VARIANT PERSPECTIVES IN FORMING POLICY FOR THE DETERMINATION OF THE STATE CAPITAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

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Abstract
Determination of the national capital as a central issue in every country, including developing countries such as Indonesia. The debate regarding the determination of the new capital city has become a trend of public discussion in various regions in Indonesia. This study aims to examine the content and substance of the draft law regarding the establishment of a new capital city for the state of Indonesia. The method used in this paper uses descriptive analysis with qualitative research. Documentation study research is defined as a qualitative type to obtain answers in this paper. The data was obtained from the draft law regarding the capital city of Indonesia and the discussion discourse that developed in the mass media. The results obtained that the issue of determining the new state capital requires various scientific studies and the process of formulating a draft law that accommodates the involvement of Indonesian public participation.

Keywords: Draft law, New nation’s capital, Policy.

Introduction
Studies that review the national capital can be traced from the work of A. Cochrane & Passmore, 2001; Allan Cochrane & Jonas, 1999; Dunne, Buckley, & Flanagan, 2007; Yacobi & Yiftachel, 2002; Feldstein, 2008; Hoffman, Chalk, Liston, & Brannan, 2002). A number of these articles review various aspects of the study with a major theme focusing on the study of the nation’s capital city. There has been no study that specifically reviews the policy of determining the capital city of the country.

Since Indonesia was declared an independent country on August 17, 1945 (Dieleman, 2007: 83), until now in the post-reformation era there has been no regulation specifically regulating the capital city of Indonesia. If you look at the existing laws and regulations from 1961 to 2007 there is only a 1945 law that stipulates Jakarta as the capital city of Indonesia (see Syukuri, 2010: 2). The capital of the most important state in the country, the arrangement of various matters

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related to location, security, government, as with what is Jakarta as an important reference to meet expectations for the ideal "form" of the national capital.

The projected capital city is the capital city that reflects the identity of the Indonesian nation. Based on the 2010 Indonesian population census published by the Central Statistics Agency, Indonesia’s population is more than 237 million people (see Diah, 2017: 100). It has a rich heritage of approximately 1100 ethnic groups, 700 regional languages, 300 dance styles, 400 folk songs and 23 traditional environments. going well so far. , because it is based on Pancasila as the basis of the state and ideology of the nation, and is framed by Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.

The development and management of the nation’s capital certainly requires a mature concept and is based on the long-term vision of the Indonesian nation as outlined in the Indonesia Vision 2045. The development of a new capital city is generally associated with the development of urban development issues and national needs as the basis for relocation considerations. The new city planning and development model is then presented as one of the main considerations in developing the nation’s capital in a new location.

Based on the studies that have been carried out, studies on the policy of determining the capital city of the country are still relatively rare. This paper tries to provide various perspectives in responding to the need for policy regulations that provide regulations for determining the capital city of Indonesia.

**Method**

This paper uses literature and documentation studies which are generally applicable in qualitative research. Qualitative research emphasizes the interpretation of the meaning of a phenomenon based on balanced data (Creswell, 2014). The primary data in this paper is based on the laws of the Republic of Indonesia and various other related regulations. Secondary data is obtained through a study of books and journal articles that are directly related to the topic of the problem in this paper. Descriptive analysis is used in this paper. Various perspectives that are considered relevant are proposed to provide a frame of mind in the formation of the bill for determining the capital city of Indonesia.
Result and Discussion

1. Modern City Characteristics of the National Capital

The new urban development model that has developed in this century is the modern city and sustainable city. The two can have complementary meanings. The characteristics of a modern city are the existence of a modern society in the city who shares the future goal of thinking beyond (future thinking), followed by innovation efforts through the use of technology in urban planning and management, building design and layout, as well as to solve problems. urban social. The modern city also has the characteristics of a planned city, which can be measured at each stage of development and the goals it achieves. The characteristics of a city like this become the characteristics of the capital city of the country (can be formed in stages). Along with the development of a modern and sustainable city model, globalization also shows the existence of a world city model to develop into a world-class city. A world-class city is a city with world-class infrastructure and connections to other cities around the world, and is a global center of business, culture, technology and politics. A world-class city is a city that has an important role in the international world, so cities in other countries want to be connected with it.

In line with this and the government's plan to move the state capital from DKI Jakarta to Kalimantan, currently in the stage of drafting regulations in the form of discussing the State Capital Bill (RUU IKN) with the DPR, here are some contributions from various aspects related to the State Capital Bill.

