ICJ

Public opinion analysis on social media about the establishment of Indonesia's New Capital City

Donie Kadewandana,[1]* **Angga Cahyadiputra**[2]

[1] School of International Relations and Political Science, Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary

[2] Fakultas Ilmu Komunikasi, Universitas Pancasila Jakarta, Indonesia

Abstract

One of the policies of President Joko Widodo's administration that is currently receiving various opinions is the issue of moving the Indonesian capital city from DKI Jakarta Province to East Kalimantan Province, to be precise, in Kutai Kartananegara Regency, which uses the name of the new capital city, Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN). President Joko Widodo officially announced the transfer of the national capital on Monday, August 26, 2019, at the state palace. There were a variety of opinions regarding the capital city relocation policy. This study aims to find out the sentiment of public opinion regarding the move of the Indonesian capital to Kalimantan based on the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity on Twitter social media (now called "X"), as well as to understand the process of forming this public opinion. By using a quantitative approach based on content analysis with thematic analysis units in the form of pro, con, and neutral categorization, this study found that opinions on social media Twitter (now called "X") regarding the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity in the government's policy to move the country's capital tend to be contra or not supportive. Therefore, this study contributes to the power of community-based discourse, which is relevant to the principle of taghyir (change from bottom) in Islamic communication.

Donie Kadewandana & Angga Cahyadiputra

Abstrak

Salah satu kebijakan pemerintahan Presiden Joko Widodo yang kini menuai beragam opini adalah isu pemindahan ibu kota negara Indonesia dari Provinsi DKI Jakarta ke Provinsi Kalimantan Timur, tepatnya di Kabupaten Kutai Kartananegara yang menggunakan nama ibu kota baru, Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN). Pemindahan ibu kota negara diumumkan secara resmi oleh Presiden Joko Widodo pada Senin, 26 Agustus 2019, di Istana Negara. Ada beragam pendapat mengenai kebijakan pemindahan ibu kota. Tujuan dari studi ini adalah untuk mengetahui sentimen opini masyarakat mengenai pemindahan ibu kota Indonesia ke Kalimantan berdasarkan hastag #MovingCapitalCity di media sosial Twitter (kini bernama "X"), serta memahami proses terbentuknya opini publik tersebut. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kuantitatif berbasis analisis isi dengan unit analisis tematik berupa kategorisasi pro, kontra, dan netral, studi ini menemukan bahwa opini di media sosial Twitter (kini bernama "X") mengenai tagar #MovingCapitalCity dalam kebijakan pemerintah untuk memindahkan ibu kota negara cenderung kontra atau tidak mendukung. Karena itu, studi ini berkontribusi bagi kuasa wacana berbasis masyarakat, yang relevan dengan prinsip taghyir (perubahan dari bawah) dalam komunikasi Islam.

Kata kunci
Opini publik; kebijakan: media sosial; ibu kota; Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

Social media has become a forum for the community to express opinions, share information, engage in discussions on various topics, and oversee anything related to the public interest. Every user will actively express opinions if some interesting things or issues can cause a variety of opinions. Public opinion that appears is based on sensitivity and relies on the knowledge of each individual (Nimmo, 2020).

One of the social media used by the public is Twitter (now named "X"). According to Weller, Twitter (now named "X") is used as a source of real-time information and as a forum for debate in news, politics, business, and entertainment. Privately, Twitter (now named "X") can function as a tool for disseminating information or as a liaison. By pressing the follow button, we can see status updates from those we follow (Lange, 2007). In addition, Twitter (now named "X") is a powerful social media platform for spreading political messages because it can elicit empathy and sympathy from the public (Prayoga, 2020).

Currently, a public issue that has caught the attention of netizens on social media is President Joko Widodo's government's decision to establish a new capital city for Indonesia. The decision to change or move the capital city is a monumental step for any country, involving substantial economic, political, and social implications. It often

generates various opinions and emotions among citizens, which are now expressed and debated prominently on social media platforms. What is also interesting is that the public debate also involves religious views, such as the article entitled "Islamic Views on Government Policy regarding IKN?" which links moving the capital to issues of capitalism, oppression, and so on.

The idea or discourse of moving the Indonesian capital has existed since Indonesia's first president, Ir. Soekarno, in the 1960s, but that has not yet been implemented. President Joko Widodo approved the plan for moving the Indonesian capital on Monday, August 26, 2019, at the state palace, where the new capital will be moved to the island of Borneo to be precise in Kutai Kartanaegara Regency, East Kalimantan Province, using a new name, namely Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN). The budget for moving the capital city is estimated at US$ 33 billion, equivalent to a quarter of the total state revenue in 2018, which amounted to IDR 1,942 trillion (Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, 2019).

President Joko Widodo decided to move the capital city to Kalimantan because of various problems in the very complex capital city of Jakarta. The complexity of problems in Jakarta is because they are not balanced by good urban planning management, so the Jakarta government continues to be overwhelmed by these various problems. Jakarta is increasingly crowded with various people from various regions who aim to improve economic conditions, thus causing a high rate of urbanization.

If this continues, the population of Jakarta, which is currently 11 million, will swell and exacerbate demographic problems such as more extended traffic jams, an increasing number of vehicles, poor ecology, and the threat of declining health levels. Parks and green spaces are decreasing because they have turned into buildings and industries, making Jakarta dry and unhealthy air (Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, 2019).

