

Discourse About the Government's Political Goal to Move the Capital of Indonesia

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The relocation of the Indonesian capital, which was announced by President Joko Widodo, was certainly no longer a rumour. Indonesia is preparing to build facilities and infrastructure in Borneo as the new capital of Indonesia. The relocation of Indonesia's capital from Jakarta is to become a national medium-term development from 2020 to 2024. This study aims to find out what political discourse the government wants to achieve in moving the Indonesian capital. In this research, the method used is the analysis of van Dijk's critical discourse in Kompas.com news in August 2019. Based on the results that have been analysed, it is found that the political objectives of the government in moving the new capital from Java to Borneo are motivated by economic equality, the concept of smart cities, geographical location, and efforts to transfer problems from Java to Borneo. Authors conclude that the discourse of moving the capital of Indonesia only sells artificial dreams to the public. The cost of moving the capital to Borneo requires a hefty fee. Moreover, Indonesia's current financial condition is still not a surplus or deficit.

Key words: *Discourse, Moving, Capital, Indonesia, Government's political goal.*

Introduction

The Indonesian capital had shifted to Yogyakarta during the Soeharto period. Yogyakarta became the capital and the centre of government at that time. The transfer was based on Jakarta's insecurity at the time, so it was necessary to move the assets (Asmara, 2019). Such new spaces also set the dynamics of power in motion, creating environments where different political, social, and spatial ventures and desires are pushed into awkward coexistence (Nettelbladt & Boano, 2019).



The spatial and political consequences of these approaches indicate that they may not necessarily translate into conflict and confrontation, but rather create an uneasy coexistence of various political, social and spatial ventures and interests with the ability to create new policies (McEwan, 2017). Not only will Indonesia transfer the capital of the nation, but several other countries plan to do the same in Southeast Asia. In Malaysia, since Kuala Lumpur is crowded, they will move the capital to Putra Jaya. The capital was moved from Yangon to Naypyidaw in Myanmar (CNN Indonesia, 2019).

According to Thompson (2007), the population of Malaysia is over 27 million, 70% of whom are urban, and 15% of whom reside in the Metropolitan Area of Kuala Lumpur (Website of the Department of Statistics of Malaysia). Since the end of the colonial period, urbanisation rates in Malaysia have risen dramatically, from 26.5% in 1957 to 66.9% in 2005 (Moser, 2010). Thus, Putra Jaya has been selected as a new town in Southeast Asia to form a new capital identity through urban design.

Putrajaya City is one of a series of ambitious urban initiatives in Malaysia that represent the commitment of the state to build a specific national identity and achieve worldwide recognition. As Malaysia's new federal administrative capital, Putrajaya is the new residence for all ministries, civil servants, and their families at the national level. While all federal ministries are situated in Putrajaya, parliament is still situated in Kuala Lumpur, which remains the capital city technically for the time being. Putrajaya, however, has become a significant national symbol and venue for domestic activities, including independence day celebrations (Moser, 2010).

In Myanmar, there are several factors that caused the ancient Burmese monarchs to be inclined to change their capital. These include the expression of authority and political charisma, the ward of poor omens in the ancient capital, and the adaptation of military strategy to withstand or suppress the enemy. The current relocation of assets, however, is structurally distinct from the past and was continually affected in the post-Cold War period by new conditions. Pyinmana Naypyidaw's establishment is regarded considerably as a grand strategy of governing militarily and consists of three primary variables: political-military safety, spiritual-cultural unity, and economic development in the hinterland. In geopolitical terms, Pyinmana, situated in the country's central position in the Upper Sittang Valley, is surrounded by hilly regions and not far from mineral deposits. It is strategically suited for the efficient behaviour of political, financial and military policy and can also guarantee a robust system for future governance and control of the Union of Myanmar (Preecharushh, 2006).

