

THE RELOCATION OF INDONESIA'S CAPITAL: PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT

The relocation of the Indonesian capital has become a significant topic of debate in Indonesian public policy. In analyzing public policy and its implications, this study explores the factors that influenced the government's decision to move the country's capital. Using a multidisciplinary approach, this study considers the geopolitical, economic, social, and environmental aspects associated with the relocation process. The implications of this policy are also examined, including its impact on national development, the distribution of political power, as well as people's welfare. This research aims to provide a deeper understanding of the process of relocating Indonesia's capital and evaluate its impact on society and the country as a whole.

KEYWORDS

Relocation of the Indonesian Capital, Public Policy Analysis, Implications.



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INTRODUCTION

The capital city is the center of government for a country, as stipulated by the laws of each nation. Indonesia has designated Jakarta as its capital, as stated in the Republic of Indonesia Law Number 10 of 1964, "On the Declaration of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Raya as the Capital of the Republic of Indonesia, with the Name Jakarta." The capital city plays a crucial role in all aspects of governmental activities, serving as the main center for political power and the economy. Additionally, the capital reflects the cultural side of the country, showcasing its unique and distinctive character. As the identity of a nation, the capital is built to advance the country, ensuring the prosperity and well-being of its people.

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The 2020-2024 Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJM) states that development will be carried out in the administrative areas of Penajam Paser Utara Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency in East Kalimantan. These regions were chosen due to their proximity to the already developed cities of Balikpapan and Samarinda. Considering the certainty of relocating the capital, it is urgent to conduct thorough planning to avoid new problems such as economic, institutional, spatial, social, and environmental issues in the new capital. The plan to move the capital to Kalimantan Island was initially proposed by President Soekarno, driven by environmental sustainability issues such as flooding and land subsidence in Jakarta.

Relocating the capital is a priority on the national strategic project agenda, requiring an estimated budget of IDR 466 trillion to be implemented between 2020 and 2024. This project aims to accelerate economic growth and reduce disparities outside Java, especially in Eastern Indonesia. The government of Penajam Paser Utara Regency, along with the local Regional House of Representatives (DPRD), is aligning development programs. According to Wakidi, the head of the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) faction in the DPRD of Penajam Paser Utara Regency, infrastructure development in the core area of the new Indonesian capital in Sepaku District has commenced. The readiness of Penajam Paser Utara Regency as part of the new capital, named Nusantara, involves preparing a Regional Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPD) for 2025. The local government and DPRD are synchronizing regional development programs with the construction of the new capital, Nusantara.

In the broader context of development, the National Long-Term Development Plan 2005-2025 (RPJPN 2005-2025) was formulated to implement the mandate of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, including the formulation of national development vision, mission, and directions. The RPJMN 2020-2024 also integrates Sustainable Development Goals with targets and indicators as an integral part of Indonesia's seven development agendas, reflecting respect, protection, and fulfillment of human rights for all. The 1945 Constitution explicitly acknowledges and guarantees the importance of public participation rights as outlined in Articles 1(2), 27(1), and 28C(2), including the right to participate in policy and legislative formation. Constitutional Court Decision No. 91/PUU-XVIII/2020 reaffirms the public's right to be involved in the legislative process, embodying the principle of people's sovereignty as stipulated in the Constitution.

To ensure orderly national legal development and the formation of legislation, Law Number 12 of 2011 on the Formation of Legislation was enacted. The implementation of this law requires adherence not only to Law No. 12 of 2011 but also to principles of good and ideal legislative formation to minimize defects and errors in the creation of norms. The formation of the IKN Law, which has sparked much debate, arguably did not adhere to these principles, particularly the principle of transparency. Legislative formation should be transparent and open from

planning, drafting, and discussion to enactment, allowing the public the broadest opportunity to participate.

The IKN Law was created in just 17 days, a process that limited public participation, contrary to the principles outlined in Article 5 of Law No. 12 of 2011. Despite the significant financial scope of IDR 466 trillion for the capital relocation, the formulation and establishment of its policies proceeded quickly, leaving many people unaware of the true reasons for the policy beyond economic equalization.

The relocation of the capital, based on legislation, is a public policy aimed at meeting public needs and interests, significantly impacting all aspects of public life, both dynamic (such as ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, and defense/security) and static (such as geography, demography, and natural resources). Since not all demands can be met simultaneously due to limited resources, the government filters and prioritizes demands, forming public policy from these priorities.