Since the idea of moving the capital city has been widely discussed, social media audiences, especially on Twitter (now named "X"), have been actively discussing the topic until the hashtag #IbuKotaPindah (#MovingCapitalCity) appeared, which is a trending topic with various opinions, pro, con, and neutral. The hashtag #MovingCapitalCity is a place for Twitter (now named "X") users to show their opinions. Some agree that the capital city should be moved because they believe it can reduce the burden of overcrowding and pollution in Jakarta. At the same time, those who disagree say it takes up a sizable budget and should be diverted for far more crucial social interests.

This public opinion is based on social media data. Previous researchers have conducted some studies. Dong and Lian (2021) revealed that social media is considered

a rich data source for understanding public sentiment. The potential of social media-based public opinion analysis is rich in informing various fields, including political science, marketing, and public policy. However, social media also presents some challenges that need attention. These challenges include data quality and representativeness issues, as social media users may not necessarily reflect the wider population. Bias in social media data, considering factors such as user demographics, platform algorithms, and spaces that may influence opinion expression. In addition, there are challenges related to the interpretation of social media data, namely the ambiguity of user content, lack of context, and difficulty capturing nuanced opinions. Therefore, a robust methodology is needed to ensure a reliable and valid analysis (Dong & Lian, 2021). From these challenges, there are recommendations for increasing the rigour and validity of social media-based public opinion analysis, namely the importance of setting clear research objectives, selecting appropriate sampling techniques, and utilizing advanced computational methods to process and analyze large-scale social media datasets. Hence, interdisciplinary collaboration is important, combining expertise from computer science, social science, and data ethics to address the challenges associated with social media data analysis (Dong & Lian, 2021).

Another study was conducted by Murphy et al. (2014), who presented an executive summary of the findings and recommendations of the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) Task Force on the benefits and challenges of using social media in public opinion research. According to the study, the increasing popularity of social media platforms and the amount of data generated by users offer new opportunities to understand public sentiment and behavior. Therefore, it is recommended that researchers, survey practitioners, and policymakers increase the use of social media in public opinion research. These recommendations include improving data collection techniques, establishing ethical practice guidelines, and further exploring the potential of social media analytics in understanding public opinion.

Then, Grossauer and Čelebić (2017) analyzed the formation of public opinion on social media. This research observes the reactions of citizens, sympathizers, as well as those who disagree with the populist proclamation and how the content used and constructed on social media can influence and shape public opinion in Austria, Sweden, and the UK at times of political and social change. The research combines two sets of methods, namely empirical and analytic methods. The empirical method used is participant observation, which includes semi-structured interviews. The analytical method used is critical discourse analysis. The first results of this theory-based research help address issues of public opinion and social media content. Second, the main contribution of this research is the coverage of analytical tools in the form of results with

critical discourse analysis and empirical research analysis that can answer issues such as public opinion and social media.

Meanwhile, Driss et al. (2019) explored social media data analysis to understand the dynamics between citizens and government policymaking processes. Analyzing sentiment on tweets and other social media content, they identify dominant attitudes, whether positive, negative, or neutral, and understand the factors influencing those sentiments. In addition, they explore the correlation between social media data and government policies, examining how public opinion on tweeter platforms can influence decision-making processes. They highlight the potential for policymakers to leverage public sentiment on social media to inform and shape policy choices.

They acknowledge the limitations regarding social media data as a representation of public opinion and the potential inherent bias in sentiment analysis. However, the research is a starting point for understanding public sentiment on social media platforms and their potential implications for government policymaking. By bridging the gap between citizens and policymakers, social media data analysis can contribute to more transparent, inclusive, and effective governance (Driss et al., 2019).

In another study, Adams-Cohen (2020) explored using social media data to measure shifts in political sentiment related to policy changes. The research emphasizes the growing importance of social media platforms as a valuable data source for understanding public sentiment and political attitudes. With the ability of social media users to express their opinions and engage in real-time discussions, social media data offers us the opportunity to observe and measure changes in political sentiment more quickly and comprehensively than traditional survey methods.

By leveraging social media data analysis techniques, this research captures the dynamics of public sentiment before, during, and after policy changes. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of the factors influencing public opinion, including the role of social media platforms in shaping and reflecting political discourse (Adams-Cohen, 2020).

This approach provides a more nuanced and real-time understanding of public sentiment, contributing to a deeper understanding of the impact of policy changes on the dynamics of public opinion. In addition, the research acknowledges the limitations and challenges associated with analyzing social media data, namely representativeness, the potential for bias, and the need for careful interpretation of social media content. Because of this, it is essential to use a rigorous methodology and consider the context in which social media data is generated to ensure an accurate and valid analysis (Adams-Cohen, 2020).

Referring to the literature review above, they generally have similarities, namely, related to analyzing public opinion based on social media data in a policy in a country. However, what makes the difference, as well as the research gap, is the topic discussed, namely the analysis of public opinion related to the issue of moving the capital city using a quantitative approach and content analysis. Therefore, we assume it is essential to research public opinion via Twitter (now named "X"), especially on moving to Indonesia's capital city. There are advantages to real-time data collection via social media, particularly on Twitter (now named "X"), including the potential to capture multiple perspectives and the ability to identify emerging issues and trends (Kwak & Cho, 2018). The hashtag #MovingCapitalCity is busy in the discussion because it is a physical manifestation of a national policy program. This study delved into social media analysis to understand the dynamics between netizen tweets and government policy regarding changes to the new capital city. Using content analysis techniques, we will uncover underlying sentiments and patterns in the extensive public opinion data available on the Twitter (now named "X") social media platform.