There were several reasons for the transfer of the Indonesian capital from Java to Borneo. First, because Java Island's population is already very thick, even in the 2015 inter-census demographic study, 56.56% of Indonesians are on Java compared to other Indonesian islands,

less than 10% of which. The population of the island of Sumatra is 21.78% or 56,932,400 inhabitants, Borneo 6.05% or 15,801,800 inhabitants, Sulawesi 7.33% or 19,149,500 inhabitants, and Bali and Nusa Tenggara 5.56% or 14,540 in total. Six hundred people, while 2,72% or 7,103,500 in Maluku and Papua.

Second, the Gross Domestic Product's contribution to the economy is also dominant on Java Island. Hence, Joko Widodo intends to enhance the economy on other islands as Indonesia's president. Based on the Central Statistics Agency in 2018, the financial input on Java Island reached 58.49% in Sumatra, which was 21.66%, 8.2% in Borneo, and only 6.11% in Sulawesi, Bali and Nusa Tenggara. In Maluku and Papua, 3.11% amounted to 2.43%.

Third, Java Island has limited availability of clean water. In 2016, Java Island experienced a severe water crisis based on data from the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR). Some areas are yellow indicators, which means water pressure is experienced, such as in Central Java and East Java. When the indicators are orange, it means there is a scarcity of water. The indicator is red in the Greater Jakarta Region, and there is an absolute shortage.

Fourth, the most significant land transformation on Java Island took place in terms of land conversion dominating the outcomes of the 2019 Bappenas KLHS modelling. The share of land created in Java in 2000 was 48.41%. In 2010, it fell to 46.49%. Land to be constructed in Java in 2020 and 2030 after the capital city's scheduled transfer will amount to 44.64 and 42.79%. In 2010, the territory in Borneo was 9.29%. Furthermore, the increase in advanced soil in Borneo is forecast to rise to 10.18% by 2020 and 11.08% by 2030. The percentage of soil developed by 32.54% in 2010, while in Sumatra. Development is forecast to continue to rise by 32.71% in 2020 and by 32.87% in 2030. The percentage of property created in Sulawesi in 2010 was 4.88%. It is forecast that it will continue to develop to 5.42% in 2020 and 5.96% in 2030 (Movanita, 2019).

Reasons for Traffic Jams

According to Thrillist, Jakarta also engaged in high rates of ownership of motor vehicles, contributing to the danger of congestion. The Magnatec Stop-Start Index study by Castrol shows that Jakarta is the town with the most traffic jams globally, with an average of 33,240. (Amajida, 2016).

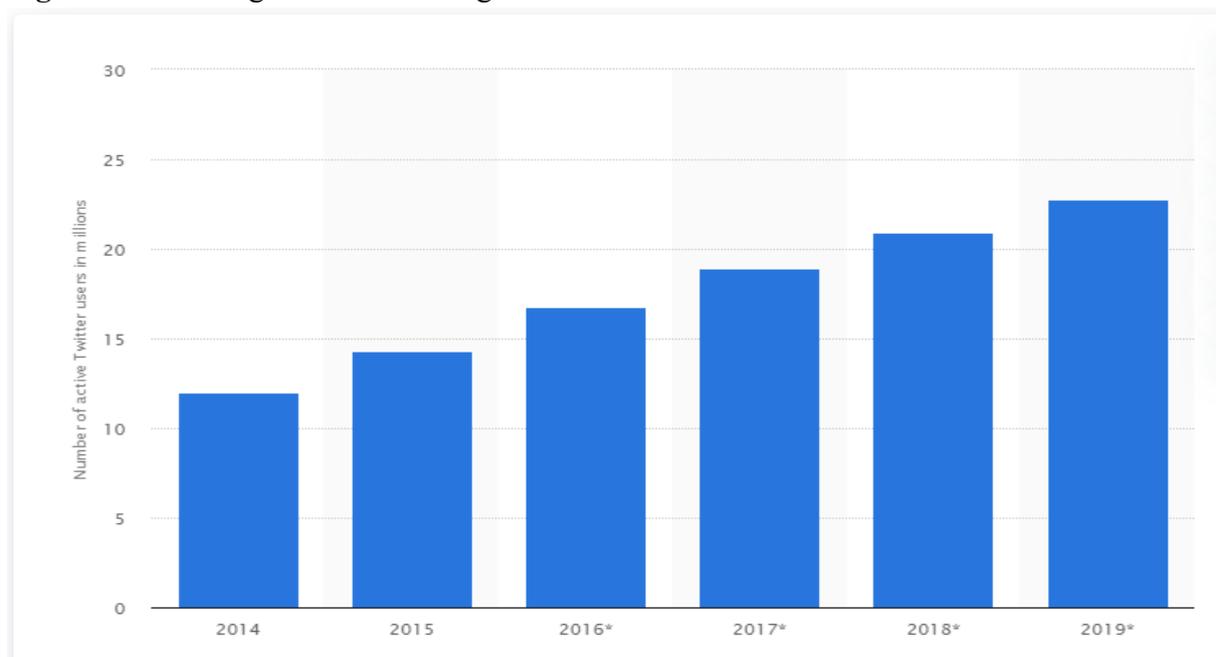
This impacts the air quality in Jakarta alarmingly. Jakarta has been at rank 171 (the lowest number) a few times before. This level shows that the air in Jakarta is not healthy. Transportation, which is highly crowded in Jakarta, is one of the sources of air pollution in Jakarta; the rest is industrial and domestic. It is not shocking that the Government's focus on reducing emissions involves transport.

