

Highlighting the Transfer of the State Capital of Indonesia: Historical Narratives and Cultural Struggles

Jaelani¹ dan Risa²

^{1,2} Institut Agama Islam Sultan Muhammad Syafiuddin Sambas

¹ jaejamani@gmail.com, ² risadanny@gmail.com

Abstarct

Historically, the relocation of the National Capital (IKN) is not a new thing because it was carried out before Indonesia's independence. The relocation of the capital itself requires studies in various fields, including the field of culture. However, studies on cultural aspects are still being carried out, and even cultural elements are not yet included in the points of the IKN Law. Even though the transfer of IKN also means the transfer of culture from immigrants, which is estimated to be 1.5 million in the future, The purpose of this study is to highlight the relocation of the capital city of the State of Indonesia, historical narratives, and cultural struggles. This research is qualitative and a type of library research. The sources used are in the form of books, scientific journals, and websites related to the research title. The results of the study show that efforts to move the capital city have been carried out since the Dutch East Indies era. After independence, efforts to transfer the IKN were also carried out by Indonesian leaders, namely Soekarno, Soeharto, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and Joko Widodo, for various reasons such as security, economics, geography, demography, and others. The relocation of IKN causes a cultural struggle between local culture and immigrants, which can lead to a new culture and even a culture shock. Therefore, efforts are needed to realize local cultural resilience through regulations and strategic steps. So that in the future local wisdom can run well, even local culture will contribute proportionally to the color of the face of the capital city and be able to coexist harmoniously with the new culture.

Keywords: State Capital; Historical Narrative; Cultural Struggle

Introduction

The discourse on moving the capital city before Indonesia's independence has also been carried out, namely during the Dutch East Indies period. However, recently, at the end of April 2019, the discourse on moving the State Capital (IKN) has strengthened again, as conveyed by the National Planning Agency (Bappenas) at a limited cabinet meeting. So 2024 will be a giant transfer because a number of accompanying elements also participate in the transfer of IKN, namely the physical elements, human resources, and culture. Therefore, it is very important to make a map so that the potential can be seen in terms of political, economic, social, local culture, and other aspects that might support the new IKN.

In response to these conditions, various studies were carried out related to the transfer of IKN to East Kalimantan, starting from strategic, political, economic, socio-cultural policy studies and various other aspects. The strategic policy for moving the IKN begins with mapping issues, politics, commitments in the RPJP, preparation of a master plan, sources of funds, and spatial planning concepts (Aziz, 2020). In the political aspect of government, IKN requires strong leadership to occupy the IKN Authority Board because, in addition to managing IKN, the agency will also deal with technical issues, the interests of political parties and business people, and the strength of their network (Prayudi, 2020). From the economic aspect, the transfer of IKN must be able to support the development of a defense economy with a non-military defense system and make a real contribution to improving general welfare (Saputra et al., 2021). The relocation of the IKN is not just moving the center of government and business; it also requires economic equality, which provides opportunities for the Eastern region (Pribadi & Utomo, 2021). So that in the future, it is hoped that the attractiveness of business actors will grow and then create job opportunities, so that there will be an economic recovery in Indonesia.

Social studies on the transfer of IKN relate to socio-cultural transformation with various challenges ranging from digitalization, government preparedness, the extinction of traditional dwellings, urbanization, new cultures, and social conflicts that require resolution through various policies involving elements of the government, regional governments, the private sector, NGOs, and the community. The transfer of IKN must also be a solution to various problems and have a positive impact on social security (Mazda, 2022). This includes being able to resolve conflicts that may occur due to the exodus of displacement, the potential for marginalized communities, and the shifting existence of traditional institutions. In the cultural aspect, the transfer of IKN must be followed by strengthening local culture with the participation of the regional government and the community (Nurhasanah & Anggarani, 2019).

