Pro-Cos Analysis of the Policy of Indonesian Capital Movement Policy in The Era of The Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstract
The discourse of moving the country's capital city to the 'Nusantara' has drawn various polemics among the public. Especially in the midst of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic. The purpose of this study is to find out the pros and cons of the polemic of the policy of moving the country's capital city in the era of the covid-19 pandemic. The research method used is a descriptive qualitative approach with data sources in the form of secondary data. The results of this study are that those who are pro argue that moving the capital city should be carried out immediately considering that Jakarta is no longer ideal as the capital city of Indonesia and it is time for equity to occur in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the contra considers environmental aspects and also consider the pandemic as a problem that must be focused on first. Therefore, the government should be able to consider this policy carefully.

Keywords
pros; cons; relocating the Indonesian capital

I. Introduction

Indonesia is one of the countries with a fairly large population, even the fourth largest after China, India and the United States. As a developing country with a large population, it is certainly not an easy matter to manage it. Sometimes, no matter how good the management of a country, there must be problems in its society. Inequality is a problem that is often encountered in a developing country like Indonesia. Many efforts have been issued by the government as a policy maker to offer solutions on how to overcome the problem of inequality in society.

The discourse of moving the national capital is not the first time that has occurred in Indonesia. Starting from 1957 where there was a discourse on moving the capital city of Indonesia to Palangka Raya when President Soekarno was inaugurating Palangka Raya as the capital of Central Kalimantan Province. After that in 1997, Presidential Decree No. 1 of 1997 by President Soeharto which contains the development of the Jonggol area as an independent city with a function as the center of government. After that, in the era of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, there was a scheme whereby the city of Jakarta remained as the capital city of Indonesia but the center of government was planned to be moved outside Jakarta. While the latest discourse was born in the era of Joko Widodo to move the capital to the island of Kalimantan, to be precise in North Penajam Panser Regency, East Kalimantan Province. This capital city will later be named 'Nusantara' (Rahayu, 2019).

The urgency of relocating the country's capital is due to the fact that around 57% of Indonesia's population is concentrated in Java alone, so there is no equal distribution. In addition, the largest economic contribution to Indonesia is also dominated by Java, which is 59% (BPS, 2020). It can be seen in detail in the following image.

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The dense population on the island of Java causes various problems to arise. For example, the water crisis in Jakarta and East Java and the largest land use change is in Java. In addition, there is also high urbanization that causes impacts such as congestion and worsening air quality in DKI Jakarta. In addition, Jakarta's geographical condition is below sea level, making it vulnerable to flooding and many other disaster threats. As a result, a plan to move the capital city was made which was initiated on April 29, 2019 (Faidah, 2020).

However, it turns out that the relocation of the capital city is also a polemic in terms of politics. For example, East Kalimantan has minimal national conflicts, but is close to international conflicts such as the conflict in North Natuna waters. In addition, the relocation of the capital city has not yet received approval from the Indonesian House of Representatives regarding the relocation of the capital city and also the President is considered hasty in making decisions.

Especially at this time Indonesia is still struggling to overcome the corona pandemic which has now been counted for 2 years in Indonesia. This gives rise to those who criticize the government's discourse. The outbreak of this virus has an impact of a nation and globally (Ningrum et al, 2020). The presence of Covid-19 as a pandemic certainly has an economic, social and psychological impact on society (Saleh and Mujahiddin, 2020). Covid 19 pandemic caused all efforts not to be as maximal as expected (Sihombing and Nasib, 2020). The discourse of moving the capital city is considered no more urgent than efforts to suppress the spread of COVID-19 cases in Indonesia. Of course, the plan to move the capital city will require a lot of budgets, it is even estimated to reach hundreds of trillions. Therefore, the policy of moving the capital city must be considered carefully, taking into account that the COVID-19 pandemic has not ended in Indonesia.

Based on the background that has been described, making a study on the discourse of moving the country's capital city in the era of the covid-19 pandemic is very interesting to analyze considering that the impact of moving the capital city is also quite large for the community. So, this journal will discuss "Analysis of the Pro-Cons of Polemic Policy on Moving the National Capital in the Era of the Covid-19 Pandemic".

1.1 Formulation of the problem

The formulation of the problem in this journal are:
1. What are the pros and cons of the polemic of moving the country's capital city in the era of the COVID-19 pandemic?
2. What are the factors supporting the relocation of the national capital to the archipelago?
3. What are the inhibiting factors for moving the country's capital to the archipelago?
1.2 Research purposes
The research objectives in this journal are:
1. To find out the pros and cons of the polemic of moving the country's capital city in the era of the covid-19 pandemic.
2. To find out the factors supporting the relocation of the country's capital city to the archipelago.
3. To find out the inhibiting factors for moving the country's capital to the archipelago.