METHODS

This study uses a quantitative approach by analyzing data from Twitter (now named "X") user opinions with the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity and then entering it into a table and showing the relationship between variables from public opinion and Twitter (now named "X") social media variables with the entire data studied. The unit of analysis in this study is the thematic analysis unit with three categorizations, namely pro, contra, and neutral opinions. Tweets based on the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity and Twitter (now named "X") from 26 August 2019 to 31 August 2019.

We used a quantitative content analysis model to describe the characteristics of opinion by Twitter (now named "X") users regarding the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity and to answer questions about the overall opinion of the tweets. According to Neuman (2014), quantitative content analysis examines the content, information, and symbols in written documents or other communication media. Then, the contents of the communication medium are systematically recorded and analyzed. Content analysis is non-reactive, meaning the research object is unaware that information about them is part of the research. The concept used is seen in Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 1. Opinion concept

Opinion	Definition
Pro	Positive tweets or opinions
Contra	Negative tweets or opinions
Neutral	Balanced tweets or opinions

Table 2. Social media concept

Social Media	Definition
What	Controversial issue
Who	Controversial issue triggers

Determination of the sample in this study using a random sampling method. Random sampling (probability sampling) is a technique in which the data in the sample is examined in detail, and the results can be generalized to all representative populations for quantitative research (Neuman, 2014). The population that we use is all tweets posted on Twitter (now named "X") social media based on the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity, namely the work program during the period of President Joko Widodo's administration to move the capital city to the island of Kalimantan, precisely in Kutai Kartanaegara Regency, East Kalimantan Province, with the name of the new capital city, Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) based on Isaac & Michael (1981).

The sample unit we used was all tweets with the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity shift from 26 August 2019 to 31 August 2019, which coincided with President Joko Widodo's announcement of the new capital city. Based on the formula of Isaac & Michael (1981), we got a population of 2.200 tweets, with a significance level of 5%. We took a sample of 304 tweets, as seen in Table 3.

Table 3. Table of population

N	S		
	1%	5%	10%
1.900	498	297	238
2.000	510	301	241
2.200	520	**304**	243
2.600	529	307	245
2.800	537	310	247

This study uses primary data in the form of documentation. Documentation is a method of collecting data by observing or analyzing documents made by the subject or other people about the subject (Sugiyono, 2021). The documentation is a collection of 304 tweets using the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity on Twitter from 26 August to 31 August 2019 (now named "X").

We use the Holsti formula to calculate the degree of reliability between coders. The minimum degree of tolerance is 0,7 or 70%. If the coder results show a degree of

reliability angle above 0,7, this measuring instrument is called reliable (Eriyanto, 2021). The formula for calculating this reliability is as follows:

$$\text{Inter-Coder Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1+N2}$$

Information:

(2): Formula

M: An equal amount of coding (approved by each coder)

N1: Number of coding made by coder 1

N2: Number of coding made by coder 2

The coder sheet is entered into the Holsti formula, as seen in Table 4.

Table 4. Reliability test

Inter-Coder	Public opinion on social media about the establishment of Indonesia's New Capital City					
	Pro N= 82		Contra N= 125		Neutral N= 97	
	Agreed	No Agreed	Agreed	No Agreed	Agreed	No Agreed

C1	82	0	125	0	97	0
C2	82	0	125	0	97	0

Based on the agreement results from the table above, the entire tweet with the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity tweets totaled 304 tweets with a composition of 82 pro tweets, 125 contra tweets, and 97 neutral tweets. The reliability calculation is described as follows:

Pro tweet categorization: $\dfrac{2M}{N1+N2}$ $= \dfrac{2(82)}{82+82}$ $= \dfrac{164}{164}$ $= 1$

Contra tweet categorization: $\dfrac{2M}{N1+N2}$ $= \dfrac{2(125)}{125+125}$ $= \dfrac{250}{250}$ $= 1$

Neutral tweet categorization: $\dfrac{2M}{N1+N2}$ $= \dfrac{2(97)}{97+97}$ $= \dfrac{194}{194}$ $= 1$

The calculation results above use the inter-coder reliability formula; the degree of reliability of the agreement between the inter-coder relationships for the opinion category with the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity is 1 or 100%, respectively. So it can be concluded, based on the Holsti identification formula, that this category has a valid correlation because it has a degree of reliability index above 0,7 or 70%.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Data description
This study found 2,200 tweets with the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity, filtered from August 26, 2019, to August 31, 2019, and based on the Isaac & Michael (1981) formula,

the sample used consisted of 304 samples with a significance level of 5%. This study uses the percentage formula to determine the intensity of the opinion of all tweets related to the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity. Referring to Sugiyono (2021), the percentage formula is as follows:

$$P = \frac{F}{N}$$

Information:

   P: Percentage

   F: Frequency

   N: Amount of data

The percentage of tweets is formulated as follows:

   Pro Tweets:

$$100 = \frac{82}{304} = 26,97\%$$

   Contra Tweets:

$$100 = \frac{125}{304} = 41,11\%$$

   Neutral Tweets:

$$100 = \frac{97}{304} = 31,90\%$$

To find out the percentage of overall opinion regarding the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity on Twitter (now named "X"), as seen in Table 5 and Figure 1, we analyzed data referring to tweets of the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity from 26 August 2019 to 31 August 2019, totaling 2.200 tweets and referring to the Isaac & Michael (1981), the number of samples 304 samples of tweets were used with a significance level of 5%. The categorization we use is the tendency or attitude category of the message content towards the issue of #MovingCapitalCity.

