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# Narrative Policy Analysis: What is Behind The Movement of Capital City of Indonesia

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Submitted: 05, October 2023; Reviewed: 11, October 2023; Accepted: 08, November 2023

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## Abstract

The relocation of the Indonesian Capital from Jakarta to Nusantara in North Penajam Paser has generated both support and opposition. To understand this situation, this study used the narrative policy framework method to analyze the government's narrative in implementing capital relocation policy, as compared to the counter-narrative conveyed by the community. The government believes that relocation is the best solution to resolving the pressing issues of economic disparity and environmental changes on Java Island. They also claim that the new capital would be a showcase of Indonesia's diversity to the world. On the other hand, the community views policy as being unfavorable to their interests, more business-oriented, and politically driven. The government is seen as unresponsive to the community's needs. The results showed that there was a gap between the narrative of the capital relocation policy conveyed by the government and the community that opposed this policy. In addition, The government is unable to explain the reasons behind the relocation of the capital clearly to the community, the many questions that arise also show the lack of community involvement in formulating the policy for relocation of the capital. As a result, a lot of incorrect information is circulating, giving rise to wild perceptions in society which will of course have an impact on the policy implementation process.

**Keywords:** Capital City; Narrative Policy Analysis; Public Policy

**How to Cite:** Akeda, H., & Muslim, M.A., (2023). Narrative Policy Analysis: What is Behind The Movement of Capital City of Indonesia. *Journal of Education, Humaniora and Social Sciences (JEHSS)*. 6 (2): 664 -676.



## INTRODUCTION

The idea of relocating the capital city was originally proposed by Soekarno, the first president of Indonesia, who suggested Palangkaraya as the new capital due to its central location, vast territory, and potential to enhance Indonesia's international reputation (Ayundari, 2022). This proposal was later reiterated by President Joko Widodo during the 2020 Annual Session of the Indonesian Parliament. Joko Widodo argued that Java, the most populous island in Indonesia, was becoming overcrowded and unequal compared to other islands, hence, the relocation would help reduce regional disparities, promote economic growth outside of Java, and bring about social justice and equality (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informatika, 2019).

Law No. 3 of 2022 on the capital City confirms the President's decision to relocate the capital from Jakarta to North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan. The law establishes that the new capital will be named Nusantara and will cover an area of approximately 256,142 hectares, divided into three zones, namely the capital Development Zone covering an area of 199,962 hectares; the capital Zone, covering an area of 56,180 hectares; and the Government Center Core Area, covering 6,671 hectares. The relocation is expected to promote regional development, shift from a Java-centric to an Indonesia-centric paradigm, provide green spaces, and alleviate the burden on Java and the Greater Jakarta urban area.

The policy has received mixed responses from the community. According to a survey by the Urban Development Study Research Team at the University of Indonesia, 75% of business actors are pessimistic about the relocation policy (Anggoro, 2022). This indicates opposition from the business sector, which could pose challenges in achieving the goal of boosting economic growth. However, another survey by the Indonesian Sociology Program Association (APSI) on public perceptions of capital relocation in 2022 showed that 48.2% of respondents requested a delay in the relocation, indicating some community support for the policy (Rossa, 2022).

Studies on capital relocation have emerged as a response to the Indonesian government's policy. Hendrastuti (2022) showed that relocation has become a topic of international media, with negative news dominating the media's attitude toward the relocation plan. The media portrays the new capital as unprepared, while Jakarta is seen as unsuitable to remain the capital city. Purnama and Chotib (2023) explained that the government needs to consider various aspects of relocation, as well as take anticipatory and preventive steps against supposed factors hindering the achievement of the policy's goals. Currently, the government has only focused on economic aspects, even though the resilience and vulnerability of the country's finances should also be considered, especially in light of unpredictable events, such as the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020.

Pratiwi (2022) explained that the policy of relocating the Indonesian capital will have positive impacts, as Jakarta is considered too crowded and burdened with issues, such as poor air quality, limited access to clean water, annual flooding, and other conditions. This explanation is supported by Koldobskaya (2022) on the relocation of the capital city of Kazakhstan from Almaty to Nur-Sultan (Astana). The decision was based on the crowded population of Almaty and the lack of opportunities for expansion, which led to a decline in the quality of life for the community. The study also explained that capital relocation can balance the life quality between the old and new capital, with the new capital experiencing an improved life quality due to massive development, despite the environmental impact.

