

## **Narrative Policy Framework: Indonesia's Capital City Relocation Policy**

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### **Abstract**

*The issue of the relocation of Indonesia's capital city has garnered increasing coverage by the Indonesian news media. The media has a crucial position in shaping public narratives concerning policymaking. Furthermore, it is well known that news media has an influential role in shaping public narratives especially in public policy process. This study uses Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) to examine the general public and policymaking actors narrative in news media related to the issue of Indonesia's capital city relocation. This study uses qualitative research methods with the QDAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software) approach. The data sources used for this study is collected from five widely-known online news media in Indonesia. The findings of this study indicate that the pro-side who support the decision to relocate the capital city is more influential. Through actors who are pro towards the policy, the most significant pro narrative is found in the indicators of Equitable Development and Economy. Relocating the capital city to Kalimantan is claimed to be one of the solutions implemented by the Jokowi government to balance the development on the island of Java and outside Java. Meanwhile, the main narrative in the opposing side (cons) is that relocating the capital city is not urgent because it cannot be implemented in time and that the economic downturn due to the COVID-19 pandemic still overshadows Indonesia's economic conditions.*

**Keywords:** *narrative policy framework; policy; capital city relocation*

## INTRODUCTION

On August 26, 2019, The President of the Republic of Indonesia, Joko Widodo (Jokowi), officially announced plans to relocate the Indonesian capital city from DKI Jakarta to East Kalimantan. In his statement, he had decided that parts of North Penajam Paser and parts of Kutai Kartanegara would be the location for the construction of the new capital city of the Republic of Indonesia (Mardiansyah, 2021). The new location is chosen because it has minimal natural disaster risk and because the area is also considered to be strategically located among the large and growing cities in Kalimantan, namely Balikpapan and Samarinda.. Various economic sectors in the East Kalimantan region are anticipated to flourish as a result of the plan to relocate the capital city there. (Hasibuan, 2019). The President also stated that this is the ideal location because it has gone through soil structure and economic impact studies. In addition, many experts argue that relocating the national capital will encourage more investment in the provinces where the new capital city is located (Malisan et al., 2021). The Government of the Republic of Indonesia also believes that East Kalimantan has several advantages such as: (1) located near two major international airports (the Sultan Aji Muhammad Sulaiman International Airport and the Aji Pangeran Tumenggung Pranoto International Airport); (2) access to the 99.35 kilometer Balikpapan-Samarinda Toll Road in East Kalimantan, (3) access to Semayang Port in Balikpapan; (4) access to a network of energy sources and clean water supplies in East Kalimantan; (5) a diverse demographic makeup with a large number of recent immigrants who can easily adapts to change (Nur Azhar et al., 2020).

The idea for the relocating the national capital city of Indonesia away from Jakarta is not new in Indonesia. The idea was proposed even since the Soekarno era, although it was never actually implemented (Putri, 2021). As documented by Azmy (2021), Soekarno proposed the idea of moving the national capital away from Jakarta in 1965 and chose Palangkaraya as one of the candidate, especially after the city was inaugurated as the capital of Central Kalimantan Prov-

ince in 1957 and due to its strategic location. Moreover, there was a suggestion of moving the national capital to Jonggol in Bogor during the Suharto era. During the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's presidency, the government provided a number of solutions to the traffic problems in Jakarta, such as either maintaining Jakarta as the nation's capital but undertaking comprehensive reforms to solve the city's problems or maintaining Jakarta as the capital city but relocating the government's offices and centers elsewhere (Azmy, 2021). The idea of relocating the capital city, therefore, has been constant throughout Indonesia's history considering the various social issues and environmental problems of DKI Jakarta, as the current capital, remain relatively the same.

