreign investment.

Education

Education is crucial since it helps people develop their own abilities which can be very profitable for the country. Pranizty and Septiani mentioned that education is the purposeful imparting of knowledge to youngsters in order to prepare them for adulthood. According to Indonesia Law Number 20 of 2003, education is the endeavor to establish an environment or circumstances as well as a systematic, intentional learning process. This is done in an effort to help learners reach their full potential and become citizens who are strong religiously, morally upright, intelligent, and skilled.³⁵

Economic development is linked to educational development as it serves as both the impetus and the assurance for educational development, with education serving as the technical means of achieving both. A nation must increase the quality of its human resources and perform well in the development of human resources and scientific management in order to achieve successful economic development. The degree of education in a nation determines how innovative its management, technology, and knowledge might be in the future. As people's abilities and values

³⁵ Tasya Putri Indra Pranizty and Yustirania Septiani, "Determinasi Tingkat Kemiskinan Provinsi Indonesia 2016-2020," *EKOMBIS: JURNAL FAKULTAS EKONOMI* 7, no. 2 (2021).

continue to grow, they will demand more from the current educational system and shape it to better suit their needs in the future.³⁶

However, poverty is always associated with inability to achieve a higher education. Education is expensive not only in terms of the money spent to finance it but also in terms of the opportunity cost lost. Children from a poor family often cannot afford having higher education not only because the tuition cost is so high but, more importantly, they cannot contribute to their household income if they spend a lot of time studying either in school or at home. Therefore, those who can obtain at least a secondary school education are mostly from families who can afford financing (both direct monetary and opportunity costs) their children's education.³⁷

The chart from BPS Indonesia about Percentage of Poor Population (P0) According to Province and Region 2023 mentioned that there are 4,44% poverty in Jakarta with the number of population around 10,000 million people and 6,11% poverty (4,68% poverty in urban area and 9,28% poverty in rural area) in East Kalimantan with the number of population around 4,000 million people.

³⁶ Zhenzi Sun, "An empirical study on the relationship between education and economic development based on PVAR model," *Scientific Programming* 2021, no. 1 (2021).

³⁷ Aris Ananta and Udi H. Pungut, "Population Change and Economic Development in Indonesia," *ASEAN Economic Bulletin* 9, no. 1 (1992), <http://www.jstor.org.wenzao.idm.oclc.org/stable/25770401>.

Table 1. Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics: Number of Education Facilities and Recourses Provided in Jakarta and East Kalimantan

	Types	Jakarta			East Kalimantan		
		School	Teacher	Pupil	School	Teacher	Pupil
<i>Under The Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology by Province</i>	Kindergarten	1,873	10,046	71,178	1,414	6,856	59,963
	Elementary	2,239	40,344	765,090	1,919	26,112	412,229
	Junior Highschool	1,078	19,666	349,766	683	10,907	160,291
	Senior Highschool	492	11,773	189,887	233	5,195	80,220
	Vocational Highschool	572	11,801	195,974	216	5,253	80,736
	Universities	276	29,462	701,366	54	4,424	96,091
<i>Under the Ministry of Religious Affairs by Province</i>	Raudatul Athfal	991	3,929	39,056	139	606	5,258
	Madrasah Ibtidaiyah	474	6,932	118,317	145	2,039	32,379
	Madrasah Tsanawiyah	252	5,058	58,414	178	2,655	32,513
	Madrasah Aliyah	96	2,365	25,626	84	1,301	11,826
	Universities	32	865	19,431	11	835	11,761
TOTAL		8,375	142,241	2,534,105	5,076	66,183	983,267

According to Table 1, even though Jakarta has a higher number of educational institutions, teachers, and students across all levels, East Kalimantan generally has a slightly better teacher-to-student ratio in many categories and it seems to have a more balanced distribution of educational resources relative to its population. However, if we take a deeper look into more specific data, in East Kalimantan, school and teachers are more concentrated in the big cities such as Balikpapan and Samarinda, whereas the rural areas are still lack of education facilities.

Uneven distribution of education is also caused by inadequate infrastructure such as roads and transportation to support easy access to schools due to difficulties to reach several rural areas in East Kalimantan. There is often a shortage of qualified

teachers that willing to work in remote areas and schools in rural areas may lack of essential education recourses such as textbooks and learning materials that are more accessible in urban schools.

Distribution of Health Services

As stated in Indonesian Government Regulation No. 72/2012, Attriani defines the National Health System as the health management effort undertaken by all parts of the Indonesian nation with the goal of reaching the maximum level of public health feasible.³⁸ The national health system's subsystems include community empowerment, medicines, medical equipment, food supplies, health research and development, health administration, information, and regulation. The human resources subsystem of health is one of the seven subsystems that is vital to attempts to promote health. Given that health services are essential to a community and have a distinct character, it is crucial that the government supply or prioritize them. It is always necessary to periodically improve health management in order to enhance public health and prevent and treat the different diseases that affect people, families, and communities.³⁹

Every human being has the fundamental right to health, and the government must act in the interests of the people in order to ensure that this right is realized. The World Health Organization tated that "every human being has the basic right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health, without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social conditions." The assertion defines health as the foundation for acknowledging humankind.⁴⁰ According to Yustina, Wahyati, et

³⁸ Asti Nur Attriani, "Tantangan Dan Isu Strategis Sumber Daya Kesehatan Manusia Kesehatan Pada Puskesmas Di Indonesia," *Jurnal Kesehatan Tambusai* 3, no. 3 (2022).

³⁹ Ardiansah Ardiansah, "Responsibility Of Public Health Service Based On The Constitution Of Indonesia," *Jurnal Diponegoro Law Review* 5, no. 1 (2020).

⁴⁰ Ardiansah, "Responsibility Of Public Health Service Based On The Constitution Of Indonesia."

al, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights expressly includes the right to a healthy life as one of the fundamental human rights. Article 25 guarantees everyone the following: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of self and of his family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care. Every person has the right to live on an adequate standard for their health and well-being, and their families, including the right to receive food, housing, and health services."⁴¹

One category of public services that the government must offer to its people is health care. The impartiality principle, which is also known as the non-discrimination principle, is one of the general principles of good governance that must support health services which are according to the responsibility of the government. Article 1 Number 1 of Law Number 25 of 2009 concerning Public Services mentioned that Public service is an activity or series of activities in the framework of fulfilling service needs in accordance with statutory regulations for each citizen and population of goods, services, and/or administrative services provided by public service providers.⁴²

⁴¹ Endang Wahyati Yustina and Anggraeni Endah Kusumaningrum, "The Principle Of Non-Discrimination In Health Services In The Perspective Of Government Responsibility," *UNTAG LAW REVIEW (ULREV)* 3, no. 2 (2019).

⁴² Yustina and Kusumaningrum, "The Principle Of Non-Discrimination In Health Services In The Perspective Of Government Responsibility."

Table 2. Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics: Number of Healthcare Facilities in Jakarta and East Kalimantan

Healthcare Facilities	Jakarta	East Kalimantan
General Hospital	140	47
Specialized Hospital	56	11
Public Health Center with Inpatient Care	6	99
Public Health Center without Inpatient Care	309	89
TOTAL	511	246

Table 2 is the data from Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistic that mentioned number of hospitals and health centers in Jakarta and East Kalimantan. From the data, we can see that healthcare facilities in East Kalimantan is still far behind than Jakarta. Compared to Jakarta, East Kalimantan is still lack of general and special hospitals which is very crucial for people who needs more intensive care.

Table 3. Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics: Number of Healthcare Workers in Jakarta and East Kalimantan

Healthcare Workers	Jakarta	East Kalimantan
Medical Worker	22,724	3,341
Clinical Psychology	149	19
Nursing Worker	39,537	11,227
Midwifery Worker	7,503	5,195
Pharmaceutical Worker	9,559	3,024
Public Health Worker	551	846
Environmental Health Worker	742	375
Nutritionist	1,429	459
Physical Therapists	1,584	271
Medical Technicians	3,907	665
Biomedical Engineer	7,372	1,699
Traditional Health Worker	121	3
TOTAL	95,178	27,124

According to Table 3, the data from Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics also shows that East Kalimantan is also lack of healthcare workers compared to Jakarta. This data then align with the local community in East Kalimantan's opinions where they were hoping that Indonesian government would firstly repair or upgrade the condition of East Kalimantan especially the rural areas before moving the capital city to their region.

Capital Relocation and Social Impact

Capital city relocation is expected to solve uneven development issues. However, there are so many pros and cons in the matter of the capital relocation especially the local community in East Kalimantan. In the interview video conducted by Indonesian famous political journalist, Najwa Shihab with the head of the Balik ethnic group in Sepaku village, Penajem Pasar Utara, and some Sepaku village's citizens concluded rejections from local communities to the relocation project due to the self-prediction that the more developed migrants will take over the area. Some local Kalimantan residents still live by utilizing existing nature and are very far from modern city life like Jakarta. The insecurity felt by local residents is focused on the loss of job opportunities for them personally because they will be competed with by foreign residents who will come to Kalimantan, which was initiated by the government through moving the capital city. Most of the citizens in rural areas are unable to access higher level of education and use their skills to survive, namely by supporting themselves by preserving regional culture and also looking for work by utilizing plantation land and forests. Lack of self-confidence arises due to the feeling of inability to compete with foreign residents who will come with higher levels of

education which expectedly will bury their regional culture and make the native residents become isolated.