1.3 Benefits of research
The benefits of research that will be obtained are:
1. Contribute to science, especially in the study of moving the country's capital city.
2. Become a material for government input and consideration in setting policies.
3. Become a source of information for public literacy on actual issues.

II. Research Method
This research uses a descriptive qualitative research approach. This research is researching whose results are in the form of words and arranged in a systematic and complete manner. Descriptive qualitative approach is also based on post-positivist which is used in examining the condition of an object naturally where this is the opposite of experimentation, while also basing that the researcher is the key instrument of a study. Qualitative descriptive will provide treatment as is and openly, without any manipulation so that the data provided is truly accurate data. Qualitative descriptive research was conducted to produce a complete, detailed, transparent, specific, and in-depth study (Anggito & Setiawan, 2018).

Data collection in this study was carried out by collecting information one by one, where the data came from secondary sources such as journals, books, and so on. Secondary data is information that is not obtained directly through sources, but through other sources (Gunawan, 2013). Furthermore, an in-depth analysis will be carried out based on the opinions of both parties, namely those who agree (pro) and those who do not agree (con) to the policy of moving the country's capital city. Then the researcher will give advice based on personal opinion about the policy.

III. Result and Discussion
3.1 Pros of the National Capital Relocation Policy
The relocation of the state capital area is one of the government's efforts to carry out development planning more evenly. The definition of development planning according to Yabbar and Hamzah (2015) is the process of stages of activities for the utilization and allocation of resources within a certain period of time to improve the welfare of the community. Maisah (2010: 7) reveals that an ideal planning theory is one that is able to accommodate the interests and needs of the community and is able to integrate various existing interests. Planning according to (Riyadi and Bratakusumah 2005: 4; Yılmaz Bakır, Doğan, Koçak Güngör, & Bostancı, 2018; Weber, Crum, & Salinas, 2015; Stanton, nd; Sankalia, 2018) is choosing priorities and ways or alternatives to achieve goals, relating to the future, aims to achieve goals, allocation of resources, as well as continuous activities.

Basically, it can be concluded that development planning is a tool for planning something in the future, for a better change by involving the community in the planning.
Many people think that Jakarta has lost its ideals again as the capital city of Indonesia. The rapid rate of urbanization in Jakarta is not proportional to the number of adequate urban facilities. Problems that often occur such as floods, air pollution, poverty, congestion, and slum settlements are very common in Jakarta. Jakarta is also considered to be no longer ideal in the future if it continues to be maintained as the nation's capital. Jakarta's inability to overcome problems such as traffic congestion and flooding is considered to be one aspect of the government's consideration for planning the relocation of the nation's capital (Yahya, 2018).

On the other hand, East Kalimantan was chosen to be the place where the new capital city of Indonesia was built. This election was not chosen without a reason, as for the reasons, one of which is that the location of the prospective new capital city is minimal in disaster and the location is safe. Apart from that, there are also other reasons such as high location accessibility, close to two big cities, namely Balikpapan and Samarinda; heterogeneous and open population structure, low potential for conflict; defense can be supported by the Tri Dimensions of Land, Sea, Air; Medium land capability for building construction; and a large area of land, with the status of Production Forest (HP) and Plantation (Umiyati, 2019).

Based on Kepmen-Kimpraswil No. 327/KPTS/2002 regarding the stipulation of six guidelines in terms of spatial planning, the definition of space is a place in the form of land, sea and air which is a unified territory where humans and other living things carry out and maintain their survival. Meanwhile, according to Law no. 26 of 2007 concerning spatial planning, the definition of space is a place in the form of land, sea and air, including all that is in the earth as a unitary area inhabited by humans and other living things to carry out activities to meet their needs. The Central Kalimantan region itself, which will become the forerunner of the new capital city, has the exact characteristics as written in the policy made by the government where the Central Kalimantan region has a large land area which is mostly dominated by forests, this region also has waters in the form of rivers and seas. and also the air above which is still relatively minimal from pollution. The Central Kalimantan region which is a unified region, in terms of spatial and regional planning, the first step is to analyze and identify the characteristics of the space and region itself. This region also has waters in the form of rivers and seas as well as the air above which is still relatively minimal from pollution. The Central Kalimantan region which is a unified region, in terms of spatial and regional planning, the first step is to analyze and identify the characteristics of the space and region itself. This region also has waters in the form of rivers and seas as well as the air above which is still relatively minimal from pollution. The Central Kalimantan region which is a unified region, in terms of spatial and regional planning, the first step is to analyze and identify the characteristics of the space and region itself.