This issue reemerged under Jokowi's presidency when he proposed the idea again (Hamdani, 2020). The President emphasized that the new capital city will symbolize the national identity and the nation's progress (Hadi & Ristawati, 2020). Furthermore, the relocation plan is part of the nation's interests and is an effort to meet the demands of global competition (Arsi & Waluyo, 2021). Jakarta has evolved over time to become Indonesia's economic growth center and the nation's capital and center of national growth (Herdiawan, 2021). However, the city is considered as already too populated, having high level of traffic congestion and pollution, facing risk of flooding and disasters, especially earthquakes, and land subsidence (Salsabila & Nurwati, 2020). As a result, Jakarta is now considered as unsuitable as the national capital city. Its location, which is further to Indonesia's west, was also cited as a contributing factor to the nation's extreme regional inequality. Furthermore, aside from the fact of declining carrying capacity of Java, the relocation is aimed at reducing regional inequality, promote a more equitable development, and build a new economic hub.

Apart from internal factors, the reasons for relocating the nation's capital also reflects several cases of capital city relocation projects in many countries that were considered successful. As noted by Herdiana (2022), there are examples such as the United States (which moved its capital from New

York to Washington, DC), Brazil (from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro), Germany (from Bonn to Berlin), and even countries in the ASEAN region such as Malaysia (which moved its national capital from Kuala Lumpur to Putrajaya). The perceived success of national capital relocation in these countries are therefore being seen as the emplace for the template for the relocation of the capital city plan being carried out in Indonesia. Consequently, there is currently a discussion on plans to relocate the capital city to regions with more potential and better carrying capacity (Sutoyo & Almaarif, 2020). With the relocation, the new capital city in East Kalimantan is expected to become a "smart, green, beautiful and sustainable city" by providing a higher quality of life and infrastructure for the projected 1.5 million residents with large green spaces (Teo et al., 2020).

The capital city relocation plan has generated different responses from various groups. When it was proposed by the President, the plan automatically received wide attention, especially from online media, with numerous news reports and comments from experts, government officials and the general public about the relocation plan (Septiana & Sumarlam, 2018). Pros and cons will certainly emerge while the relocation plan is currently being discussed. Meanwhile, citizens often use mass media to obtain information. With the development of technology, the internet had enabled easier access to news media or online media (Pradyanti et al., 2020). Many citizens fully support the government's decision to relocate the capital because Jakarta is considered as no longer capable due to its myriad of problems. However, many citizens from various elements reject the plan because they are seen as increasing the burden of the state's finances (Mardhiyah, 2020). The debate began to occur about how much the total budget is needed by the government for the future face of the City of Jakarta (Juniardi, 2019). The issues that are discussed also center around infrastructural issues as well as the massive changes to policies and institutions (Yahya, 2018). Of course, the debates and statements that have sprung up have yet to escape various media coverage. Even news about the impact of the relocation of the capital city is

still widely circulated today. This step taken by President Jokowi certainly caught most people's attention, which then made print and online media vying to report the latest news regarding the issue.

There were many research on the policy of relocating the capital city. Toun (2018) analyse the readiness of the Central Kalimantan provincial government in regards to the relocation of the capital city to Palangkaraya City. The study's results indicate that the Central Kalimantan regional government expressed readiness and approval regarding the idea that the central government rolled out. Still, the governor of Central Kalimantan Province have commented that several things needed to be considered if the idea was actually to be implemented. Although the Central Kalimantan regional government has declared its readiness, many factors must be considered, especially related to social, political, bureaucratic, and environmental aspects. Moreover, Aditya and Fuadi (2021) argues that in relocating the national capital, dozens of laws to regional regulations must be harmonized into the laws of the national capital. Using the omnibus law to relocate the national capital is, thus, seen as an appropriate option in simplifying regulations to support the policy of relocating the national capital. Another study by Taufiq (2020) indicates an opportunity to promote economic equality through the policy of relocating the capital city with the assumption that new national-scale growth centers will emerge outside Java Island. The flow of population migration, investment, and internal and external connectivity are the elements that can make this happen.