Table 5. The overall percentage of tweets hashtag #MovingCapitalCity

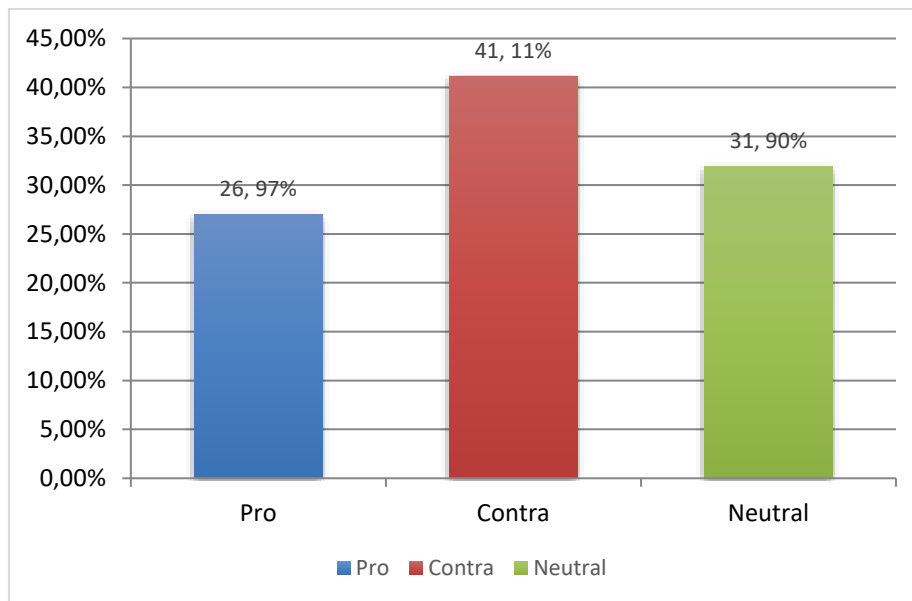| No.	Overall Tweet	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Pro	82	26, 97%
2.	Contra	125	41, 11%
3.	Neutral	97	31, 90%

Figure 1. Overall opinion chart #MovingCapitalCity

Based on the table and chart above, all tweets by Twitter (now named "X") users using the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity are divided into pro, contra, and neutral tweets. 82 out of 304 tweets are pro (26, 97%); tweets contra as much as 125 out of 304 tweets (41, 11%;) and tweets neutral as many as 97 out of 304 tweets (31, 90%).

Table 6. Percentage of social opinion #MovingCapitalCity

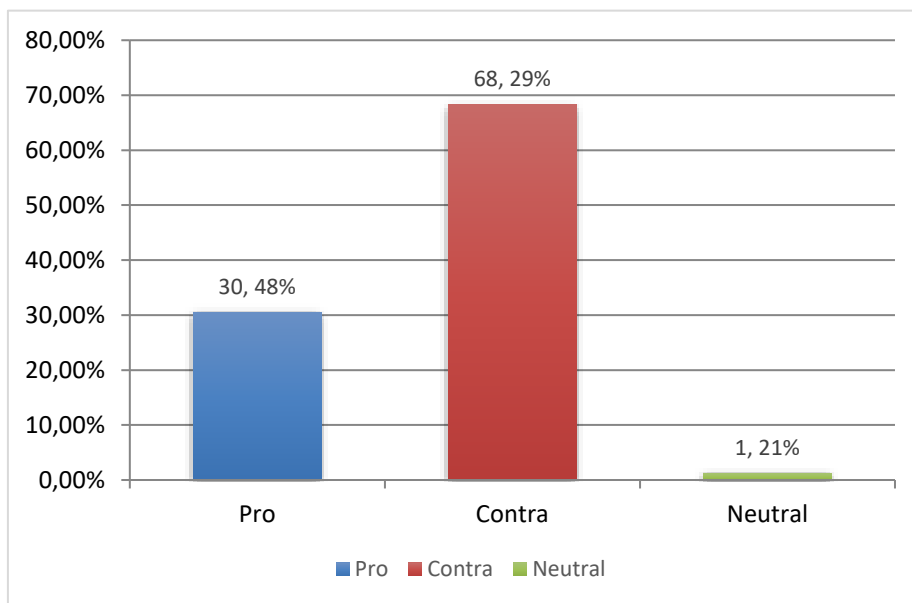| No.	Overall Tweet	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Pro	25	30, 48%
2.	Contra	56	68, 29%
3.	Neutral	1	1, 21%

Figure 2. Chart of social opinion #MovingCapitalCity

Based on Table 6 and Figure 2, the results of opinion research on social issues tweets by Twitter (now named "X") users using the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity are divided into pro, contra, and neutral tweets. 25 out of 82 are pro tweets (30, 48%); 56 contra tweets out of 82 (68, 29%); and 1 out of 82 neutral tweets (1, 21%).

