

Dominant Actors and Political Communication related to The New National Capital City (Ibu Kota Negara - IKN)

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Abstract

The policy of moving the National Capital City from DKI Jakarta to East Kalimantan continues to be an interesting issue to be discussed. This research focuses on Twitter, a microblogging platform, where users can upload tweets and interact with other users through four types of engagement: likes, retweets, replies, and quotes. By using the quantitative content analysis research method, this study aims to see who the dominant actor or communicator in the IKN issue from the four recorded engagements is. Since the enactment of the Law on National Capitals, from 18 January 2022 to 31 January 2022, there have been 14,872 interactions on Twitter, with two dominant communication actors. The results showed that Muhammad Said Didu through the account @msaid_didu, is at the top for like interactions (6,009 times) and retweet interactions (1,861 times). Meanwhile, Ridwan Kamil (@ridwankamil), was ranked 1st and 2nd for reply interactions (2,228 and 1,571 times). Ridwan Kamil also got the highest quote interactions of 1,349 times. The topic of moving the IKN involved well-known figures accounts such as Hidayat Nur Wahid and Sudjiwo Tedjo. In addition, accounts that are also involved and get high user engagement are accounts belonging to the media, such as Tempo (@tempodotco), Kompas (@kompascom and @kompasTV), Kumparan (@kumparan), and CNN Indonesia (CNN Indonesia).

Keywords: *The New National Capital City, Dominant Actors, Political Communication, Twitter*

Introduction

Talking about the policy of moving the National Capital City from DKI Jakarta to East Kalimantan continues to be an interesting issue to be discussed. *Tempo.co* mentioned that there are five polemics that still arise related to this matter, namely (1) protests by local residents who suddenly pegged their land for the construction of IKN; (2) the construction of IKN which has the potential to displace twenty thousand indigenous peoples; (3) the transfer of IKN is considered to leave problems in DKI Jakarta; (4) the existence of potential human rights violations; and (5) the IKN Law is considered publicly defective. In addition, there are also still polemics regarding the use of Foreign Nationals to supervise IKN projects which are considered to trigger social jealousy. Not to mention the various challenges of technocratic in the Development of IKN Nusantara.

The construction of IKN Nusantara has been officially rolled out by referring to Law Number 3 of 2022 which was previously promulgated. IKN Nusantara is conceptualized to be a forest city, with 75 percent of its area being forest. The New National Capital City (IKN) will help Indonesia achieve its target of becoming a developed country by 2045, as outlined in

the Indonesia 2045 Vision. Built with the notion of national identity, the IKN will change the orientation of development to become more Indonesia-centric and accelerate the country's economic transformation. In addition, IKN Nusantara is planned to become a sustainable city with zero carbon emissions. In addition to building a sustainable city, President Joko Widodo's vision also wants IKN Nusantara to reflect the national identity and greatness of the Indonesian nation. Although the IKN Nusantara development project has been underway, there is a critical public response regarding this big plan (Poli, BRIN, 2022).

One of the solutions offered to reduce this polemic is to continue to strive to accommodate critical public responses as consideration for decision-making that must be able to be resolved by political decisions that do not ignore let alone exclude them. This is in line with one of the main dimensions of policy communication, that concerns to how people develop new policies. Ways in which issues rise to the level of awareness and concern to create policies about them constitute one dimension of policy communication theory and research.

Policy communication is an element and the communication process is created for, implementing, interpreting, and evaluating policy in any form. Jenkins stated that public policy as a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where those decisions should, on principle, be within the power of those actors to achieve. Thus, to be able to create strategic policies, it is necessary to begin with the identification of communications that arise in the community, as a response to developing issues.

In the context of IKN, it is also necessary to take a geo-strategic and geo-political approach, considering that there are many potential threats, which if not handled seriously, will reduce the credibility of the government. Geo-strategies are actually adopted to be implemented to preserve and protect the sense of security of an area. Meanwhile, geo-politics aims to regulate political spatial planning to avoid disturbances that cause anxiety.

These two aspects can be handled through collaboration between the state and the community. Collaboration needs to be formed by expanding the involvement of citizens to participate for common goals related to IKN. Citizen participation is further facilitated by the existence of digital media, where communication can be formed and established freely.

