

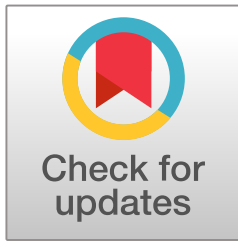
## ARTICLE

# Measuring Political Will and Political Constellation in Moving Indonesia's Capital City Policy

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**Abstract:** This research aims to measure political will in moving the national capital and how this policy is when faced with the existing political constellation. The type of research was a qualitative approach using in-depth interviews and documentation techniques. The results showed that political will in the policy of moving the national capital cannot be separated from individual factors, namely the belief and courage of President Joko Widodo through a basis of reasoning that has strong relevance to empirical circumstances and are reflected through various regulations that have been stipulated. The organizational factor shows the government's seriousness and commitment through the transition team formed as a basis for working in a coordinated manner to achieve the targets set. The relationship factor showed the involvement of individuals/groups through community support, collaboration, and partnerships and the involvement of international figures in its implementation. Social factors show that the political system and state apparatus's condition in the decision-making process has reflected support for policies, which can be seen from the approval of the House of Representatives. The existing political constellation provides strong political legitimacy, making this policy continue without any obstacles, although there is still resistance at the local level. The sustainability and success of the policy of moving the national capital will be determined by the next President's leadership and the composition of the support of political parties that will come.

**Keywords:** political will; political constellation; capital city; Nusantara.

## 1. Introduction

The ratification of Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the state capital has increasingly made moving the capital city of Nusantara a reality. It was during President Joko Widodo's era that plans to move the national capital were handled more clearly and comprehensively through various studies and various regulations that had been stipulated, whereas previously this moving discourse had emerged in several previous eras of presidential leadership.

There is a question: Why does the national capital have to move? Progressive and massive questions in various public discussions simultaneously became an interesting discourse. At present, Jakarta can no longer become the national capital city with its various functions and duties, [United Nations Publications \(2014\)](#) ranked Jakarta as the 10th most populous city in the world, and in 2017 it was ranked as the 9th most populous city in the world ([Schwab, 2018](#)).

Java Island is the epicenter, with 57% of Indonesia's population density concentrated on Java Island ([The Ministry of National Development Planning/ National Development Planning Agency of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021](#)). In addition, the economic contribution of Java Island to Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the highest compared to others, namely 59% ([BPS - Statistics Indonesia, 2021](#)). The current problems of economic equality and development are a strong reason for President Joko Widodo to adopt a policy of moving the national capital.

The moving of the national capital, which is handled more clearly and comprehensively, illustrates how strong the political will of the government under President Joko Widodo. In this case, a leader's ability and political capacity are keys to success in solving various problems. Political capacity is the extent to which a leader's strength and accuracy in making decisions, policy formulation, and policy implementation process ([Capano & Toth, 2023](#)).

A state leader is very important in moving the national capital ([Purnama & Chotib, 2022](#)). Moving the national capital is a policy to overcome the various problems it faces ([Clemons & McBeth, 2020](#)). Moving the national capital which is carried out properly will bring about economic equality and development and optimize government services ([Ghalib et al., 2021](#); [Schatz, 2004](#)).

Political will is interpreted as the desire and commitment of leaders to take action to achieve a set of goals ([Brinkerhoff, 2010](#); [El Bushra et al., 2019](#)). The political will is always related to the center of power, where the leader is the main actor in making political decisions ([Baum et al., 2022](#)). In this case, a leader's ability, capacity, and political commitment are keys to success in solving various problems. Political capacity is the extent of strength and accuracy in decision-making, policy formulations, and policy implementation ([Capano & Toth, 2023](#); [Lassa et al., 2019](#)).

The political will of a leader can be seen in several components; [Brinkerhoff \(2010\)](#) suggests there are at least 7 (seven) components, namely: (1) government initiative; (2) choice of policy/program based on technically sound, balanced consideration and analysis of options, anticipated outcomes, and cost/benefits; (3) mobilization of stakeholders; (4) public commitment and allocation of resources; (5) application of credible sanctions; (6) continuity of effort; (7) learning and adaptation. Meanwhile, [Kukutschka \(2015\)](#) explains that political will can be measured through 4 (four) indicators, namely: (1) individual factors, (2) organizational factors, (3) relational factors, (4) social factors.

Several studies that have been conducted, including [Kapoutsis et al. \(2017\)](#) revealed that in the United States, Greece, and the United Kingdom, a leader's political will has a positive relationship with the behavior and commitment of a leader in achieving the success of a policy implemented. The political will of a leader is needed and very influential on the success of a policy taken in solving the problems faced ([Endler et al., 2022](#); [Farzanegan et al., 2021](#)).

The political will of a leader in a policy that is taken is also often faced with the existing political constellation, where the political constellation itself influences the success and failure of a policy that is implemented; political constellation can be interpreted as a condition or progress of an ongoing political order ([Siebörger, 2020](#)). In addition, [Halabaku et al. \(2019\)](#) revealed in their findings that the political constellation greatly influences the success and failure of the policies taken, where when the policies taken by a leader do not have the majority of strong support from political actors and various stakeholders, then this policy will be difficult to achieve.

At this moment, the government's political will under President Joko Widodo is of concern. This policy was taken in the last period of his leadership, where moving the national capital requires a lot of time. Moving national capitals in various countries is a long-term policy that requires a relatively long development process ([Herdiana, 2020](#)). So, the question is how far the political will of the government under President Joko Widodo has been implemented in this policy and whether this policy will be continued by the next President-elect given that President Joko Widodo's leadership will end in 2024 and given the current political constellation and such a dynamic future. On the other side, there are still some challenges, such as resistance at the local level and problems with financing schemes.

This research was conducted as an important momentum to measuring and explain how political will is in the policy of moving the national capital and see how this policy is when faced with current and future political constellations that are so dynamic, considering that political will of a leader and existing political constellations influence on the success and failure of an implemented policy.