Table 7. Percentage of political opinion #MovingCapitalCity

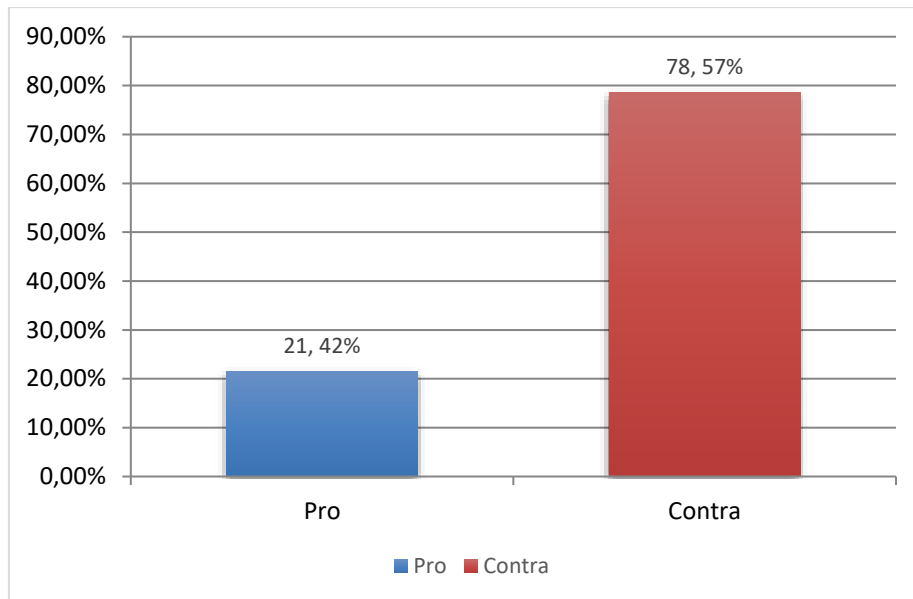| No.	Overall Tweet	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Pro	6	21, 42%
2.	Contra	22	78, 57%

Figure 3. Political opinion chart #MovingCapitalCity

Based on Table 7 and Figure 3, the results of opinion research on political issues tweeted by Twitter (now named "X") users using the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity are divided into pro and con tweets. The pro tweets were 6 out of 28 tweets (21, 42%), and the contra tweets were 22 out of 28 tweets (78, 57%).

Table 8. Percentage of satire opinion #MovingCapitalCity

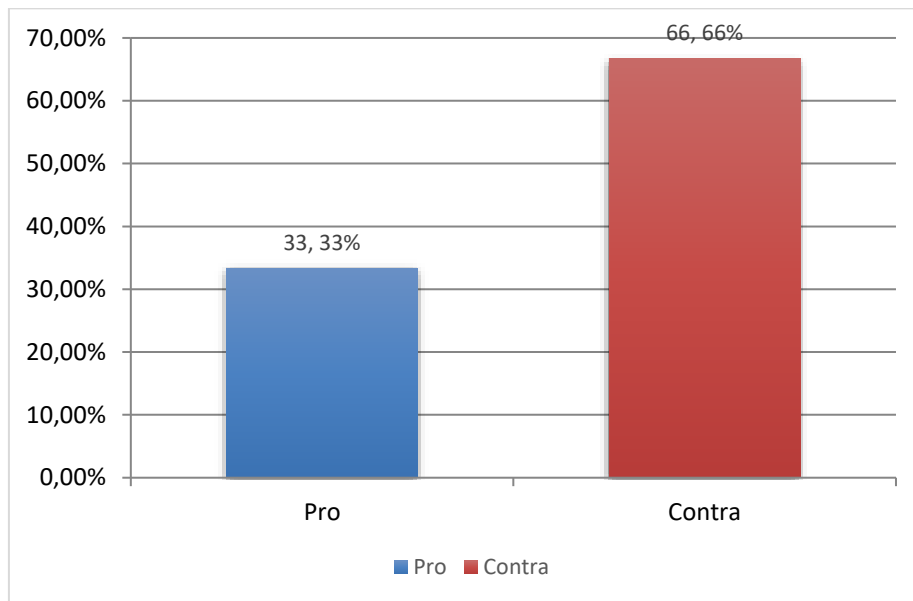| No.	Overall Tweet	Frequency	Percentage
1.	Pro	17	33, 33%
2.	Contra	34	66, 66%

Figure 4. Satire opinion chart #MovingCapitalCity

Based on Table 8 and Figure 4, the results of opinion research using the satirical tone of tweets by Twitter (now named "X") users using the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity are divided into pro and contra tweets. There were 17 pro tweets out of 51 (33, 33%), and contra tweets were 34 out of 51 (66, 66%).

Discussion

Diverse opinions on the discourse on relocating the Indonesian capital began when the 7th President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, inaugurated the discourse on moving the Indonesian capital city to East Kalimantan, to be precise in North Penajam Paser Regency and parts of Kutai Kartanegara Regency, with the name of the new capital city, Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN). The inauguration was uploaded on President Joko Widodo's Twitter (now named "X") on August 26, 2019, receiving 15.700 retweets, 32.800 user likes, and 2.300 comment replies.

With this policy, many Twitter users (now named "X") gave their opinions with the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity. The various opinions are in support, rejection, and neutrality. Issues regarding government policies related to public issues often become opinions that invite much debate (Sunarjo, 1997).

Our findings show that 82 out of 304 tweets support government policies, or 26, 97%. Twitter (now named "X") users support this policy for economic equity and the increasing burden on the city of Jakarta. Jakarta bears the burden of being the capital city and business center and having high demographics.

According to the Ministry of National Development Planning, Java Island has the highest population, 56 56% of the total population of Indonesia. Meanwhile, other regions, except for Sumatra Island, have meager population numbers (<10%). It shows Indonesia has not achieved fair economic distribution (Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, 2019).

One Twitter user (now named "X") with the username @naufaall_ said, "By moving the capital, we hope that Kalimantan will improve in all aspects, especially in terms of the economy. #Moving Capitalcity."

The tweet was reinforced by data from the Ministry of National Development Planning, which revealed that the island of Java's economic contribution to the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was 58 49%. In comparison, the island of Kalimantan was only 8 20%. The government's policy, in this case, is to seek economic equality, which has been Java-centric.