2. Other Countries Experience

The study conducted by Lähdesmäki (2013) in Europe considers socio-cultural, economic aspects and emphasizes the achievement of sustainable development. The article from Cochrane & Passmore (2001) research in Germany related to the city of Berlin provides an understanding that the determination of the location of the nation's capital must be accurately projected to attract international "attention". Various aspects become serious concerns that need to be ensured in determining the location of the national capital. These aspects relate to geography, demography, security, facilities and infrastructure. An interesting article written by Khanna, Babu, & George (1999) states that the availability of water supply is one of the important aspects that need to be ensured in the national capital. Of course, study after study becomes a measuring tool for designing a model for formulating policies regarding the determination of the nation's capital city.

In the context of a country that has stability in security aspects at home and abroad, it will be easier to reach the idea of forming a regulation
for determining the capital city of the country. In contrast to countries that are experiencing security problems as in the article Yacobi & Yiftachel (2002) regarding the capital city of the state Jerusalem which is claimed by two states between Palestine and Israel over the city of Jerusalem.

An independent sovereign state without foreign military occupation in the country will find it easier to make accurate considerations and calculations in determining the location of the national capital. These considerations and calculations will be effective if they are accommodated in a single text of legislation. Thus the state will have a guide in the current and future regarding the capital city of the country.

3. Public Policy Perspective

By reviewing academic documents and the IKN Bill which are widely circulated in the community, it can be emphasized that the basis for the formation of this IKN Bill is Article 18B, paragraphs (1) and (2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 5. Indonesia (UUD NRI 19 5 ): (1) The state recognizes and respects special or special regional government units determined by law. (2) The state recognizes and respects customary law community units and their traditional rights as long as they are still alive, in accordance with the development of society and the principles of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia as stipulated by law.

In addition to the above, several principles are included in the academic draft and the IKN Bill, namely: 1. Equality, in particular forward-looking economic strategies and equitable access to education and health services, economics and employment opportunities; 2. The principle of ecological balance, namely respect and acceptance of nature through the integration and conservation of existing landscapes; 3. The principle of resilience, namely a circular and integrated city system (water, energy, waste), with flexibility to cope with possible global fluctuations and planned marketing of urban growth; 4. Sustainability principles, namely aspirations for future conditions that reflect a transition to 100% clean energy and encourage low carbon activities; 5. The principles of housing feasibility, especially community-oriented urban planning with mixed-development concepts to ensure a safe, healthy and equitable environment for current and future residents; 6. Connectivity Principle, namely an integrated mobility strategy that prioritizes the population with a focus on walkability and public transportation; 7. The principle of smart city, namely SMART infrastructure that increases efficiency and enables the fulfillment of city aspirations; and 8. The principle of diversity, namely a city that represents Indonesia,
maintains cultural wealth, increases social inclusion and provides a sense of mutual cooperation in a diverse society.

Reading the IKN Bill from a public policy perspective can actually be done through the concept of public policy, the scope of public policy, and general principles of public policy. The concept of public policy is a series of actions taken or not taken by the government towards certain goals in order to solve public problems or for the public interest. The scope of public policy includes planning (shaping public affairs), implementation and evaluation, which means that public policy revolves around these three areas. The general principle of public order must lead to one goal, namely a prosperous state based on good governance, including: 1. Good and solid development management; 2. Be responsible; 3. The principle of democracy; 4. Efficient market; 5. Avoiding the wrong allocation of investment capital; 6. Anti-corruption; 7. Creating fiscal discipline; and 8. provide services to community members and protect them from various arbitrary actions against themselves, community rights and property.

From a public policy point of view, the IKN Bill must at least: 1. It must be clear and firm how the regulations intersect with other laws, such as the Government Law on regions, laws in the field of development related to the scope of the new IKN; 2. The characteristics of IKN, which are limited as the capital of government (a government organization with 3 pillars: executive, legislative and judicial), as well as a commercial/business city, and also a cultural city; 3. The extent to which the interests and interests of the local community are guaranteed by the new IKN; 4. Aspects of the priority scale, the scale of urgency of the new IKN, in the atmosphere of the Covid19 pandemic and economic growth that is not yet sufficiently sustainable; 5. It is also necessary to consider the psychological state of the community, the debt burden that must be borne by the community, and the direct benefits of the community; 6. Does IKN's positioning open up public participation to its determination; 7. What is the ideal form of IKN management? Is it with a ministerial-level government agency (Otititas IKN), or autonomous with a directly elected Governor's Agency or representative system; and 8. Sections with other relevant laws also need to be adjusted.