The fear and insecurity are strengthened by Rudy Soeprihadi where he estimated that the social and cultural conditions will increase cultural diversity, not only ethnic but economic and educational levels, urbanization and leading to the emergence of metropolitan cities, opening up business and work opportunities which can trigger social conflicts between ethnic groups. However, the relocation of the national capital is expected to increase the resilience of the Kalimantan community, both ecologically, economically, socially, and culturally so that it does not cause local communities to be marginalized by immigrants.⁴³

The Conference on Relocating the National Capital with the theme "Building the Quality of Socio-Cultural Life" at Balai Purnomo Prawiro explained that the relocation of IKN would have a major impact on the structure of society, way of life, as well as socio-cultural and economic aspects of society. Bappenas studies, collects data, and carries out analyses focused on describing and analyzing aspects of local community life including socio-cultural characteristics, socio-economic characteristics, and analysis of problems and negative impacts that may arise from the removal and presence of IKN on local communities.

The majority of East Kalimantan's population is currently dominated by immigrants from Javanese, Bugis, and Banjarese, as well as various other ethnicities in relatively smaller numbers. Public Policy Expert at the University of Indonesia, Eko Prasajo, stated that at least 2.4 million people migrated to Kalimantan from the relocation of the capital, with 900 of them being state civil servants (ASN). The move

⁴³ "Kajian Aspek Sosial Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara," Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Indonesia, 2020, <https://fisip.ui.ac.id/en/kajian-aspek-sosial-pemindahan-ibu-kota-negara/>.

of ASN and the center of government will also be followed by the migration of business people who will bring a new style and culture of life.⁴⁴

Public Opinion and Government Decision-Making

Indonesia is a democratic nation where the freedom of speech and discussion to achieve a solution are instilled as a habit in the residents and it includes political communication which is defined as a type of interaction between people, social communities, and institutions that allows for the exchange of information and social experience in the context of political reality. It is carried out by political actors in the process of power struggles or its implementation. Karpchuk and Nataliia et al mentioned political communication as occurring between the government and its citizens. They stated that the government's communication policies have two goals: 1) internal communication strategy focuses on state citizens and seeks their participation in the process of making significant decisions; 2) external communication strategy aims to further the state's interests by reaching out to other states' leadership, international/regional organizations, and the public in other states. They put forth a number of models for communication, including the gardener's model, which holds that public consultations should help the executive branch establish a systematic dialogue with the general public, improve the process of making decisions on significant matters of public policy by taking public opinion into account, and create conditions that encourage citizen participation in the decision-making process. Public consultations are held on matters pertaining to the state's socioeconomic development,

⁴⁴ Aini Abd Majid Mahmud, Jamaluddin, Rismansyah, Rahma Novita Pura, "Aspek Politik dan Sosial Pemandangan Ibukota Negara Ke Kalimantan Timur," 2 (2020).

citizens' rights and freedoms being realized and protected, and their political, economic, social, cultural, and other interests being satisfied.

The majority of public opinion in today's society originates from social media campaigns as well as large-scale protests.⁴⁵ Kadewandana and Donie et al stated in their writings that social media is thought to be a valuable data source for figuring out public attitude. Political science, marketing, and public policy are just a few of the disciplines that stand to benefit greatly from social media-based public opinion research. Social media does, however, also bring some issues that require consideration. Due to the possibility that social media users might not accurately represent the general population, these obstacles include problems with representativeness and data quality. Murphy et al, another quoted scholar, noted that the growing ubiquity of social media platforms and the volume of data produced by users present new chances to comprehend public opinion and behavior. Consequently, it is advised that social media be used more frequently in public opinion research by academics, survey administrators, and legislators. These suggestions include developing standards for ethical behavior, refining methods for gathering data, and investigating the possibilities of social media analytics for comprehending public opinion. In the meantime, Driss et al investigated social media data analysis to comprehend the dynamics between the public and the procedures that regulate governance. They discover dominating attitudes—whether favorable, negative, or neutral—and comprehend the variables impacting those feelings by analyzing sentiment on tweets and other social media information. Furthermore, they investigate the relationship between social media data and public policy, looking at the ways in

⁴⁵ Nataliia Karpchuk and Bohdan Yuskiv, "Political Communication Discord between the Government and the Citizens: the Case of Ukraine," *Torun International Studies* 1, no. 12 (2019).

which opinions expressed by users on Twitter can impact the way decisions are made. They draw attention to the possibility that decision-makers could use social media sentiment to gather information and influence policy decisions.⁴⁶

Social media usage is also one of the methods that could be used by the Indonesian Government to know or listen to public opinion. Social Media platforms such as Instagram, TikTok, Twitter, and Facebook are never-ending information gatherers that could shape the process of policy-making in Indonesia. Not only that, public consultations and forums are also used in order to directly engage with citizens (individual or community groups). Survey and Polls, E-Government Platforms such as LAPOR! (an online platform for public complaints and aspirations), media and press, academic and expert consultations, and NGOs are also important to collect public opinion.

As a democratic country, the Indonesian government must provide space for their residents to be free to express their opinions. In the project to move the nation's capital, local residents of Kalimantan feel that they are not involved by the government in discussing the project to move the capital where the government will use their land as land for the new capital. It is true that legally the land that the community owns is government's property where the government also has the legal right to use the land for national scale profits, but it cannot be denied that the land has also been inhabited by local residents for decades who are also Indonesian citizens. who has the right to express an opinion. Community disappointment arose due to the lack of communication between the government and the community regarding discussions on relocating the capital city where local communities felt that their

⁴⁶ Donie Kadewardana and Angga Cahyadi Putra, "Public opinion analysis on social media about the establishment of Indonesia's New Capital City," *Islamic Communication Journal* 8, no. 2 (2023).

presence was not considered by the government. On the other hand, the government also has the rights to exercise its autonomy by remaining focused on the plan even though a number of public surveys show more disagreement and agreement as stated by Eric Nordlinger that state autonomy seeks to apply a utilitarian approach where state autonomy is a form of the ability of state officials to exercise their choices into public policy, including capital relocation.⁴⁷ However, needs to be taken into consideration that every action has consequences, and the government is still a representative of a whole nation. Exercising too much autonomy, especially in a nation-scale project might hurt not only the residents but gradually bring a negative impact on the government itself.

Summary

Capital city relocation in Indonesia was planned for the better Indonesia. Through this movement, the Indonesian government was hoping to move Indonesia from the status of a developing country to a developed country, and capital city relocation was considered to be the first big step to achieving the vision. However, within this mega project, there were so many pros and cons, especially from the local community in East Kalimantan. Considering all the data from economic development in Indonesia, education distribution, and healthcare facilities, the capital city movement could be the right answer to upgrade East Kalimantan as the new capital city. However, public opinion is also very important for the Indonesian Government to hear in order to make decisions with the least opportunity cost. Therefore, this

⁴⁷ Ana Sabhana Azmy, "Examining the Relocation of the Capital City of Indonesia Through the State Perspective in Political Economy," 1, no. Vol 1 No 1 (2021): Polit Journal: Scientific Journal of Politics, February (2021), <https://doi.org/10.33258/polit.v1i1.365>, <http://www.biarjournal.com/index.php/polit/article/view/365>.

research is focused on observing the Indonesian Government's reactions and attitudes towards the insecurity issues happening to the local community in East Kalimantan by primarily focusing on government policies towards the arising issues.

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The capital city is regarded as the most significant area of a nation since it expresses the authority of the state and shapes the character of the whole. Choosing a location to serve as a country's capital city is a difficult undertaking that involves taking several issues related to the country's issues into account. Uneven development or malfunctions in the original capital city are the cause of certain capital city relocations. Indonesia's capital city was moved from Jakarta to East Kalimantan primarily due to concerns over unequal growth in the country's economy, health care system, and educational system. Over the years, Indonesia has primarily focused on Java, with Kalimantan, one of the larger islands, receiving far less attention. Given Jakarta's ongoing shortcomings as a capital city, the government is using this as a chance to more fairly distribute the country's islands.

Moving the capital is expected to lead Indonesia into 2045 vision to become a developed state with the 5th highest global GDP. However, every great decision comes with great consideration and sacrifice. There are numerous amount of pros and cons among citizens especially objections from local communities in East Kalimantan considering the social impact that capital relocation might bring to the structure of society, way of life, as well as socio-cultural and economic aspects of society. As a democratic nation, citizens are free to express their opinions and protests to the government through all media that they can access. However, every legal decision is made by the government through legal law. This research will specifically focus on observing and analyzing the Indonesian government's attitude towards public opinion especially the local communities regarding the rising fear and insecurity due to the

relocation of the national capital, and purposely made to understand how the Indonesian government works in decision-making for the future of Indonesia.

Research Design

The content analysis in this research will concentrate on observing how the Indonesian state and central governments in East Kalimantan address problems through their attitudes and policies over the period from 2019, when President Joko Widodo announced the plan to relocate the capital city, to the present, 2024. The three primary areas of observation for progress between Java, particularly Jakarta and East Kalimantan, are the economy, healthcare, and education. Due to the goals of this research, which include determining the government's attitude from responses and results, the document collection will be designated as the primary data source.

Sources of Data

The document review concentrated on the policy changes related to East Kalimantan, Indonesia, because of its status as the site of the country's future capital. The relocation has a significant influence on the neighborhood, as a large number of residents are against the initiative and it has received significant media coverage. Government policies, journalist interview videos, online newspapers, and official IKN websites were used as the sources of data in this research with further explanations below:

1. Government Policies

Data regarding Indonesian government regulations regarding moving the capital city can be accessed via the website of the National Development Planning

Agency, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology, and Ministry of Health. These official government sites are places where the government openly shares planning documents and reports related to the relocation of the capital city with the public. The Bappenas website can be accessed to find out about the master plan and economic studies and social impacts, the Ministry of Education website can be accessed to find out about education development plans in East Kalimantan, and the Ministry of Health website can be accessed to find out about plans for developing health services in the East Kalimantan region.