On the other hand, the contra opinion is the dominant opinion of the three categories. Contra opinion is an opinion that does not support an issue by rejecting or even insulting a government policy. As is known, there are 125 contra tweets out of 304 tweets, or 41.11%. In various tweets, contra opinions are the dominant opinions in this study. The tweets were almost entirely cursing and insulting the president and the policy of moving the capital city.

A Twitter (now named "X") user with the username @Adra_silent said, "#MovingCapitalCity is the result of a big financier collaboration initiated by jaenudin ngaciro. Watch the next attraction from ngaciro." The tweet illustrates a user's contra nature by criticizing the government's policies, especially President Joko Widodo, in moving the Indonesian capital city.

These insults are public sentiment, which is the opposition of the government. Fortner and Fackler (2014) explained that Clicking or tapping Twitter (now named "X")could be a public forum to regulate anger, sympathy, joy, and fear. In various cases, Twitter (now named "X") can allow a person to have their own identity. The identity that emerges from Twitter (now named "X") users who have contra-opinions on the issue of #MovingCapitalCity is part of the government's opposition. The Twitter (now named "X") social media platform accommodates their opinions through anger and public sentiment.

Another example of a contra opinion from a Twitter (now named "X") user with the username @Pinoki34895573 is, "Don't make a fuss over the #MovingCapitalCity #MovingtheCapitalforHim issue. We must now make a fuss about and defend the problem in Papua #PapuaDarkened #Papua #DirectionlessRegime. Why did this happen? What happened to the current government? Why, why, why."

The tweet had the intention that the issue of moving the capital city, which was busy on Twitter (now named "X"), was an attempt to divert the issue of Papua, which at that time was a conflict. The account considers that the government, in this case, is more focused on the policy of moving the capital city and has not made any efforts to reduce the conflict in Papua Province. In this case, the account owner sees that a new issue was created to eliminate the issue of Papua, which is currently in conflict.

One of the characteristics of public opinion, according to Nimmo (2020), is that there is content, direction, and intensity regarding public opinion. With the calculation results from the categorization of tweets, it can be concluded that the dominant direction of opinion on moving the capital city is against it. Meanwhile, the content in forming a public opinion regarding the relocation of the capital city involves personal, social, and political factors.

Personal factors involve information on moving to the capital city received by Twitter (now named "X") users and then expressing tweets or opinions based on their rationality. Meanwhile, social factors are related, among other things, to increasing population progress in the non-material sector that is not balanced with the material (Daldjoeni, 1985). It is reinforced by government data showing that around 57% of Indonesia's population is concentrated on the island of Java (Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, 2019). The next factor is politics. Twitter (now named "X") users responded to moving the capital city of Indonesia for various political reasons, starting from the electability of running the government to their opinion that moving the capital city was considered an order from a foreign party for investment development that only benefited a handful of parties. Political issues involve talking about power, influence, and authority. Types of political words are symbols or symbols of political speech (Nimmo, 2020).

The following sentiment is the use of satire by netizens regarding the transfer of the capital city. Satire is a critique of someone and is labeled as satire. Some satirists revealed that they were part of a society that watched over and viciously chastised anyone with bad manners and morals (Edgar, 1945). Meanwhile, according to Hodgart (2017), satire is where humans criticize other humans without looking at themselves. Most of the targets of satire are political and gender issues. Satire emerges through the persistence of allegories, fables, aphorisms, and literary subgenres.

The satirical opinion in this study is the opinion of Twitter (now named "X") users who associate the relocation of the capital city with increasing debt, rampant demonstrations with particular religious sentiments that often corner the government, as well as satire against the Jakarta provincial government, which is not in line with the central government.

Twitter (now named "X") users who voice their opinions regarding the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity refer more to social issues than political issues and satire. Economic equity, Jakarta's population density, and environmental issues are social issues widely commented on. The social opinion is formed based on social reality, which refers to ecological, geographic, and demographic factors.

One Twitter user (now named "X") with the username @wahyuliant said, "#MovingCapitalCity to Kalimantan. Hopefully, the forest will be maintained. No more forest fires or forests are lost to mining pits."

This opinion voiced support or pro for the government regarding moving the Indonesian capital city. Netizens hope the government can monitor and protect forests from damage, especially forest and land fires. This opinion includes social factors, including natural ones (ecological-geographical) (Daldjoeni, 1985).

Contrary to the opinion of @wahyuliant, who supports the policy of moving the capital city, Twitter (now named "X") account user @tairnenach_ has the opposite opinion of moving the capital to Kalimantan because it can have tremendous development impacts and can damage forests and land in Kalimantan. He argues, "For a long time, the forests in Kalimantan have been used up for development, and factories have moved, causing what was originally beautiful/cool to become hot/arid. Please do not think about anything else but about habitat and nature."

Another example of counter-opinion in the social category is from the @piitski account. He thought, "because moving #thecapitalcity is not just moving government offices and employees. However, we move our lives. Moreover, we should think about the impact on the lives we will bring later."

It is a contra opinion with social factors directed at the government regarding moving the Indonesian capital city. Twitter (now named "X") users think that relocating to a new capital city can harm society because it focuses on building a property without providing vital housing for the whole community.

Twitter (now named "X") users predict that these social factors will only form unplanned cities, where one segment of the city develops spontaneously with various complementary interests, so that cities will have arbitrary forms or are called organic patterns (Agassi, 2013).

According to Sunarjo (1997), public opinion can invite reactions in which people have doubts about a problem different from the habit until conflict arises. Contra is one of the categories of conflict on a public issue other than pro and neutral. Dominant Twitter (now named "X") users reject the Indonesian government's policy to move the capital city with opinions based on social issues.