The media plays a role in shaping the opinions circulating among the public. Digital-based or online media are currently the form of media that people often use because it contains massive amounts of information and can be delivered quickly (Kurniawan et al., 2021). The goal of news media is to reach a broad audience and they tend to possess prestige among the public due to their longevity and professional journalism standards (Apriliyanti et al., 2022). Because of that, Djerf-Pierre and Shehata (2017) argues that the public generally are very responsive to news media reporting on hot-button issues. Moreover, public opinion from the citi-

**Table 1. Online Media Sources**

| No | Online Media  | Website   | Number of news |
|----|---------------|---|----------------|
| 1  | CNN indonesia | <a href="https://www.cnnindonesia.com">https://www.cnnindonesia.com</a> | 22             |
| 2  | Detik         | <a href="https://www.detik.com">https://www.detik.com</a>               | 22             |
| 3  | Tribunnews    | <a href="https://www.tribunnews.com">https://www.tribunnews.com</a>     | 22             |
| 4  | Kompas        | <a href="https://www.kompas.com">https://www.kompas.com</a>             | 22             |
| 5  | Liputan6      | <a href="https://www.liputan6.com">https://www.liputan6.com</a>         | 22             |

*Source: Processed data*

zens and many interests groups can be instrumental in influencing public policies (Istiqoh et al., 2022). Thus, media narratives can also serve as actors that can influence public opinions which, consequently, can influence public policies (Suswanta et al., 2021)

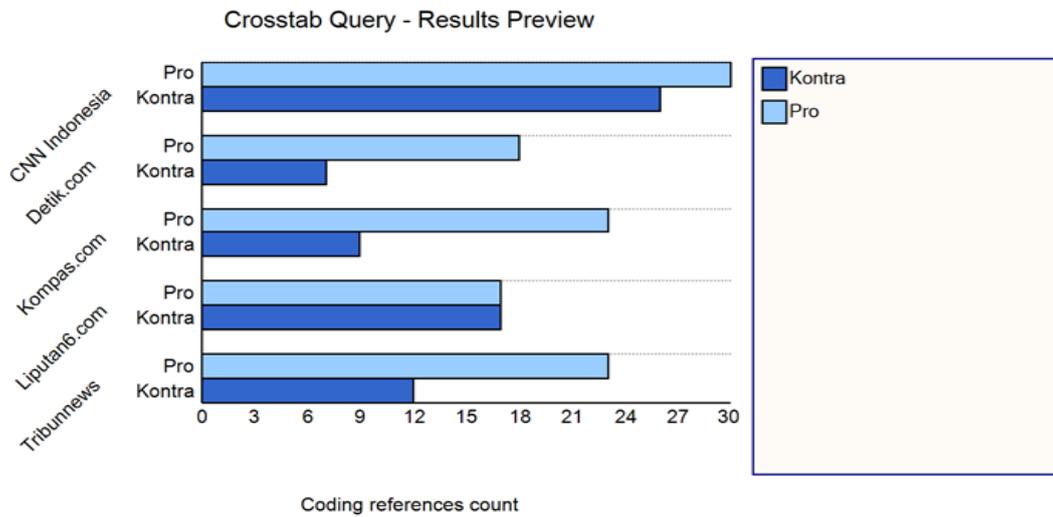
This study analyze how the issue of relocating the capital city in Indonesia is perceived based on the public narrative that is developed in news media. The approach of Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) will be used to examine the public narrative through describing and explaining the structure of political narratives in the policymaking process related to the relocation of capital city. Narration is understood as part of the core of the communication and knowledge approach, and is fundamental to human life and existence. The narrative is an important concept in understanding the text and its contexts. As a result, the human narrative is the unit of analysis in the tradition of the NPF (Jones and McBeth, 2010). The creation of a narrative that affects policymakers can be accomplished through the media. is a tool used by policy experts to carefully examine the components and storytelling techniques of policy group actors. The narrative's function in the public policy process is central to NPF (Istiqoh et al., 2022).