2. Journalist Interview Videos

Interview videos related to discussions of issues and debates on moving the capital area can be accessed via Narasi Newsroom, Berita Satu, Metro TV, and Kompas TV. These sources are professionals who try to present news without being influenced by certain political parties. However, it cannot be denied that some of these news sources are supported by large parties or companies such as Berita Satu which is under the auspices of the Lippo Group, Metro TV which is owned by Surya Paloh, namely the chairman of the NasDem Party, Kompas TV which is owned by PT Gramedia, and Narasi Newsroom owned by Najwa Shihab.

3. Online newspapers

Information regarding the relocation of the capital via online newspapers will be collected through trusted sites such as Kompas.com, Tempo.co, Republika.co.id, Detik.com, and Liputan6.com. These sites are sites that have a good reputation in Indonesia and which also try to provide balanced reporting. However, of course, each site still has a point of view that must be watched out for, for example, Republika.co.id which is often considered to have a more conservative view.

4. Official IKN website

To help provide information regarding the development of the new capital city in detail, researchers also monitor these developments through the official website of the new capital city or what is known as the Indonesian Capital City (IKN) which was made official by the government and is guaranteed to be trustworthy.

This study uses purposive sampling to examine the policies of the Indonesian government towards the new capital city and the East Kalimantan local community as the study population. The purpose of this sampling is to focus on the central and state governments of Indonesia, and the amount of data collected is unlimited due to the continuous flow of updated news.

Instrumentation and Data Collection

The process of gathering data from many sources, including government policy documents, YouTube videos, online newspapers, and other sources, must be carefully coordinated by creating a codebook that includes a list of categories and subcategories. The researcher can make sure the procedure is dependable, regular, and systematic with the use of a codebook. For every code, it offers precise, uniform definitions, guaranteeing that coders understand and utilize the codes consistently. Furthermore, it offers comprehensive documentation of the coding procedure, which makes it clear and repeatable—a crucial component for the research's legitimacy. It also ensures systematic data gathering by providing guidance on what to look for and how to categorize it during the data collection process.

Prior to creating a codebook, the researcher had to specify the study questions and their objectives in detail. Subsequently, the researcher created a codebook that had sections for categories and subcategories, definitions and descriptions for each code, sample content that would be written under each code, and guidelines for handling content that was unclear or overlapped. Immediately after the code had been developed, pilot testing was carried out to assess the practical issues that were faced. Following the successful finalization of the codes, the researcher can move forward with gathering comprehensive data.

Globalization of technology has made it possible for researchers to perform analyses based on fake or hoax news. In order to prevent this, the researcher used extreme caution when selecting the data from reliable websites, such as official government websites, state-approved media websites, and official journalist channels.

Tools for Data Analysis.

To answer research question 1 (How does the Indonesian government perceive and respond to the socioeconomic disparities faced by local communities in East Kalimantan?) and research question 2 (How does the government address the socio-political implications of the resistance exhibited by local communities in East Kalimantan towards the government's capital city relocation project?), researcher manually made the codebook using google spreadsheet based on the themes of the content and then examined the data assigned to the codes in relationship to the research questions to formulate the results.

Limitations of the Methodology

Following a thorough examination, the researcher discovered a number of limitations:

1. The coding procedure can be influenced by the researcher's viewpoints and biases, which can compromise the analysis's objectivity. Data coding and categorization processes have the tendency to oversimplify complicated occurrences by distilling subtle information into basic categories.
2. Large datasets require a lot of time to manually code.
3. The analysis may not be as thorough if the provided data is lacking or incomplete.
4. Accessing relevant information can be difficult, particularly if it contains restricted or exclusive material.
5. Because of the way that automated tools are educated and designed, they may introduce biases of their own that compromise the validity of the study.
6. When decontextualizing passages for coding purposes, there is a chance that the original intent or meaning of the information will be misrepresented.

In order to overcome these obstacles, the researcher used sophisticated software tools for automated coding, but they also kept a close eye on their shortcomings and added manual checks. To improve transparency and repeatability, they also kept thorough records of the coding procedure and decision rules.

Summary

Content analysis methodologies were conducted with an emphasis on the issues that arose between the public mainly focusing on the local community and the government—an observation of the Indonesian government's attitude toward the rising socio-economic inequalities happening to the local community in East Kalimantan as a result of the relocation of the capital city was made with the range of time from 2019 until 2024. Therefore, to achieve the initial goals of this paper, a codebook was created manually, a professional tool for document analysis, employing a collection of government policies and a variety of textual, audio, and video document sources with purposive sampling of the documents.

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

The construction of the new capital city in East Kalimantan did not always receive positive responses from the people of Indonesia. Many controversies arose regarding the government's decision, especially the decision made by Indonesia's seventh president, Joko Widodo. The project not only attracted the attention of Indonesians but also caught the interest of several international analysts. Indonesia's democratic status was put to the test. This chapter focuses on presenting the results of observations and analyses regarding the government's responses to emerging issues during the capital relocation process, particularly the clashes with local communities. The researcher conducted a study using data analysis methods by observing and analyzing reports from various media outlets covering issues and programs related to the capital relocation in East Kalimantan, focusing on the roles of the government and local communities.

Several themes emerged from these observations and analyses. The main themes in this chapter are divided into local community concerns, urban planning issues, lawsuits against the IKN Law, and critiques of the IKN Authority system. To ensure a comprehensive understanding of these four themes, the researcher presented the chronology of the new capital city development, from planning to construction, covering the period from 2019 to 2024, during which President Joko Widodo's administration concluded. The series of discussions began with an overall presentation of the capital city relocation timeline, followed by an in-depth examination of the four themes, which represented the primary issues addressed in this research. This was

accompanied by the researcher's personal analysis, grounded in observations from Indonesian public policy observers to answer the research questions:

1. How does the Indonesian government perceive and respond to the socioeconomic disparities faced by local communities in East Kalimantan?
2. How does the government address the socio-political implications of the resistance exhibited by local communities in East Kalimantan towards the government's capital city relocation project?

Data Preparation

Over two months of data collection, many revisions had to be made due to miscalculations and ineffective data processing methods. The researcher collected a large number of documents such as government regulations, articles, circulars, and video interviews conducted by journalists and activists. Initially, this study focused on broader aspects of socio-economic inequalities such as education, healthcare, and economic development. However, as data collection progressed, it became clear that the most pressing issues faced by local communities revolved around land ownership, displacement, and legal disputes. These concerns were at the heart of the public's resistance to the capital relocation, making them central to understanding the socio-political dynamics between the government and the public, not only the indigenous people of East Kalimantan but also people who pay good attention to government decisions. As a result, the research focus naturally evolved to address these critical issues.

As data analysis progressed, it became evident that while economic development, education, and healthcare are significant factors, the core of the conflict between the government and local communities lay in the issue of land ownership and

the process of land acquisition. These issues, deeply intertwined with the relocation project's progress, sparked the strongest resistance from the indigenous communities. Thus, the data analysis pivoted to focus on land rights and legal disputes as the primary concerns, reflecting the lived experiences and anxieties of those directly impacted by the relocation. Additionally, it was observed that the issues highlighted by the media and attracted the most public and political attention were related to the IKN Law-making process and the government's policy of establishing the IKN Authority as the ruling body over IKN. Seeing that these findings were closer to the purpose of this research, the author decided to slightly shift the focus of the research from the fields of economics, education, and health to observation and analysis of the communication between the government and local communities, focusing on the capital planning process, the formation of the IKN Law, the establishment of the IKN Authority, and the land acquisition process for infrastructure development in IKN.

After determining the new focus, the researcher proceeded with the analysis stage by manually creating a codebook. During this process, the author identified more than 30 pieces of data that would serve as the data for the research, comprising journalist interview videos with the local community in east Kalimantan, news interview videos with politicians regarding the related issue, news articles, and professional debate videos among politicians regarding the related issues.

The creation of the codebook went through several trial-and-error processes. In the first attempt, the author tried to categorize articles chronologically and by research focus. However, after further review, the codebook was found to lack a strong foundation and could still be further specified. In the second codebook creation process, the author created a more specific codebook by detailing the code theme, code description, and examples. However, the researcher still encountered difficulties

because the codes were found to be insufficient in accurately representing the categorized statements and tended to overlap. Finally, after consulting with the advisor, the researcher reviewed the collected data and revised the codebook to ensure that no codes overlapped.

Thematic Analysis

In-depth observations of debate videos, interviews conducted by several reporters and journalists, and several related news articles led to an initial analysis that divided opinions on the relocation and construction of the new capital in East Kalimantan into two groups: those who were optimistic and fully supportive and those who were pessimistic and opposed the capital relocation initiated by Indonesia's seventh president, Joko Widodo. In addition to analyzing the two different viewpoints, the researcher also conducted a chronological analysis from the planning of the capital relocation to the construction of the capital by the end of President Joko Widodo's term.