The next is the opinion voiced on political issues. According to Nimmo (2020), political communication is an activity that involves talking about power, influence, and authority. In this case, Twitter users (now named "X") carry out political discussions or political opinions regarding the issue of moving to the capital city. Twitter (now named "X") can be a place for people to participate in politics actively. Showing their opinion regarding a policy initiated by the government is classified as political communication that talks about political power and influence.

Anstead & O'Loughlin (2015) in their study stated that there was a relationship between social media and public opinion during the UK election in 2010. They considered that social media data could inform public opinion in political terms.

The hashtag #MovingCapitalCity on Twitter (now named "X") shows that as many as 28 out of 304 users expressed opinions based on political factors. Twitter (now named "X") has become a platform for users to participate in politics on social media with the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity. 22 people supported the government's policy of moving the capital city. In comparison, six people disagreed with moving to the capital city. Various opinions show the Indonesian people's active political participation on social media.

In the view of Holt et al. (2013), political participation in social media is carried out for specific political purposes and reasons. Many people use social media in political activities and participation because it is based on the amount of political information they receive about political policies.

There are opinions with a supportive tone regarding the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity addressed to the government. An example of supporting tweets with political nuances, one of which was expressed by @thomsonchris, is "Congratulations. #Kaltimmovingcapitalcity is something common in human history. Always follow political logic. Success depends on the quality and capacity of the political system. #Indonesia #Capitalcity #Newcapital #MovingCapitalCity."

Opinions related to politics align with Agassi (2013), who states that capital is the core and symbol of state government. As the center of government, the capital city functions as the center of control of political and economic power, so the capital plays a vital role in the life of the nation and state. The same thing was expressed by Rukmana (2010), who revealed that several countries moved their capital cities for various reasons. There are three general reasons for moving to the capital city, namely, socio-economic considerations, political considerations, and geographical considerations.

Next is an example of counter tweets with political nuances conveyed by @YudisFany: "The capital city moved because it lost out on the prestige of the city hall #MovingCapitalCity Jakarta." This opinion is motivated by the reality which shows that the central government is not in line with the Jakarta provincial government, where the

Governor of Jakarta, Anies Baswedan, was a former minister in Joko Widodo's government cabinet in the 2014-2019 period and was in opposition from the central government.

In addition, there are satirical opinions from Twitter users (now named "X"). Some opinions link the relocation of the capital city with ever-increasing debt, the rise of demonstrations with particular religious sentiments that often corner the government, and satire against the Jakarta provincial government, which is not in line with the central government. In this study, satirical opinions are divided into tweets that support or pro and do not support or contra. 17 of 51 pro-government tweets, or 33.33%, and 34 out of 51 tweets, or 66.66%, do not support or oppose.

One opinion with a satirical tone was expressed by @cucuwidj, "Well, ondeweh, Reunion is getting further away, sir bib :(#Newcapital #MovingCapitalCity." The tweet is an opinion that has a satirical tone to the opposition or supports the government's policy of moving the capital city regarding the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity. Several Twitter (now named "X") users thought of satire by insinuating the government opposition, which often held demonstrations with the attributes of certain groups.

The next example of a satirical tweet is a counter tweet by @mugiarso74, "In Kalimantan, there is a gutter for getting into or not. #Thought #MovingCapitalCity #MovingCapitalCityToWho." The tweet was a satirical counter-opinion to the government's policy of moving the capital city using the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity.

This opinion has a counter-satirical tone regarding the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity. Some Twitter (now named "X") users think of satire by insinuating the government, especially President Joko Widodo, who visited to control a region. President Joko Widodo was photographed several times while monitoring drainage or culverts during his administration. Some Twitter users (now named "X") see the president's activities as mere imagery.

Based on the results of the discussion above, various opinions were expressed by Twitter users (now named "X") based on social and political factors. These factors appear based on the information each user gets from various sources of information. From the analysis results, the direction of opinion based on the hashtag #MovingCapitalCity on Twitter (now named "X") is a rejection or contra to the government. The contra in this study is the rejection of the government's policy on the issue of moving the capital city.

It seems contradictory because the Indonesian government, through the Ministry of National Development Planning, has made preparations and studies to answer why the capital city moved. Meanwhile, the public has not been able to accept and understand the significant reasons for the government's policy to move the capital city.

The counter-trend towards moving the National Capital shows a change in power in new media (call X). The power of discourse can no longer be controlled perfectly by the authorities with all the tools at their disposal, but discourse becomes the power of society. Grassroots communities can express their opinions to reject the discourse on moving the nation's capital. Of course, many underlying factors, including the various complexities of problems in Indonesia, require priority to be resolved.

In Islamic communication, it seems that the community's voice is in line with the *taghyir* principle, where the desired changes in development are not based on top-down discourse (the government dominates society) but bottom-up, with people's freedom to express their opinions. Proclaiming change based on the voice of the community *(taghyir)*, one of the concepts in Islamic communication (Bakti, 2018), aligns with the new media environment itself, which is open and offers freedom. Moreover, because it is based on Islamic communication, discourse on social media should also prioritize communication practices that uphold morality.

CONCLUSION

The government's policy regarding moving the Indonesian capital city received many responses in the form of tweets from Twitter (now named "X") social media users. The hashtag #MovingCapitalCity is a platform for Twitter users (now named "X") to express their opinions. Various opinions arose regarding the relocation of the capital, such as pro, contra, neutral, and satirical tones. Based on the research findings, overall contra opinions were 125 out of 304, pro-opinions were 82 out of 304, and neutral opinions were 97 out of 304.