Based on the analysis of Twitter conversations using dash.tweetbinder.com on March 9, 2023, there were 1,190 conversations with the keyword "*Ibu Kota Nusantara*," and 200 of them were analyzed for sentiment related to the impact of capital relocation. The results showed that 95.6% of these conversations did not clearly express a positive or negative sentiment toward the relocation policy. However, the analysis shows a potential impact of approximately 16 million Twitter users in a single day, indicating that the issue of capital relocation in Indonesia is still actively discussed, even though it does not clearly show support or opposition to the policy. In contrast, Lestari et al. (2022) found opposite results when comparing three data algorithms obtained from Twitter, which showed 1,141 positive sentiments and 591 negative sentiments. This indicates that the relocation to Nusantara received positive responses from the community.

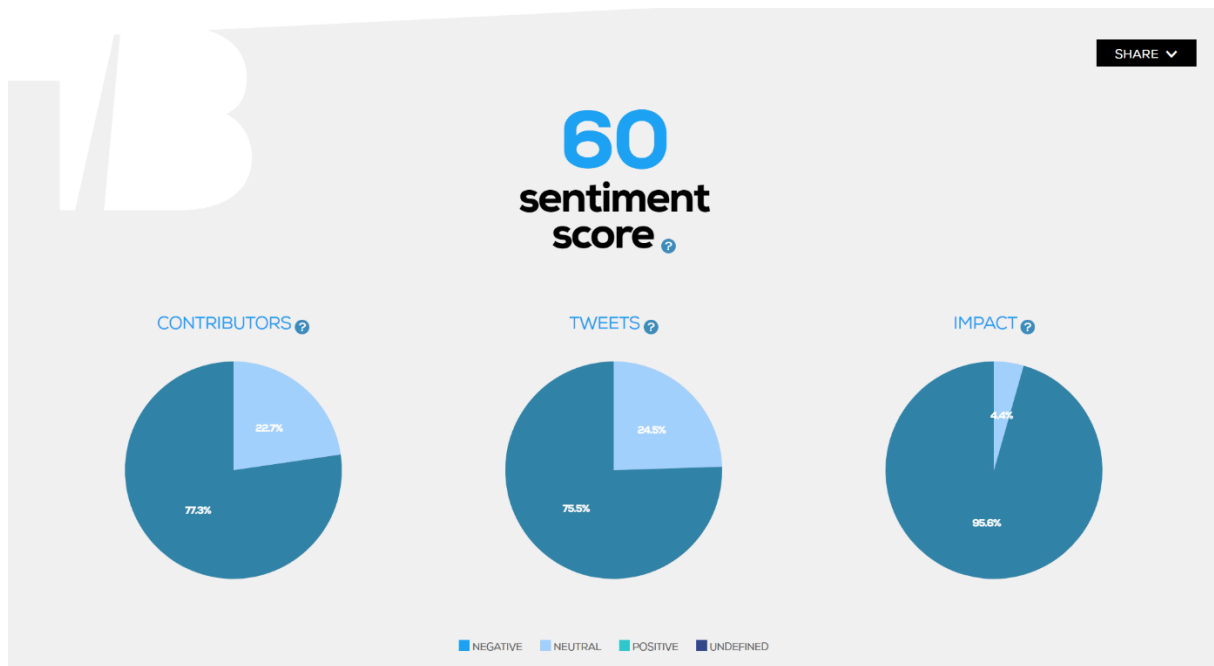


Figure 1. Sentiment value from Twitter users towards the hashtag of Nusantara Capital  
Source: <https://dash.tweetbinder.com/>, March 9, 2023

While policy often has both supporters and opponents, a study is necessary to explain the gap between the government, which supports policy, and its opponents to determine appropriate mitigation steps for policy implementation. Narrative policy analysis (NPA) was used to explain this gap. This was carried out by examining and identifying the impact of the narrative used by policymakers to communicate issues with high ambiguity, where the truth of the narrative is not known or agreed upon (Roe, 1992).

Lester (1996) explained that Roe considered traditional policy analysis techniques inadequate in explaining problems arising from policy implementation, as the analysis conducted tends to worsen the problems due to forced facts and data, politics, law, as well as bureaucratic uncertainty. Roe (in Lester, 1996) further explained that *"the only things left to examine are the different stories policymakers and their critics use to articulate and make sense of ... uncertainty, complexity, and polarization"*. This implies that an alternative approach to explaining a policy is to examine the differences in the stories or narratives presented by policymakers and those who criticize policy, to explain the uncertainty, complexity, and polarization arising from policy.