In Jakarta, car ownership growth rose to 9.93% per year (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2015). Over the previous five years, the development of motor vehicles has reached 5.35% per year. When broken down by type of car, the most considerable growth in passenger vehicles is 6.48% per year. After that are motorcycles, which witnessed a development of 5.30% per year. Automobile costs rose by 5.25% per year. Lately, busses fell by 1.44% per year (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2018).

Efforts being made involve completing odd-even rules and calling for heavy trucks on the Jakarta outer ring toll road to be under ten years of age. At the centre of all the plans is the transportation of vehicles on Jakarta's streets. It can, of course, be done to reduce the use of cars and it improves their efficiency. Restrictions on trucks were proposed because heavy trucks were thought to emit thick black smoke from their exhausts. Black smoke is considered to have significantly contributed to Jakarta's pollution.

Jakarta is congested and chronically choked. Some describe the traffic of Jakarta as the most important "urban nightmare" of the city. The lack of a decent and reliable (and equitable) government transport scheme has resulted in an unfeasible amount of individual private passenger cars on the highways. A large number of cars should not be blamed on nearby towns such as Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi— which add to the current congestion— but rather on Jakarta itself. Despite the reality that the town has been involved in countless transport studies since the mid-1980s, a definite traffic and transport policy are still notoriously lacking (Steinberg, 2007).

Figure 1: Vehicle growth vs road segments



Source: (Adharsyah, 2019).

In 2010, the number of cars increased by 11%, while road development was only 0.01%. If Jakarta remains the core of all, it will be increasingly hard to unravel traffic jams. So the value of human resource productivity is lost as a result of hampered mobilisation (Adharsyah, 2019).

Reasons Involving Annual Flooding

Flooding almost annually impacts Jakarta (Kusumo, Reckien, & Verplanke, 2017). The causes of Jakarta's flooding go beyond this water-rich region's geographical problems and are mostly human-made. The primary causes are (i) absence of flood control infrastructure carrying ability; (ii) decreases in current systems' abilities owing to uncontrolled dumping of trash, and (iii) decreases in rainwater absorption owing to urbanisation and deforestation (Steinberg, 2007). Natural hazards, such as increasing seawater concentrations and severe tropical storms, are genuine threats that Jakarta seems unprepared for.

In Jakarta, waste generation amounts to 7000 tons each day. It all comes down to the Bekasi City Integrated Waste Management at Bantargebang. Most waste produced by residents of Jakarta is no different from that of other regions. Organic waste amounts to 55–60%. As there is no sorting procedure, the state of the waste is mixed (organic and inorganic).