Public policy, primarily involving public interests rather than those of the state, government, rulers, or political elites, must be intelligent (solving core issues), wise (not creating bigger problems), and provide hope for a better future. Policy formulation starts from specific issues, categorized by Dunn (1990) into major, secondary, functional, and minor issues, evolving dynamically with societal development, political culture, and system character. Formulating public policy proposals follows the government agenda, developing a series of government actions to address specific problems.

A theory serves as a guide in carrying out tasks. Additionally, a theory also functions as a formulation of something. Policy formulation requires theory to ensure that the formulation process runs smoothly and is based on solid foundations (R. Dye, 1995).

The implementation of public policy can be seen as a process of executing policy decisions. Policy implementation usually takes the form of laws, government regulations, court decisions, and executive orders. Once a policy proposal is accepted and approved by the authorities, it can be immediately implemented. Thus, a policy decision will ultimately be assessed based on whether it can be promptly executed (Chief J.O. Udoji, 1981:32).

The future progress of the Republic of Indonesia, as outlined in the Vision of Golden Indonesia 2045, requires unity and sustainability. From strengthening human resources (HR), enhancing science and technology, to realizing development, unity and cohesion among all national elements are essential. President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) has highlighted three main guidelines to help achieve the Vision of Golden Indonesia 2045. This statement was made when he launched the Draft of the National Long-Term Development Plan (RPJPN) 2025-2045 on June 15, 2023, at Djakarta Theater, Jakarta.

According to President Jokowi, maintaining stability is crucial because no country can achieve prosperity if it is not stable. Secondly, continuity and consistency in leadership are also important focuses. Furthermore, President Jokowi

emphasized the importance of industrial downstreaming as the third guideline. Additionally, development focused on Indonesia itself is also a significant focus. One aspect is the development aimed at balancing Indonesia's economy. The President explained that most of Indonesia's population (56 percent) resides in Java, and the majority of Indonesia's gross domestic product (GDP) (58 percent) is also generated in Java. Therefore, it is important to reduce regional disparities and strengthen equitable development, as well as to develop the new capital city (IKN) as an alternative economic growth center outside Java. The third focus is human resources (HR), which is a major strength for the Indonesian nation.

The National Capital Law was finally passed as law through a Plenary Session of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) on January 18, 2022. This ratification can be said to have occurred very quickly, as discussions lasted only 43 days, starting from December 7, 2021. Moving the nation's capital to a new location based on a law as a legal basis can be considered a public policy, which is the government's response to meeting public needs and interests. As a public policy, relocating the capital undoubtedly has a significant impact on the public, affecting almost all aspects of societal life (public), both dynamic aspects such as ideology, politics, economy, socio-culture, and defense and security, and static aspects such as geography, demography, and natural resources.

Relocating the capital is not a new phenomenon, as it is an innovative way to develop the country and its national identity. In 2005, Myanmar announced the relocation of its capital from Yangon to Naypyitaw. This move was made to enhance national security (Seekins, 2009) due to Myanmar's long history of insurgency. Another reason was to build a new identity for Myanmar as a capital that unites various ethnic groups in the country. By relocating the capital, the government sought to control the country's development (Myoe, 2009) by isolating state employees from the general populace. Although the city has limited facilities, it features 20-lane roads and an uninterrupted power supply, a rarity in the country. Despite this, Naypyitaw is often referred to as a "ghost city" due to its sparse population.

Several countries, including the United States, Turkey, Brazil, and Australia, have relocated their capitals. South Korea is also in the process of moving its capital. The relocation of various ministries and state agencies from Seoul to Sejong began gradually in 2012 and is targeted for completion by 2030. If calculated from the start of construction in 2007, South Korea requires about 23 years. However, if considering the initial idea proposed by President Roh Moo-hyun in 2002, it shows that South Korea needs 28 years to complete the construction and relocation of the Administrative Capital from Seoul to Sejong," explained Bamsuet. According to a study by Kwon (2015), the purpose of relocating the capital in South Korea is to reorganize the national development strategy to stabilize economic development.

Myanmar initially moved its capital from Yangon to Naypyitaw in November 2005 during the junta led by General Than Shew. Naypyitaw means "Royal Palace." It is located in Kyatpyae Village, Pyinmana City, Mandalay Province, 372.8

kilometers from Yangon. Unfortunately, despite the relocation costing up to \$4 billion, the city is often dubbed a "ghost city." "The wide highways are completely empty, and there is a silence in the air. Nothing moves," wrote *The Guardian*, noting that even free and fast Wi-Fi, rare in the country, could not attract more people to the city.