## METHODS

This study used the narrative policy analysis method, as described by Hampton (2009). This involved identifying narratives that describe policy dilemmas. Yanow (in Martinez, 2019) described narrative policy analysis as a qualitative methodology that constructively interprets a policy, meaning it involves constructing a storyline to explain a policy. According to Roe (in Ficher et al., 2007), the key to narrative policy analysis is recognizing the power of stories or narratives that emerge to describe and analyze policy issues, this should be explicitly considered in determining policy options.

Shanahan et al (2018) outlined three levels of analysis in narrative policy analysis. The Micro level describes the relationship between policy narrative and individuals, obtained from various data sources, such as media interviews, public opinions, or interviews with stakeholders. The Meso level of analysis focuses on policy narrative originating from policy actors (government officials, community organizations, or other related groups). The last level of analysis is Macro, which explains policy narrative as an expression of shared social or cultural values found within institutions and cultures.

Based on the background related to the pros and cons of policy on capital relocation, this study uses narrative policy analysis at the Meso level. Shanahan et al (2018) explained that *"because many policy debates occur in the public domain, there are numerous free sources of*

narrative data on the internet, namely interest group websites and newsletters, editorial, media accounts, social media, speeches, legislative records, legislative testimonies, court opinions, and more". This means that the study at the Meso level employs data sources or narratives available in public space for analysis.

Narrative or data sources used are subsequently analyzed through a narrative policy framework that explains narrative using two main components, namely policy narrative form, and content. Policy narrative form component consists of characters describing policy subjects, a setting portraying the location and time, a plot connecting the roles of each character and setting, as well as a moral of the story explained as the solution from policy narrative (Shanahan et al., 2018).

Shanahan et al (2018) further emphasized that the policy narrative content component consists of two things, namely belief systems and narrative strategies. Belief systems refer to the values or beliefs used to direct individuals, groups, coalitions, and society. Meanwhile, the shaped reality of policy is the narrative strategies. This means the policy narrative conveyed aims to persuade, pacify, or inflame conflicts related to policy.

**Table 1. Core Narrative Policy Framework, Narrative Components**

Policy Narrative Components	
Policy Narrative Form: Narrative elements	Policy Narrative Content:
Setting: Space and time	Belief system: Set of Values or beliefs
Characters: Heroes, villains, victims	Strategies: Manipulate/control policy processes
Plot: Organizes action	
Moral of the story: Policy Solution	

Source: Shanahan, Jones, & McBeth, 2018.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Policy Narrative for the Relocation of Capital City

#### Setting

The idea of relocating the capital city in Indonesia has been discussed since the time of the first president, Soekarno, who proposed Palangka Raya as a replacement for Jakarta. The idea persisted during the administration of President Soeharto, who developed the Jonggol area as a potential new government center. Furthermore, during the administration of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, two alternatives were proposed, namely revitalizing Jakarta or relocating the government outside of Jakarta. Finally, under the administration of President Joko Widodo, the capital was relocated from Jakarta to North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan, through the issuance of Law Number 3 of 2022 on the capital city.

The new capital city is expected to build a national identity and represent Indonesia's diversity and unity as a nation. It will be designed as a smart, green, sustainable, and modern city, supported by effective and efficient governance to promote economic equality in the eastern region (Law Number 3 of 2022). The construction of the new capital city will be guided by 8 principles in building the new capital city, namely designing according to natural conditions, promoting unity in diversity, ensuring connectivity, being active and easily accessible, fostering circularity and resilience, leveraging technology for comfort and efficiency, prioritizing safety and affordability, minimizing carbon emissions, and creating economic opportunities for all (Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2021).