Moreover, what is becoming an increasing issue regarding Jakarta's management problems is that waste has never been decreased from year to year. It always becomes more prominent. The amount of waste from Jakarta entering Bantargebang in 2013 was 5,600 tons per day. In 2014, it increased to 5,664 tons. This became 6,400 tons in 2015, 6,500 tons in 2016, and 6,875 tons in 2017. It continued to grow to 7500 tons in 2018 and currently to 7800 in mid-2019. Sadly, the continuing increase in waste production in Jakarta is not followed by full management.

Reasons Involving Water Quality Becoming Worse

Jakarta still has no excellent piped water coverage, and for many people in Jakarta, fresh, clean water remains a luxury. It is estimated that a mere 40% of the supply will be piped; approximately 40% through bore wells and approximately 20% through traditional water suppliers. Those operating in bad Kampong have been waiting for improvements (Steinberg, 2007).

The Environmental Management Agency of Jakarta has frequently reported the discovery of *Escherichia coli* bacteria in all 13 BPLHD-monitored Jakarta waterways. The population of Jakarta generates 1.2 billion liters of sewerage every day, or well above the 600,000 liters

that sewerage treatment plants in Pulo Gadung, East Jakarta, Duri Kosambi, West Jakarta and Setiabudi, South Jakarta can handle.

Limited clean water will affect public health issues, since people need clean water to bathe, wash, and defecate. Water limitations can cause the use of unclean water, resulting in health problems. Unlimited clean water often interferes with the cleanliness of an area. That can make people modestly postpone bathing or swimming. Relatively dirty environments get a lot of flies. Food and beverage ingredients also quickly become infested with flies. Due to limited clean water, the onset of diarrhea has the potential to increase. Limited clean water is one of the significant factors causing lethal, kidney damaging incidences of diarrhea to increase. Besides diarrhea, fungal skin diseases also have the potential for developing. Rates of fungal infections are quite high in tropical countries like Indonesia. This is so especially in conditions of limited clean water. Skin sweats easily, most notably in skin folds.

Reasons Involving Population Density

Jakarta has been defined as a partially informal settlement town of Kampung (urban villages). It is estimated that 60% of the metropolitan population of Jakarta resides in Kampung. This broadly shows the magnitude of open events across the town and at its fringes as well. While some of the Kampung in the inner-city date back to the colonial period and have land titles acknowledged, increasing numbers of informally developed Kampung have emerged to the south, west, and east of the town (the city's primary development paths). The establishment of these Kampung is partially initiated by the government, and it is partially private farmland that gradually becomes urbanised and (informally) shifts hands to its new inhabitants (Steinberg, 1992).

With 600 people per hectare, most of the Kampung are at an elevated density (Jelinek, 1992). For centuries, relocating Kampung from riverbanks or making space for innovations in real estate has been a matter of constant dispute.

A number of populations will experience effects related to the need for water used for food and drinking. There is also a need to breathe clean air. Due to the overuse of motorised vehicles, the increasingly dense population and consumptive actions can cause clean air to become scarce. There are many motorised vehicles with smoke not only in the city but also in the villages that threaten the quality of clean air. Too much carbon dioxide produced by motor vehicles is also bad for plant health, so this needs to be addressed.

Agriculture needs are also essential. If the population is increasingly dense, then the need for food will continue to grow. One result of this density is the transfer of agricultural functions to settlements, housing, or other facilities used for planting fields.

On the environmental side, the impact of the need for clean air is almost the same, and the population that is not occupied by supplying the needs of goods and services continues to rise. No doubt, excessive energy consumption would make the environment more contaminated.

Educational is also critical. Better education can push a country to develop. However, if population density cannot be adequately addressed and school infrastructure is declining, then many children cannot continue their education. In a nation, if the level of education is reduced, eventually job efficiency will be decreased.

Methodology

This research uses a qualitative approach. Qualitative research focuses more on the use of techniques to investigate and understand the significance in which certain people or organisations are deemed to have arisen from a social or human issue (Creswell & Poth, 2017).

Furthermore, this research uses a critical discourse analysis method by van Dijk. Discourse analysis as a technique of seeing the authority behind a text's structures to discuss representation or ideology. Critical discourse analysis conceptualises language as a type of social exercise and attempts to influence the reader to realise the effect of a reciprocal connection between the component of language and the social structure that is generally ignored (Van Dijk, 1993).

