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Analysis of the Consistency Policy Indonesia's Capital Relocation in the Pandemic Era

Suswanta

Department of Government Affairs and Administration, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Danang Kurniawan

Department of Government Affairs and Administration, Jusuf Kalla School of Government, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Achmad Nurmandi

Department of Government Affairs and Administration, Jusuf Kalla School of Government, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Salahudin

Department of Government Science, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang

Correspondent Email: kurniawand949@gmail.com

Abstract

This study aims to look at the narrative of public policies related to the relocation of the Indonesian capital in the era of the Covid Pandemic 19. The narrative is seen through the development of opinions of government policy actors, political parties, and society. This study uses a Q-DAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software) approach; besides the data in this study are media and social media data. The media have an essential role to play in shaping public narratives related to policymaking. The role of public narratives can create collective awareness in providing information about actor choices in policy decision-making. This research will conduct a Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) study, which can describe, explain the structure of political narratives in policymaking. The results showed that the Government's attitude was inconsistent regarding relocating the State Capital (IKN) after the Covid 19 Pandemic. The policy choices made by the Government were evident from the Government's narrative that temporarily suspended the relocation of the State Capital (IKN). The policy steps taken by the Government are the impact of the developing public narrative related to the relocation of the State Capital (IKN) in the Covid 19 Pandemic era. The factors affecting budget availability are Covid 19, weak public support, regulations, and aspects of environmental damage. These factors have developed in the public narrative on mass media and social media so that the Government took steps to delay the process of moving the country's capital city (IKN).

Keywords: Narrative Policy Framework, Critical Discourse Analysis, Policy Making, National Capital, Media

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan melihat narasi kebijakan publik terkait dengan pemindahan Ibukota Negara Indonesia di era Pandemi Covid-19. Narasi dilihat melalui perkembangan opini aktor kebijakan Pemerintah, Partai Politik, dan Masyarakat. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan Q-DAS (Software Analisis Data Kualitatif), selain itu data pada penelitian ini merupakan data media dan sosial media. Media memiliki peran penting dalam membentuk narasi publik yang terkait pembuatan kebijakan. Peran narasi publik dapat menciptakan kesadaran kolektif dalam memberikan informasi mengenai pilihan aktor dalam pengambilan keputusan kebijakan. Penelitian ini akan melakukan studi *Narrative Policy Framework* (NPF) yang dapat mendeskripsikan, menjelaskan struktur narasi politik dalam pembuatan kebijakan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan sikap pemerintah yang tidak konsisten terkait kebijakan pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) pasca Pandemi Covid-19. Pilihan kebijakan yang diambil pemerintah terlihat dari narasi pemerintah yang melakukan penghentian sementara pemindahan Ibukota Negara (IKN). Langkah kebijakan yang diambil pemerintah tersebut merupakan dampak adanya narasi publik yang berkembang terkait pemindahan Ibukota Negara (IKN) di era Pandemi Covid-19. Adapun faktor yang mempengaruhi inkonsistensi adalah ketersediaan anggaran, Covid-19, lemahnya dukungan publik, regulasi dan aspek kerusakan lingkungan. Faktor tersebut yang berkembang dalam narasi publik pada media masa dan media sosial, sehingga adanya intervensi tersebut pemerintah melakukan langkah penundaan proses Pemindahan Ibukota Negara (IKN) Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Kerangka Kebijakan Narasi, Analisis Wacana Kritis, Pembuatan Kebijakan, Ibukota Negara, Media

INTRODUCTION

The media can be understood as a channel to spread their problems to mobilize groups and citizens to achieve policy success (Shanahan et al., 2008), and narratives in news media can strengthen or change individual beliefs around controversial topics (Shanahan et al. al., 2011). The media, stakeholders, generate disseminated narratives, and citizens describe policies and problems and can be powerful in their contexts, shaping public opinion and policy agendas (Zaller 1992; Baumgartner and Jones 1993; McBeth et al. 2005; Baumgartner and Jones 2009). Narrative and discourse play a significant role in policy formulation, so identifying narratives in the news media is challenging (Gupta, 2018).

All of the contemporary policy theories include the media or other communication sources as political actors, coalition allies, or coalition resources, and they discuss the central role of the media in setting the agenda. However, none of them clearly articulate the nuance of the narrative or delve deeply into the discussion. Theory about the role of narrative in the policy process (Kingdon 1995; Ostrom 1999; Sabatier 1999; Baumgartner and Jones 2009). Reconstructing the stories that actors tell about policy issues often shows how policy terms and measures are given meaning in different and conflicting ways (Bedsworth, 2004). Policy experts use the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) to systematically study policy group actors' narrative elements and strategies to advance the agenda (Guputa, 2018). (Crow, 2014) Using a multi-case study of stakeholder communication in environmental policymaking, analyzes stakeholder narratives of strategic importance, effectiveness, and the framing of winners and losers.