"On a bright Sunday afternoon, the streets were empty, restaurants and hotel lobbies were deserted. It seemed like a frightening depiction of suburban America post-apocalypse; like a David Lynch film set in North Korea," the media further explained. In other reports, officials admitted they did not choose to live in Naypyitaw due to the lack of commercial and educational facilities. Before the military junta's coup in February 2021, Aung San Suu Kyi had attempted to encourage foreign embassies to occupy offices in Naypyitaw, but unfortunately, this was never realized.

Urban density is showing an increasing trend, resulting in broader negative impacts on economic, social, governmental administration, and political fields. Urban life is becoming difficult, unhealthy, unsafe, and uncomfortable. Improvement and urban development programs have been implemented by many major cities. To achieve this, capable human resources, substantial funding, adequate urban facilities, strong urban institutions, integrated, dynamic, and future-oriented urban development planning, and coordinated, consolidated, synchronized, balanced, and harmonious implementation are needed. However, in reality, the necessary resources are not sufficiently available, and the implementation of urban development is not synchronized with the established development plans, resulting in disappointment.

Despite all the potential benefits, the Indonesian government has emphasized in every national dialogue and media that there remains strong opposition from some sections of society and experts. They argue that relocating the capital would be wasteful, as a large amount of money would be spent on building the new capital and implementing all the smart city technologies, while Jakarta would be neglected. Some environmentalists have also expressed concerns that deforestation rates would increase in the future due to rapid infrastructure development consuming vast forest areas in Kalimantan.

Given that the policy of relocating the capital is a very serious matter with various consequences, the central government is obliged to give serious attention to the dynamic pros and cons occurring in society. As Dye (2002) stated, public policy is the course of action chosen by the government to be implemented or not implemented. However, it would be wiser if every policy-making process involves as many stakeholders as possible to produce solid, conducive, and rational policies for implementation. Based on the above background, this paper aims to analyze the relocation of the capital city from the perspective of public policy, particularly regarding the high resistance of the public to the policy-making process and how the government proceeds to realize it.

RESEARCH METHOD

The type of research used in this study is normative juridical, which focuses on doctrines or principles in legal science. The legal materials utilized in this research include various levels: primary legal materials, secondary legal materials, and tertiary legal materials. The primary legal materials used include legislation, regulations, and court decisions. The secondary legal materials used include writings or journals of experts on the topic being studied or related to primary legal materials, literature such as books, articles, magazines related to this research, and tertiary legal materials sourced from legal dictionaries, language dictionaries, journals or newspapers, and others.

The research approach uses the statute approach, the case approach, and the conceptual approach. In this study, the case approach focuses on cases based on the Draft Law on the National Capital (RUU IKN), which was eventually passed into law (UU) through the Plenary Session of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI), as well as the statute approach using Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the National Capital.

Data collection techniques were carried out by collecting data through the exploration of primary and secondary legal materials, which were conducted through library research. This involved gathering all relevant legislation and books related to the issues. Subsequently, the legal provisions were analyzed to extract legal norms from each relevant article, while theories or pertinent questions were drawn from the books. Finally, all these legal materials were systematically arranged to facilitate the analysis process.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Formulating Public Policy on Capital Relocation

The term "policy" is distinguished from "wisdom" and "virtues." Budi Winarno and Solichin Abdul Wahab agree that the term 'policy' is often interchangeably used with other terms such as goals, programs, decisions, laws, regulations, standards, proposals, and grand designs. A policy is a decision made by a government institution or organization that is binding on the parties associated with the institution.

The term "policy" translates from the English word "policy," distinct from "wisdom" and "virtues." According to Irfan Islamy, wisdom refers to actions requiring deeper and more extensive considerations. Meanwhile, policy involves rules within a framework of wisdom. M. Solly Lubis defines wisdom as deep thought or consideration forming the basis for policy formulation. Policy comprises a set of decisions made by political actors to choose goals and methods for achieving those goals. Jeremias Keban views wisdom as a decision allowing something typically forbidden or vice versa, based on specific reasons such as human considerations, emergencies, etc. In contrast, policy indicates a series of alternatives chosen based on certain principles.