## 2. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach, which was chosen to see and understand a research subject holistically and in a descriptive way ([Hirose & Creswell, 2023](#); [Perry, 2022](#)). Methods of data collection using in-depth interviews and documentation techniques. The in-depth interview technique was chosen to understand the research subject comprehensively from the research object (key informant) by using a purposive sampling technique, namely, the person who is considered to know the most about the problem under study ([Campbell et al., 2020](#)). In this case, it is the Secretary of the Nusantara Capital City Authority and supported by informants from the Chair of Commission II of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia/Chair of the Special Committee for the draft law on the state capital.

The documentation technique is carried out by collecting data documents that correlate with research and are useful for data verification ([Morgan, 2022](#)). Documents that support research data include data sourced from academic books, academic journals, research reports, electronic media, or similar documents that support research substance. Data analysis techniques use interactive data analysis. Miles & Huberman explain that interactive data analysis techniques are data analysis techniques that consist of four components of the analysis process: data collection,

data reduction, data display, and drawing conclusions or verification (Enders, 2022; Li & Zhang, 2022).

This research was conducted as an important momentum to measuring and explain how political will is in the policy of moving the national capital through indicators as explained by Kukutschka (2015): (1) individual factors; (2) organizational factors; (3) relational factors; (4) social factors. In addition, this research will look at how the policy of moving the national capital is faced with the existing political constellation, considering that the political constellation has an influence on the success and failure of a policy implemented (Siebörger, 2020). This theoretical framework is used to measure and explain how the political will of a leader and how existing political constellations in the policy of moving the national capital.

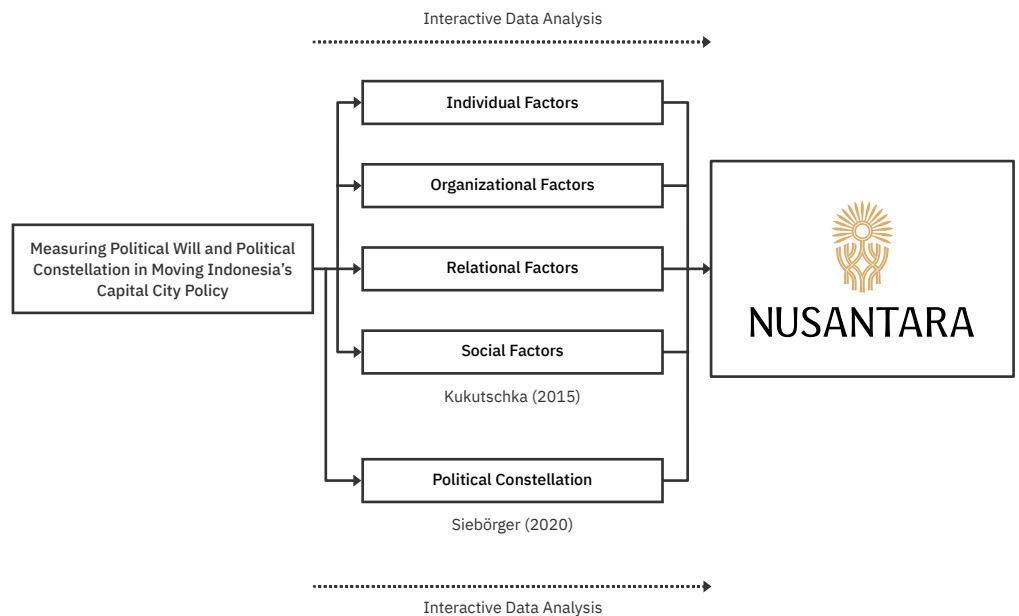


Figure 1. Explanation of Data Analysis Process

### 3. Results and Discussion

#### 3.1. Political Will in Moving Indonesia's Capital City

##### 3.1.1. Individual Factors

Individual factors can be interpreted as belief, courage, ability, and values held by a leader. Initiatives and policy choices cannot be separated from the attitudes of individuals who determine policies (Kukutschka, 2015). The discourse on moving the national capital itself is known to have emerged in several previous presidential eras, but it began to be handled more clearly and more comprehensively during President Joko Widodo's time through comprehensive studies and various regulations that had been stipulated.

The confidence and courage of President Joko Widodo can be described when he gave a speech at the Annual Session of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR RI) and the Joint Session of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR/DPD RI).

As stated by Ir. Joko Widodo (President of the Republic of Indonesia), that:

“On this historic occasion, by asking the blessing of Allah SWT, and by requesting permission and support from the honorable members of the House of Representatives, the elders, and figures of the nation, especially the entire Indonesian people, I hereby request permission to move our nation's capital to the Borneo Island” (Delivered at the Annual Session of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR RI) and the Joint Session of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR/DPD RI), 16/08/2019).

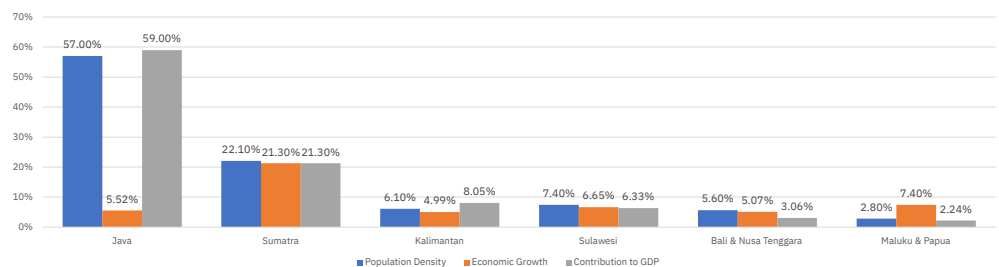
President Joko Widodo's confidence and courage were not without reason. He assessed that Jakarta was no longer possible to become the national capital with its various functions and duties, as well as the current problems of economic equality and development are a strong reason for President Joko Widodo to adopt a policy of moving the national capital.

As stated by Ir. Joko Widodo (President of the Republic of Indonesia), that:

“It really takes faith and courage, that there are risks, that's for sure. Today we see that Jakarta's burden is already very heavy with its various functions and duties, and besides that we know we want economic equality and development not to be Java-centric, but Indonesia-centric” (Delivered at the TNI-Polri leadership meeting, 01/03/2022).