Policymaking research seeks to reveal the complexity of the temporal interactions between public policy and policy actors, events, context, and results (Weible, 2017). The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) focus seeks to describe, explain, and predict the role of narrative in politics and policy (McBeth, 2019). (NPF) is a policy process, has two

main expositions that detail the core assumptions, levels of analysis, hypotheses, and definitions of narrative concepts (Jones, McBeth, & Shanahan, 2014; Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Radaelli, 2017). Three levels of analysis are available: micro, meso, and macro (Elizabeth A. Shanahan, Jones, & McBeth, 2018). It can also provide a methodological approach to using content analysis to identify narrative policy elements (Jones and McBeth, 2010). The lenses used to view these narratives can also provide theoretical insights into how narratives can influence policy outcomes or measure policy strategy and beliefs (Crow, 2014).

Research (NPF) needs to maximize the use of big data and extensive data analysis for narrative research in the context of policymaking processes (Salahudin, 2019). This field develops concepts that explore three critical aspects of wisdom narratives: story, text, and narrative (Rimmon-Kenan, 1983: 3). (Jones, 2010) Examining past NPF applications, elements of policy narrative are identified to determine trends or patterns in previous research. The focus is on the setting (the domain of wisdom and level governance), characters (heroes, villains, and victims), and the moral of the story (solutions to policy problems). The Narrative Policy Framework is based on five core assumptions (Shanahan et al. 2018, 178–179): social construction, limited relativity, generalizable structural elements, simultaneous narrative operations at three levels (micro, meso, and macro), and the "homo narrans" model of the individual (narrative is how individuals process information and make sense of the world). One of the pathways is policy-centered by examining a policy issue's policy process through narrative and strategic elements (Shanahan, 2018).

The discourse on relocating the State Capital (IKN) was first convened by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, saying that the ideal new capital city is in parts of Penajam Paser Utara Regency and partly in Kutai Kartanaegara Regency, East Kalimantan Province. The Ministry of National Development Planning of the Republic of Indonesia / National Development Planning Agency has started the planning stage, including preparing feasibility studies related to the capital relocation project. The relocation of the National Capital has undergone a change in accelerating the policy wherein the planning and preparation process has impacted the Covid 19 virus. This condition has resulted in various perceptions from stakeholders regarding taking sides in moving the State Capital (IKN). Thus, the research aims to examine the policymaking of developing the policy narrative of relocating the State Capital (IKN) during the pandemic. The problem of Covid 19 has become an essential narrative for the Government to choose whether to continue moving the State Capital City (IKN) or postpone it. This research has an essential role in explaining the Narrative Policy Framework for the State Capital Relocation (IKN). After carrying out the media and narrative construction, the researcher then carried out a Critical Discourse Analysis from the results of the analysis (NPF), which aims to develop ideological assumptions that are contained behind the words in the text or speech in various forms of Habermas power (via Darma, 2009).

According to (Darma 2009: 49), critical discourse analysis is an attempt or process of deciphering to provide clarity of a text (social reality) that is willing or being studied by a person or dominant group with a specific goal desired. According to Habermas (via Darma, 2009: 53), the purpose of critical discourse analysis is to develop ideological assumptions that are contained behind the words in the text or speech in various forms of power. Critical discourse analysis is used to study the relationships between discourse and social and cultural developments in the social domains (Jorgensen Philips, 2007). The objectives to be achieved by critical discourse analysis are: first, to analyze discourse practices that reflect or construct social problems (Fairclough, 2010). Fairclough offers a four-step Critical Discourse Analysis method: first, focusing on a "social irregularity," in its semiotic aspect; second, identifying barriers to dealing with the "social irregularity";

third, to consider whether the social order "requires" the social irregularity; fourth, identify possible ways to overcome these barriers (Fairclough, 2010).

RESEARCH METHOD

The focus of this research is to see how policy actors develop and communicate policy narratives related to policymaking (IKN) so that they can define narrative structures and narrative content (Jones, 2018). Researchers used news data to analyze the country's capital relocation policy through online media, newspaper archives, and newspapers. We used the primary search term "Capital Move" "New Capital" from January 12, 2020, to November 28, 2020. This research uses two national news media sources, Media Indonesia and Kompas. The media selection is considered one of the sources that have high credibility, and besides that, the media is active in providing information on moving the State Capital (IKN). Then, in this study, only two news media sources have been considered by researchers, which as a whole national media have the same narrative related to the narrative of moving the national capital.