The assessment of van Dijk as a whole will link textual analysis focusing not only on the text but also on a broader approach to how a text is organised. It will not only consider the connection between people but also among society. The critical point of discourse analysis is, therefore, to use these three dimensions as a unit to be merged. The model of this assessment will be shown as follows (Van Dijk, 2016).

Table 1: The textual structure regarding the text dimension of van Dijk's analytical framework

Macrostructure Global/general meanings of a text that can be observed in a topic/theme from a certain text.
Superstructure The frame of a text, such as introduction, contents, closing remarks, and conclusion.
Microstructure The local meaning of a text that can be observed from word choices, sentences, and word styling used.

Source: (Eriyanto, 2001)

This research is aimed at analysing the discourse of moving Indonesia's capital as a political goal of the government based on Kompas.com in August 2019. The investigators use the internet portal because in Putranto's past studies (2019) on the framework of discourse on CSR news from Djarum in the field of sports, the internet portal was also used (Tribunnews.com, Detik.com, and Kompas.com) (Putranto, 2019).

Result and Discussions

Economic Equality

For a country, the economic sector is vital. Because of different economic sectors, the needs of the country can be met. Additionally, economic reasons must be considered for the planned relocation of the Indonesian capital because Jakarta must inevitably continue to be utilised as the capital to be abandoned. Besides, many government buildings are to be abandoned.

Jakarta is still influential in Indonesia's economic cycle. Many claim the economy is more evenly distributed with the movement of a capital. This is not just regarding Java. Moving the capital is also expected to have an impact on Indonesia's macroeconomy. One of the impacts or effects that occur in a new capital is a multiplier effect or a sustainable effect caused by various investments.

Capital removal also affects inflation. This is only because the project is completed in phases, so the effect is not too important depending on the planning stage for the effect on economic growth. If the planning is done well, the economy is expected to grow within five years. This is based on examples from other countries that have also moved their capitals. These countries' growth effects may take longer (about ten years later).

Table 2: Analysis on the news of a Kompas.com edition from 1 August 2019

Discourse Structure	Observed Matters	Elements	Information
Macrostructure	Thematics	Topics	The projected relocation of the capital city in 2020 will increase export potential and foreign investment.
Superstructure	Schematics	Scheme	This development must be accompanied by an increase in development and improvement of infrastructure.
Microstructure	Semantics	Background and details	If the development of infrastructure increases for capital development, exports can expand. Improvements in infrastructure can also attract new foreign investment, particularly in the manufacturing sector.
	Syntax	Preposition	The appearance of “Investasi” word.
	Stilistica	Lexicon	The choosing of “Investasi” word and its mentioning as many as three times.
	Rhetoric	Graphics, metaphor, and expression	The main object in the main image is the new capital’s design.

Source: Ulya, 2019.

Jakarta's growth as a capital has been too centralised in its impact on economic development, leading to the national economy being centralised. This has resulted in Jakarta becoming increasingly crowded with refugees from different regions hoping to improve their economic lives, resulting in high urbanisation. Together with the high flow of urbanisation, a large number of people create numerous demographic problems in Jakarta. Jakarta's population growth appears not to fluctuate, but with fantastic quality it continues to grow.

Moving the capital has an impact on an economy in terms of export potential and foreign investment. Nevertheless, this must be accompanied by ready infrastructure, especially in the manufacturing sector.



The Smart City Concept

This ideology first gave birth to the smart city, and then to the notion of the smart city. Today, smart cities are widely seen as urban settlements that solve multiple urbanisation problems by adopting state-of-the-art technologies (Mora, Deakin, Reid, & Angelidou, 2019).

A smart city requires a theoretical basis from now on. "Smart city optimists claim that the concept and its practice will develop and mature over time" (Yadav, Mangla, Luthra, & Rai, 2019).