At present, Jakarta is considered no longer possible to become the national capital with its various functions and duties. [United Nations Publications \(2014\)](#) ranked Jakarta as the 10th most populous city in the world, and in 2017 it was ranked as the 9th most populous city in the world ([Schwab, 2018](#)). Currently, Java Island is the epicenter, with 57% of Indonesia's population density concentrated on Java Island ([The Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency of the Republic of Indonesia, 2021](#)). In addition, the economic contribution of Java Island to Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the highest compared to others, namely 59% ([BPS - Statistics Indonesia, 2021](#)).

Figure 2. Population Density/Economic Growth/Contribution to GDP in 2021 (%)



Source: Processed from BPS - Statistics Indonesia & Ministry of National Development Planning/National Development Planning Agency of the Republic of Indonesia, 2023

In addition, in terms of the environment's carrying capacity as the capital city of Jakarta, around 50% of the Jakarta area has a flood safety level below 10 years

(ideally, a big city at least 50 years). The groundwater level is decreasing by 7.5-10 cm/year, 57% of reservoir water is heavily polluted, 61% of river water is heavily polluted, and the resilience of 25-50 cm (in 2050) sea level rise (The Ministry of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019).

Table 1. Groundwater/Water Quality/Toughness of Jakarta in 2019

Groundwater	Water Quality		Toughness
7.5-10 cm/year Groundwater Level Dropping	57% Heavily Polluted Reservoir Water	61% Heavily Polluted River Water	25-50 cm (in 2050) Sea Level Rise

Source: Processed from Ministry of Environment and Forestry of the Republic of Indonesia. (2023)

Previously, East Kalimantan was chosen as the location for the national capital city with some of the criteria set by the government. However, the government should pay attention to how the policy of moving the national capital ensures minimal negative impact on local communities. The government can conduct various comprehensive studies related to this matter and with a process that reflects participatory and accommodative planning (Herdiana, 2020). Given that there is still a lot of high resistance in local communities, such as the problem of low participation and existence of residents in the policy-making process, the potential for agricultural and natural resource (socio-ecological) conflicts, an increase in ecological crises (Nurjaman & Rusata, 2023; Susmiyati et al., 2023; Warsilah, 2023).

How strong the government's political will under President Joko Widodo in moving the national capital is also reflected in the various regulations concerning the national capital that have been stipulated (Table 2). Until now, 10 regulations have been stipulated as the basis for implementing the planning, development, moving, and management of the capital city of Nusantara.

Table 2. Regulations About the Capital City of Nusantara

Year	Regulations	Concerning
2022	Law Number 3	The Nation's Capital
2022	Government Regulation Number 17	Budget Funding and Management in the Context of Preparation, Development, and Moving of the National Capital City and Administration of the Special Capital Region of the Nusantara
2022	Presidential Regulation Number 62	Nusantara Capital City Authority
2022	Presidential Regulation Number 63	Details of the Nusantara Capital City Master Plan
2022	Presidential Regulation Number 64	Spatial Plan for the National Strategic Area of the Nusantara Capital City in 2022-2042
2022	Presidential Regulation Number 65	Land Acquisition and Land Management in the Capital City of the Nusantara
2022	Regulation of the Head of the Nusantara Capital City Authority Number 1	Organization and Working Procedures of the Nusantara Capital City Authority
2023	Government Regulation Number 12	Granting Business Permits, Ease of Doing Business, and Investment Facilities for Business Players in the Capital City of the Nusantara
2023	Regulation of the Head of the Nusantara Capital City Authority Number 1	Detailed Spatial Plan for the Planning Area of the Core Central Government of the Capital City of the Nusantara
2023	Regulation of the Head of the Nusantara Capital City Authority Number 2, 3, 4	Detailed Spatial Planning for the Nusantara Capital City Planning Area (West, East 1, East 2)

Source: Processed from ikn.go.id (2023)

Various regulations that have been stipulated are regulatory aspects that support the government's success in moving the national capital and are the first basis needed for legal certainty in the stage of moving the national capital. Its

implementation requires a basis of authority, construction of functional assignments, vertical-horizontal relationship patterns, and asymmetrical institutional designs.

Overall, the government policy in moving the national capital taken by President Joko Widodo is quite reasonable, and this reflects President Joko Widodo's belief and courage, which has strong relevance to empirical circumstances. Political will in the policy of moving the national capital cannot be separated from individual factors from President Joko Widodo's conviction and courage, where the political will is implemented more clearly and comprehensively on the basis of reasons that have strong relevance to the situation and are reflected through various regulations that have been stipulated.

### 3.1.2. Organizational Factors

Organizational factors can be interpreted as a task and function given to government organizations in implementing policies that have been taken by a leader, where the seriousness and commitment of these government organizations can affect the success and failure of implementing a policy that is carried out (Kukutschka, 2015).

It is known that the government is implementing a strategy to develop the national capital in stages (Table 3) in accordance with Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the state capital and detailed in a comprehensive master plan.