Table 1. Classification of media sources "Content Archipelago."

No	Media	Total
1	Media Indonesia	15
2	Kompas	10

Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

News is reviewed and ensures that the article includes an essential part about the news on the transfer of the State Capital (IKN). (Blair, 2016) Articles that are not news (e.g., editorial, comments) are removed and replaced with other randomly selected articles. One of the two coders coded the document using a similar codebook (Heikkila et al., 2014). The research steps of the Narrative Policy Framework have stages, building research questions (NPF), identifying research locus, and the level of analysis is distinguished from the unit of analysis. They were specifying the research model, coding visual narrative data, accessing narrative data, analyzing narrative data (Elizabeth A. Shannah et al., 2018).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Narrative Policy Framework for Relocating the State Capital in 2020

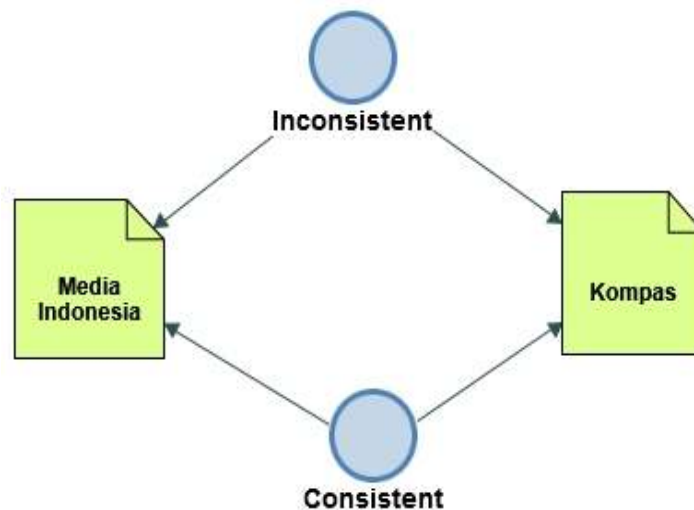
The policy narrative of relocating the capital city (IKN) has experienced dynamic developments in 2020. The discourse has become the public's attention published in the mass media so that the media can create a collective discussion of substance that has the attention of all circles regarding stakeholder communication in environmental policymaking, analyzing stakeholder narratives of strategy, effectiveness, and framing of winners and losers (Crow, 2014). The policy of relocating the national capital is a top-down policy in which the central government becomes the main actor in moving the national capital (IKN). The central government's discourse to move the capital of the State of Indonesia (IKN) will be moved from Jakarta to parts of Penajam Paser Utara Regency and parts of Kutai Kartanegara Regency, which was published in President Joko Widodo's Decree, Monday (Kompas, August 26, 2019) during a press conference at the Palace Country.

The narrative of relocating the State Capital (IKN) was motivated by the problem of the demographic bonus. Jakarta's problems also bear the burden of being the government, business, financial, trade, service, and education centers. In addition, the essential thing in policy narratives is to create a structured frame related to the development of problem definitions based on the inclusion of some evidence and not

other information to support specific policy outcomes (Entman 1993; Shanahan et al. 2008). In this case, the central government explains the reasons for relocating the State Capital (IKN), one of which is economic. Per Island Economic Contribution to National GRDP, Java Island Economic Contribution to National GRDP 58.49%, Jabodetabek PDRB Share 20.85%. Meanwhile, there are aspects of natural water availability in Java, especially DKI Jakarta and East Java (Ministry of PUPUR 2016).

Based on the plan to relocate the State Capital (IKN), construction will start in 2020, so that by 2024 the process of moving will be carried out. Relocating the State Capital (IKN) is based on the stages, which we will detail later. We already know how the construction progress is going, "said the Minister of Bappenas (Tirto, 29, 2109). However, moving to the capital city is not following the initial stage according to the planning. Data analysis results from January to November found that policy actors (Central Government and Local Government) show consistency and inconsistency in moving the State Capital (IKN).