Some of the studies above show that it is very important to shape the identity of IKN, not only symbolically but also politically, economically, socio-culturally, and in other aspects. Because the goal of moving the capital city must include various strategic action plans in the fields of economy, regional development, governance, politics, law, culture, and social order, all of which move to support each other, Studies on cultural aspects are still limited compared to other aspects. The IKN is part of a symbol of national identity that should represent diversity in various aspects, including culture. If one traces the basic considerations of the Ministry of National Development Planning/Bappenas in determining the new location for IKN, one of them is that East Kalimantan is considered to have a relatively low potential for social conflict and the culture of its people is open to newcomers (Saputra et al., 2021). However, cultural elements still occupy a relatively small portion and are not even included in the points of the IKN Law. Even though the emergence of IKN was also a cultural transfer brought by immigrants, namely high-ranking state officials and all staff of state institutions, as well as other immigrants who wanted to try their luck at the new IKN, dealing with local culture, Various different cultures met and struggled with each other, which also had an impact on the success of the IKN transfer. Therefore, the title raised in this study is "Highlighting the Transfer of the State Capital of Indonesian: Historical Narratives and Cultural Struggles".

Methods

This research is included in the category of qualitative research, namely efforts to explore and interpret an event for various individuals or groups originating from social and humanitarian issues (Creswell, 2009). This type of research is library research because the data source used is text. Library research relies on data from books, documents, scientific journals, archives, and other writings. Along with advances in information technology, the meaning of literature is also expanding in scope to include electronic media such as the internet and cyber-libraries. Therefore, this study focuses on library data in a broad sense. The sources used in this study are in the form of books, scientific journals, and websites related to the research title, Highlighting the Transfer of the State Capital of Indonesia: Historical Narratives and Cultural Struggles. Historical and cultural approaches are used to produce historical explanations regarding efforts to move the capital city from the beginning of independence to the present and explain cultural struggles and the various efforts made to protect local culture.

Findings dan Discussion

A Narrative of the History of the Transfer of the Indonesian State Capital

The idea of moving the capital city has been echoed for a long time, namely since the Dutch colonial era or before independence. Bandung emerged as an option to replace Batavia based on the suggestion of an environmental health expert named Tillema and the consideration that cities around ports are usually prone to the transmission of malaria and diarrhea outbreaks (Aziz, 2019). It was Governor General J.P. Graaf van Limburg Stirum (1916–1921), Governor of the Dutch East Indies, who started it. Limburg was very adamant about moving the capital to Bandung, even though this idea lacked the support of the Volksraad (People's Council). Gradually, Limburg has moved several government offices from Jakarta to Bandung. At that time, the offices that had been successfully relocated were the Mining

and Energy Office (1924), the Geologisch Laboratory Building (1928), the Retirement Building (1940), Perum Bio Farma (1923), the Major Post Office (1928), and the Central Railway Office (1928). Unfortunately, this effort failed to continue due to an economic recession and corruption (Amal & Sulistyawan, 2022).

In the Old Order era, Soekarno predicted that Jakarta would grow uncontrollably in the future. In contrast to Limburg, who chose Bandung, Soekarno in the 1950s actually wanted to move the capital outside Java, or, to be precise, to Central Kalimantan. The city chosen by Soekarno for the new IKN plan is Palangkaraya City. Soekarno's consideration of choosing Palangkaraya as the capital city was because he wanted to eliminate Javanese centralism. Besides that, development in Jakarta and Java is a concept inherited from the Netherlands, and Soekarno wanted to build something original or the work of Indonesian children (Amal & Sulistyawan, 2022). President Soekarno's choice of Palangkaraya as a candidate for the new capital city was also based on geographical reasons, because Palangkaraya is in the middle of Indonesia, so that both Sumatra, Sulawesi, Bali, NTB, NTT, Maluku, North Maluku, and Papua feel the same distance. It can be reached easily from all islands in the archipelago. In addition, this area is also estimated to be safer from earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. This character is different from Jakarta, which is not far from the point of the earthquake fault. Moreover, the area of Palangkaraya, which is 2,678 square kilometers, is almost four times larger than the DKI Jakarta area, with an area of 661.52 square kilometers (Hutasoit, 108 C.E.). However, the plan to transfer the IKN in the Old Order era failed to materialize because the political dynamics at that time finally forced Soekarno to step down from his position as President.