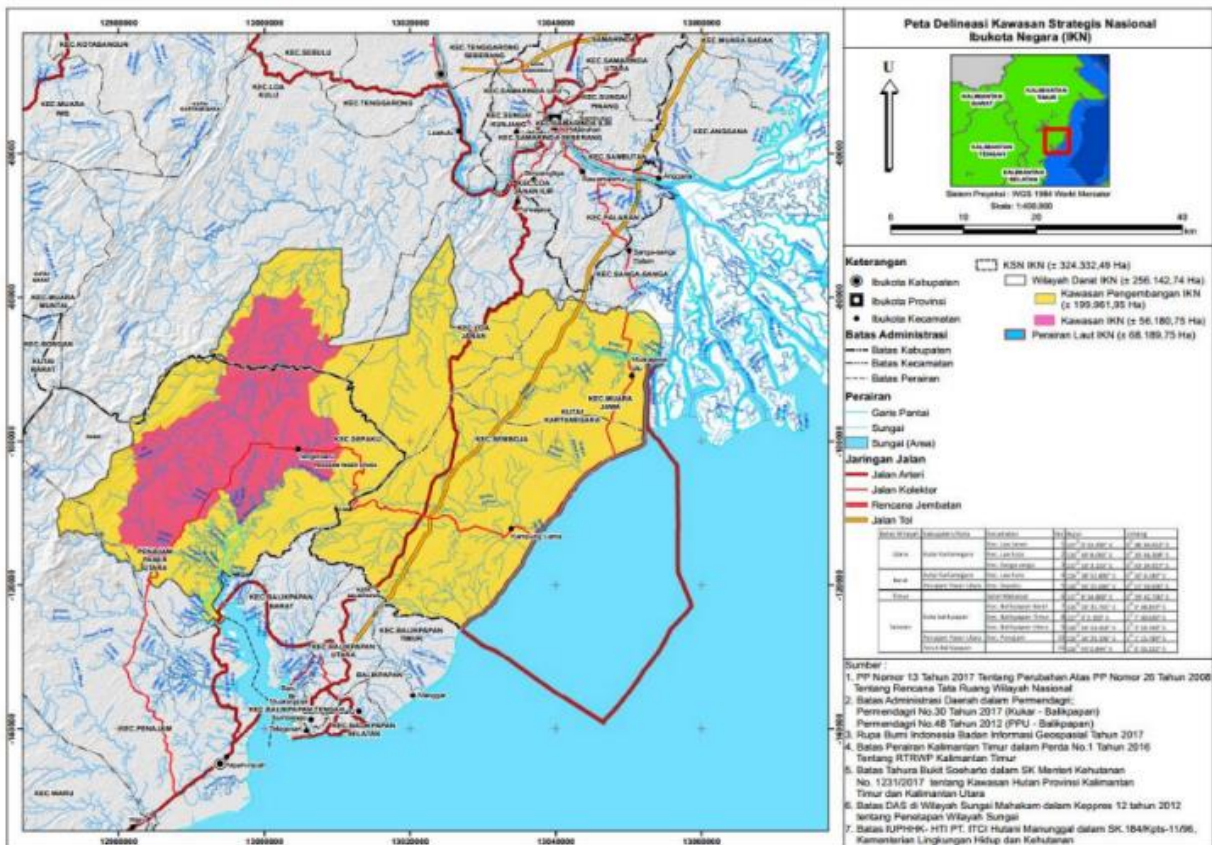


Figure 2. Map of the Nusantara Capital City area and Existing District Boundaries  
 Source: Appendix II of Law Number 3 of 2022 on capital City

The policy of capital relocation aims to promote equality throughout Indonesia and transform the development pattern from Java-centric to Indonesian-centric. This development pattern is evident in the economic growth imbalance between Java, where the existing capital city is located, and other regions outside of Java.

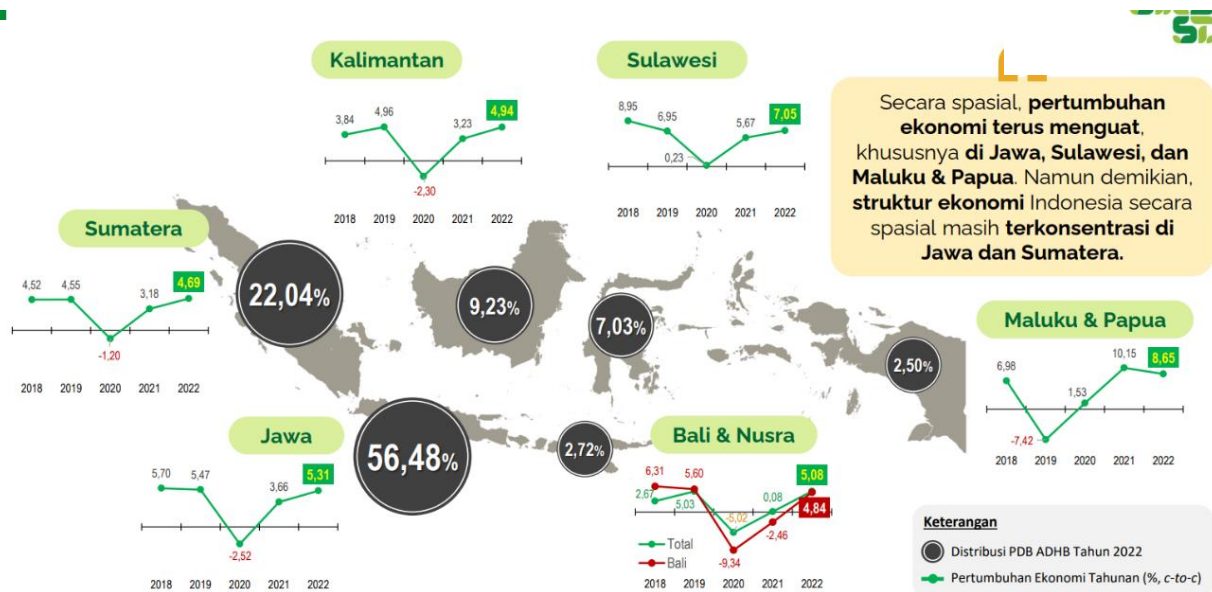


Figure 3. Indonesia's Economic Growth in 2022  
 Source: Central Statistics Agency, 2023