In a joint session of the Regional Representative Council (DPD) and the House of Representatives (DPR) on Friday, August 16, 2019—one day before Indonesia's 74th Independence Day—President Joko Widodo emphasized the vision of “Advanced Indonesia,” which should have been a vision embraced by all Indonesians from Sabang to Merauke, from the highest levels to the grassroots. During that session, he also requested permission to relocate the national capital to East Kalimantan, driven by the need to create a new strategy for Indonesia to compete globally. In his speech, President Joko Widodo emphasized that Indonesia must move swiftly but safely, with humanity remaining a priority. Indonesia needs excellent

human resources developed through education and training, capable of leveraging technological advancements. The country also requires industrial downstream and equitable infrastructure development, particularly healthcare infrastructure across the nation. Additionally, he stated that Indonesia needs a comprehensive legislative reform to simplify complex processes, as regulations should ideally facilitate the people's pursuit of their aspirations and serve the nation's interests by protecting the welfare of the people and the country. In a video uploaded by the National Development Planning Agency (BAPPENAS) via YouTube, there was a complete timeline for the relocation plan of the national capital. The relocation process involved the planning and construction of the core government area, which was expected to be completed in five years, from 2019 to 2024:

1. 2017-2019: Time allocated for the preparation and completion of the technocratic study.
2. 2020: Time allocated for regulatory and institutional preparation, city masterplan design, area planning, and detailed engineering design.
3. 2021: Time allocated for groundbreaking and basic infrastructure construction in the core area.
4. 2022-2024: Time allocated for the construction of the core government area and the capital region.
5. 2024: The initial year for the relocation of the new capital.

Referring to Bappenas, the zoning and relocation plan of the new capital for the next 25 years was divided into three sections: the core government area, which was estimated to require around 6,000 hectares of land; the capital area, which was

estimated to require 40,000 hectares of land; and the expanded capital region, which was estimated to require 180,000 hectares of land.

In addition to the land needed for development in 2020, Bappenas also provided an estimated budget for the construction of the new capital, which was IDR 466 trillion, with 19% sourced from the State Budget (APBN), 54% from Public-Private Partnerships (PPP), and 26% from the private sector. However, the initial planning for the capital relocation faced a global challenge, namely the COVID-19 pandemic. In a virtual working meeting with Commission XI of the DPR RI held on Thursday, April 30, 2020, Minister of National Development Planning/Head of Bappenas Suharso Monoarfa emphasized that the 2020 State Budget (APBN) is focused on Covid-19 mitigation to minimize the economic and social impacts of the virus so that recovery can happen quickly. The Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas prioritized the 2020 APBN for sectors essential in addressing the Covid-19 pandemic, including reallocating funds initially intended for the National Capital City (IKN) project. Minister Suharso stated that the IKN construction will not proceed during the Covid-19 pandemic. All activities are limited to analysis, studies, planning, and coordination to prepare the IKN project for when the economy rebounds. According to Kompas.com, during a working meeting with Commission XI of the DPR on Tuesday, September 8, 2020, the Head of Bappenas, Suharso Monoarfa, stated that even though execution of the capital relocation to East Kalimantan was temporarily postponed for 1,5 years, the basic infrastructure development in supporting cities like Samarinda and Balikpapan still continued.

On September 29, 2021, Minister of National Development Planning/Head of Bappenas Suharso Monoarfa together with Minister of State Secretary Pratikno proposed the IKN Bill, which was later welcomed by the DPR's Legislative Body by

forming a special committee to draft the IKN Bill. The bill contained six important points that formed the legal basis for the capital relocation, covering the relocation process, government structure, funding, and budget management. The discussion of the draft of the IKN Bill only took 43 days before Law No. 3 of 2022 on IKN was officially enacted by President Joko Widodo on Tuesday, February 15, 2022, after being approved by the DPR, with eight out of nine factions in favor.

As stated in the enacted IKN Bill, the IKN Nusantara has a special status as a governance unit and is exempted from other regional governance units. Article 9, paragraph 1 of the law states that IKN will be led by the head of the IKN Authority, assisted by a deputy head, both of whom will be appointed and dismissed by the president after consultation with the DPR. The spatial planning of IKN Nusantara refers to the national spatial planning policy, the zoning plan for the Makassar Strait inter-regional area, and the spatial planning for the island of Kalimantan. In addition, the development of IKN follows the spatial plan for the National Strategic Area of IKN and the detailed spatial plan for IKN. These spatial plans are regulated under Article 15 of Law No. 3 of 2022, with the spatial plan for the National Strategic Area of IKN regulated by a Presidential Regulation and the detailed spatial plan for IKN regulated by a decree from the head of the IKN Authority. The acquisition of land by the IKN Authority is conducted under Article 16, paragraph 1, which stipulates that land acquisition be carried out through the release of forest areas and a land acquisition mechanism.

In the same year, President Joko Widodo, along with several ministers and governors, conducted the ceremonial unification of soil and water from 34 provinces as a symbolic gesture of support for the relocation of the capital from Jakarta to North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan. This ceremony has become one of the symbols of

the government's commitment and the opening of the IKN development process. The year 2022 also marked the beginning of an accelerated construction of infrastructure, particularly government buildings. The initial target was that by August 17, 2024, Indonesia would be able to relocate its capital city to Nusantara. Therefore, by the end of 2022, the construction of the Presidential Palace had commenced. Additionally, the construction of the IKN toll road, spanning 47 km and connecting IKN with the Balikpapan-Samarinda toll road, also began with the aim of speeding up access to and from the new capital.

Entering 2023, besides the Presidential Palace, the construction of the MPR and DPR buildings, as well as official residences for civil servants (ASN) and military/police personnel (TNI/Polri), followed. Moreover, public infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, and shopping centers had also begun to be built by the end of 2023. Although the government had expedited construction efforts, it could not be denied that several challenges arose. One of the hurdles encountered was the difficulty in securing funding, as the government reportedly struggled to attract foreign investors to sign contracts. In addition to funding issues, there were also obstacles related to land acquisition, where the government had to negotiate with local communities to accelerate the development process. Due to these challenges, in 2024, Indonesian President Joko Widodo publicly stated that the capital relocation process requires thorough preparation, and at present, he believes that Indonesia is not yet ready to move the capital. This is evidenced by the fact that the Presidential Decree regarding the capital relocation has yet to be signed by the President. Even though the government successfully held a national ceremony in Nusantara on Indonesia's 79th Independence Day, it was confirmed that the inauguration of the new president, scheduled for October 20, 2024, would still take place at the MPR building in Jakarta.

During the design process up until the development of IKN from 2019 to 2024, several issues frequently arose between the government and the public. This mega project plan was met with various public responses, and as reported by CNN Indonesia, it was initially enthusiastically welcomed by the indigenous people of East Kalimantan, particularly the Paser Balik tribe. However, land ownership rights became the initial source of conflict between the local community and the government. Moreover, the plan to relocate the capital city was also deemed rushed by public policy observers. Through observations and analysis of available sources related to issues between the government and the public, especially the indigenous communities, four main problems can describe the public's perspective on government policies and the government's reaction to public opinion.

Issues Arose Between Public and Government During Relocation Process

Local Community Concerns

In 2021, the central government of Indonesia began intensively monitoring and measuring the areas designated for development. This was followed by a range of concerns and criticisms about the capital relocation, especially from indigenous communities residing in North Penajam Paser Regency and Pematang Siantar. These areas are designated for the construction of the Core Government Area. The indigenous communities of North Penajam Paser and Pematang Siantar consist of the Balik and Paser tribes. According to statements by the Governor of East Kalimantan, Isran Noor, and the Regent of North Penajam Paser, Abdul Gafur Mas'ud, the relocation program would positively impact the local economy, improve the welfare of the people through the development of healthcare facilities and provide job opportunities. They also

believed that the local leaders asserted that the community welcomed the program with enthusiasm. However, contradicting the government's claim, there were several concerns arose. From the observations conducted by the researcher, there were three main points related to the local community's concerns:

Fear of Displacement.

In a video interview conducted by Mata Najwa with tribal elders from Pemaluan and Paser villages, the interviewees stated that there was no consent from the indigenous people regarding the capital relocation project. Ironically, they claimed that many government officials came to measure the land, but the people who had lived on the land for generations were not invited to discuss the matter. This led to speculation and disappointment among the community, as it seemed that the government considered their land to be unoccupied. Quoting from Sibukdin, Chief of the Balik Tribe in Sepaku Village,

“I apologize to the government if they hear my words. In our area, only the companies and transmigrants are given attention; indigenous communities are overlooked. Why do I say this? Just look at the evidence over the years. The government seems indifferent. It feels as though, in our region, they don't see us as people. This area is part of the new capital region; it's treated as empty land, as if no people live here.”

The land occupied by the indigenous community for decades is also a source of concern because, to this day, they do not have legal ownership certificates. Despite multiple attempts to obtain legal land rights, the process has always ended in failure. Their land is classified as a KBK area (forest area), which requires special permits from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry for its use. The land cannot be owned by anyone because it is considered state property. As a result, the Indigenous community is seen as merely borrowing the land from the government. One interview

with residents of Sepaku village and Bumi Harapan village revealed a sense of resignation, with some expressing that they had no choice but to accept the government's plans, as construction had already begun in their area. However, they still hoped not to be displaced. A resident of Bumi Harapan village, Mrs. Dahlia, voiced her opinion, stating that the people did not want to be left behind but instead wanted to be involved in the process. This reflects their underlying fear of being driven away from their ancestral lands.

Adding to these concerns, East Kalimantan's residents face ongoing challenges, particularly regarding access to clean water. Most residents rely on rainwater as their source of clean water. When the dry season arrives, they must purchase water at a high price. Due to this, the government is seeking ways to ensure the new capital has an adequate water supply by building the Sepaku Semoi dam and widening the river. The river widening also impacts the nearby communities, as they need to relocate from their homes.