Soeharto, as the second president of Indonesia, initiated a similar discourse, namely moving the IKN to Jonggol, West Java. This discourse was confirmed through Presidential Decree 1 of 1997 concerning the coordination of the development of the Jonggol Region as an independent city. This decision supports the plan to develop an independent city in Jonggol, West Java, covering an area of 30 thousand hectares. The project to relocate the capital through the narrative of the Independent City failed at the same time as Soeharto's resignation and the birth of the reform era (Herdiana, 2022). The alternative to moving the capital city to Jonggol or Sentul, as has been raised so far, is simply the idea of shifting the capital city and is not based on an agenda for equitable development of regions and cities. To reduce the rate of migration of people from other areas to Jabodetabek, this idea actually contains contradictions with the goals of population management so far because it will continue to stimulate people to come from various regions and put pressure on Jakarta to grow bigger towards a mega-urban spread (urban sprawl) and scattered (scattered). Apart from that, the idea of moving the capital to Sentul or Jonggol does not answer the big problems that will be faced by the Indonesian people in the future (Hutasoit, 108 C.E.).

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) is also listed as a president who has also put forward the idea of transferring the IKN (Djayanti et al., 2022). SBY has even formed a small team to study the idea of moving the capital city. Then three scenarios emerged in the transfer of IKN, namely: (1) continuing to maintain Jakarta as an IKN and making improvements to all problems; (2) moving the government center from Jakarta to a new location that will remain on the island of Java; and (3) moving the IKN and government center to a new location outside Java (Rukmana, n.d.).

Most recently, President Joko Widodo conveyed the same thing as his predecessor. Jokowi wants to move the national capital. Efforts to transfer the IKN have entered a new phase during President Jokowi's term. It was decided that the IKN would be moved to North Penajam Paser and Kutai Kartanegara in East Kalimantan (Ciputra, 2022; Azmy, 2021). There are several reasons stated, among others, because the growth of urbanization is very high, which has an impact on high congestion and unhealthy air quality; a decrease in the carrying capacity of Jakarta's environment; the threat of floods, earthquakes, and land subsidence in Jakarta; a crisis of water availability in Java, especially DKI Jakarta; and the largest land conversion occurred in Java Island. In addition to these reasons, there are reasons for social inequality that underlie the transfer of the national capital, such as the fact that around 57% of Indonesia's population is concentrated on the island of Java and the economic contribution of Java is 59.0% to the national GDP (Kementerian PPN/Bappenas, 2021; Thamrin, 2020).

Local and Urban Cultural Struggles

Relocating the capital city will certainly increase the rate of migration and will bring together the culture of the local community and the urban culture brought by immigrant communities. Local culture is a distinctive and unique culture that has been built up over thousands of years, step by step. Life in the community is usually born from the spiritual encouragement of the community and local rites, which are spiritually and materially very important for the social life of a rural (rural) community. Meanwhile, urban culture is broadly known as the culture of its people, who tend to be more open to foreign cultural influences or to prioritize technological advances and modernization. Urban society tends to prioritize freedom, diversity, and equality. Intercultural encounters at IKN can be a form of promoting local cultural diversity among foreign cultures, especially if they are packaged in an event such as the 2019 Jakarta International Performing Arts (JakIPA) performance. The hope of the event is to make Jakarta a comfortable capital city for its citizens who come from various cultural backgrounds and show the international world the richness of Indonesian culture (*Pemprov DKI Ingin Jakarta Jadi Pusat Pertemuan Budaya*, 2019). The meeting and cultural struggles in Jakarta are at least an illustration of what will happen in the new IKN area. Various cultures meet each other and struggle intensively, during which time assimilation will occur to create a new culture that changes its distinctive character and its elements to become a mixed culture.