In this study, the application of NPF will look at actor narratives in the media that influence the policy process for the relocation of Indonesia's capital city. Thus, NPF explains how a group uses policy narratives to influence individuals and public policies. The researcher first engages in media and narrative construction. Then, using the find-

ings from the NPF analysis, the researcher uses Critical Discourse Analysis to develop the ideological assumptions hidden underneath the text or speech in various ways (Suswanta et al., 2021). Important considerations are made for this research due to the controversial nature of the issues among political actors in Indonesia.

## METHOD

Qualitative research method with descriptive approach, by describing the findings using internet media, is used applied for this study. The methods used for this study in order to describe the information gathered regarding the information in an online media news text in an accurate and systematic way. Online news sources as well as existing studies on the relocation of Indonesia's capital city were used as data sources for this study (Table 1). The NVivo 12 Plus Ncapture tool, a web browser extension designed to capture contents such as those found on websites, social media platforms, and other documents like research articles, was used to collect the data. Crosstab query analysis is then used which allow researchers to view the percentage of data that was manually coded in NVivo 12 Plus. In addition, this study also uses word cloud analysis to visualize the terms and concepts that are frequently appears from the data that are collected in the researcher files. Additionally, the author imports the data that were collected into the NVivo 12 Plus, and performs the data coding to display and analyze the data (which was in the form of Crosstab Queries, Word Cloud, and other data) before exporting them.



**Figure 1. Media coverage regarding the relocation of the Indonesian capital**

*Source: Processed data*

News data from online news media are used to assess the policy of relocating the Indonesia's capital city. We conducted searches using the keyword "Moving the Capital City" from 18 January 2021 to 17 October 2022. The 5 national news media of CNN Indonesia, Detik.com, Kompas.com, Liputan6.com, and tribunnews.com were chosen as the news source examined for this study. The five online media were chosen because they are both news portals with a national scope, actively provide updated news information, and are easily accessible to the public. In addition, these media actively provide information regarding the issue of the relocation of Indonesia's capital city. The news sources were examined to make sure that the article contained an important element on the issue. Articles that are not news (such as editorials or opinion pieces) are deleted and replaced with other randomly selected articles.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

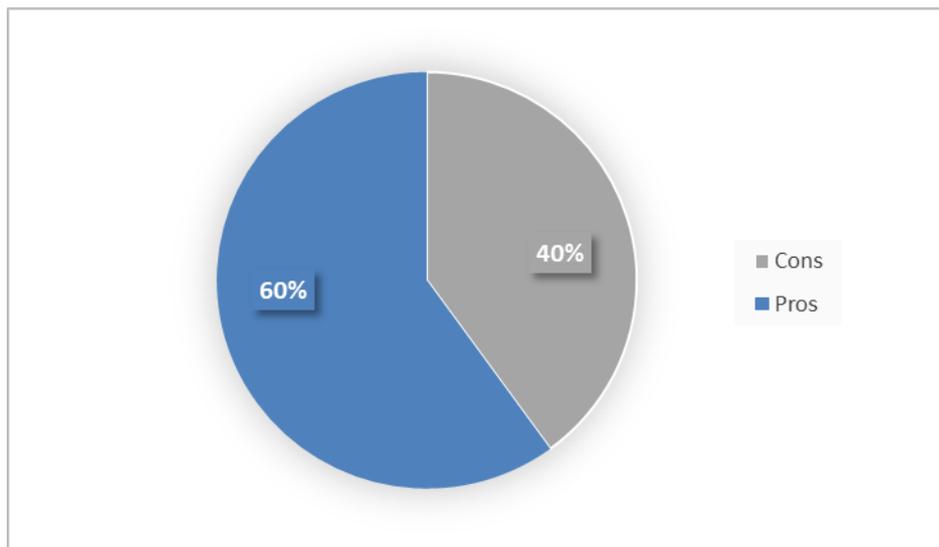
### *Indonesia's Capital City Relocation Pros and Cons Narrative*

The Indonesian government had pursued the policy of relocating the national capital in order to reduce the various burden and problems on the current capital city of Jakarta, such as traffic congestion, extreme

population density, and environmental problems. The increasing problems have caused the capital city to lose its respectability. There have been countless reports and criticisms which have ended up dropping the authority of DKI Jakarta as the face of Indonesia. The issue of moving the Indonesian capital city to a new region, however, requires a lot of preparation, including related to its synergy with local government policies related to changes in development policies which then have an impact on social change as well as the pros and cons that occur in society regarding moving the capital city (Djayanti et al., 2022).