Table 3. Stages of Development of the Capital City of Nusantara

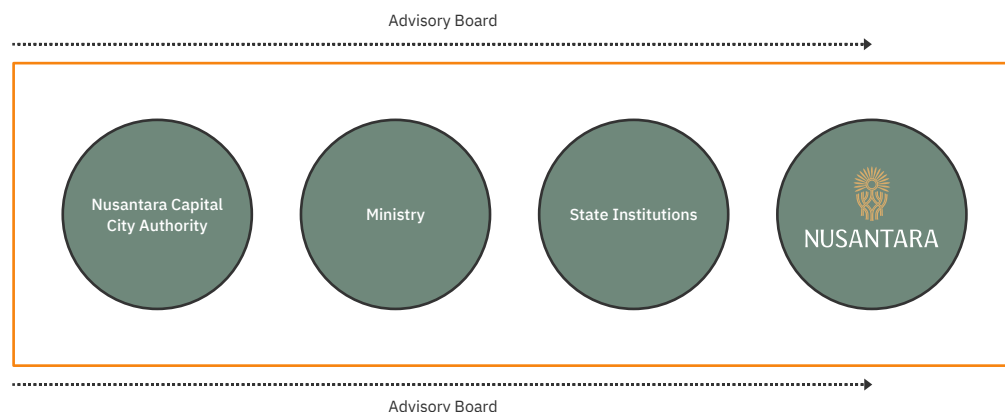
Year	Stages	Focus
2022-2024	I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Development in the Presidential Palace, Government Offices, ASN Housing and Defense and Security Personnel, as well as Telecommunications, Energy/Electricity, and Connectivity/Transportation.</li> <li>Establish an authority agency that will carry out the process of planning, budgeting, and development in collaboration with the relevant ministries/institutions.</li> </ul>
2025-2029	II	Development in infrastructure and environment (airports, dams, domestic wastewater, management systems, etc.), development of the IKN area, expansion (offices, industrial areas, hotels, universities, etc.), and defense (Ministry of Defense, Police, BIN, BSSN).
2030-2034	III	Development in infrastructure and environment (public transportation systems, water management, etc.), development of the IKN area, expansion of several areas (offices, business areas, industrial areas, hotels, universities, etc.), and defense (Ministry of Defense, Police, BIN, BSSN).
2035-2039	IV	Development in infrastructure and environment (regional railways, expansion of wastewater management systems, construction of solar farms, etc.), development of 4 areas (KIPP stage 2A, West IKN, East IKN, and North Area), expansion of several areas (offices, businesses, industrial areas, hotels, universities, etc.), as well as defense (Ministry of Defense, Police, BIN, BSSN).
2040-2045	V	Infrastructure and environmental development (final stage of infrastructure and transportation, development of potential multi-use dams).

Source: Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning The Nation's Capital (2023)

To achieve the target for each of these stages, in its implementation, the government has formed a transition team to support the preparation, development, and moving of the national capital based on the Minister of State Secretary number 105 decree in 2022. It aims to support the smooth and accelerated preparation, development, and moving of the national capital, where the relevant ministries/institutions play a role in accordance with their respective duties and functions.

As stated by Ir. Bambang Susantono, MCP., MSCE., Ph.D. (Head of the Nusantara Capital City Authority), that:

“The formation of the transition team is a form of support from each related Ministry/Institution to coordinate, consolidate, collaborate, and communicate



**Transition Team in Moving the Capital City of Nusantara:**

- Nusantara Capital City Authority
- Ministry of National Development Planning
- Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing
- Ministry of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning
- Ministry of Environment and Forestry
- Coordinating Ministry for Maritime and Investment Affairs
- Ministry of Investment/Indonesia Investment Coordinating Board
- Ministry of Communication and Information Technology
- Ministry of Home Affairs
- Ministry of Finance

Figure 3. Transition Team in Moving the Capital City of Nusantara

Source: Processed from Decree of the Minister of State Secretary Number 105 of 2022 (2023)

within a transition team. This is all for the smoothness and acceleration of preparation, construction, and moving of the nation's capital.” (Delivered at the transition team meeting, 10/05/2022).

Within the transition team formed, Ministries/Agencies (Figure 3) a role in accordance with their respective duties and functions. The main tasks and functions of the transition team include planning, infrastructure and land, environment, forestry, climate change, investment, technological transformation /innovation, social/community empowerment, and funding.

In terms of the funding scheme, the Ministry of Finance, as a part of the transition team, explained that the policy of moving the national capital would be carried out with 3 (three) parts of the funding scheme: (1) scheme state budget (direct); (2) scheme KPBU (Government Cooperation with Business Entities); and (3) scheme private sector/State-owned enterprise (Figure 4).

It is known that the state budget will not dominate this funding scheme but will prioritize the scheme KPBU (Government Cooperation with Business Entities) and scheme private sector or State-owned enterprise. Funding from the state budget is carried out multi-yearly and will not interfere with other national priority programs. The government will invite cooperation with the private sector to utilize and optimize assets.

Political will in the policy in moving the national capital city cannot be separated from organizational factors, where the seriousness and commitment of government organizations are illustrated by the formation of a transition team that has worked to support the smoothness and acceleration of preparation, development, and funding schemes for moving the national capital. However, several challenges still need



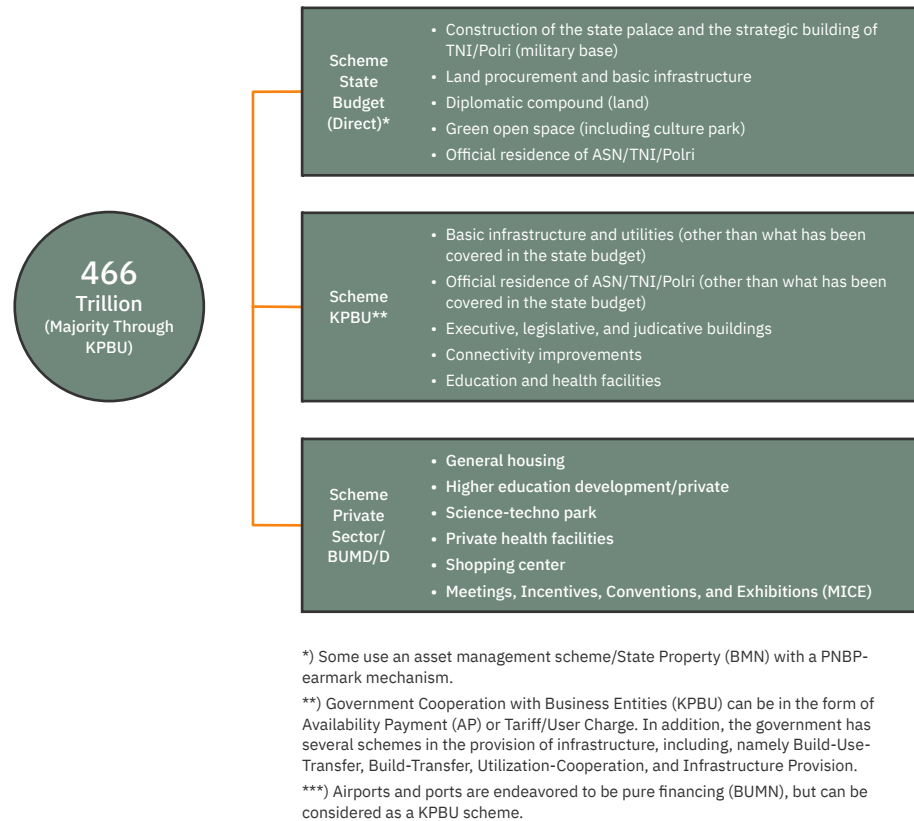


Figure 4. Funding Scheme in Moving the Capital City of Nusantara

Source: Processed from Ministry of Finance (2023)