The steps to identify and analyze are carried out with the aim of ensuring that the area or region of Central Kalimantan continues to take into account the environmental side with a structured and planned area arrangement so that an analysis of long-term regional development is also carried out. This statement indicates that when an area in the form of nature changes into a densely populated area, the area will be dominated by activities and buildings to meet the needs of human settlement on a large scale and this is tantamount to a land conversion that will form an area towards urban areas. The Central Kalimantan region is a province that has a large area and a relatively small population that has good criteria as an area that is able to provide such land. It's just that not all of these areas are empty areas. In many places, the candidate areas for the central capital city area are
residential areas, protected forests, plantations, peatlands and supporting areas for watersheds (Toun, 2018).

Planning to move the region or the territory of the state capital to Central Kalimantan will automatically change the arrangement of the area from a green area into a densely populated residential area with extensive human activities. This is to accommodate government facilities such as office areas, residential areas for employees, economic areas, industrial areas, sports and green areas and other facilities. The area or region of Central Kalimantan is also referred to as a miniature or replica of Indonesia where in Central Kalimantan itself has the uniqueness and diversity of the population which is the hallmark of this province. This is what makes the province of Central Kalimantan a province with a plurality of people who live in harmony and side by side with one another tolerantly, even though there are differences in race, ethnicity, and religion adopted by the community. In this social and cultural aspect, it becomes important in the development of an area that has previously been inhabited by the community because of the increasing population of people who are likely to also move from the old capital, this interaction aspect plays an important role in the consequences of the policy of moving the capital area to the province of Kalimantan.

The people of Central Kalimantan themselves have a life guide that is in accordance with the characteristics of Indonesia in general where tolerance in the people of Central Kalimantan is highly upheld and has become a culture in everyday life. In the composition of the people of Central Kalimantan itself consists of indigenous people and immigrant communities who come from all parts of Indonesia. The diversity of the people of Central Kalimantan is motivated by government programs, especially during the New Order era, namely the transmigration program so that the province of Central Kalimantan is inhabited by many transmigration groups where the citizens come from the islands of Java, Sumatra, Bali, Sulawesi, NTT, Ambon and NTB.

The central and regional governments are actually sufficient to carry out national development as it is done on a national scale because it is a normal thing in social life, there are social dynamics such as conflicts caused by social, political, economic problems and so on. Several social conflicts that have occurred in the Central Kalimantan region so far have provided valuable lessons about the importance of fostering in a pluralistic society, where people are generally aware that various social and economic problems should be resolved through good communication, as well as preventing the birth of negative stigma against other social groups. In the future, people in the Central Kalimantan region already understand the main issues that often trigger conflicts in the community, such as economic issues, politics and SARA provocations that are often played by political elites in every regional head election. Indigenous peoples in the Central Kalimantan region also live in an egalitarian entity and have a social mechanism in resolving a social conflict, so it should be obeyed by all groups so that a harmonious life can be created. In addition, fair law enforcement and government policies that favor the wider community regardless of origin and interests will increase public trust in the government.

Apart from that, the wide and flat area of the province of Central Kalimantan is a supporting aspect because it will not make it difficult for the government to provide land because of the relatively sparse population condition and the availability of vacant lands around the city of Palangkaraya. This is perhaps the central government's consideration in making Central Kalimantan an alternative area that has the potential to become the nation's capital city. In addition, the lagging development in the Kalimantan region is another consideration, where by stipulating the province of Central Kalimantan as a candidate for
the provincial capital, it is hoped that the acceleration of development will be evenly distributed.

The location of the capital city of this country is precisely in North Penajam Panser Regency, East Kalimantan Province. This decision is said to have been carefully thought through through intensive consideration and study since 2019. The move of the capital city is allegedly necessary because as we know that the center of the economy is on the island of Java, so that equity in all aspects of life is considered not to have occurred. With the relocation of the country's capital, it is hoped that there will be equality in Indonesia, both from the economic sector, education, and so on.

In addition, the economic impact that will occur if the capital city is moved is divided into 2, namely the short term and the medium-long term. The short-term economic impacts include:

- Encouraging the country's economy through infrastructure investment activities
- Encouraging the existence of a sale and purchase / trade between regions in Indonesia
- Encouraging the outcome of various other sectors
- Encouraging job opportunities for the community
- Increase economic growth
- Increase people's per capita income more evenly
- Adding social and cultural diversity to the people of Central Kalimantan province

Meanwhile, the medium-long impacts are:

- Accelerate the process of improving the country's economy
- Encouraging the advancement of non-traditional sectors
- Encouraging economic diversification in Kalimantan
- Can overcome the income gap (decline)
- Helping equity in terms of economy and overall infrastructure development

From several explanations regarding the relocation of the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia from Jakarta to Central Kalimantan, it is clear that this relocation policy has a promising positive impact so that the policy of moving the capital city seems to be supported by various levels of society, especially if the capital is moved, all community activities will not be javacentric. but will have an impact on equity both socially and economically.