The Indonesian people face a polemic over the government's discourse on relocating the nation's capital. At present, the government's efforts have received approval from the DPR after the bill's passing into the new National Capital City Law (UU IKN). This issue resulted in splitting public opinion into those who support (pro) and those who oppose (contra) the government's plan. Moreover, support has emerged from pro-government community groups, which represent groups who support moving the capital city. Meanwhile, many groups are oppose to government's plan, such as those opposition and criticism from observers, politicians, and academics (Hasyim, 2022). The arguments raised by these actors were then





**Figure 3. Presentation of Pros and Cons of Relocating the Indonesia's Capital City**

*Source: Processed data*

The trend of relocating the capital city, together with the development of the state and nation, can be a part of development of the state and nation particularly in post-colonial countries (Sutoyo & Almaarif, 2020).

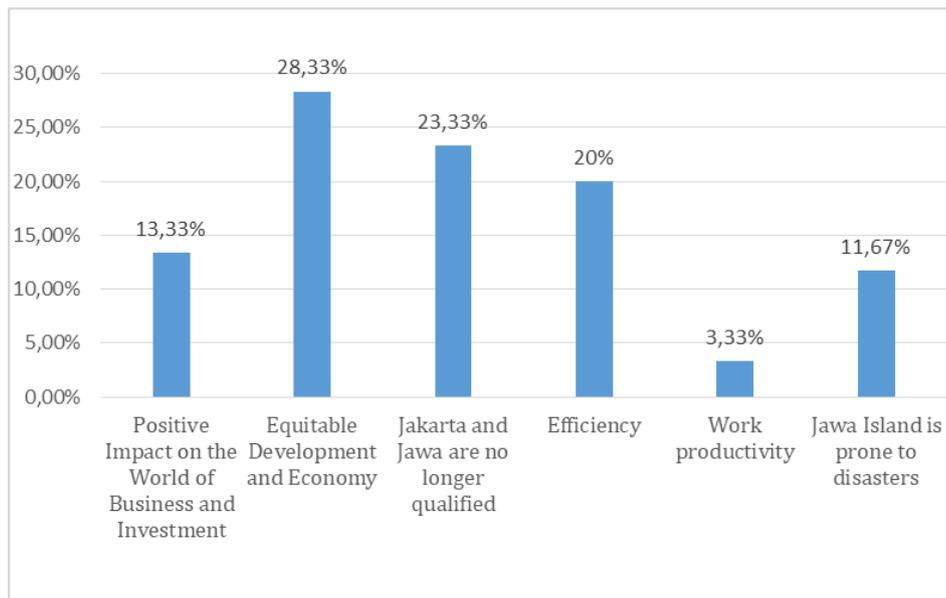
*Pros and Cons Narrative of Relocating the Indonesian Capital City*

The narrative that developed through the five national media examined (CNN Indonesia, Detik.com, Kompas.com, Liputan6, and Tribunnews.com) shows that there are pros and cons new reports related to the decision to relocate the Indonesian capital city. The cause of the difference in views on new report's pros and cons is inseparable from its activities (Rizki and Hilman 2020).