attention, such as the recruitment of high officials of the Nusantara Capital City Authority and the transfer of the state civil apparatus. The formation of the transition team for moving the national capital is the basis for working together in a more coordinated and synergistic manner so that we can achieve the targets set at each stage.

### 3.1.3. Relational Factors

Relational factors can be interpreted as a form of participation, support, or pressure from an individual or group on the policies taken, where this can also affect the success and failure of the implementation of a policy that is carried out (Kukutschka, 2015).

Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the state capital explained that individuals or groups can participate in planning, building, moving, and managing the national capital. Participation and support can be done in the form of (Figure 5): (1) public consultation; (2) forum group discussion; (3) partnership; (4) delivery of aspirations; and (5) other participation according to regulations.

In increasing community participation and support, the transition team has held various focus group discussion forums in socializing Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the state capital, with the aim of disseminating, monitoring and socializing regulations to realize strengthening community involvement and participation.

As stated by Dr. Achmad Jaka Santos Adiwijaya S.H., LLM (Secretary of the Nusantara Capital City Authority), that:

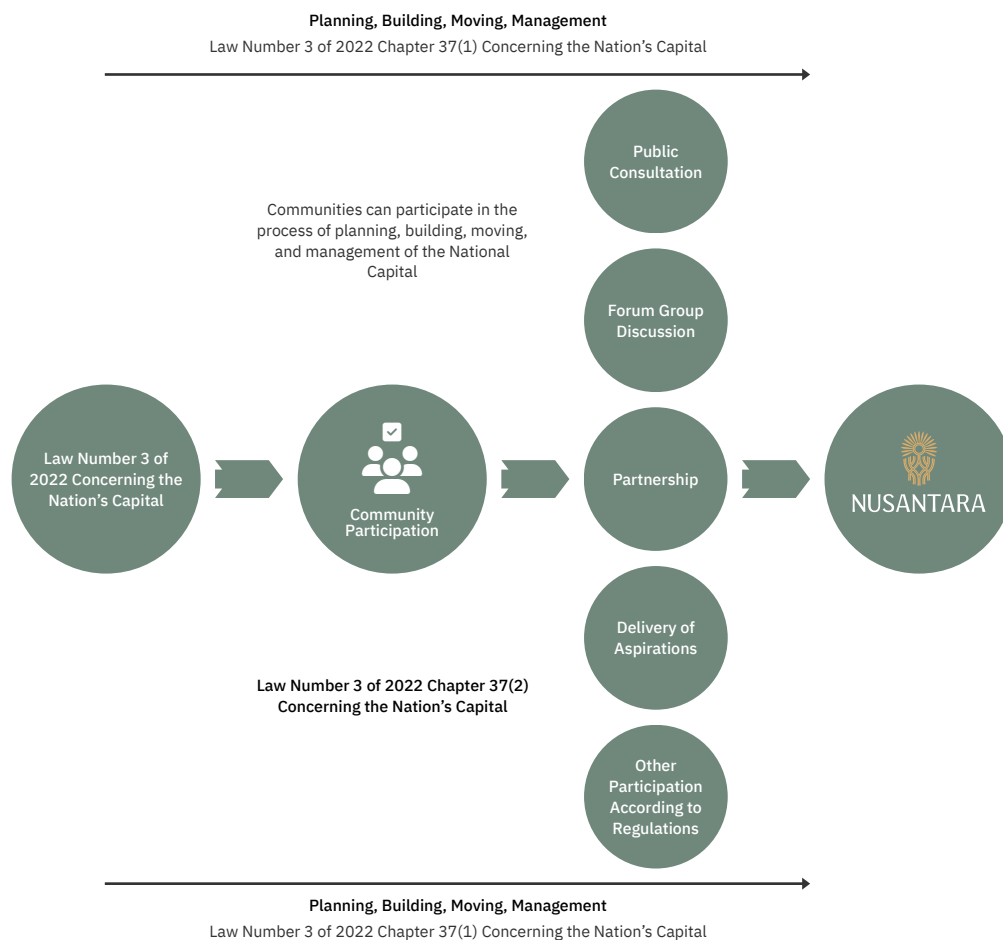


Figure 5. Forms of Community Participation in Moving the Capital City of Nusantara

Source: Processed from Law Number 3 of 2022 (2023)

“Focus group discussion activities are one of the key factors in providing understanding to the public about the substance of regulations to improve the quality of collaboration between various parties, especially participation, and support from the community.” (In-depth Interview).

In terms of community support for moving the national capital, the government has received support from various community leaders and local customs (Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 2022). Participation and other support also come from collaboration & partnerships built by the government through collaboration spaces with various (Table 4).

Stated by Dr. Thomas Umbu Pati Tena Bolodadi, M.Si. (Deputy for Controlling the Development of the Nusantara Capital City Authority), that:

“We really need support from the community and the private sector, as well as support from investors. In the spirit of collaboration, we join hands to make the national capital a world city for all.” (Delivered at the Dialog Indonesia Bicara - TVRI, 14/03/2023).