This indicates that the concept of smart cities has not been adequately conceptualised to produce sustainable outputs of urbanism. One reason for this is that the environmental innovation efforts for sustainable urban development are not being exploited by the cities (Mora, Bolici, & Deakin, 2017).

Table 3: Analysis of the news of a Kompas.com edition from 16 August 2019

Discourse Structure	Observed Matters	Elements	Information
Macrostructure	Thematics	Topics	President Joko Widodo said that using the state budget, funding for capital relocation would be as small as possible.
Superstructure	Schematics	Scheme	Jokowi clarified that the new capital city will be built not only as a sign of identity but as a depiction of the nation's advancement by implementing contemporary, intelligent and green city ideas, using fresh and renewable energy and not relying on fossil fuels.
Microstructure	Semantics	Background and details	The scheduled transfer of assets to Borneo Island will foster fresh economic growth and stimulate financial equity and justice outside Java.
	Syntax	Preposition	The appearance of “Ekonomi” word.
	Stilistica	Lexicon	The choosing of “Ekonomi” word and its mentioning as many as five times.
	Rhetoric	Graphics, metaphor, and expression	The main person in the main image is President Joko Widodo salutes by bowing.

Source: Pratama, 2019.

The idea would ultimately merge city-based government with sustainability and innovation and concentrate on performance. Growth in the new capital is expected to equalise and stimulate economic growth outside Java. Moreover, the construction of this new capital city will use the concept of smart cities with renewable energy. It will focus on using fossil fuels, so that the new capital concept will be more environmentally friendly.

Smart city technological solutions will be used to develop a new capital city. Initial support services, such as clean water, garbage, and buildings, will be built according to the sustainability definition.

The idea of a smart city requires internet connectivity. There will be no sluggish internet and no blank spots. The local government will begin construction in one village while building the smart city.

The creation of a smart city in (the new capital) must be pragmatic in order to make the city safe and convenient for people to live in.

Funding for the movement of capital is given by the state budget, state-owned companies, private companies, the government, and business entities (PPP). The APBN will be tasked to construct necessary infrastructure such as facilities for government and parliamentary offices. BUMN funds will be spent on extensive infrastructure and social programs. The funds will be used for extensive, significant infrastructure and social services. The PPP system will be purely delegated to residential property and community services for private companies.

Geographical Location

When a country is moving its capital city, careful consideration is needed. One crucial aspect that needs to be considered is the geographical location of the area that will be used for a new capital region. It must be in Indonesia's middle or midway point. This is very important, as the new capital has to be in the middle of the country to be able to provide decent and equal services and amenities for all Indonesian regions. This can also involve essential development of infrastructure not only in Java. Fair distribution can take place if a capital is moved in a way that has a more advanced positive impact on Indonesia's growth and is able to compete with other countries, such as the United States.

Therefore, another fundamental principle is that the region must be vast, and the government must own the land. The land that will be used to transfer the new capital must be owned by the government because it needs enough land to build government infrastructure. Unless the current property is not purchased by the government, it will be impossible to reclaim the land from the private community. The government will also have trouble attempting to apply the new land-use laws as this would interfere with existing land ownership.

An important factor to consider is the position of natural disaster-safe areas, such as earthquakes, landslides, flooding, tsunamis, and others. Because the national capital is the government centre, it must be safe from problems like natural disasters so that the government can operate comfortably. When the government does its job, nothing unexpected happens. Therefore, the new capital must be close to areas with existing, proper development of infrastructure. This is important, because to provide funding in the infrastructure sector for the new capital region, significant supporting activities will occur in the new capital city.

Many regional requirements that need to be in place to support the development of the new Capital City include ports, airports, and other public transport facilities.

Regarding the socio-political conditions in the new area, the prosperous capital city region must have the right socio-political conditions, such as being open to outsiders entering the new capital city area.

In terms of defence and security, the new capital needs to have a guaranteed level of security for government members as well as for the citizens who will inevitably come to the area, so the new area needs to be very safe.