Fear of Inability to Compete

In addition to concerns about possible displacement due to the lack of legal land rights, Indigenous communities also fear becoming marginalized in their own land due to their inability to compete with newcomers, as mentioned by East Kalimantan Governor Isran Noor, Indigenous communities in East Kalimantan makeup only around 15% of the population, making them a minority in their homeland. Align to this fact, the head of the Balik tribe in Sepaku, Mr. Sibukdin, expressed his fear that his people would be sidelined because they could not compete with those coming from other islands. Initially, IKN was planned to accommodate 1,5

million people, which was later increased to 3 million. He feared that if the government did not pay attention to their well-being, they would be pushed out and become mere spectators in their homeland.

Indigenous communities have traditionally lived off farming and gardening. Historical events, such as deforestation for companies like PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal (The multinational company operates in the field of Industrial Forest Plantations), which affected in replacement of the tribe's job opportunities, along with the 1975 transmigration program, where land they considered ancestral property was used for resettling transmigrants, reinforced these concerns. The Regent of North Penajam Paser, Abdul Gafur Mas'ud, confirmed that Sepaku is a transmigrant area with a mix of ethnic groups, including Javanese, Bugis from Sulawesi, and Banjarese from Kalimantan. This further fueled the community's fear that the government might eventually displace them, as the government seemed indifferent to their existence for decades. Mrs. Dahlia (Resident of Bumi Harapan Village) added a striking comment, saying that she did not want to end up like the Betawi people in Jakarta, who became marginalized in their own city and were begging in traffic. She feared that East Kalimantan would become the next Jakarta, where future generations of the local community would end up homeless. This statement also aligned with concerns, stated by Sibukdin Chief of the Balik Tribe in Sepaku Village,

“Our concern is that we can't compete with our friends or people coming from Java, Sumatra, and other places. These are educated people. I apologize for saying this, but usually, we encounter street thugs with tattoos—these ones wear ties. They don't threaten us with machetes or weapons but use their cleverness to push us aside.”

Similar to another video interview conducted by the Narasi Newsroom team with local residents in the Muara Jawa area, strong opposition from the community

was expressed. The residents felt that the human resources were insufficient. With lower human resource capabilities compared to those on other islands, including Java, the local people of East Kalimantan believe that their future generations are likely to be at a disadvantage in competition.

Fear of Becoming Marginalized.

With the fear of incapability to keep up with the social and economic developments brought about by capital relocation, this concern stems from a history of marginalization and a lack of educational opportunities. Local people and even their tribe's leader stated that without proper attention and preparation, they could become outsiders in their own land, unable to benefit from the progress around them. This concern was also confirmed by Pradarma Rupang, a coordinator of Jatam East Kalimantan, who stated that there were flaws in the dialogue between the government and the indigenous people, especially the local government, which should play a role in absorbing the community's aspirations. According to him, the development of the new capital city (IKN) was considered untimely because the quality of the local community was not yet ready to align with the vision of a progressive Indonesia. He believes that there will be no competition, as the local community will certainly be at a significant disadvantage since they have not yet received facilities comparable to other islands, particularly Java (Document no. 8). Adding to this concern, another execution arose from the provincial government of East Kalimantan where they accommodate the interests of the national capital development by infringing upon fishermen's rights through a discriminatory policy outlined in the regional spatial plan. According to this regulation, Balikpapan Bay will be repurposed as a site for the entry and exit of construction materials for the capital city project, no longer serving as a

fishing area. In an interview conducted by Narasi Newsroom, community members admitted that they were entirely unaware of this regulation beforehand. This policy is expected to significantly impact the livelihoods of small-scale fishermen who rely on small boats to catch fish.

The community's concerns regarding the relocation of IKN did not cease in 2021. By 2024, the same anxieties continued. With some residents beginning to relocate due to their land being used for the construction of the central government area, other residents who are still waiting for their turn have become more anxious. They still hope that the construction of the new capital city will benefit them as local citizens and that the government will also pay attention to their well-being by providing access to job opportunities, legalizing their land, and quickly passing the Indigenous Peoples Bill, which, as of 2024, has not been finalized due to a group of DPR politicians concerned that the bill might hinder development and business investment, especially in the plantation, forestry, and mining sectors. The community's concerns over land ownership rights continue to be a source of problems in the urban planning process undertaken by the government. Dr. Sri Murlianti, a sociologist, stated that indigenous people's land has never been recognized as privately owned because they have always been considered to reside in company-owned areas. She added that without recognition of land ownership rights, Indigenous people will remain mere spectators on their own land, as has long been the case with plantation and mining corporations, even before the IKN project.

Urban Planning Issues

The issue of land rights for Indigenous communities, which started as a concern, has grown into a problem that also limits the government's ability to carry out development. With the development expansion, the government urged the community to relocate quickly so that the construction could proceed swiftly. This made the affected community feel disappointed with the government, and some chose to move to areas far from the new capital city (IKN). In practice, Syarariyah, a member of the Paser tribe who was affected, stated that some of her neighbors accepted compensation ranging from Rp95,000 to Rp300,000 per square meter. However, several residents claimed land prices around the new capital city area had soared to millions of rupiah per square meter. In response, the secretary of the Nusantara Capital City Authority, Achmad Jaka Santos Adiwijaya, claimed that in any development project, it is impossible to satisfy everyone. He stated that their work is based on the legal regulations under the Land Acquisition Law for the public interest. He acknowledged that the compensation amount was also determined by the land ownership status.

In addition to this issue, the land in East Kalimantan itself has already been largely allocated to various business permits, with one of the largest being PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal. The issue of land acquisition involves not only negotiations with local communities regarding residential land but also with companies that hold overlapping land-use rights. This was viewed as unfortunate by many policy observers, especially Dr. Sri Murlianti as a sociologist, as it is known that indigenous people's land has never been recognized as private property, leaving them without a strong legal basis to defend their rights.

“They (the local community) feel uneasy because of the word ‘appropriate’. Appropriate by what standards? Because their land has never been recognized as legally owned. Therefore, the so-called appropriate compensation, which is only valued as a land seal, is merely compensated as land with crops. Then, if they (the local community) wish to purchase land again with that compensation amount, it is, of course, impossible.”

Land ownership issues have not been well addressed, On March 7, 2024, the IKN Authority came up with unexpected regulations by sending an order for the demolition of houses. Letter No. 179/DPP/OIKN/III/2024, regarding violations of unauthorized or non-compliant construction within IKN’s spatial plan, was received by 200 residents from four areas: Pemaluan, Bumi Harapan, Sukaraja, and Bukit Raya. This was followed by a first warning letter No. 019/ST I-Trantib-DPP/OIKN/III/2024, giving residents seven days to demolish structures that violated IKN's spatial planning regulations.

Addressing this matter, a coalition of 16 civil society groups from East Kalimantan formed to oppose land confiscation and the forced demolition of residents' homes within the core government area. This coalition included groups such as Jatam Kaltim, KIKA Kaltim, AJI Samarinda, LBH Samarinda, and others. Mareta, a member of the coalition, argued that the spatial planning documents were created without the participation of local and indigenous communities, rendering them legally flawed. This was supported by constitutional law expert Herdiansyah Hamzah, who also pointed out procedural flaws in Presidential Regulation No. 64 of 2022 regarding the National Strategic Area of the new capital, due to the lack of community involvement. According to him, the government is also considered to have not incorporated the community's perspective in developing policies.

“How can there be a dialogue process when the positions (between the government and the residents) are not balanced? There is a power imbalance

between the authority body and the residents around Pemaluan and other areas experiencing the same situation.”

Lawsuit Against the IKN Law

The issue of land release and infrastructure development in the new capital region began with the enactment of the National Capital Law, which provides the legal foundation for all lawful activities within the area of the new capital. The timeline for developing Indonesia's new capital began with the president's proposal of the IKN Bill in September 2021, which was swiftly followed by the DPR's formation of a Special Committee for the IKN Bill. The bill was ultimately passed in February 2022, with eight out of nine factions approving it, thus formally validating the law through a majority vote in favor of the IKN project. However, large-scale projects often trigger diverse public responses. After the IKN Law's enactment, a petition titled "2022-2024 Is Not the Time to Move the Capital" was launched by 45 public figures, including professors, academics, and intellectuals. Initiator Achmad Nur Hidayat criticized the IKN Law's drafting process as deficient, arguing it failed to reflect public aspirations, which he viewed as essential for any law-making process. The petition gathered 33,000 signatures, reflecting this public sentiment.

Opponents highlighted two primary issues: the rushed process and insufficient public engagement. The Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) faction in the DPR expressed that the IKN Law remained defective both formally and materially, with some provisions open to misinterpretation. They pointed out that the name "Nusantara" has complex historical connotations, originally representing Indonesia's vast territory but now limited to East Kalimantan, potentially leading to misunderstandings. PKS argued that the law was passed hastily without adequate consultation, which could

have allowed more thorough discussion. Similarly, constitutional expert Bivitri Susanti emphasized the need for meaningful public participation, suggesting that the affected communities extend beyond Penajam Paser to the broader Indonesian population. Susanti argued that effective participation should prioritize listening to those impacted rather than focusing on quantitative metrics.