Figure 3 above the percentage of pros and cons news coverage in the five online media used as the research references. The supportive coverage (pros) are 60% while the opposing coverage (cons) are 40%. This data shows that regarding the decision to relocate the capital city of Indonesia, in the narratives built by the media, there are more news coverage that are supportive to the relocation than coverage that oppose it. Many factors can influence the attitude of the public, especially aspects related to equity in Indonesia. Economic and infrastructural development in Indonesia has yet to be entirely equitable, especially in the underdeveloped frontier and outermost areas. The govern-

ment have claimed that they are already carried out several studies to determine the suitable location for the new capital city of Indonesia. From these considerations, the government had chosen the 2 regencies in East Kalimantan to become the location of the new capital to replace DKI Jakarta. Thus, the government had argue that the transfer of the capital city to East Kalimantan will help fulfill the equitable development and social justice, as a way of implementing the 5th precept of Pancasila concerning social justice for all Indonesian people.

Figure 4 shows the pro narrative in online news media regarding the relocation of Indonesia's new capital city. The narrative can be categorized into "Positive Impact on the Business and Investment", "Efficiency", "Jakarta and Java Island are No Longer Qualified," "Equitable Development and Economy", "Work Productivity" and "Java Island is Disaster-Prone". The narrative for "positive impact on the business world and investment" is 13.33% of the pro news coverage, "Equitable development and economy" narrative is 28.33%, "Jakarta and Java Island are no longer qualified" narrative is 23.33%, "efficiency" is 20%, "work productivity" is 3.33% and "Java Island is Prone to Disaster" narrative is 11.67%. Thus, it can be concluded that the narrative of "Equitable Development and Economy" is the most cited reason for the Pros in supporting the policy of moving Indonesia's New Capital City.



**Figure 4. Pro Narrative of Relocating Indonesia's New Capital City**

*Source: Processed data*

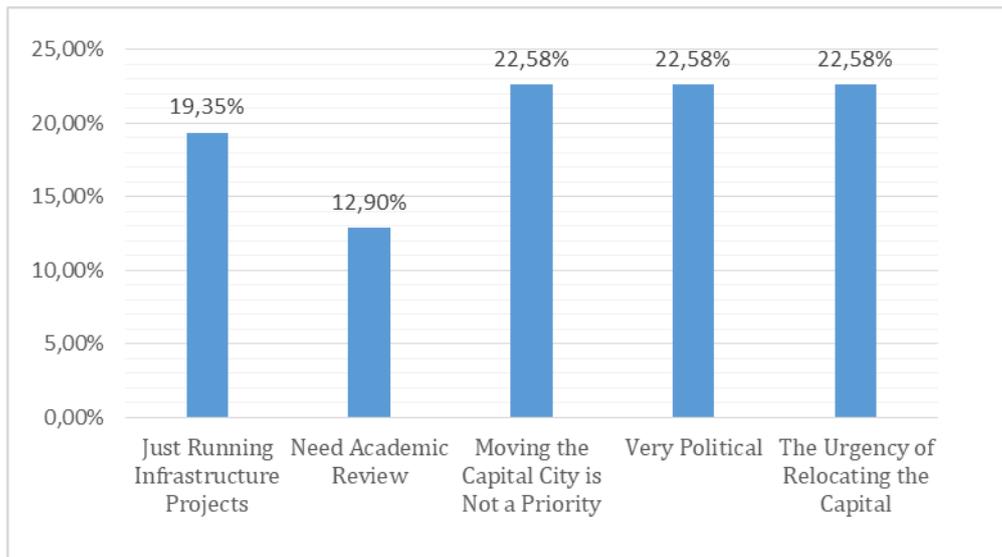
The "Positive impact on the business and investment world" narrative meant that relocating the national capital out of Java will promote more trade between regions in Indonesia, including creating jobs within the province of the new capital city. If the national capital is relocated to a province with good connectivity to other regions, trade flows will grow throughout more than 50% of Indonesia's territory and it will promote more investment in regions surrounding the new capital city. In addition, relocating the capital city will promote more investment in other regions and increase the output of some non-traditional sectors, especially the service sector.