However, on the other hand, there should also be a concern that there are still problems at the local community level. Some of the findings revealed problems such as the low participation and existence of residents in the policy-making process, the potential for agricultural and natural resource (socio-ecological) conflicts, an increase in ecological crises (Nurjaman & Rusata, 2023; Susmiyati et al., 2023; Warsilah, 2023).

Table 4. Collaborative & Partnership With Various Parties in Moving the Capital City of Nusantara

Collaborative & Partnership	Type	Concerning
UNDP (United Nations Development Programme)	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)	Sustainable Development
ADB (Asian Development Bank)	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)	Building the National Capital As a Carbon Neutral City
ADB (Asian Development Bank Institute)	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)	Collaboration in Knowledge, Research and Development in various sectors
CLC (Centre for Liveable Cities)	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)	Liveable City Development
Siemens	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)	Development of Smart City and Automation System
Hyundai Motor Company	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)	Presented Advanced Air Mobility (AAM) As Smart Mobility Ecosystem
LG CNS	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)	Smart City Concept
Universitas Indonesia	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)	Education, Research, and Community Service
Universitas Mulawarman	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)	Education, Research, and Community Service
Arsari Foundation	Memorandum of Understanding (MoU)	Development of Orangutan Sanctuary Centers
State Power Investment Corporation (SPIC)	Non Disclosure Agreement (NDA)	Renewable Energy
Joe Green Pte Ltd	Non Disclosure Agreement (NDA)	Waste Management

\*) Realization up to August 2023

Source: Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning The Nation’s Capital (2023)

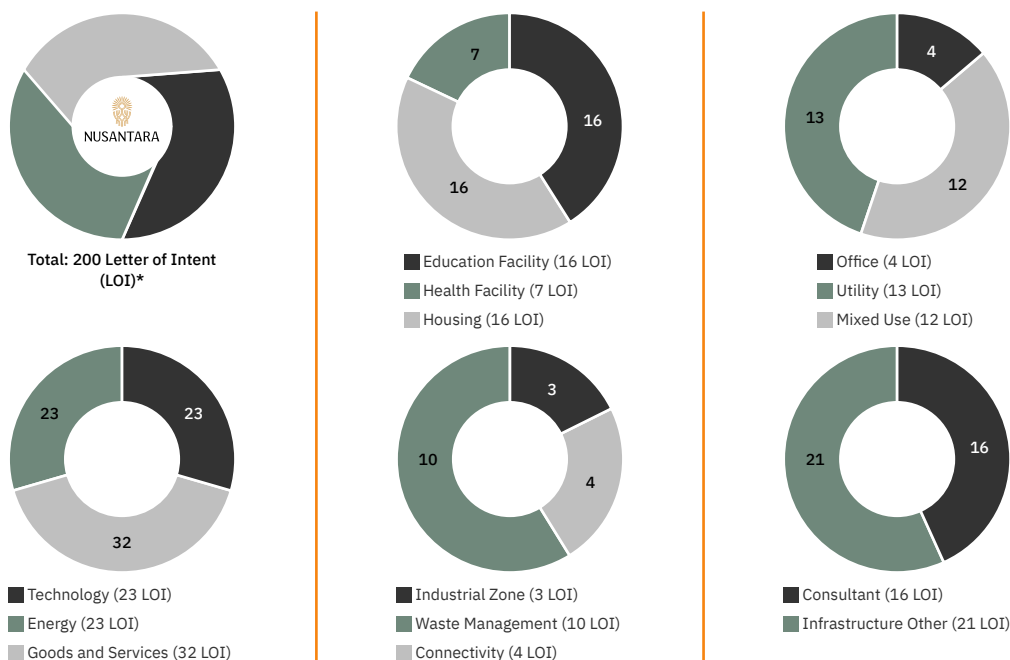
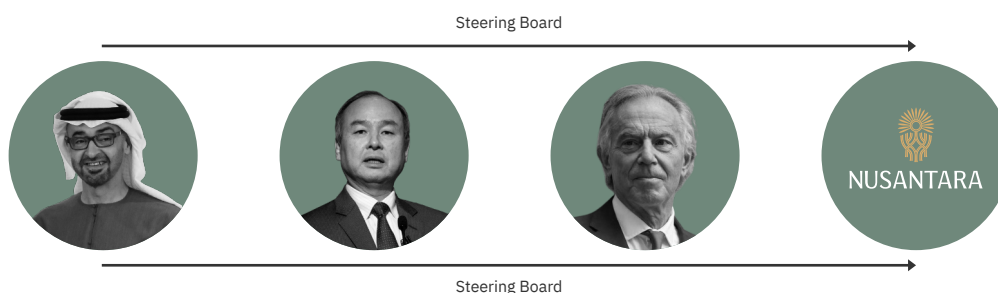


Figure 6. Letter of Intent (LOI) in Various Sectors in Moving the Capital City of Nusantara

Source: Processed from [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id) (2023)

Overall, the progress of investor interest in the Nusantara capital city has so far reached 200 Letters of Intent (LOI) consisting of various sectors (Figure 6), among others: educational facilities, health facilities, housing, offices, mixed-use, utilities, consultants, energy, technology, connectivity, goods and services, industrial zones, waste management, and other infrastructure. This shows the high interest of investors to be part of the contribution in moving Nusantara capital city. However, this cannot yet reflect the progress that has taken in the field, that currently investors are choosing to wait and see for certainty of the sustainability of this policy after the end of the current government period. Investors will pay more attention to aspects of legal certainty and investment prospects.

Aside from that, it is known that in its implementation, President Joko Widodo has appointed three international figures to become members of the steering committee in the development of the Nusantara capital city. The three figures are Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan (President of the United Arab Emirates/ UAE), Masayoshi Son (CEO of Softbank), and Tony Blair (former Prime Minister of the UK) (Figure 7). The reason President Joko Widodo appointed the three international figures was because of his experience, as well as to build trust from the international, where the involvement of the three international figures will increase the trust of the international world so that investment will flow to the national capital.