Further criticism also came from environmental groups and academics who highlighted the limited timeframe for drafting the IKN Law. Yohana Tiko, executive director of Walhi East Kalimantan, and the East Kalimantan People's Coalition also voiced concerns over material and procedural flaws. They cited the 43-day period from the committee's formation to enactment and claimed that the process failed to involve all affected groups, including farmers, fishermen, indigenous communities, and women. Although an initial consultation was held at Mulawarman University, Walhi as Indonesia's largest and oldest environmental NGO was not invited, while a later public consultation in Balikpapan included limited community participation.

In addition to this issue, Economist Faisal Basri presented several reasons for challenging the IKN Law, emphasizing the perceived inadequacy of the academic foundation and the project's timing amid the COVID-19 pandemic. Basri argued that relocating the capital during the pandemic was unwise, as many Indonesians still required vaccination support, which demanded significant government funding. Basri raised concerns about using the State Budget (APBN) for the project, as the pandemic had already strained Indonesia's economy. Initially, President Joko Widodo planned for private investment to fund the capital, but ultimately, APBN funds were allocated, necessitating careful scrutiny. Additionally, he also argued that relocating the capital would merely transfer Jakarta's complexities to East Kalimantan rather than resolve them. The Minister of National Development Planning (BAPPENAS) mentioned that

the new capital city would explore the establishment of a launch site for super-fast spacecraft (SpaceX), which would, of course, generate noise and be unsuitable for residential areas. Faisal Basri stated that the function of the national capital appears unclear, as it is intended to become a multifunctional city.

In defense of the IKN Law, Ahmad Doli Kurnia, Chair of the Special Committee, asserted that the bill aimed to establish a framework essential for Indonesia's future development. Ahmad Doli Kurnia emphasized the need for prompt legal backing, particularly for large-scale projects, and underscored that relocating the capital is not a new concept, having been discussed under previous administrations. The committee, aware of the significance of proper legal procedures, made efforts to invite both critics and supporters. He noted that 31 experts from various fields were consulted and that the committee received letters from Kalimantan residents, held public consultations with community groups, and engaged with indigenous and local governments. Senior expert Wandy Tuturoong from the Presidential Staff Office stated that the government valued these opinions and recognized the project's support base. He reiterated the government's goal to reduce Jakarta's congestion and address Java's disparities with other islands, considering this an opportune moment for relocation. Nonetheless, PKS and other critics have maintained their stance, arguing that more time was needed to address all concerns.

While some criticized the lack of public participation, the government defended the inclusiveness of the process. The Minister of National Development Planning/Bappenas justified the 43-day timeline, noting that many IKN Law provisions were adapted from existing regulations. He explained that the DPR's familiarity with the bill's contents facilitated systematic problem-solving and expedited approval. Furthermore, Deputy Chair of the Special Committee, Saan

Mustopa, stated that the law was crafted according to established procedures and emphasized that those who view the law as potentially unconstitutional are free to pursue a judicial review with the Constitutional Court. However, President Joko Widodo personally affirmed the IKN Law's finality, citing the DPR's majority approval, and urged the public to respect this decision. Heard of the president's statement, Achmad Nur Hidayat and petition supporters argued that declaring the law final dismissed the democratic right to question and seek judicial review, drawing parallels to the Constitutional Court's ruling on the Omnibus Law. Nur Hidayat emphasized that in a democratic system, public input should significantly influence decision-making, not just the government elite's views.

IKN Authority System Criticism

The IKN Law includes articles regarding the IKN Authority, which has been designated as the governing body responsible for all activities in the new capital, such as implementing the Ministry of Home Affairs Regulation on the Administration of Special Regional Governance for IKN, as well as preparing and developing IKN. The establishment of the IKN Authority has drawn criticism for allegedly not aligning with democratic principles, particularly due to the direct presidential appointment of the IKN Authority head, who holds ministerial rank and functions as a regional head. Achmad Nur Hidayat described the concept as "absurd," arguing that a regional head's duty includes tax collection, which in a democratic system should be overseen by local representation. However, the IKN Authority lacks local representation, as it is directly appointed by and reports solely to the president. This absence of a local representative body raises concerns about potential abuse of power due to limited oversight.

Constitutional law expert Bivitri Susanti echoed these concerns, noting that using an Authority body as a governance model reflects a project-oriented approach rather than a regional autonomy model. Article 18B of the 1945 Constitution, she argued, supports democratic regional autonomy, allowing for special or unique regions with local legislative councils (DPRD). A governance structure without a DPRD and with an Authority head appointed directly by the president, who can enact regulations without checks and balances, undermines constitutional values.

Deputy Chair of the Special Committee for the IKN Bill, Saan Mustopa, offered a counterpoint by explaining that Articles 18 and 18B of the 1945 Constitution allow for special regional governance units regulated by law. He stated that the special status of Nusantara as the national capital adheres to these constitutional provisions, with the IKN Authority established as the governing body. The IKN Authority's ministerial-level status, with its head and deputy appointed by the president for a five-year term, is intended to ensure a streamlined development process. Mustopa emphasized that although the DPR will monitor and consult on the Authority's implementation of the law, the decision to appoint the head and deputy of the IKN Authority remains the president's prerogative and does not require DPR approval.

In defense of the IKN Authority's structure, Wandy Tuturoong, Chief of Staff for the Nusantara Capital City Authority, explained that the concept emerged from studies and discussions conducted since 2020, recognizing the need for complex and professional management systems in modern city development, especially for smart cities like IKN Nusantara. Tuturoong asserted that the government had adhered to constitutional principles and gathered input from experts across fields such as law, economics, and environmental studies to inform the IKN Law. President Joko Widodo also addressed these concerns, noting in an interview with Metro TV that the

government required a flexible organizational model, particularly during the initial stages of capital development. This approach would enable the organization to operate efficiently and meet the needs of IKN Nusantara, whose development may span 15–20 years. The president suggested that once construction is complete, the government might reassess and potentially adapt the governance model of the new capital.

Comprehensive Analysis and Its Relation to the Research Questions

The issues arising in the capital relocation project stem from a lack of communication and outreach between the government and local residents affected by the project—namely, the communities whose land will be used as the core government area. According to the Regent of North Penajam Paser, Abdul Gafur Mas'ud, the central government area will not use residential land. However, in practice, development has expanded into residential areas. This lack of communication has led to concerns among the local community, particularly from the Paser and Balik tribes, who will be the first to be affected by this development. Based on personal observations, the researcher categorizes these concerns into three main points: a fear of displacement, a fear of recognizing their lack of competitiveness, and a fear of being marginalized.

Upon deeper analysis, the concerns experienced by the community reveal a pattern. The capital relocation project has raised fears among the local community of being displaced, coupled with the realization that local human resources may not be competent enough, thus heightening fears of eventual marginalization. Alongside these local community concerns, several experts and policy analysts have voiced apprehensions regarding the process of drafting the IKN Law, which has now been

enacted. One of the key concerns revolves around the choice of the IKN Authority model, with opponents agreeing that the establishment of the IKN Authority could negatively impact the continuity of democracy in the capital.

Starting from fears of displacement to fears of marginalization, these issues form the basis of concerns related to land acquisition by the IKN Authority, which has been instructed to expedite the construction of the new capital. However, unresolved issues related to land ownership rights for indigenous communities and overlapping business licenses remain. Community concerns over the IKN Authority's powers potentially leading to abuse were demonstrated when eviction notices were sent to 200 households in the Pemaluan and Bukit Raya areas in March 2024, instructing recipients to demolish their homes within seven days. Although this decision was ultimately revoked following public unrest and strong opposition from the East Kalimantan coalition, the incident became part of the IKN Authority's record of arbitrary actions.

In response to ongoing debates which also become the answer to the first research question regarding the government's response to the socioeconomic disparities faced by the local community in East Kalimantan, the government—including the Minister of National Development Planning (BAPPENAS), the special committee responsible for drafting the IKN Bill, the IKN Authority, and the President—agreed that relocating the national capital is urgent and represents a grand vision for achieving an Advanced Indonesia by 2045. The capital relocation is seen as a strategic move for Indonesia to compete globally. Although other countries such as Malaysia, Brazil, Kazakhstan, and Australia were referenced in this analysis, the government claims that the concept of Indonesia's new capital will differ from existing capitals worldwide by embodying a "green city" or "forest city" concept, with

70% of the area remaining lush with native Kalimantan vegetation. This green city is also expected to function as a sponge city, capable of absorbing rainwater.

Additionally, with the establishment of the new capital in East Kalimantan, the government is optimistic that this will benefit the people of East Kalimantan, not only in terms of economic growth but also in infrastructure, including healthcare and education infrastructure.

In discussions regarding parties opposed to the capital relocation process, such as objections from some groups concerning the drafting of the IKN law, the government appears very open and respectful, even encouraging these groups to pursue a judicial review at the Constitutional Court, as allowed in a democratic society. This discussion serves as an answer to the second research question regarding the government's response to the socio-political implications of the resistance exhibited by local communities in East Kalimantan towards the capital city relocation project. The government also remains positive, convinced that the special committee for the IKN Bill has worked with high concentration, understanding the need for legal certainty in the capital's construction while adhering to established regulations. The 43-day drafting period of the law, criticized by the public as rushed, was countered by the government, stating that the limited number of articles (about 40) and the content—besides addressing specific issues related to territorial jurisdiction, governance, and special authorities—also adopted pre-existing regulations, thus making the content familiar to parliament members and enabling faster, systematic problem-solving in the law's ratification.