The policy formulation process is a crucial tool in policy stages related to policy management, both governmental and non-governmental. It is essential for students to understand and execute policy formulation in their future workplaces. Many factors need consideration in the policy formulation process. Additionally, experts must master the meaning of policy and policy formulation, the policy formulation in the policy cycle, policy environment and procedures, and other factors. Public policy studies aim to review various theories and processes within public policy, acknowledging that public policy is closely tied to the policy formation process itself.

Thus, one of the goals of public policy studies is to analyze the stages of the policy-making process, resulting in a specific public policy. Each stage in public policy formation involves detailed steps and methods. These stages have various benefits and consequences, especially for public policy actors.

Riant Nugroho provides essential principles in the public policy process. He states that the process has the following order:

1. Trust in Goodness:

Every public policy is inherently good. The goodness in public policy is reflected in the orientation and philosophy built to realize public interests. Every policy is fundamentally good and aimed at the common good. When implemented and its benefits are truly felt by the public, the public's trust in the government will increase. However, every policy must convince the public of its implications to be widely accepted without causing new issues.

2. Values and Norms:

Policies also contain inherent values and norms. Once a public policy is accepted by the public, the next step is to strengthen the values and norms within the policy. Policymakers must ensure that these values and norms align with existing standards and do not violate ethical codes or the substantive values of the policy itself. The values and norms component is crucial for policy success.

3. Political Institutions:

Government institutions are public entities built on democratic principles. Leadership in these institutions follows political systems, with positions like President, Governor, and Mayor being politically appointed. After considering the values and norms in a policy, the next step involves the political institutions. The acceptance of a policy hinges on political decisions and various considerations within the political process.

4. Political Process:

Policy is a product of the political process. A policy that enters the political institutionalization will result in a collective decision. Lobbying and approaches within a policy are common to align with the policy's vision and mission. The final product, validated by a decision, signifies the policy's implementation.

5. Policy Performance or Failure:

Discussing actors in the policy formulation process highlights significant differences between developing and developed countries. In developing countries, policy-making structures tend to be simpler than in developed countries, where they are more complex due to the actors involved. Policy formulation actors can be categorized into official and unofficial groups. Official actors include government

agencies (bureaucracy), the President (executive), Legislative, and Judiciary. Unofficial actors include interest groups, political parties, and individual citizens.

These issues indicate that the capital relocation issue in the current context cannot be dominated by the government alone. The articulation of the capital relocation issue must be bottom-up, involving all stakeholders to produce a credible, measurable, and widely acceptable issue. This approach will facilitate the government's agenda-setting for the capital relocation policy.

A Nation's Success in Relocating Its Capital

The relocation of the capital city has been a recurring issue across various regimes, starting from President Soekarno proposing Balikpapan, President Soeharto suggesting Jonggol, to President Joko Widodo recommending Penajam Paser Utara and Kutai Kertanegara as the new capital regions. The main issue is why the relocation of the capital has been so difficult to achieve. According to researchers, this is primarily due to the unclear urgency of the relocation, which means the issue hasn't become a widely accepted public issue among stakeholders at both the central and regional government levels.

An analysis of spatial, ecological, territorial aspects, and the social, economic, and political impacts leads to the following thoughts: (i) relocating the capital is necessary but should be done over time, moving beyond mere discussion; (ii) while the capital remains in Jakarta, several departments and activity centers should be moved outside Jakarta. The arguments for these thoughts are as follows. Spatially, Jakarta is already overcrowded as a center of government, trade, industry, tourism, and its urban planning is chaotic, with contradictory land use prevalent.

The capital city's role in a country's development is strategic not only for governance but also for several reasons: First, the capital is the center for formulating various development policies that determine not only the growth and development of the capital itself but also the national development pattern and direction. Second, the capital serves as an example of the country's development success and a benchmark for other regions. Third, in an international context, the capital is seen as a representation of the country, so its condition reflects the international perception of the nation.

In the context of Indonesia today, the policy of relocating the capital must be a multidimensional process supported by all parties to identify the conditions necessary for a successful move. The policy should create a new capital that not only accommodates the demands and needs of governance but also represents Indonesia's future. Resistance or numerous demands from various elements during the relocation process require the government to establish a special institution. This institution should not merely serve as the government's mouthpiece to justify and convince others about the urgency of the relocation but should include representatives from all elements to foster a common understanding and synergy in articulating the relocation policy.