Based on data from the Central Statistics Agency, in 2022, Java contributed 56.48% to economic growth, and Sumatera contributed 22.04%. Meanwhile, other islands contributed less



than 10% or even less than 5% of the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Indonesia. This condition, which has persisted for a long time, unless addressed, will continue to cause inequality among the islands. This will consequently result in urbanization, as communities seek employment opportunities in Java.

Another issue underlying the relocation issue is the deteriorating environmental condition in Jakarta, specifically, and Java in general. The crisis of water availability as well as massive land conversion in Java, particularly in Jakarta and East Java, are among the environmental reasons for the relocation to North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan.

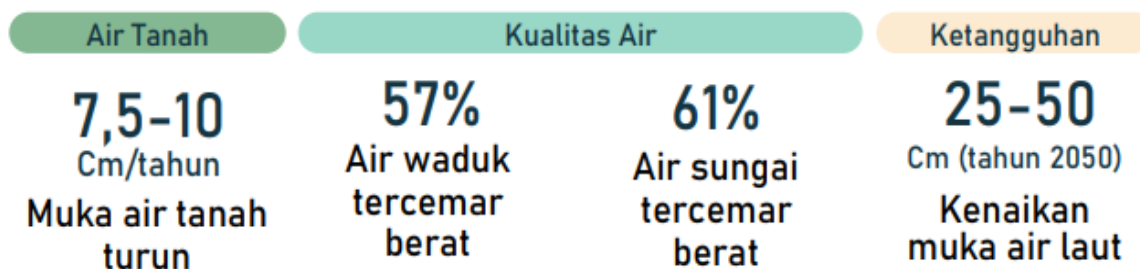


Figure 4. Decrease in Jakarta's Environmental Carrying Capacity  
Source: (National Development Planning Agency of Indonesia, 2021)

Basuki Hadimuldjono, the Minister of Public Works and Housing, explained that Jakarta has experienced significant subsidence. As a result, from 2015 until the next 15 years, the rivers will be unable to drain water into the sea. It was also found that Jakarta is no longer feasible to be developed, hence, building a new capital is considered a cheaper option compared to fixing Jakarta (Rizqo, 2022). President Joko Widodo explained that the relocation of the capital to North Penajam Paser is a necessary step because Jakarta is already overcrowded with residents, government, and economic activities. However, the city will remain the economic center, while the new capital will be the government center (Yanwardhana, 2023). This is supported by Peter Frans, the Chairman of the National Association of Indonesian Consultants, who stated that Jakarta's burden is already significant, considering the subsidence, floods, and traffic density. Therefore, the policy of capital relocation can revitalize Jakarta (Petriella, 2022).

This is implemented through several schemes, not solely relying on the State Budget, but also involving Government and Business Entity Cooperation. The estimated funding requirement for capital relocation is IDR 466 trillion, which is divided into three financing schemes, namely IDR 90.4 trillion from the State Budget, IDR 123.2 trillion from Business/Private entities, and IDR 252.5 trillion from Government and Business Entity Cooperation (Vernando). The relocation is also expected to have a positive impact on the development of the competencies of Civil Servants. This is supported by data from the participation rate of the National Leadership Program conducted by the National Administration Institute, indicating that 60% of the participants hail from Western Indonesia (Java and Sumatra), since the program is being held on Java Island (Soantahon, 2022).

Ningrum, et al. (2021) explained that the relocation of central government Civil Servants to the new capital is not expected to have a significant impact on reducing the population in West Java. This is because the estimated number of Civil Servants who will move annually is 77,728, considering one employee with their partner and two children. However, with the total population of Java Island at 150.18 million and a projected population growth rate of Indonesia from 2015 to 2045 at 0.665 percent, the relocation is unlikely to significantly impact the population density of Java Island.