3.2 Cons of the National Capital Relocation Policy

The other side of the policy of relocating the country's capital is that there are several reasons underlying the disapproval of the discourse of relocating the capital city. The first reason that makes a lot of sense is the COVID-19 pandemic that has captured the world's attention, including in Indonesia. Currently, Indonesia is still struggling to overcome the problem of this pandemic, especially when the surge in Omicron cases that has occurred for some time has caused the Indonesian economy to be affected again, although not as significantly as the previous surge in the delta variant.

The budget for relocating the nation's capital reaches hundreds of trillions and this is very unfortunate considering that Indonesia still has to issue a budget first for the pandemic. The relocation of the country's capital city is considered not urgent, the government should focus on policies to deal with the pandemic and streamline health spending first. Only then did we discuss moving the nation's capital after that. This decision is considered hasty and does not see a more urgent situation that is currently happening.

In addition, there are concerns that arise in the community about the destruction of the ecosystem in Kalimantan. As we know that Kalimantan is famous as the largest oxygen
producer in the world because it has a very wide forest and its place is very original. If the nation's capital is built in Kalimantan, it will clearly change the geographical order where previously green land was turned into buildings. This restlessness appears in the middlethe discourse of moving the capital city considering that environmental damage has now become a global issue and we should be aware of environmental issues.

The above description is an explanation of the various opinions that are against the transfer of the capital city of Indonesia to the archipelago. So that the contra suggest to the government to immediately reconsider the opinions that are contrary to the policy.

Supporting Factors for Moving the National Capital

- Floods in DKI Jakarta are considered as triggers or reasons for moving the capital city because flooding in Jakarta is a disaster that is difficult to handle. Even during the Dutch East Indies era, the city of Jakarta was synonymous with flooding.
- Congestion in Jakarta which is very severe can cause a decline in the economic standard of the people of Jakarta, this also makes the cost of transporting goods and services high.
- Jakarta's air quality is unhealthy due to the large number of people who use motorized vehicles as a means of transportation.
- Limited supply of raw materials in Jakarta.
- Equitable development must occur in Indonesia, not only in Java. With the relocation of the capital city, this will increase the opportunity for equitable development.
- The burden of the island of Java is already very heavy so it needs to be done evenly, one way is by bringing up a policy of moving the capital to an area or area that is still vacant.
- Injustice in the formation of the acceptance of state civil servants, which sometimes only chooses to be placed in Java, thus making regions outside Java to be short of state civil servants who have the potential to develop better regions or regions.
- The jealousy of the regions outside Java in terms of development carried out by the central government which seems to be carried out a lot in Java so that with the policy of moving the capital city it will make development evenly distributed throughout the region gradually.

3.3 Factors Inhibiting the Movement of the National Capital

- The relocation of the capital city of course requires a large amount of funds, even reaching hundreds of trillions of rupiah. This figure is very large and it is felt that it can still be used for other purposes considering the level of poverty in Indonesia which is quite high. So it is better to use the funds for the poor first than having to move the capital city, especially we are faced with a difficult situation in this pandemic era.
- The relocation of the capital city increases the chance of destruction of the forests in East Kalimantan, even though the blood is the center of the world's lungs which will affect the production of oxygen throughout the world.
- The relocation of the capital will also increase the opportunity for increased crime rates that previously did not exist because of the relocation of the capital, the needs of people's lives will also increase so that if it is not accompanied by an increase in income, it will increase the opportunities for crime to occur in the community.
- The relocation of the capital city to the province of Central Kalimantan will also have the potential to cause friction problems between communities which may occur due to the increasing number of people, the plurality of the community will also increase so that this is allegedly going to have a negative impact if there is a conflict.
The relocation of the capital during the time when Indonesia was surviving COVID-19, of course, was not one of the right policies because this policy actually seemed to be wasting money in the midst of people living in the poverty line, coupled with a slumped situation due to the impact of covid 19 which attacked both from the side of the world, socially and economically.

IV. Conclusion

The relocation of the nation's capital to 'Nusantara' has sparked a polemic of pros and cons among the people. The urgency of relocating the nation's capital is due to the fact that the Indonesian population is concentrated on the island of Java alone, so there is no equal distribution. In addition, the largest economic contribution to Indonesia is also dominated by the island of Java so that the issue of relocating the capital can be seen as an urgent matter to be implemented. Those who are pro argue that the relocation of the capital city must be carried out immediately considering that Jakarta is no longer ideal as the capital city of Indonesia and it is time for equity to occur in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the contra considers environmental aspects and also consider the pandemic as a problem that must be focused first. Therefore, the suggestion from the researcher on this polemic is that the government should consider the policy of moving the capital city of this country as well as possible so that all aspects of the goals to be achieved can be realized and can minimize the adverse effects that occur on the policy.

References