Communication related to IKN is in line with the stages of development of IKN. January 18, 2020, became a historic moment, where the IKN Law was approved by the DPR. That is, there is already a legal basis for the transfer of the national capital. It contains starting from the formation, form and structure of government, special authority, transfer of the position of state institutions, to funding and budget management. In the end, the preparation, construction, and transfer of the new IKN are determined as national priority programs no later than ten years after the IKN Law comes into effect.

Since its approval, this law has triggered various responses from the public. Therefore, it is important to know and analyze the response of the cyber community, especially the dominant actors in communicating it through Twitter social media. The identification of this response is expected to be an input for the creation of policies related to IKN.

Method

This research uses netnography as a written records resulting from studying cultures and communities that emerged from Internet-based communication. But, this study will only analyze content, by identifying tweets based on four types of engagements in Twitter, namely:

- a. *like* (promoting a tweet),
- b. *retweet* (sharing a tweet with the followers),
- c. *reply* (answering to a tweet), and
- d. *quote* (commenting to a tweet while sharing with the followers).

By using the quantitative content analysis research method, this study aims to see who the dominant actor or communicator in the IKN issue from the four recorded engagements is. The general framework of any content analysis begins with conceptualizing the idea for investigation. Researchers begin by identifying a corpus of texts that will explore a research question or hypothesis. A research question should acknowledge how the texts elicit social action and consider who the texts were written for, why they were written, and how they have been used. This research began with data collection, namely by taking and mining (crawling) conversation data on social media using ASIGTA. The data collection was conducted Since the enactment of the Law on National Capitals, from 18 January 2022 to 31 January 2022. Noted, there have been 14,872 interactions on Twitter.

Researchers will analyze the four types of engagements, to identify the accounts with the highest number of interactions, as the dominant actors in IKN-related communications. Meanwhile, data validity tests are carried out by confirming data when the analysis process is carried out.

Results and Discussion

This research results section contains an explanation of the results of the analysis related to the identification of dominant actors and what kind of Political Communication in the New National Capital City (Ibu Kota Negara - IKN)'s issues. First discussion will talk about what are ten most interactive twitter accounts based on the four types of engagement. Twitter account that has the most *like* interactions listed in table 1. Muhammad Said Didu through the account @msaid_didu, is at the top for like interactions (6,009 times). It follow with @tempodotco and @ridwankamil.

Table 1. *Like* Interactions

No.	Account	Number of <i>Like</i> Interactions	Date
1	@msaid_didu	6.009	January 24 th , 2022
2	@tempodotco	3.342	January 19 th , 2022
3	@ridwankamil	3.163	January 22 nd , 2022
4	@TrendAsia_org	3.056	January 19 th , 2022
5	@sudjiwotedjo	2.274	January 26 th , 2022
6	@ferrykoto	2.230	January 27 th , 2022
7	@keuangannews_id	2.126	January 20 th , 2022
8	@CNNIndonesia	2.002	January 19 th , 2022
9	@KompasTV	1.957	January 30 th , 2022
10	@tempodotco	1.897	January 26 th , 2022

Source: Research results

In tweet uploaded on January 24th, 2022, Said Didu expressed his opinion regarding IKN. He mentioned five things related to IKN, namely: (1) born from personal desire - without in-depth study; (2) intended for the enjoyment of oligarchy - not for the benefit of the masses; (3) built from debt funds or third-party funds, (4) supported by sycophants of power; and (5) not in the interest of the people.