The government's consistently confident and optimistic stance toward the capital city development is reflected in statements that frequently emerge in various sources covering debates between opposing parties and the government that deserve

attention: the capital relocation, along with the law's enactment, is a political decision. It is essential to recognize that a political decision is made by the government, meaning that, while the public may voice their opinions, political decisions ultimately rest with the government. Nonetheless, the government has emphasized that political decisions will still be based on a technocratic foundation, meaning they must be supported by concrete evidence. This must be acknowledged because, in a democratic process, decisions are made based on the majority vote. As President Joko Widodo once stated, the IKN Law was approved by 8 out of 9 factions in the House of Representatives. It should also be recognized that the local communities affected by residential displacement, whose land ownership rights are not officially recognized, represent a minority compared to the majority of Indonesian citizens who support the capital relocation project. Observing such democratic processes and political decisions, Azyumardi Azra, the chairman of the Press Council, echoed concerns in his response to the capital relocation process. He emphasized that public participation is a key principle of democracy, particularly for decisions that impact the public interest, such as capital relocation. He mentioned that several public policy observers in Indonesia have also noted that the country's democracy is facing a decline, with concerns about legislative processes that exclude public participation, shrinking freedom of expression, and the rise of political and economic oligarchies.

Conclusion

The process of relocating the capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan has faced numerous challenges, particularly in terms of communication between the government and the public, as well as the perception that public participation has not been adequately encouraged. The government has assured the public, especially the

local communities in East Kalimantan, that the capital relocation will have positive impacts on the economy, education, and healthcare. Similar to the theory by Karpchuk and Nataliia, public consultations are conducted on matters related to the state's socioeconomic development, the realization and protection of citizens' rights and freedoms, and their political, economic, social, cultural, and other interests.⁴⁸ This theory also establishes one of the requirements for a law to be considered formally valid. This requirement is considered to have been fulfilled by the government through public consultations held in East Kalimantan, the receipt of suggestion letters, and public consultations at various universities, ultimately leading to the law's approval by the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia. This claim has been supported by the rapid infrastructure development that began in 2022 and continues through 2024. However, the displacement of local communities residing in North Penajam Paser and Pемaluan represents a significant sacrifice by the people for what the government claims is a national interest. This aligns with the Oxford Dictionary's definition of urban relocation as a process "whereby the character of a poor urban area is changed by wealthier people moving in, improving housing, and attracting new businesses, often displacing current inhabitants in the process."

The government's optimism is also evident in the drafting of the IKN Bill and the establishment of the IKN Authority, reflecting its belief that, despite necessary revisions, the IKN Law has fulfilled its role as a legal framework. Undeniably, the government has exercised its autonomy in this capital development process, as discussed by Eric Nordlinger, who argues that the government has the right to

⁴⁸ Karpchuk and Yuskiv, "Political Communication Discord between the Government and the Citizens: the Case of Ukraine."

exercise its autonomy by staying committed to its plan, even when public surveys reflect more dissent than agreement.⁴⁹

The researcher notes that if the government continues to dominate the decision-making process at the expense of public input, the democratic values that are meant to guide Indonesia could be called into question. Furthermore, the relocation highlights how marginalized groups often find themselves powerless, and controlled by the government, while their interests are overshadowed by those deemed to have more potential. This phenomenon, the researcher observes, is deeply ingrained in society, where the weak are often replaced by the powerful. This is evident in the ongoing struggles of indigenous peoples, not just in East Kalimantan, but across Indonesia, as they continue to fight for their rights, hoping that the indigenous people's law will soon be passed by the People's Representative Council (DPR). The researcher also believes that for democracy to function effectively, it must be remembered that the state exists for the people, by the people, and for the people. The government, as the people's representative, should carry forward the aspirations of all citizens to ensure the progress of the nation. The megaproject to relocate the capital to East Kalimantan is a clear example of the need for not only public involvement but also effective dialogue, so that the project, which is intended to promote public welfare, is felt as a positive impact rather than a source of public resentment. Furthermore, the researcher highlights the importance of improving and balancing the quality of human resources across all layers of Indonesian society, ensuring that everyone can contribute to the country rather than merely being spectators or marginalized parties.

⁴⁹ Azmy, "Examining the Relocation of the Capital City of Indonesia Through the State Perspective in Political Economy."

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

As a government operating under a democratic system, the Republic of Indonesia, in the case of the capital relocation project, can be said to have acted by the existing constitution. The votes represented by the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia indicate that the majority supports the capital relocation project, as reflected in the establishment of the IKN Law. This aligns with the concept of deliberation instilled in Indonesian youth, where decisions are made based on the majority vote. Furthermore, the Indonesian government itself possesses the autonomous right to make political decisions.

Given the limitations in data collection, where the researcher could only conduct observations based on accessible online data, it is acknowledged that every source, whether news or interview videos, may carry biases according to the aims of their creators. The researcher has strived to gather perspectives not only from the opposition but also from proponents of capital relocation, with the hope that this paper may provide a fresh perspective for future research on similar topics, particularly in democratic contexts. The researcher hopes that the Indonesian government does not portray Indonesia's vision solely through grand initiatives. While such ambitions are beneficial and would be supported by the entire nation, the researcher also hopes the government will address foundational issues, such as the unresolved land ownership rights for indigenous communities, which remain unsettled as of 2024. If these underlying issues continue to be ignored, as has become habitual, the researcher agrees with the view that Indonesian democracy is regressing. Minor communities, considered minorities, are not receiving serious attention, and this neglect is likely to extend to other marginalized groups as well.

APPENDIX

Codebook

The codebook table is created based on the focus of the analysis, which is divided into six major focuses: local community concerns, urban planning issues, lawsuits on the IKN law, disagreements on the IKN authority, government-related codes, and opportunities-obstacles.

Table C1. Local Community Concerns

Code	Definition	Example
Emotional Response	Feelings expressed by communities in reaction to the relocation project.	Many residents expressed fear about losing their homes due to the relocation project.
Community Perspective	Specific opinions or grievances raised by the community regarding their future and impacts of relocation.	The community is demanding more consultation before the relocation begins.
Analysts' Viewpoints	External analyses on the risks, benefits, or long-term effects of relocation.	Analysts predict that the relocation could lead to economic inequality in the region.
Government's Position	The government's justifications and official stance on the relocation project.	The government maintains that relocation will lead to economic growth and improved infrastructure.

Table C2. Urban Planning Issues

Code	Definition	Example
Local Community Displacement	Physical relocation or eviction of local communities due to urban planning projects.	Several families were evicted from their homes to make way for the new capital project.
Community Coalition Formation	Alliances formed by communities to resist relocation or negotiate with the government.	Villagers formed a coalition to negotiate better compensation terms with the government.
Public Reaction	Reactions from the broader public, including national sentiment or protests beyond the directly impacted communities.	Public protests erupted nationwide in opposition to the capital relocation project.
Government Reaction	Government's response to public or community concerns regarding urban planning decisions.	The government responded to protests by promising further consultations with local leaders.
Government Solutions	Long-term strategies to address urban planning challenges.	The government introduced policies aimed at ensuring sustainable development for the new capital.
Government Mitigation Efforts	Short-term actions to reduce the immediate impacts of urban planning on communities.	Short-term housing was provided to families displaced by the relocation.

Table C3. Lawsuit on IKN Law

Code	Definition	Example
Legal Challenge	Legal actions or lawsuits filed against the IKN Law by communities or civil society.	Several lawsuits were filed challenging the legality of the IKN Law.
Lack of Consultation	Claims that the government did not adequately consult local communities during the creation of the IKN Law.	Local leaders claim they were not consulted before the law was passed.

Table C4. Disagreement on IKN Authority

Code	Definition	Example
Centralized Power	Criticism that the IKN Authority holds too much control, undermining local governance.	Critics argue that the centralized power of the IKN Authority sidelines local governments.
Local Representation	Inclusion or exclusion of local governments and communities in decision-making processes.	There are concerns that local communities are not represented in key decisions regarding relocation.

Table C5. Government-Related Codes

Code	Definition	Example
Government Reassurances	Verbal promises made by the government in response to community concerns (e.g., compensation promises).	The government assured residents that they would be compensated fairly for their land.
Government Action	Concrete actions or policies implemented by the government (e.g., building housing, delivering compensation).	New housing projects were built to accommodate displaced residents.
Transparency of Government Responses	The openness and clarity of government communication about relocation plans and progress.	The government provided regular updates on the progress of the relocation project.
Government Engagement with Communities	Methods used by the government to engage communities in dialogue about urban planning.	Officials held town hall meetings to gather feedback from local communities about the relocation.
Government Legal Defense	Legal strategies used by the government to defend the IKN Law in court.	The government defended the IKN Law in court, arguing it was necessary for national development.

Table C6. Opportunities and Obstacles

Code	Definition	Example
Opportunities	New job openings or employment opportunities created through relocation projects.	The construction of the new capital is expected to create thousands of new jobs for local workers.
Obstacles	Barriers related to increased competition in the job market or access to resources.	Local workers face tough competition from external contractors for job opportunities.

List of Data Used in Research

The following table contains the primary data sources used in the analysis of this research, gathered from various media sources such as YouTube, online newspapers, and official government websites.