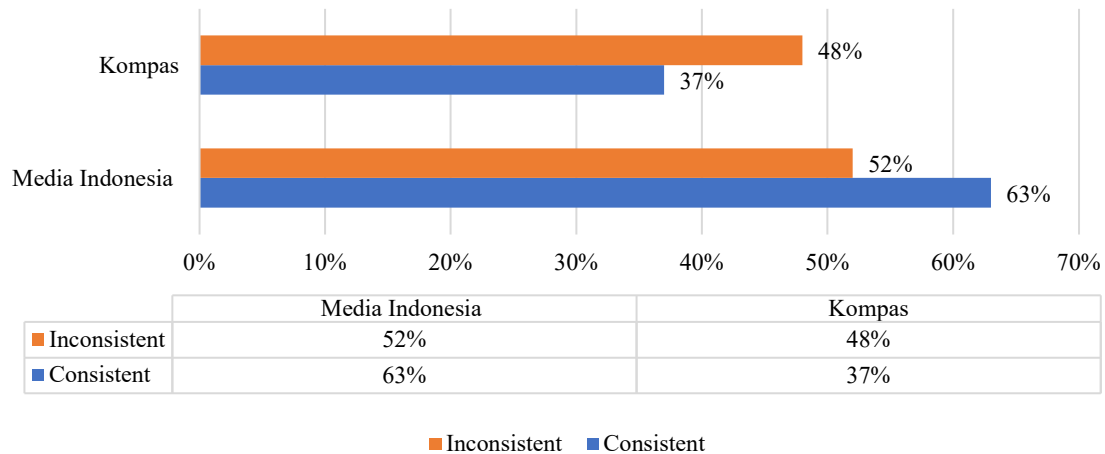
Figure 1. Narrative Policy Framework Pattern



Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

The narrative structure of the Capital City Relocation (IKN) policy can be seen from the visualization of Figure 1, showing the inconsistency of the government in considering continuing. The analysis results show that there is a massive inconsistency of the narrative that is not informed. This condition is part of the government's strategy to provide massive information in answering general questions related to the State Capital mega-project (IKN). In detail, the consistency of the government's narrative is still high in the media, Kompas (63%), and Media Indonesia (52%). In this case, the central government is the main actor that can provide policy solutions based on several choices of their attitudes (Jones, 2014; Shanahan, Jones, & MacBeth, 2011). For example, about several public issues with great concern for the public, they will highlight some problems and ignore others (Jones, 2014; Shanahan, Jones, & MacBeth, 2011). Regarding time series, inconsistency narratives are vulnerable to being reported at the peak of the Covid pandemic in June to November, so the inconsistency percentage is lower than consistent narratives.

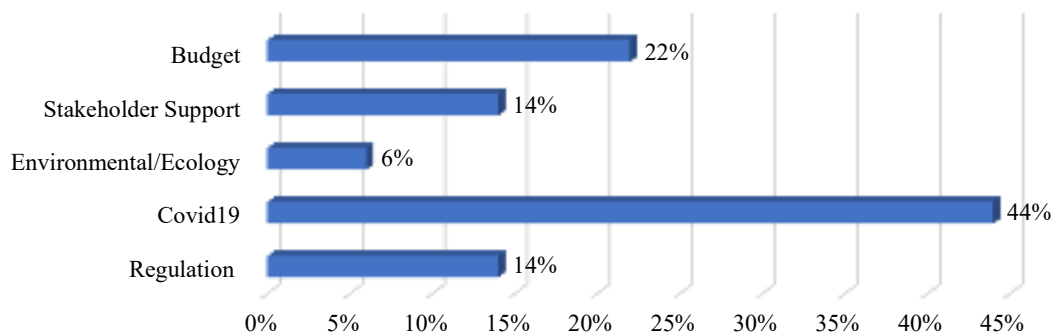
Figure 2. Comparison diagram of the Narrative Policy Framework



Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

National Media, Kompas and Media Indonesia portray the incoherence of the narrative of the relocation of the State Capital (IKN). The condition occurs because narrative policies can be established through public productivity in addressing the issue and discussing policy-related issues (Shanahan et al., 2018). This condition is influenced by various factors that cause inconsistency of the central government in policymaking. The quite contradictory narrative produced by the central government to the public indicates the potential for delays in relocating the State Capital (IKN). The inconsistency of the central government was then massively passed on to the ministries and institutions as well as the regional government, which became the location of the New State Capital (IKN). The delay in making the relocation policy for the new capital city (IKN) is influenced by various fundamental problems that affect the carrying capacity and success of the relocation policy for the State Capital (IKN). This condition makes the central government consider policy decision-making, while the narrative is a factor of delay according to policy actors (Government).