4. Economic Perspective

There are at least (four) IKN models from an economic perspective that are applied in various countries, namely: 1. Consolidation of government and economy such as England, Japan, Korea, Thailand, etc. 2. The separation between government and economy is like the reality in the Netherlands, Australia, USA, South Africa, etc. 3. Capital development such as Brunei Darussalam, Malaysia, etc. ; and the balancing of economic centers by Saudi Arabia, China, India, etc.
IKN considerations in letter b are designated: "Efforts to improve regional governance of state capital are part of efforts to take advantage of the state's objectives as stated in letter a, namely the protection of Indonesia and general progressive health;" it confirms that the economic aspect of the KKN invoices to improve the general health of Indonesians.

In addition, in the advertisement it is stated: "that governance of state capital, in addition to meeting the needs of the Indonesian people to achieve safe, modern, sustainable and sustainable source capital, it is also possible to become a reference on the development and regulation of other urban areas in Indonesia; in section this, has confirmed that the BKK Bill also aims to create a modern and sustainable state and resilience.

Article 5 of the IKN Bill confirms the IKN vision as follows: "IKN has the vision of a world city for all that is built and managed for the purpose of becoming a sustainable city in the world, the city as a pilot for Indonesia's future economy, and the city becoming a symbol of national identity and representing varieties. Indonesian people, based on Pancasila and the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945."

"In addition, the principle is confirmed in the implementation of the visualization:" Vision I will be implemented in accordance with the principles The development and development of the country's capital mentions the IKN master plan ". Therefore, the IKN vision will be carried out by referring to the IKN master plan, which will be determined by the government through a presidential regulation. 98 economic growth ,5%. It is far behind the island of Java which has a population of 56% of the total population of Indonesia with a gross domestic product of 57%, with an economic growth rate of 3.7%.

Therefore, the transfer of IKN can apply the concept of inclusive economic development to reduce inequality on the island of Kalimantan. Inclusive economic development requires the participation of all levels of society, which in turn creates business opportunities for local communities, both large companies and MSMEs, and ultimately leads to development, equity and overcoming social problems that may arise jealousy.

From an economic perspective, the requirements to become an IKN and transfer IKN must at least meet: Safe from geological and geographical disasters; 2. Consider the low population density; 3. Having adequate and quality human resources; 4. Existing infrastructure (equipment and capacity) is adequate; 5. Economic and fiscal analysis of benefits and costs, scope and feasibility; and 6. Social and cultural issues are diverse and open.
5. Government Perspective

The main governance issues in the IKN Bill are related to the government affairs of the IKN agency. Chapter III states: "The State Capital Management Agency, hereinafter referred to as the IKN Agency, is a government agency at the ministerial level established to prepare, develop, and relocate the State Capital, as well as organize IKN Special Areas. Government". It is further stated clearly: "Head/Deputy Head of the IKN Management Agency, hereinafter referred to as the Head of the IKN Management Agency, is the Head of the Ministry's IKN Management Agency who is responsible for carrying out the duties and functions of IKN. Authority in the preparation, development and transfer of mothers state cities, as well as the implementation of the authority of IKN. Special government for IKN ".

Based on this regulation, various questions arise that need to be answered with certainty in the management of IKN in its development, namely: 1. Head/Deputy Head of the Agency, as determined by the President. Does the president have a name? 2. What is the meaning of Head/Deputy Head of a ministerial-level institution? 3. As a regional/regional voter, isn't the general election conducted in the same way as the gubernatorial election? Should there be a transition clause? These questions need to be answered in the IKN Bill so that there is no governance uncertainty during the IKN transition period.

Conclusion

Based on the description of the arguments above, the following conclusions can be drawn: 1. The elimination of the IKN Principle is common as long as it is based on a global study, from a public policy perspective, the institutional wallet must include the complete concept, scope and principles of public policy, so that the DKN movement adheres to the target. state and government. 2. The economic aspects of the four most important things, first of all, choose the IKN model from an economic perspective (government consolidation, government separation, capital development, balance between the judges of the economic center), IKN vision (improve principles) to implement IKN (based on IKK parent company plan) and obligations to become IKN (Daari safe disaster Daii, low population density, full resource quality, full existing infrastructure, economic and financial cost and budget analysis, and extensive and social issues and festival communes). 3. The government aspect at least highlights the position of the Head/Deputy Head of the IKN Agency and considerations for the selection of the Head/Deputy Head of the IKN Agency, as well as the affirmation of transition rules so that there is no confusion about the IKN transition.
Bibliography