Relocating the capital is part of Indonesia's development vision, aimed not only at creating a capital that represents Indonesia but also at accommodating future development dynamics to achieve good governance and equitable development. To succeed, the relocation must be well-planned. At least six interrelated conditions

must be met: 1) Visionary leadership and consistent commitment, 2) Comprehensive legal regulations, 3) Participatory and accommodating planning process, 4) Professional human resources, 5) Cultural characteristics and openness of the local community, 6) Organizational culture of government and social values.

Learning from Other Countries' Capital Relocation

The relocation of Indonesia's capital (IKN) officially began when President Jokowi announced it in his state address to the MPR on August 16, 2019 (Haryati, 2019). Subsequently, on August 26, 2019, the President officially declared that the capital would move from Jakarta to a new location, partially in North Penajam Paser Regency and partially in Kutai Kartanegara Regency, East Kalimantan. Following this policy, political communication problems emerged when there were objections and criticisms from civil society, academics, and politicians, leading to prolonged controversy. The primary issue in the political communication regarding the relocation of IKN Nusantara revolves around the funding of the new capital, with concerns about high risks whether funded by the state budget (APBN) or foreign investments.

The idea of relocating the capital has existed since President Soekarno's administration, who proposed moving the capital to Palangkaraya due to its unique geographical location in the center of Indonesia. President Soekarno mentioned this idea during the inauguration of Palangkaraya as the capital of Central Kalimantan Province. At that time, transportation was mainly via rivers from Banjarmasin to Palangkaraya. President Soekarno visited twice, signaling his serious intention to relocate the capital there. However, after the July 5, 1959 Decree, the idea was forgotten, and the government focused on developing Jakarta as a symbol of Indonesia's rise as a leader of the Third World. To commemorate the idea of relocating the capital to Palangkaraya, the Soekarno Monument was erected on July 17, 1957.

Under President Soeharto, the relocation idea resurfaced with a plan to move the capital to Jonggol, West Java, as per Presidential Decree No. 1 of 1997 regarding the coordination of the Jonggol area development as an independent city. This idea persisted during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY)'s tenure. The government presented this idea at the National Working Meeting of the Association of Provincial Governments of Indonesia (APPSI) in Palangkaraya in early December 2009. President SBY argued that the burden on Jakarta was too heavy in terms of its service functions and viability as the capital. In early September 2010, President SBY formed a special team to study the capital relocation, producing three recommendations: (1) retaining Jakarta as the capital and addressing its issues, (2) relocating the capital within Java, and (3) relocating the capital outside Java. However, this idea was not realized during President SBY's two terms. The idea resurfaced during President Jokowi's second term.

According to Bappenas, there are six reasons for relocating the capital: (1) to reduce the burden on Jakarta and Jabodetabek, (2) to promote equitable development in eastern Indonesia, (3) to shift the development mindset from Java-centric to Indonesia-centric, (4) to have a capital that represents the nation's identity, diversity, and adherence to Pancasila, (5) to improve public service delivery for

efficient and effective central government administration, and (6) to create a smart, green, and beautiful city to enhance regional and international competitiveness.

The current state of Jakarta also necessitates reconsidering it as the capital. As the capital and government center, Jakarta becomes a Special Capital Region. It serves as the nation's defense and security center, a cosmopolitan city, an industrial and trade hub, a national and international financial center, an education and entertainment center. Consequently, Jakarta's dual role as a government and business center drives urbanization, leading to a continuously increasing population and resultant density.

Given Jakarta's current conditions, the government plans to relocate the capital. However, this relocation should aim to distribute the population, ensure economic development equity, and expand social and cultural activities. Despite these noble goals to reduce regional economic disparities (Budiman, 2000), relocating the capital is not a novel phenomenon globally. Many countries have undertaken capital relocation, with varying degrees of success, influenced by the impacts on both the old and new capitals, encompassing political, economic, social, cultural, and defense considerations. Successful and Unsuccessful Capital Relocations:

1. United States

- **Relocation to:** Washington DC (official in 1800)
- **Reason:** To separate the centers of government and business.
- **Outcome:** Washington DC became the government center, while New York City remained the business and cultural hub. The relocation was successful.

2. Tanzania

- **Relocation to:** Dodoma (1970s)
- **Reason:** Stagnation in Dar es Salaam, security concerns, strategic location, favorable climate.
- **Outcome:** The relocation was unsuccessful due to high costs (£186 million), a 10-year timeframe, only 86% of the workforce moved, and incomplete transition.