Furthermore, for "Equitable Development and the Economy", relocating the capital city to Kalimantan is said to be one of the solutions implemented by the Jokowi government to balance the development in Java and outside of Java, promoting a more equitable development that are non-Java and non-Jakarta centric. The National Capital City (IKN) relocation to East Kalimantan Province will likely positively impact the economy of eastern regions of Indonesia. In addition, it is necessary to relocate the capital city to create a balance between prudent aspirations for the progress of the nation and the ability to support state finances (Pribadi and Utomo, 2021). A number of factors will

indirectly take part in the relocation process, such as the establishment of an industrial region in the province of East Kalimantan and the development of MSMEs at the border regions in Kalimantan. Increasing ease of access, especially in the eastern regions, will certainly encourage business actors to restore the economy in the region, so there are important aspects that the Government needs to carry out regarding policies in the process of equitable economic development (Pribadi and Utomo, 2021).

Then "Jakarta and Java Island are no longer qualified" narrative. This can be seen from the "burden" that Jakarta must bear, namely a population density of 16,704 people/km<sup>2</sup>. In comparison, Jakarta Congestion was the 31st most congested city out of 416 major cities in 2020. Furthermore, there are also numerous environmental and geological problems such as the annual flooding and land subsidence that affect Jakarta (Agustino and Silas, 2022).

The "efficiency" narrative meant that the new capital will adopt the concept of smart, green and beautiful city to increase regional and international competitiveness. This relocation is considered important because considering population growth in the area of Java which is increasingly expanding, and has implications for the environment and also reduced sources of clean wa-



**Figure 5. Counter Narrative of Relocating Indonesia's New Capital City**

*Source: Processed data*

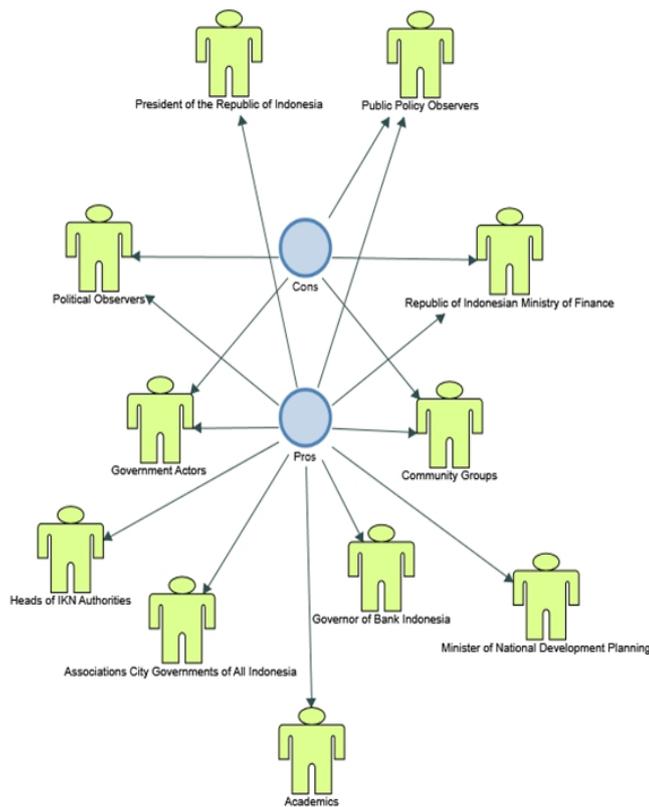
ter in Java.

Furthermore, “Work Productivity” narrative which meant that the relocation of the capital city of Indonesia must be supported by better and more professional human resources who will create productivity, effectiveness, and efficiency. Furthermore, the importance of professional human resources in relocating the capital is based on the fact that it is a large project that will require large costs and a relatively long time. Therefore quality human resources are needed who can work productively, effectively, and efficiently so that the utilization of human resources professionals is expected to create a successful relocation of the capital city (Herdiana, 2020).

Then the “Java Island is prone to disasters” narrative. This meant that almost every year, there is a flood of varying magnitude. The flood that occurred in 2007 was the largest, covering almost 70% of the Jakarta area. The 2007 flood, was used as one of the rationale for the idea of relocating the capital city. Jakarta is currently considered to be overloaded, both economically and socially, so that Jakarta has multiple functions. The national capital which has multiple functions will generally have various impacts (Yahya, 2018).