**Steering Board in Moving the Capital City of Nusantara:**

- Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan (President of the United Arab Emirates)
- Masayoshi Son (CEO of SoftBank)
- Tony Blair (Former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom)

Source: Processed from [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id) (2023)

Figure 7. Steering Board in Moving the Capital City of Nusantara

Political will in moving the national capital city cannot be separated from the relational factor. In relational factors, forms of participation and support or pressure from an individual/groups have been guaranteed in the established laws and regulations, which accommodate individual/group relations to strengthen involvement and participation in the successful implementation of policies. The involvement and participation of these individuals/groups have been illustrated by the various community supports, collaborations, and partnerships that have been carried out, as well as the involvement of international figures in its implementation.

### 3.1.4. Social Factors

Social factors can be interpreted as a process of political system and conditions of state apparatus in a process of decision-making and policy, where this has a major influence on the success and failure of the implementation of a policy that is carried out (Kukutschka, 2015).

The policy of moving the national capital that has been determined is certainly inseparable from the political system that has been passed. In the process, the

legislature, as a community representation, has followed up on the President's letter regarding the draft law on the state capital by forming a special committee on draft Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the state capital. This special committee consists of 9 factions in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, the majority of which (a total of 8 out of 9 factions) approved this draft law to become law.

Stated by Dr. H. Ahmad Doli Kurnia Tandjung, S.Si., M.T. (the Chair of Commission II of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia/ Chair of the Special Committee for the draft law on the state capital), that:

“The draft law on the state capital, which has been agreed to become a Law, is a legal certainty required in implementing the moving of the national capital. Therefore, the special committee has worked with a high concentration in accordance with the mechanisms that exist in each process.” (In-depth Interview)

In other words, the policy of moving the state capital taken by the government, which has the support and approval of the majority of political party factions in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, at the same time has become political legitimacy for the policies taken by the government.

Political will in moving the state capital cannot be separated from social factors. In this case, the process of the political system and conditions of state apparatus in decision-making has reflected support for the policy of moving the national capital. This can be seen from the approval of the majority of political party factions in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, which at the same time has become strong political legitimacy for the policies taken by the government.

### 3.2. Political Constellation in Moving Indonesia's Capital City Policy

The political will of a leader in a policy he takes is often faced with political constellations that occur, where the political constellation itself influences the success and failure of a policy that is implemented, A political constellation can be interpreted as a condition or development of an ongoing political order (Siebörger, 2020). In addition, Halabaku et al. (2019) revealed in their findings that the political constellation greatly influences the success and failure of the implementation of the policies taken, where when the policies taken by a leader do not have the majority of strong support from political actors and various related stakeholders, then the policy will be difficult to achieve.

As is known, the policy of moving the national capital taken by the government has reached a political agreement, where this policy has received support and approval from the majority of political party factions in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, which at the same time has become political legitimacy for the policies taken by the government. It is known that most of the 8 factions includes: The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P), Golkar Party, Gerindra Party, Nasdem, PKB, Demokrat, PAN, and PPP. The faction that refused was PKS (Figure 8). This certainly reflects that the political legitimacy of the policy of moving the national capital is so strong.

The political legitimacy of moving the national capital is so strong that this policy continues without any obstacles. On the other side, the high level of public

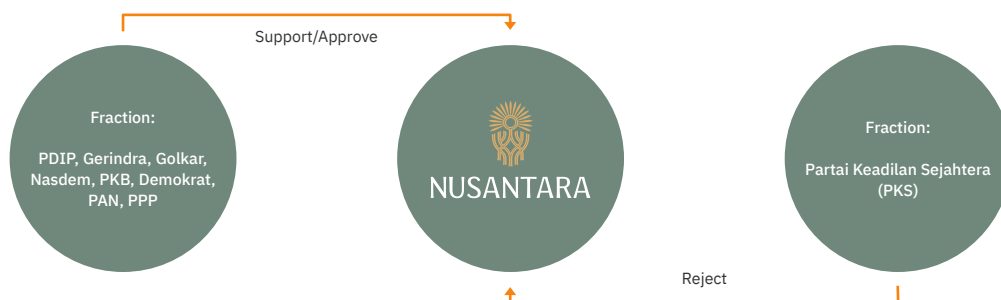


Figure 8. Decision of Political Party Fraction in Moving of the Capital City Policy

Source: Processed by Author (2023)

satisfaction with the performance of President Joko Widodo's government in various surveys (Lembaga Survei Indonesia, 2023; Poltracking Indonesia, 2023), at the same time had an important role to convince the public in the policy of moving the national capital. However, the question is whether this policy will later become a policy that is continued by the next President-elect given that President Joko Widodo's leadership will end in 2024 and considering the current and future national political constellation which is so dynamic.

Moving national capitals in various countries in the world is a long-term policy that requires a relatively long development process (Herdiana, 2020). So, this condition needs a continuation of leadership that has the same commitment to the policies that have been taken by President Joko Widodo. As explained by Purnama and Chotib (2022), a President has a very important role in moving the capital city, where the President's commitment and the support of political parties have a major influence on the success and failure of these policies.

Moving national capitals in various countries requires a relatively long process and, of course, requires good political stability. Malaysia, for example, succeeded in moving the center of government to Putrajaya, which required a relatively long development process (20 years) because Tun Dr. Mahathir bin Mohamad supervised directly during the process when the leadership changed, the moving process was carried out successfully without any significant obstacles (Moser, 2010; Rachmawati et al., 2021).

Furthermore, Australia succeeded in moving the center of government to Canberra, which also required a relatively long process (26 years). This was because it was bound by the leadership of the Governor General, whose government was relatively stable (Mofrad & Ignatieva, 2023). South Korea also requires a relatively long process of moving its administrative capital (28 years) technically whoever successor the President still have a commitment to continue the moving of their administrative capital (Lee et al., 2005). This illustrates the importance of a leader's commitment and political actors support for the policy's success and failure.