**Table 2. Indonesia's Population Projection Results, 2015-2045**

Year	Population Growth	
	Scenario A	Scenario B
2015-2020	1,07	1,08
2020-2025	0,94	0,9
2025-2030	0,81	0,74
2030-2035	0,68	0,57
2035-2040	0,54	0,42
2040-2045	0,41	0,28

Source: Central Statistics Agency, 2020

### Character

#### ***Hero: defined as an actor who makes policies or who supports policies.***

The government's role in the policy of capital relocation is seen as heroic due to the uneven economic growth caused by a development focus that tends to prioritize Java over other islands. This has resulted in high urbanization rates on Java Island. This situation has persisted until now when the government took the bold step of relocating the capital to North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan. The government's issuance of a policy on relocation is indeed a significant step, as the idea was proposed during the administrations of Soekarno, Soeharto, and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. However, it was not until the administration of Joko Widodo that the government finally realized the idea.

A survey by Poltracking Indonesia at the end of 2022 showed that the public supports the government's plan to relocate the capital city to North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan. The reasons cited for this support include the improvement of the economy, equalizing development, increasing national investment, creating a more conducive capital city, and developing human resources (Akbar, 2022). The government was also backed by the community of East Kalimantan, namely Sultan Kutai Kartanegara, Muhammad Arifin, who expressed full support for the relocation of the capital city in North Penajam Paser, stating *"On behalf of Sultan Kutai Kartanegara, we fully support the current capital development"*. Sultan Paser and Muhammad Jarnawi also stated *"We from Kesultanan Paser enthusiastically welcome capital project and request that this new capital city be built as soon as possible. We believe the relocation will bring a new face and dignity to the world."* (Suwanti, 2022).

The Association of Indonesian Sociology Study Programs (APSSI) conducted a perception survey of the public regarding the relocation policy, and the results showed that the public supports the government's plan to relocate the capital. The reasons cited were that Jakarta is no longer suitable as capital, as the new capital has the potential to serve as a unifying tool for the nation, and it is expected to have an impact on economic equality (Wulan, 2022). The government through the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing showed its commitment by completing 53% of the total construction in batch 1 (state palace, presidential office, presidential secretariat office, coordinating ministry office, and state secretariat ministry). Apart from that, residences intended for state officials and state civil servants have also been prepared, and by the end of 2023, it is targeted to be 60%-70% complete (Arini, 2023).

#### **Villain: defined as actors who reject a policy**

The rejection of the policy emerged after President Joko Widodo announced the plan to actualize capital relocation to North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan. The basis for this rejection is that there are still unresolved problems requiring government attention and funding. However, the government appears to be more focused on financing the new capital city. According to Natasha Yulian, a data analyst from Continuum Data Indonesia, social media users perceive the urgency of the relocation compared to the policy of fuel subsidies, believing it has no impact on the lower class (Fitriani, 2022).

The survey results are supported by Roy Valiant Salomo, a public policy observer from the University of Indonesia, who stated that the development of the new capital city has the potential to sacrifice programs specifically dealing with the community. Similarly, some programs may need to be eliminated to redirect funds toward capital city projects due to the constrained budget



allocation (BBC News Indonesia, 2022). Muhammad Isnur, the chairman of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), stated that capital relocation is an oligarchic agenda to bring the government closer to its business centers. In addition, it is seen as an attempt to rectify the environmental damage caused by corporations in the new capital area (Sahbani, 2022).

The next rejection comes from 45 figures representing various elements of society who have submitted a petition against the Nusantara Capital. Among these figures is Busyro Muqoddas, the former chairman of the Corruption Eradication Commission, who stated that capital relocation was not carried out with transparency and does not benefit the community, thereby firmly rejecting the policy of capital relocation (Kamil, 2022). The only party in Parliament that opposes the draft Law on capital relocation is the Prosperous Justice Party (commonly known as PKS) faction, citing the inappropriate conditions caused by the pandemic from 2020 to 2022, resulting in widespread job losses and high poverty rates in the community. Suryadi Jaya Purnama, a Parliament member from the PKS faction, explained that capital relocation would further increase the government's debt position (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, 2022a). The National Committee for Agrarian Reform (KNPA), consisting of 19 civil community organizations also declared their rejection and called for the cessation of capital development (Gunawan, 2022).

### **Victims: defined as actors who are affected by a policy**

Erasmus Cahyadi, the Deputy Secretary General of the Archipelago Indigenous Community Alliance (AMAN), stated that capital development is fraught with issues and is solely driven by business and political interests. Furthermore, the selected location for capital is on land owned and controlled by the indigenous community and farmers. It is estimated that at least 20 thousand indigenous communities will be affected by capital development (Gunawan, 2022).

The Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform stated that in 2024, approximately 17 thousand civil servants, army, and police will be relocated to Nusantara Capital (Kementerian Pendayagunaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi, 2023). While most of the community considers relocation as part of the duties of the employees, it is worth questioning whether sufficient communication has been conducted to ensure that all employees accept the relocation decision. The government may not need to provide a large incentive to employees who are willing to relocate when the relocation decision is accepted by employees based on loyalty and readiness to be placed anywhere.

Dhony Rahajoe, the Deputy Head of Nusantara Capital Authority, explained that unmarried employees who relocated to Nusantara Capital will be provided with a shared housing concept, where multiple employees will share one house (CNN Indonesia, 2023). This differs from the specifications outlined in Appendix II of Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the capital City, specifically Letter F.1. about housing and settlement development. According to the law, employees will only be provided with a 98 m<sup>2</sup> flat, hence, it is detrimental to the relocated employees.

### **Plot**

The government has ensured that the relocation of the new capital can address the challenges faced by the existing capital through objective studies. North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan was chosen as the new capital based on technical feasibility studies conducted in 2018-2019. These studies showed that it is strategically located in the middle of Indonesia's archipelagic sea lane (ALKI) II in the Makassar Strait, serving as a national and regional main sea route. The new capital location also has adequate basic infrastructure, such as airports, seaports, toll roads, and others (energy and drinking water networks). Moreover, there are developed buffer cities nearby, such as Balikpapan and Samarinda. The new capital also has sufficient government-owned land and is considered to have low risks of natural disasters (Law Number 3 of 2022).

The government has enacted Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning Capital City, which strengthens the legal basis for the government to relocate capital from Jakarta to North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan, and subsequently name it Nusantara. As of March 2023, Danis Hidayat



Sumadilaga, the Head of the Implementation Task Force for Nusantara Capital Infrastructure Development, explained that the overall progress of capital city development has reached 23% of the total development and continues to prioritize environmental aspects (Rahayu, 2023).

The claim that capital development considers environmental factors and a geographically safe location from disasters is contradicted by the occurrence of floods in the development area, with a total of 15 flood disasters occurring from 2019 to 2022. Moreover, forest and land fires also pose a threat to the new capital (Kardi, 2022). This has raised concerns about the lack of clarity regarding the reasons for relocating the capital to North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan.

Another issue arises with the discourse on the policy of issuing Building Use Rights (HGB) for 160 Years to attract investors in capital development. Suryadi Jaya Purnama explained that the issuance of HGB is not by the laws and regulations as it lacks a strong legal basis (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, 2022b). This indicates that the relocation is not carried out with thorough and well-founded studies.

### **Moral of the story**

The government's policy of capital relocation, aimed at addressing fundamental issues related to economic equality, population distribution, and balanced development, has been resisted by the community due to various considerations and perspectives. Nevertheless, the government remains committed to implementing this policy and has taken bold steps to relocate capital as an absolute necessity to drive change and progress for Indonesia.

The government's decisive actions to relocate capital are driven by a strong desire to promote change in terms of development, economy, environment, and diplomatic relations with the international community. This showcases Indonesia as an independent and strong country capable of competing on an equal footing with developed nations. It also signifies the country's progress and determination to address fundamental issues.

### **Analysis of Capital Relocation Policy Narrative**

Based on government policy narrative and counter-narrative from the community, an analysis was carried out by determining the elements in the narrative according to the policy framework, which is divided into forms and contents as follows:

#### **Policy Narrative Form:**

**Setting:** The main background conveyed by the government behind the move of the nation's capital is that the economic gap between regions on the island of Java and regions outside Java is a problem that needs to be resolved to encourage an even increase in the standard of living of the people, a problem that has so far caused the Indonesian economy to turn around more than 50%. is on the island of Java. The next background is the condition of the capital city of Jakarta which is currently facing several environmental problems so that it is felt that it can no longer accommodate the greater burden resulting from population growth, economic activity, and government.

**Character:** The protagonist (hero) is an actor who makes policies to solve the problem of economic equality and change the Java-centric paradigm to become Indonesia-centric, namely the Government (President, Ministry of PUPR, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of BUMN, House Of Representatives (DPR)); Antagonist (villain) is an actor who rejects a policy because the policy made is not by the needs of the community, is felt to be too hasty and is full of interests, namely community organizations, and figures; Victims: The community affected by capital relocation, both in Java and other islands.

**Plot:** The narrative of the policy for moving the capital city is that the Government ensures that the location for the new capital city can be moved to answer the problems that exist in the capital city of Jakarta through objective studies. Apart from that, the DPR has also issued Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the National Capital City. which received rejection from community organizations and figures.