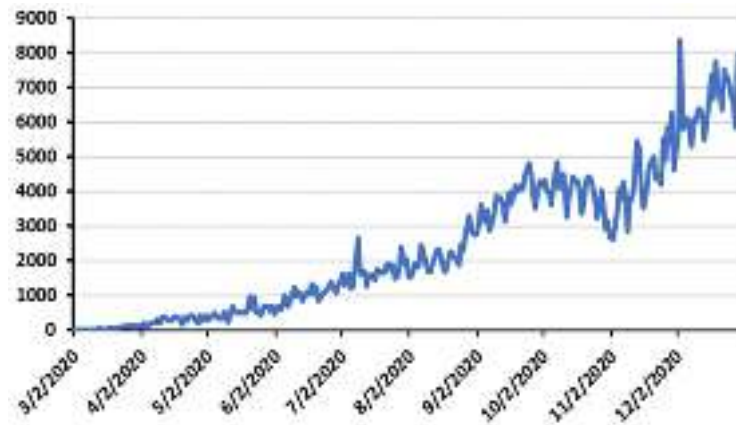
Figure 3. Classification of Barriers to Relocation of the State Capital (IKN)



Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

Five obstacles impact the postponement of the policy for relocating the State Capital (IKN). The Covid-19 pandemic with a percentage (44%) is one factor causing the Government's inconsistent narrative regarding the relocation of the State Capital (IKN). The outbreak of the Corona Virus Disease 19 (Covid-19) pandemic has had a significant effect on 181 countries in the world (up to April 15, 2020), including Indonesia. Research (Yenti Sumarni, 2020) shows the impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on the global economy, including the economy in Indonesia.

Figure 4. Increase in the Number of Covid 19 Cases in Indonesia



Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

The picture above shows that is related to the significant increase in Covid-19 growth in Indonesia in 2020. This condition impacts the availability of government budgets in supporting the policy of relocating the State Capital (IKN). The budget availability factor has the highest percentage after the Pandemic Covid-19 with a percentage (22%). The availability of a budget is one of the supporting capacities in carrying out moving the capital stages. The condition of the Covid-19 pandemic, the country's economy was severely affected. The component of state revenue realization was still experiencing a contraction, and tax revenue grew negatively compared to the previous year due to a slowdown in economic activity and fiscal incentives. As a result of the Covid-19 pandemic, the government decided to refocus the budget. The government focuses on budgeting the expenditure budget for handling Covid-19.

Table 1. Target and Realization of State Revenue

Indicator	Indicator	Indicator
State Income National	Rp2.233,20	Rp 1.760,9
Expenditure	Rp2.540,42	Rp2.613,82
Primary Balance	-Rp12,01	-Rp517,78
Budget Deficit	-Rp307,23	-Rp852,94
Debt Financing	Rp351,85	Rp1.006,40

Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

Based on the above data, it can be seen that the state of the state revenue budget has decreased from the target of Rp. 2,233.2 trillion to Rp. 1,760.9 trillion. State expenditure has increased from Rp. 2,540.4 trillion to Rp. 2,613.8 trillion. From this figure, the deficit will increase from IDR 307.2 trillion (1.76% of GDP) to IDR 853 trillion (5.07% of GDP) (Ministry of Finance, 2020). The financial condition is one of the narratives of the government's inconsistency in moving the State Capital (IKN).

Figure 5. Word Frequency Narrative Barriers to Moving the Capital of the State (IKN)



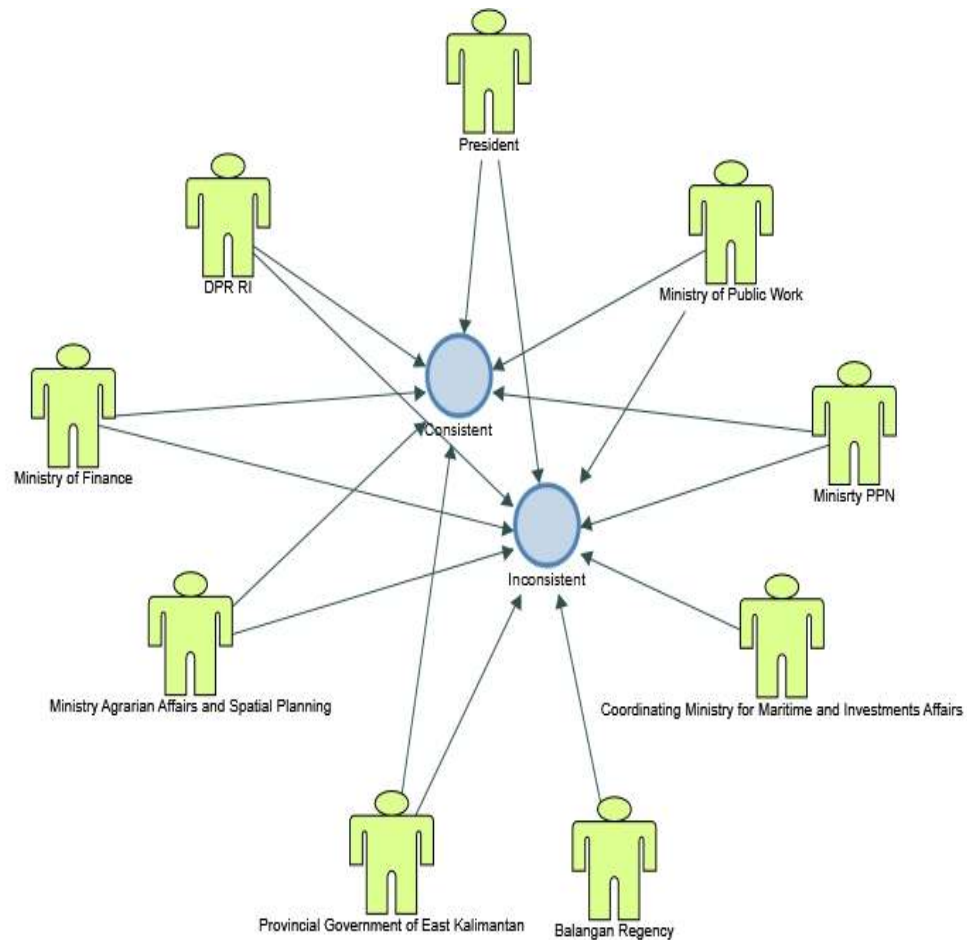
Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