But cultural struggles can also lead to the extinction of other cultures. For example, the cultural extinction of Native Americans after meeting Europeans was supported by force of arms. Indeed, the case of cultural encounters at the new IKN is not as extreme as the case in America. However, that does not mean that local culture is in a safe position. Jakarta's cosmopolitan culture, which will join the IKN, has much stronger legitimacy to develop compared to the local culture in the IKN. Penetration of urban culture into IKN with rural nuances can also result in culture shock. For example, when the IKN in Jakarta caused native people to start being evicted because of the increase in population with a variety of cultures, the Betawi culture began to be forgotten. Even the risk of local culture extinction is high if local people place the modernity of immigrant communities as a new reference rather than promoting local culture to newcomers (Ginanjar, 2022). If the local bargaining power is not large enough to be faced with a wave of cosmopolitan culture and a fairly high level of community mobility ahead of the IKN, it is estimated to be 1.5 million in the future. So it is normal for concerns to arise about the existence of indigenous peoples and their local culture (Djayanti et al., 2022; Saputra et al., 2021). The main cause of concern is related to land issues, livelihoods, and local cultural values that will be eroded by the flow of modernization.

Therefore, efforts to create local cultural resilience are important, bearing in mind that local culture is a wealth that forms the Indonesian mosaic (Salya, 2022). These efforts can be carried out through regulations and strategic steps to protect and empower local culture. With regard to the prospective capital city area, regulations on customary protection have long been regulated in Regional Regulation 2/2016 concerning the preservation of the customs of the Kutai Kartanegara Ing Martadipura Sultanate and Regional Regulation 2/2017 concerning the preservation and protection of Paser customs (Nurhasanah & Anggarani, 2019). However, when it becomes the capital city, the onslaught of foreign culture becomes stronger, and various regulations regarding local cultural resilience are needed whose formation and implementation involve all stakeholders, decision-makers, and affected parties so that there is good coordination and cooperation in synergy (Farida, 2021). The local cultural resilience program at least refers to Law Number 5 of 2017, Challenge: Promotion of Culture. Where it is outlined, every Indonesian citizen must have character and identity according to Indonesia's original culture.

As a first step, local wisdom policies are currently being designed in an effort to develop sustainable cultural development strategies. The IKN Authority also cooperates with ministries and agencies in implementing cultural preservation programs. One of the activities to be held, namely the Archipelago Cultural Harmony Festival, will be held in 10 regencies or cities in East Kalimantan. In addition, the IKN authority collaborates with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology in an effort to explore the richness of local culture by supporting activities such as local

wisdom field schools and similar programs. In addition, it will also facilitate and revitalize local culture as part of efforts to maintain and promote existing cultural heritage. Although to this day, the promotion of culture in East Kalimantan has not been developed in a direction that could become a tourist attraction, This is because the promotion requires a sizable budget and requires strong collaboration between the government and the community, especially cultural arts actors (Sjaifudian, 2023). In essence, it is important to protect local cultures with the aim of ensuring that these cultures can coexist harmoniously with new cultures that have come later. IKN must also be able to guarantee that respect for local wisdom can run smoothly, even if local culture contributes to the face of the capital city proportionally and is able to coexist harmoniously with the new culture.

Conclusion

Relocating the national capital is something that is commonplace in various countries, with various reasons and considerations for each. It is Indonesia's historical records that show that prior to independence, efforts to move the national capital had already been made, namely from Jakarta (Batavia) at that time to Bandung for health reasons. Continuing after independence, namely during the period of President Soekarno, who initiated the transfer of the national capital outside the island of Java, to be precise, to Palangkaraya City (Central Kalimantan), Indonesian originality was a strong reason at that time. President Soeharto, with the idea of an independent city, also wanted to shift the role of Jakarta to Jonggol, West Java, as did President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), who wanted to reduce Jakarta's heavy burden, but still around the island of Java. President Joko Widodo, as if wanting to continue Soekarno's passion to build Indonesian originality and dismantle Java-centric.

Experience from various countries shows that the relocation of the national capital was not solely driven by considerations of the condition of the old capital, which was already too crowded, and the lack of urban infrastructure and facilities. Political, socio-economic, and cultural considerations are also important factors in the decision to relocate the national capital. Cultural struggles necessitate local vs. urban encounters, so there must be continuous synergistic efforts to ensure that these cultures can coexist in harmony with the new cultures that have come later.

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