**Moral of The Story:** Despite receiving resistance from various community organizations and figures, the government continues to move the capital city to ensure that the gap between islands in Indonesia can be reduced so that the goal of economic equality can be realized.

### Policy Narrative Content:

**Belief System:** Policymakers or the government believe that moving the capital city is a solution to the economic gap that occurs between regions on the island of Java and regions on other islands, on the other hand, those who reject the policy of moving the capital city believe that moving the capital city is not important to do amidst uncertainty or The current condition of society requires government attention.

**Narrative strategies:** When carrying out outreach related to a policy, the government must clearly explain the positive impacts resulting from the policy of moving the country's capital. These impacts must be based on clear studies so that they receive acceptance from the people affected by the policies made. Apart from that, the government must provide information channels that can be accessed by the public regarding information regarding the policy of moving the country's capital.

To reduce resistance and rejection from the public, the government must ensure that concerns that the policy of moving the nation's capital will result in reduced government attention to programs or policies to fulfill basic needs do not occur, apart from that it pays attention to environmental factors in the archipelago's capital so that environmental conditions in the capital city of Jakarta is the reason the move is acceptable.

The subsequent analysis explains the comparison between the narrative of capital relocation policy and the counter-narrative to identify the gaps or differences between the two narratives. This can generate alternatives to make policy more acceptable to the community. Comparison tables are used as tools to analyze the two sets of narratives that will be compared to facilitate the analysis. The results are used to identify differences between the two sets of narratives and understand the challenges of the capital relocation policy narrative.

**Narrative one:** The narrative built by the government is that moving the nation's capital is something that must be done to ensure equitable development and economy throughout Indonesia, while the counter-narrative that emerges is that moving the nation's capital is not appropriate amid the country's difficult economic conditions amid a recession and has just recovered. from the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic. This difference is caused by the conditions felt by each actor differently, on the one hand, the government needs a new source of economic growth by carrying out development, on the one hand, the community feels that the budget allocation that should be given to the community is instead used for development, the benefits of which are not necessarily felt.

**Narrative two:** Another narrative built by the government is that moving the nation's capital is a solution for Jakarta to revitalize its environment, because population density and community living standards have decreased, but the counter narrative that has emerged explains that moving the nation's capital could create new environmental problems in Kalimantan, with deforestation massively to be used as a location for IKN and threaten the lives of indigenous people in Kalimantan, meaning that the government has not clearly explained the impact that the construction of a new capital city will have on the environment. People think that moving the capital city will not have much effect on environmental conditions in Jakarta, instead, it will cause damage. new environment with the construction of a new capital city.

Based on this explanation, it is clear that there is a gap between the main narrative of the government regarding capital relocation policy and the counter-narrative of the community, who request for postponement or cancellation of the relocation. Different interests and perspectives related to the urgency of relocation are the main challenges for the government in implementing policy. These conflicting interests arise due to the challenging economic conditions currently experienced worldwide. Inflation rates and prices of necessities have continued to rise, while the government is overly focused on allocating its budget to the infrastructure development sector. The community believes that the government does not understand the source of the problem, as they prioritize the construction of a new capital city over the provision of necessities at affordable prices and the reduction of inflation rates.

Another issue is the difference in opinions regarding the solution to environmental problems in Jakarta and Java Island. Capital relocation is not seen as a solution, but rather as a means to shift responsibility for the current conditions in Jakarta to a new location in



Kalimantan. The Public believes that the government should prioritize solving environmental problems in Jakarta rather than relocating the capital, as this is perceived as an attempt to avoid responsibility for the current situation. However, the government has denied this by explaining that capital relocation opens up opportunities for Jakarta to improve its environment with similar funds, more or less the same as allocated for the construction of the new capital.

## CONCLUSION

The policy of capital relocation was not well received by the entire community due to several reasons, such as the lack of community involvement in policy formulation, which resulted in the policy not considering the interests and perspectives of the community. Furthermore, the government did not adequately mitigate the risks from policy implementation, leaving the public concerned about the potential reduction in funding for programs that directly benefit them. The government's policy narrative has failed to provide clarity on the potential relocation impacts. The lack of clarity regarding the funding sources and the implementation mechanism for policy has also resulted in the emergence of a contrasting narrative. In formulating policy, the government should be careful and thorough to ensure that policy is fully understood by the public. This reduces questions or counter-narratives to policy. Meanwhile, although the objective of policy may be good, failure to be transparent in the policy-making process can lead to many questions that may consequently become obstacles to policy implementation.

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