Word frequency analysis results, the obstacle shows that the word Covid has a very dominant percentage of narrative topics related to the relocation of the State Capital (IKN). The inconsistency of the public policy narrative (Pandemic, Pilkada) affects the government's narrative to the public. The relationship between the two dramatically influences the government's strategy for making policy decisions. Pandemic Covid-19 is one of the most fundamental issues and has had fatal consequences in several postponed policy agendas of the central and regional governments.

The Narrative Relationship of Policy Actors

Policy process for the transfer of the State Capital (IKN) has top-down characteristics; it can be seen from the initiator of the transfer of the State Capital, present from the central government. President Jokowi is an actor who has played an essential role in the production of the policy for moving the national capital and related ministries. The narrative of policy actors is an essential source of information in testing the central government's consistency in determining whether or not to move the State Capital (IKN). Project Map shows a pattern of public narrative communication carried out by policy actors, with attitudes (consistent and inconsistent) on all policy actors and having the same dominant presentation. The inconsistency of policy actors is more dominant in the central government, president Jokowi, and the ministries, who played an essential role in moving the national capital. President Jokowi has shown inconsistency in the sustainability of moving the State Capital (IKN) so that this condition is manifested through the relevant ministries having the same narrative.

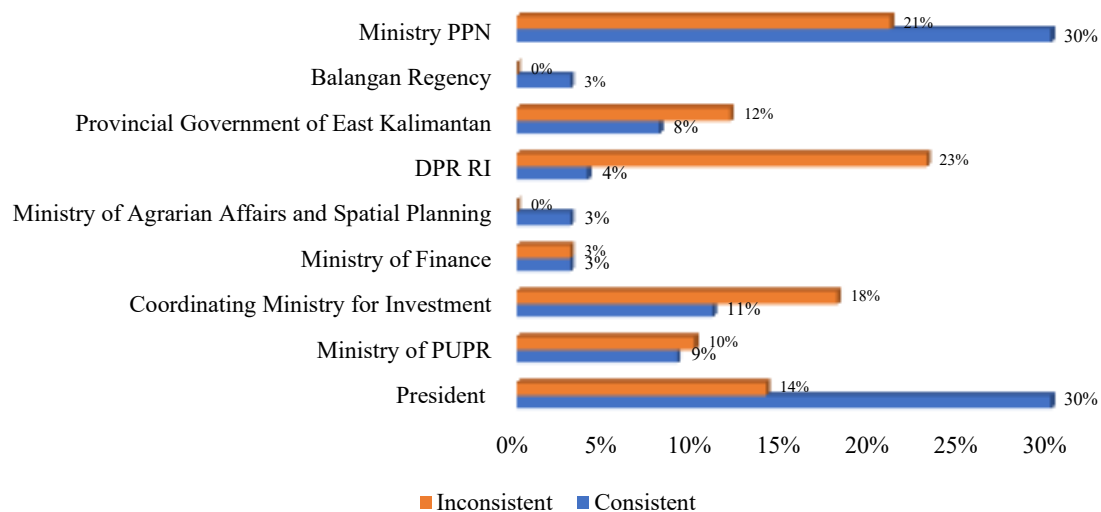
Figure 6. The project, Map of Actor's Narrative Relationships in the Policy of Relocating the National Capital



Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

Inconsistency is an attitude that can delay the movement of the State Capital (IKN). The policy actors who have an essential role collectively show inconsistencies, but the results of the visualization of the dominant narrative attitude are consistent, and the consistency of policy actors has varying proportions. Of course, the results of this analysis become the focus of an attitude of inconsistency so that it has the potential to show a delay in moving the State Capital (IKN). Meanwhile, policy solutions are often accompanied by policy solutions (Shanahan, Macbeth, & Hathaway, 2011). As for this case, the central government offered solutions in overcoming the postponement of relocating the State Capital (IKN) during the Pandemic Covid-19.