Table D1. List of Data Used in Research

No.	Title	Source	Published Date
1	Pidato Luar Biasa Presiden Jokowi di Sidang Bersama DPD - DPR RI 2019 <i>(Extraordinary Speech of President Jokowi at the Joint Session of the Regional Representative Council - House of Representatives RI 2019)</i>	Youtube – METRO TV	August 16, 2019
2	Indonesia Infrastructure Development Financing 2019: Pentingnya Skema Pembiayaan Alternatif Untuk Percepatan Pembangunan Indonesia <i>(Indonesia Infrastructure Development Financing 2019: The Importance of Alternative Financing Schemes for Accelerating Indonesia's Development)</i>	News – Bappenas RI	November 07, 2019
3	Linimasa Rencana Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara <i>(Timeline of the Capital City Relocation Plan)</i>	Youtube – Bappenas RI	November 30, 2019
4	Gov't Offers Investment Opportunities in New Capital City	News – Cabinet Secretariat of The Republic of Indonesia	February 27, 2020
5	Menteri Suharso Tegaskan Komitmen Bappenas Realokasi Anggaran IKN 2020 untuk Percepat Pemulihan Sosial-Ekonomi Indonesia <i>(Minister Suharso Emphasizes Bappenas' Commitment to Reallocate the 2020 IKN Budget to Accelerate Indonesia's Socio-Economic Recovery)</i>	News - Bappenas	May 01, 2020
6	Kepala Bappenas: Pemindahan Ibu Kota Ditunda, Perencanaan Tetap Berjalan <i>(Head of Bappenas: Capital City Relocation Postponed, Planning Continues)</i>	News – KOMPAS.com	September 08, 2020
7	BERSAMA SETNEG, BAPPENAS SERAHKAN RUU IBU KOTA NEGARA KE DPR RI <i>(Together with the State Secretariat, Bappenas Submits the National Capital Bill to the House of Representative RI)</i>	News – IKN Official Website	October 29, 2021
8	Menelusuri Ibu Kota Baru <i>(Tracing the New Capital City)</i>	Youtube - Narasi Newsroom	December 11, 2021
9	Yang Tidak Dikatakan Jokowi soal Ibu Kota Baru Buka Mata <i>(What Jokowi Didn't Say About the New Capital Open Your Eyes)</i>	Youtube – Narasi Newsroom	December 24, 2021
10	Dianggap Masih Banyak Masalah, PKS Tolak RUU Ibu Kota Negara Jadi UU <i>(Considered Still Problematic, PKS Rejects the National Capital City Bill Becoming Law)</i>	Youtube – KOMPAS TV	January 18, 2022
11	Presiden akan Tunjuk Kepala Otorita IKN Nusantara <i>(President to Appoint Head of the IKN Nusantara Authority)</i>	Youtube – METRO TV	January 19, 2022
12	Ibu Kota Baru Untuk Siapa? (1) - SATU MEJA <i>(New Capital City for Whom? (1) - One Table)</i>	Youtube – KOMPAS TV	January 20, 2022
13	Apa Urgensi Perpindahan Ibu Kota? (2) - SATU MEJA <i>(What is the Urgency of Relocating the Capital City? (2) - One Table)</i>	Youtube – KOMPAS TV	January 20, 2022

Table D1. List of Data Used in Research (Continue)

14	SAH! IBU KOTA PINDAH ; KENAPA MENOLAK? <i>(Official! Capital City Relocation; Why Reject It?)</i>	Youtube – Indonesia Lawyers Club	January 21, 2022
15	Faisal Basri: Ini Bukan Proyek Rakyat tapi Proyek Oligarki <i>(Faisal Basri: This is Not a People's Project but an Oligarchy Project)</i>	Youtube – CNN Indonesia	January 22, 2022
16	Nasib Suku Adat di Tengah Pembangunan IKN Nusantara <i>(Fate of Indigenous Tribes Amid IKN Nusantara Development)</i>	Youtube – CNN Indonesia	January 31, 2022
17	DEBAT PANAS!!! RAMAI-RAMAI PETISI TOLAK IKN <i>(Heated Debate!!! Crowds Petition to Reject IKN)</i>	Youtube – Indonesia Lawyers Club	February 11, 2022
18	Jokowi Teken UU IKN, Ini 6 Hal Penting yang Diatur <i>(Jokowi Signs the National Capital Law, Here are 6 Key Provisions)</i>	Youtube – KOMPAS TV	February 21, 2022
19	Penggugat UU IKN: Kepala Otorita Bertanggung Jawab Kepada Presiden, Rentan Konflik Kepentingan <i>(Lawsuit Against the IKN Law: Authority Head Responsible to President, Prone to Conflict of Interest)</i>	Youtube – CNN Indonesia	February 23, 2022
20	Gugatan IKN Resmi Diterima MK, Azyumardi Azra: Publik Kurang Dilibatkan! <i>(IKN Lawsuit Officially Accepted by the Constitutional Court, Azyumardi Azra: The Public Was Not Involved Enough!)</i>	Youtube – KOMPAS TV	March 07, 2022
21	Pembangunan IKN Terus Berlanjut, Bagaimanakah Tanggapan Penggugat UU IKN? <i>(IKN Development Continues, What's the Response of the Lawsuit Plaintiffs?)</i>	Youtube – KOMPAS TV	March 14, 2022
22	Wawancara Eksklusif Presiden Jokowi di Ibu Kota Nusantara <i>(Exclusive Interview with President Jokowi in the Nusantara Capital City)</i>	Youtube – METRO TV	March 17, 2022
23	Jokowi Perintahkan Kementerian/Lembaga Terkait Gencarkan Sosialisasi IKN <i>(Jokowi Instructs Related Ministries/Agencies to Intensify IKN Socialization)</i>	News – Kompas.com	June 09, 2022
24	Pentingnya Pelibatan Masyarakat Lokal dalam Proses Pembangunan IKN Nusantara <i>(Importance of Involving Local Communities in the Development Process of IKN Nusantara)</i>	News – KEMENKO PMK	June 17, 2022
25	Pemindahan IKN Upaya Pemerintah Lakukan Transformasi Ekonomi <i>(The Capital City Relocation as a Government Effort to Transform the Economy)</i>	News - BAPPENAS	July 07, 2022
26	Masyarakat Sipil Kaltim Tolak Penggusuran Tanah-Rumah Warga di IKN, Ingatkan Pemerintah soal Putusan MK <i>(Civil Society of East Kalimantan Rejects Demolition of Residents' Land-Houses in IKN, Reminds Government of Constitutional Court Decision)</i>	News – tempo.co	March 14, 2024
27	Bantah Ada Penggusuran Rumah Warga Adat, Otorita IKN: Itu Hoaks! <i>(Authority of IKN Denies Demolition of Indigenous Homes, Claims it's Hoax!)</i>	News – Detik.com	March 14, 2024
28	Otorita IKN Tarik Surat yang Minta Warga Sekitar IKN Robohkan Rumahnya <i>(IKN Authority Withdraws Letter Requesting Residents Around IKN to Demolish Their Houses)</i>	News – Kompas.com	March 15, 2024
29	Kata Pengamat Kebijakan Publik Soal Jokowi Beri Izin Tanah IKN Dijual ke Investor <i>(Public Policy Observer's Take on Jokowi Granting Permission for IKN Land to be Sold to Investors)</i>	Youtube – KOMPAS TV	March 15, 2024

Table D1. List of Data Used in Research (Continue)

30	Imbas Proyek IKN, Warga Setempat Digusur Paksa? Ada Apa Hari Ini <i>(Impact of IKN Project, Are Local Residents Forced to Move? What's Happening Today)</i>	Youtube - Tempodotco	March 15, 2024
31	Hujan Kritik DPR Soal Pemindahan Ibu Kota ke IKN <i>(Rain of Criticism from the House of Representatives on the Capital City Relocation to IKN)</i>	Youtube – METRO TV	March 19, 2024
32	IKN: Antara masyarakat adat yang 'terusir' dan magnet ekonomi baru <i>(IKN: Between Displaced Indigenous Communities and a New Economic Magnet)</i>	Youtube – BBC News Indonesia	March 27, 2024
33	Mahasiswa Sampaikan Kondisi Penghidupan Masyarakat Lokal dan Migran di Wilayah IKN <i>(Students Report on the Living Conditions of Local and Migrant Communities in the IKN Area)</i>	News – UNIVERSITAS GADJAH MADA	June 16, 2024
34	"Kalau Mau Pembangunan IKN Cepat, Harus Ada Perpres Pengadaan Tanah" <i>("To Accelerate IKN Development, There Must Be a Presidential Regulation on Land Procurement")</i>	News – Kompas.com	July 08, 2024
35	Azyumardi Azra: Reformasi Cacat, Jokowi Harus Pimpin Reformasi Jilid II Bicara <i>(Azyumardi Azra: Flawed Reform, Jokowi Must Lead Reform Volume II Talk)</i>	Youtube – Narasi Newsroom	July 27, 2022
36	Cerita Warga soal Upaya Pembebasan Lahan IKN: Tak Menolak, Hanya Harapkan Ganti Rugi yang Manusiawi <i>(Residents' Stories on IKN Land Acquisition Efforts: Not Refusing, Just Hoping for Fair Compensation)</i>	Youtube – KOMPAS TV	August 09, 2024
37	Nestapa di Balik Ambisi Jokowi untuk Mega Proyek Ibu Kota Nusantara <i>(Misery Behind Jokowi's Ambition for the Mega Project of Nusantara Capital City)</i>	Youtube – IDN Times	August 30, 2024
38	Ada 2.086 Ha Lahan Bermasalah di IKN, Gimana Kabarnya Saat Ini? <i>(2,086 Hectares of Problematic Land in IKN, What's the Status Now?)</i>	News – Detik.com	September 10, 2024
39	Jokowi Sebut IKN Bukan Proyek Presiden, Tapi Keputusan Seluruh Rakyat <i>(Jokowi Says IKN Is Not a Presidential Project, But a Decision of the Entire Nation)</i>	Youtube – KOMPAS TV	September 26, 2024

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