When looking at the current political constellation towards the end of President Joko Widodo's leadership in 2024, there are 2 (two) axis to replace President Joko Widodo's leadership. The first axis is presidential candidates who want continuity with the programs and policies that have been implemented, including the policy of moving the national capital; among them are Prabowo Subianto (supporting political parties: Gerindra, Golkar, PAN) and Ganjar Pranowo (supporting political parties: PDIP, PPP). The second axis is the presidential candidate who wants changes to the programs and policies that have been implemented, including the policy of moving the national capital, namely the presidential candidate Anies Baswedan (supporting political parties: Nasdem, PKB, PKS) (Figure 9).

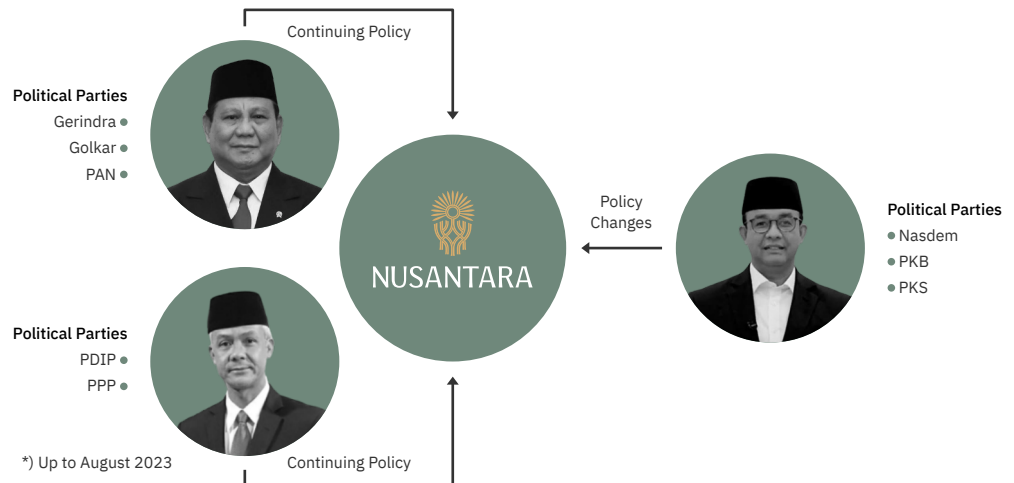


Figure 9. Perspective of Presidential Candidate in Moving of the Capital City Policy

Source: Processed by Author (2023)

If we look at the composition of political parties supporting presidential candidates who want changes to the programs and policies that have been implemented, including the policy of moving the national capital, it can be seen that political parties such as Nasdem and PKB are part of the faction of political parties in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia which from the beginning provided support and approval for the government's policy of moving the national capital (Figure 8).

However, currently, Nasdem and PKB are part of a coalition of political parties with PKS, which has a political positioning for changes to programs and policies that have been implemented, including the policy of moving the national capital (Figure 9). This certainly illustrates how very dynamic the current political constellation is, especially in its correlation with the programs and policies that have been implemented, then who is the next elected President, and how the composition of support for political parties that will come will determine the success of the policies that have been implemented.

Meanwhile, looking at the positioning of civil society towards the policy of moving the national capital, some support it and those who reject it. In terms of civil society support for the policy of moving the national capital was conveyed in a deliberation forum with President Joko Widodo and East Kalimantan traditional community leaders (Cabinet Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 2022).

On the other hand, civil society's rejection of the policy of moving the national capital is also reflected in various findings, and this is based on the problems of low local community participation, overlapping land tenure, and protection of indigenous peoples' rights (Nugroho, 2022; Simarmata, 2023; Warsilah, 2023). Even rejection also came from elements of the state civil apparatus; the results of the Indonesia Development Monitoring (IDM) survey stated that 94% of the state civil apparatus rejected the plan to move the capital city (Herdiana, 2020).

Comprehensively, the political will to move the national capital cannot be separated from the existing state of the political constellation. Political legitimacy in the policy of moving the national capital, which is so strong with the support of the majority of political party factions in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, has made this policy continue. However, the continuity and success of the policy of moving the national capital will certainly be influenced by the leadership of the next President-elect, who has the same coherence of commitment to the policies

taken by President Joko Widodo. The next President-elect has a very important role in moving the capital city, where the commitment of the President and the composition of the support of political parties that will come will have a major influence on the success and failure of this policy.

#### 4. Conclusion

Political will in the policy of moving the state capital cannot be separated from individual factors, namely from the belief and courage of President Joko Widodo, where the political will is implemented in a clearer and more comprehensive through a basis of reasons that have strong relevance to empirical conditions and are reflected through various laws and regulations that have been stipulated. In organizational factors, the seriousness and commitment of government organizations can be illustrated through the presence of a transition team who have worked to support the smoothness and acceleration of preparations, development, and funding schemes for moving the national capital. The formation of the transition team for moving the state capital is the basis for working together in a more coordinated and synergetic manner to achieve the targets set at each stage.

In the relationship factor, forms of participation and support and pressure from an individual/group have been guaranteed in existing laws and regulations, which accommodate individual/group relations to strengthen involvement and participation in the successful implementation of policies. The involvement and participation of individuals/groups are illustrated by various community supports, collaborations, and partnerships that have been carried out, as well as the involvement of international figures in its implementation. In social factors, the process of the political system and the conditions of the state apparatus in decision-making have reflected support for the policy of moving the national capital, and this can be seen from the approval of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia, which at the same time has become strong political legitimacy for policies taken by the government.

Comprehensively, the political will in the policy of moving the national capital cannot be separated from individual factors, namely from President Joko Widodo's belief and courage and the existing state of the political constellation. Political legitimacy in the policy of moving the national capital, which is so strong with the support of the majority of political party factions in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia and the high public satisfaction with the performance of President Joko Widodo's government reflects that President Joko Widodo was able to convince political elites and publics, has made this policy continue. However, there is still some resistance at the local level. However, the continuity and success of the policy of moving the national capital will certainly be influenced by the leadership of the next President-elect, who has the same coherence of commitment to the policies taken by President Joko Widodo. The next President-elect has a very important role in moving the capital city, where the commitment of the President and the composition of the support of political parties that will come will have a major influence on the success and failure of this policy.

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