Figure 7. Comparison of Narrative Attitudes of Consistency and Inconsistency Between Actors

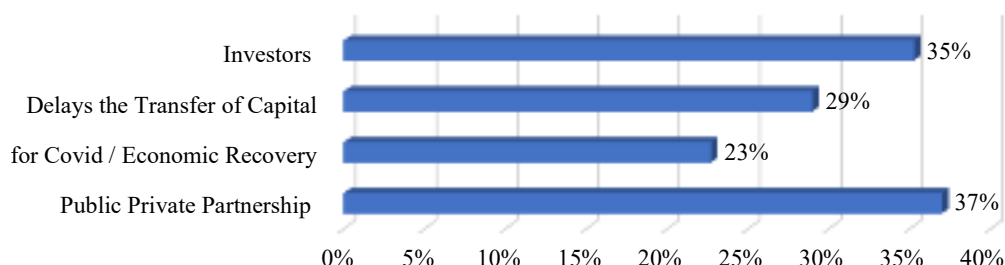


Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

The distribution of narrative developments among policy actors between ministries has varying proportions. An exciting data is finding that the visualization results above show that the Central Government (Executive) still has a high percentage of inconsistencies. President Jokowi, the Ministry of National Development Planning, and Finance are still consistent with the percentage (30%). However, the condition of the narrative attitude of the DPR RI and the Regional Government of East Kalimantan Province shows that there is still a high and dominating attitude of inconsistency regarding the relocation of the State Capital (IKN).

Attitudes (consistency and inconsistency) followed by narrative delivery of government policies, the conditions of various factors that influence it, lead to general conclusions. The structure of policy narratives that most policy narratives contain identifiable elements, such as setting, characters, plot, and story morale (Jones, MacBeth, & Shanahan, 2014). This inconsistent narrative of relocation of the State Capital (IKN) was followed by various priority steps of the Central Government. Overall, the Government's solution is to follow up on investors. In addition, through President Jokowi, the Central Government asked Ministries and Institutions to map the potential to attract investors to construct the New Capital City Relocation (IKN). This condition is an effort to follow up on relocating the State Capital (IKN) in 2021.

Figure 8. Narrative of Government Policy Inconsistency (IKN) Solutions



Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

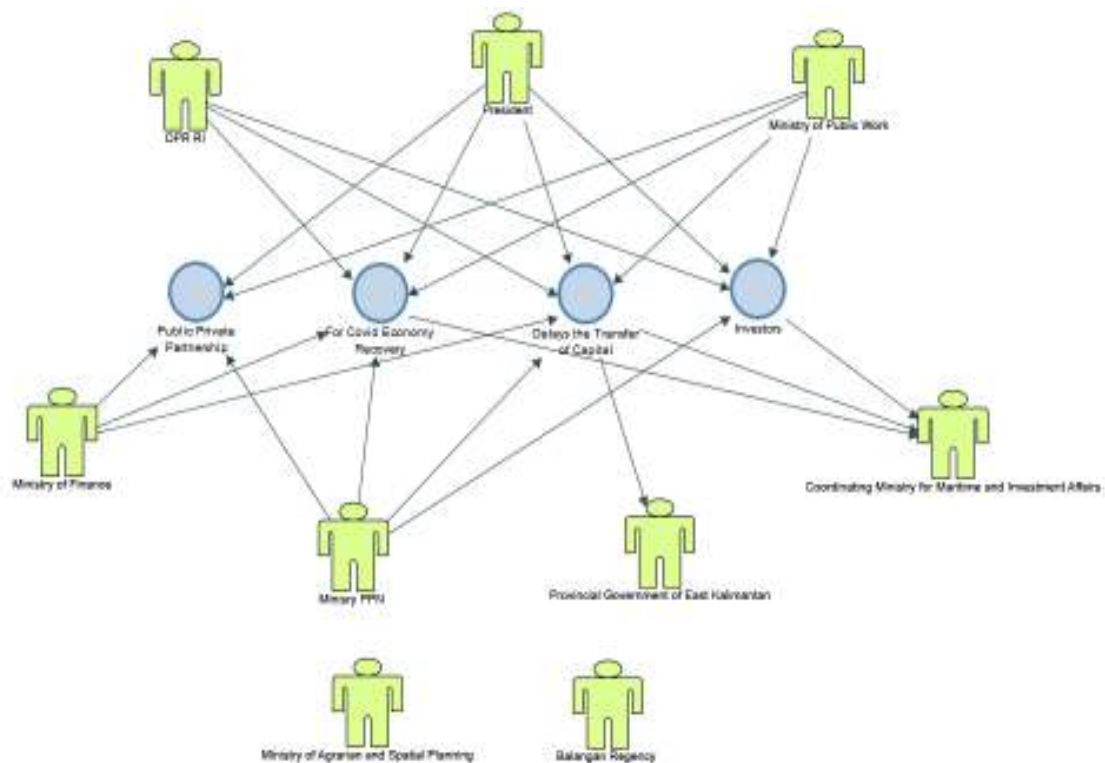
Inconsistency of the central government in taking a policy of delaying the relocation of the State Capital (IKN) is a form of public narrative intervention. Then the government's response in providing an explanation related to the attitude taken was to make a massive communication approach. Policy actors have begun to use the internet