Learn from the experience of some Although some have succeeded in relocating the national capital, not all countries have succeeded in encouraging progress in the new and old capitals. Several countries are considered to have failed to relocate their national capitals. While several other countries are still in the process of relocation and some others have not been able to assess their success. Even the relocation of the capital city requires a lot of money. As happened in Tanzania, the cost of relocation is very high at 186 million pounds and takes a period of 10 years. The process of transferring employees has not fully reached 100 percent, only 86 percent.

Referring to the experience of success and failure of a country to relocate its territory, it can be measured from at least three (3) criteria, namely: (1) the formation of a better physical governance ecosystem; (2) balance of social, economic, and political development between regions by producing balance between regions; and (3) the continuation of the competitive advantage of the country/nation concerned globally.

CONCLUSION

This research outlines the concept of public policy, differentiates it from the concepts of wisdom and virtue, and highlights the policy formulation process in the context of relocating Indonesia's capital. Various definitions and expert perspectives are presented to clarify the understanding of public policy, emphasizing its importance in regulating the relationship between the government and society and its implementation in daily life. Public policy, as decisions made by government institutions or organizations, is an essential instrument for regulating societal life. However, the term "policy" is often used interchangeably with other terms such as goals, programs, decisions, laws, and so on. Therefore, a clear understanding of the concept of policy and its formulation process is crucial, especially for students who will be involved in policy-making in the future.

The policy formulation process is a crucial step in the creation and implementation of public policies. The stages in this process include various steps and methods requiring special attention, from setting policy objectives to implementation and evaluation. The importance of values and norms, political institutions, and the political process in policy formation is also emphasized as an integral part of this process. Criticisms and recommendations regarding the infrastructure of interest groups are also presented as part of a broader understanding of public policy formulation. In the context of capital relocation, the role and contribution of various parties, both governmental and non-governmental, are crucial to consider. Issues such as trust in goodness, values and norms, political institutions, political processes, and policy performance are the main focus in the analysis of the policy formulation process related to capital relocation.

The relocation of the capital has been a recurring issue in every government period in Indonesia but has often been difficult to realize. One obstacle is the unclear urgency of relocating the capital, which has not yet become a public issue accepted by all parties, including stakeholders at the central and regional levels. Through the analysis of spatial, ecological, territorial aspects, and social, economic, and political impacts, it can be concluded that relocating the capital is indeed necessary but must be done cautiously and should no longer be just a discourse. Jakarta has become too densely populated and chaotic, making the relocation of several departments and activity centers a viable alternative.

The strategic position of the capital in a country's development is also an important argument. The capital is not only the center for formulating development policies but also serves as an example of a country's development success and the country's international image. To achieve the relocation of the capital, support from all parties and the fulfillment of several important conditions are necessary, such as visionary leadership, comprehensive legal regulations, a participatory planning process, professional human resources, local cultural characteristics and openness, and a solid governmental organizational culture and social values.

Therefore, the relocation of the capital aims not only to create a capital area that represents Indonesia but also to accommodate future development dynamics. However, to be successful, the capital relocation must be carefully planned and

meet the mentioned conditions. Thus, the capital relocation can be a strategic step in creating good governance and equitable and fair development throughout Indonesia.

Several factors trigger political communication problems related to the funding of the IKN Nusantara development. One of them is the idea of relocating the IKN, which has existed since President Soekarno's era and continued through President Joko Widodo's administration but has not yet been realized. Additionally, the current condition of Jakarta, which is overly dense as a center of government, industry, trade, and finance, is also a significant consideration in the IKN relocation plan. Based on the reasons put forward by Bappenas, the relocation of IKN is expected to reduce Jakarta's burden, promote equitable development to eastern Indonesia, shift the development mindset from Java-centric to Indonesia-centric, represent the nation's identity, improve public services, and enhance regional and international competitiveness.

However, the relocation of IKN must also consider its political, economic, social, cultural, and defense impacts and learn from the experiences of other countries that have succeeded or failed in relocating their capitals. Some countries have successfully relocated their capitals, such as the United States with Washington DC, while others have failed, such as Tanzania with Dar es Salaam. Therefore, the success of Indonesia's IKN relocation can be measured by the establishment of a better physical government ecosystem, balanced social, economic, and political development across regions, and the continuity of competitive advantages globally. Good and transparent political communication, as well as support from all parties, are necessary for the smooth and beneficial relocation of IKN for Indonesia.

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