Furthermore, there are several narratives that disagree or contra to the policy of

moving Indonesia's new capital city. As shown by Figure 5, the counter-narrative in online news media regarding moving Indonesia's new capital city can be categorized into only carrying out existing infrastructure projects, requires more academic studies, that relocating the capital city is not a priority, that the decision is very political, and the slow urgency or speed in relocating the capital city. The data shows that relocating the capital is not a priority, very political, and the slow speed of relocating the capital is the most common reason for counter attitudes towards Indonesia's new capital city relocation policy. From the percentage of counter-narrative, moving the capital city not a priority is 22.58%, very political is 22.58%, the urgency of moving the capital city is 22.58%, followed by only carrying out infrastructure projects is 19.35% and needing academic studies is 12.90%. The reason for relocating the capital city is not a priority, it is very political, and the urgency for relocating it arises most often because the plan to relocate the capital city of Indonesia is not a priority to be implemented at this time. It is not urgent to move Indonesia's New Capital City because the economic downturn still overshadows Indonesia's economic conditions due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, relocating the capital city requires a lot of money, so it is hoped that it will not



**Figure 6. Actor Narrative Relations in Relocating the Indonesian Capital City**

*Source: Processed data*

be implemented when economic recovery is still the focus.

### *Political Actors in Relocating the Capital City Narrative*

The policy discourse on relocating Indonesia's capital city gave rise to various actors' narratives of support (pros) and opposition (cons). These multiple narratives were obtained through five online news media sources. The following is the relationship between the descriptions of the pros and cons of the various actors involved.

Figure 6 shows that there are 11 categories of actors participating in the shaping of narratives through the media, including the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Public Policy Analysts, and the Republic of Indonesian Ministry of Finance, Community or Interest Groups, Minister of National Development Planning (PPN), Governor of Bank Indonesia, Academics, Associations City Governments of All Indonesia (APEKSI), Heads of IKN Authorities, Gov-

ernment Actors and Political Analysts. From these 11 categories, it was found that the Pro narrative still dominates. Collectively, key players in the policy process provide justifications for the decision to relocate Indonesia's capital city in terms of long-term investment to improve the Indonesian economy and promote a more equitable development that is not only focused on Java Island. Furthermore, DKI Jakarta is considered as no longer conducive to being maintained as the capital city because it is prone to flooding and traffic congestion, that the new capital city in East Kalimantan would provide a more conducive place for government activities without flooding and traffic congestion, and that DKI Jakarta is expected to remain as the economic center in Indonesia without the hustle of government activity.

## **CONCLUSION**

The policy narrative related to relocating the capital city of Indonesia raises different perspectives from different actors. To

examine the description that is delivered, this study divides the actors into various categories. Furthermore, through online news media, this study examines the pros and cons narratives related to the relocation of the capital city. The findings demonstrate that the pro-side who support the relocation is more influential in news media coverage. Through actors who are pro towards the relocation plan, the most significant pro narratives are found in the indicators of "Equitable Development and Economy". The relocation of the capital city to Kalimantan is said to be one of the solutions implemented by the Jokowi government to balance development on the island of Java with those outside Java. The National Capital City (IKN) relocation to East Kalimantan Province is perceived as likely positively impact economic growth and equality, especially in the eastern region. The relocation becomes important because it is perceived as reflecting the need for equitable development that are not only oriented towards Java Island and Jakarta. The establishment of new capital city is considered as necessary to create a balance between the ideals of national progress, prudence, and the ability to support state finances. Meanwhile, the most significant narrative on the contra side is that the "Capital City Move is Not a Priority", "Very Political", and the "Urgency of the Capital City Relocation" appears most often because the plan to relocate the Indonesian Capital City is considered as not urgent or important to be implemented at this time. It is not urgent to advance Indonesia's New Capital City because the economic downturn due to the COVID-19 pandemic still overshadows Indonesia's economic conditions.

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