and social media platforms such as YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, and Reddit to provide attitudes and narratives related to policy narratives (McBeth et al., 2012). The analysis results show a solution to the inconsistency of the narrative in the continuation of the relocation of the State Capital (IKN).

1. Investors are one of the alternative solutions in following up the inconsistencies of
2. The central government postponed the plan to relocate the State Capital (IKN). The
3. The government focuses on dealing with the Pandemic Covid-19 and restoring the economy.
4. Alternative financing with Public-Private Partnerships.

Postponing the State Capital (IKN) relocation is one of the government's priority steps in dealing with the Pandemic Covid-19. Based on the results of critical analysis, it is known that the potential for the continuation of the process of moving the State Capital (IKN) is immense. This condition can be seen from the visualization of images showing the project map of policy actors who postpone attitude and make strategies to find new alternatives through investors and (PPP).

Figure 9. Scheme of the Solution for the Government's Inconsistency Follow Up



Sources: Compiled by the Authors, 2021

The government is very consistent in relocating the State Capital (IKN), but its focus is currently being delayed. Seeing the solutions made by policy actors helps answer the obstacles that affect government inconsistencies. In addition, it is an attempt or process of deciphering to provide clarity of a text (social reality) that has a specific purpose of getting what you want (Darma, 2009: 49). As explained the budget for relocation of the State Capital (IKN), the government increases the role of investors and

uses the Public-Private Participation scheme in its development. This step can be an effective solution where the country's financial and economic conditions are still affected by the Pandemic Covid-19 transition period. Solutions in policy-making related to the government's attitude are more dominant in establishing cooperative relationships and following up on investors. President Jokowi is one of the influential actors in relocating the State Capital (IKN). Concept and narrative of postponement of the first transfer (IKN) from the President. Based on the table above, it can be seen that Jokowi's narrative inconsistency is relatively dominant.

CONCLUSION

The policy narrative in making the relocation of Indonesia's State Capital (IKN) policy has experienced dynamic developments. In early 2020, the central government was still consistent in relocating the State Capital (IKN) according to the initial plan. The policy process for relocating the state capital of Indonesia has experienced a shift due to public intervention related to the Pandemic Covid-19. This condition has resulted in the central government experiencing an inconsistent attitude regarding moving the State Capital. Policy narrative intervention is carried out by stakeholders, political parties, NGOs, NGOs, and local governments. With the narrative intervention from each interest group, the central government made alternative policies to delay relocating the State Capital (IKN). The steps taken by the central government are based on the results of the Narrative Analysis Mapping Project, showing a focus on handling the pandemic Covid-19 and following up on investors who have collaborated. The potential for the sustainability of the State Capital (IKN) relocation will be carried out in 2021, where the narrative is dominated by President Jokowi and the Ministry of National Development Planning (Indonesian: Bappenas). In addition, this research has a novelty that can explain the role of the media narrative as an actor informing public narratives, which can intervene in government policies. Other than that in this study, of course, has research limitations that we cannot fully achieve, among others. First: the data we use is only two national media, so the subjectivity of the media is still vulnerable. Second: The researcher did not conduct an in-depth analysis every month and what socio-political phenomena influenced the narrative. Recommendations for further research: Use a comparison of conventional media and press media from the relevant central government (Institution / Ministry) webpages.

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