We divide all opinions into three categories used by Twitter (now named "X") social media users. The first is social opinion. Social problems include ecological-geographical factors, population, technological developments and their implications, economics, law, education, and religion, as well as those that show progress in the non-material sector that is not balanced with the material. Second is political opinion about power, influence, and authority. The political opinion discusses the policies taken by the government and links the issue of moving the capital with the government's opposition: third, opinion with a satirical tone. Satire is a critique that is officially labeled as satire.

This study draws some recommendations for the government as policymakers and netizens as social media users, especially Twitter (now named "X"). First, the government is expected to increase socialization regarding the policies that will be taken, especially regarding moving the national capital city. The socialization in question is that data regarding the reasons for the state to move to the capital city must be precise because not all people access the government's website to find out these reasons. Second, for Twitter

(now named "X"), social media users should pay more attention to ethics to avoid harming any party. Lots of hateful opinions or wrong prejudice can be an obstacle to healthy social media. This last part concerns Islamic communication, which emphasizes morality in conveying messages. In addition, this study contributes to the power of community-based discourse, which is relevant to the principle of *taghyir* (change from bottom) in Islamic communication.

REFERENCES

Adams-Cohen, N. J. (2020). Policy change and public opinion: measuring shifting political sentiment with social media data. *American Politics Research*, *48*(5), 612–621. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673x20920263/asset/images/large/10.1177_1532 673x20920263-fig1.jpeg.

Agassi, E. (2013). *Analisis faktor-faktor yang memengaruhi pemindahan Ibu kota Negara*. Institut Pertanian Bogor.

Anstead, N., & O'Loughlin, B. (2015). Social media analysis and public opinion: The 2010 UK General Election. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *20*(2), 204–220. https://doi.org/10.1111/JCC4.12102.

Driss, B. O., Mellouli, S., & Trabelsi, Z. (2019). From citizens to government policy-makers: Social media data analysis. *Government Information Quarterly*, *36*(3), 560–570. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.GIQ.2019.05.002.

Daldjoeni, N. (1985). *Dasar-dasar ilmu pengetahuan sosial edisi 2*. Alumni.

Dong, X., & Lian, Y. (2021). A review of social media-based public opinion analyses: Challenges and recommendations. *Technology in Society*, *67*, 101724. https://doi.org/10.1016/J.TECHSOC.2021.101724.

Edgar, J. (1945). *A treasury of satire*. Simon and Schuster.

Eriyanto. (2021). *Analisis isi: Pengantar metodologi untuk penelitian ilmu komunikasi dan ilmu-ilmu sosial lainnya*. prenadamedia.

Fortner, R. S., & Fackler, P. M. (2014). The handbook of media and mass communication theory. In *The Handbook of Media and Mass Communication Theory*. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118591178.

Grossauer, S., & Čelebić, S. (2017). The shaping of the public opinion: Social media between populism and convivialism. A comparative study of Austria, Sweden, and the UK. *Proceedings*, *1*(3). https://doi.org/10.3390/IS4SI-2017-03943.

Hodgart, M. (2017). *Satire: Origins and principles*. Routledge.

Holt, K., Shehata, A., Strömbäck, J., & Ljungberg, E. (2013). Age and the effects of news media attention and social media use on political interest and participation: Do

social media function as a leveler? *European Journal of Communication*, *28*(1). https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323112465369.

Isaac, S., & Michael, W. B. (1981). *Handbook in research and evaluation, Second Edition*. Edit Publishers.

Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional. (2019). *Dampak ekonomi dan skema pembiayaan pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara*. https://supplychainindonesia.com/wp-content/files/Dampak_Ekonomi_dan_Skema_Pembiayaan_Pemindahan_Ibu_Kota_Negara.pdf.

Kwak, J. A., & Cho, S. K. (2018). Analyzing public opinion with social media data during election periods: A selective literature review. *Asian Journal for Public Opinion Research*, *5*(4), 285–301. https://doi.org/10.15206/AJPOR.2018.5.4.285.

Lange, P. G. (2007). Publicly Private and Privately Public: Social Networking on YouTube. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *13*(1), 361–380. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00400.x.

Murphy, J., Link, M. W., Childs, J. H., Tesfaye, C. L., Dean, E., Stern, M., Pasek, J., Cohen, J., Callegaro, M., & Harwood, P. (2014). Social media in public opinion research: executive summary of the vapor task force on emerging technologies in public opinion research. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *78*(4), 788–794. https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfu053.

Neuman, W. L. (2014). Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches. In *Pearson*.

Nimmo, D. (2020). *Komunikasi politik: Khalayak dan efek* (Jalaludin Rakhmat, Ed.). Remaja Rosdakarya.

Prayoga, K. (2020). How Jokowi communicates with the public during Covid-19 crisis: An analysis of tweets on Twitter. *Jurnal Komunikasi: Malaysian Journal of Communication*, *36*, 434–456. Retrieved from https://pesquisa.bvsalud.org/global-literature-on-novel-coronavirus-2019-ncov/resource/pt/covidwho-680426.

Rukmana, D. (2010). Pemindahan Ibukota Negara (Capital City Relocation). *Bulletin Tata Ruang of the Indonesia Ministry of Public Works*.

Sugiyono. (2021). *Metode penelitian kuantitatif, kualitatif dan R&D*. Alfabeta.

Sunarjo, D. S. (1997). *Opini publik*. Liberty Offset Yogyakarta.