Table 4: Analysis of the news of a Kompas.com edition from 26 August 2019

Discourse Structure	Observed Matters	Elements	Information
Macrostructure	Thematics	Topics	President Joko Widodo has just announced that a new capital will be located in Borneo,
Superstructure	Schematics	Scheme	This place was selected because Java Island became very crowded and created inequality with islands outside Java due to its centralised financial operations.
Microstructure	Semantics	Background and details	Borneo is also regarded as being strategically located. The place itself is in the centre of the land of Indonesia.
	Syntax	Preposition	Appearance of “Bencana” word.
	Stilistica	Lexicon	The choosing of “Bencana” word and its mentioning as many as three times.
	Rhetoric	Graphics, metaphor, and expression	The main person in the main image is Joko Widodo sitting with Jusuf Kalla and Sofyan Djalil.

Source: (Haryanti, 2019).

The removal of the national capital must take place in a secure and sustainable state of the economy of the country. It must be transferred to where business productivity or the



resource-based tradable goods sector is well grown. There must be high added value and multiple effects that are substantially promoted, both at the regional and national levels.

The choice of Borneo as the centre of the new capital was chosen based on its strategic geographical location, which is in the middle of Indonesia. With economic considerations, it is intended that financial operations are not only centred in Java but also the new capital of Indonesia. Jakarta, which is increasingly crowded already, cannot accommodate many obstacles and cause environmental damage.

The transfer of the capital to Borneo will make it easier for the government to coordinate the city of Jakarta and other major cities in Java. It will remain a destination for new immigrants from villages in Java and different regions outside Java. This will help to avoid high tensions due to decreased natural capacity in Java.

Removal of the Problem

In Jakarta, not only is air pollution a concern, but there is a range of other problems that need to be continually improved. These are all social and economic issues, such as traffic jams, flooding, garbage dumps, and others.

Table 5: Analysis of the news of a Kompas.com edition from 28 August 2019

Discourse Structure	Observed Matters	Elements	Information
Macrostructure	Thematics	Topics	Different reactions to the government's plan to transfer domestic capital arose.
Superstructure	Schematics	Scheme	Some support the scheme, but others question the big project of the state that is expected to cost Rp 466 trillion.
Microstructure	Semantics	Background and details	The effort to move the capital to a new place, namely Borneo, is like transferring existing problems in Jakarta.
	Syntax	Preposition	Appearance of “Permasalahan” word.
	Stilistica	Lexicon	The choosing of “Permasalahan” word and its mentioning as many as four times.
	Rhetoric	Graphics, metaphor, and expression	The main image is a picture of green, open space.

Source: Azanella, 2019.

Problems that are too complex in Jakarta are exacerbated by unbalanced changes in Jakarta with proper city management. Such issues continue to overwhelm Jakarta. Congestion is a severe problem faced by DKI Jakarta in addition to population problems. The relocation of the Indonesian capital has not yet received support from several groups because it is considered to be a very high cost and is considered to only move the problem from Java to Borneo.

The authors conclude that the discourse of moving the capital of Indonesia only sells artificial dreams to the public. There is no definite and clear plan, and there must be calculations of economic, political, cultural, and social factors. There is an absence of academic texts. To date, there are no legal and constitutional documents submitted by the government to support the plan.



The cost of moving the capital to Borneo is hefty. Moreover, Indonesia's current financial condition is still not a surplus or deficit, so the discourse of moving the capital city increasingly adds to the budget burden.

Conclusion

Based on the results that have been analysed, it is found that the political objectives of the government in moving the new capital from Java to Borneo are motivated by economic equality, the concept of smart cities, geographical location, and efforts to transfer problems from Java to Borneo. It is hoped that the government's efforts and the political objectives of moving the capital of Indonesia will have a positive impact on Indonesia. Indonesia's economic conditions are increasing because economic activity in Indonesia is no longer concentrated on the island of Java. Of course, this capital move will apply the concept of smart cities so that problems in the old capital will decrease over time without damaging the condition of forests in Borneo. It is expected that in moving the capital city to reduce environmental damage due to high population density, the new capital in Borneo can be a new option in developing economic activities, education, and other sectors. This is because undeveloped areas in Borneo are still extensive.



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