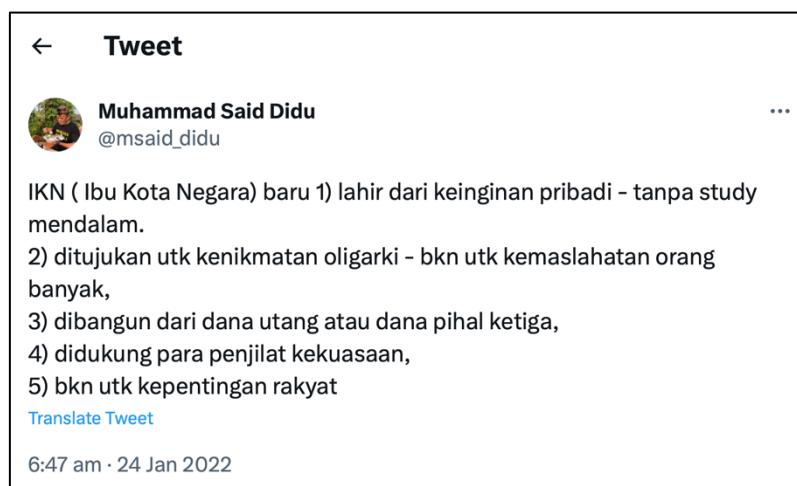


Figure 1. Tweet from Mohammad Said Didu's twitter account (@msaid_didu) on January 24th, 2022.

Said Didu, Secretary of *Kementerian Badan Usaha Milik Negara*/BUMN (The Ministry of State Owned Enterprises) in 2005-2010, is indeed known as a figure who often expresses his opinion regarding the transfer of IKN. His opinion on twitter received great attention from netizens. Evidently, this tweet got 6,009 likes.

On *retweet* interactions, Muhammad Said Didu through the account @msaid_didu, is also at the top for retweet interactions (Table 2). The same tweet, then got 1.861 number of retweets. This interaction allows an account to share a tweet with the followers. Thus, Said Didu's tweet has been shared by at least 1,861 times to more followers.

Table 2. Retweet Interactions

No.	Account	Number of Retweet Interactions	Date
1	@msaid_didu	1.861	January 24 th , 2022
2	@tempodotco	1.215	January 19 th , 2022
3	@TrendAsia_org	1.163	January 19 th , 2022
4	@sudjiwotedjo	841	January 26 th , 2022
5	@ridwankamil	774	January 22 nd , 2022
6	@tempodotco	728	January 26 th , 2022
7	@kumparan	685	January 21 st , 2022
8	@CNNIndonesia	608	January 19 th , 2022
9	@QaillaAsyiqah	530	January 24 th , 2022
10	@keuangannews_id	502	January 20 th , 2022

Source: Research results



Figure 2. Tweet from tempo.co’s twitter account (@tempodotco) on January 19th, 2022.

In the second position, twitter account which gets the number of *retweets* is the tempo.co account (@tempodotco). In a tweet uploaded on January 19th, 2022, this media account shared an article on online media nasional.tempo.co entitled “*Koalisi Kaltim Tolak UU Ibu Kota Negara, Berpotensi Gusur Lahan Adat*” (Kaltim Coalition Rejects the National Capital Law, Potentially Evicting Customary Land). Tempo.co wrote a tweet by paraphrasing the online news headline to “*Koalisi Masyarakat Kaltim menolak Undang-Undang tentang Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) yang baru disahkan DPR pada Selasa, 19 Januari 2022*” (The East Kalimantan Community Coalition rejects the Law on the National Capital (IKN) which was just passed by the House of Representatives on Tuesday, January 19, 2022).

This tweet was then added with a hashtag: #TempoNasional indicating that this news was national in scale. Tempo provides hashtags according to the division of rubrics in online media. *Tempo Nasional* is used for the latest and latest national news about government, law, politics, crime, education, and events that occur in Indonesia. While *Tempo Dunia* contains the latest international news regarding politics, law, government, crime cases, wars that occur around the world. Another example, on *Tempo Metro*, we will find the latest metropolitan news in Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, Bekasi regarding government, law, education and social issues.

By definition (Laucuka, 2018), a hashtag is ‘a word or phrase preceded by a hash sign (#), used on social media websites and applications, especially Twitter, to identify messages on a specific topic’ (ODE). The hashtag serves the function of linking content into a larger conversation about a specific topic on Twitter’ (van den Berg 2014:5).

Meanwhile, for *reply* engagement, the results showed that Ridwan Kamil (@ridwankamil), was ranked 1st and 2nd for this interactions (2,228 and 1,571 times). This result was obtained from two tweets uploaded on two consecutive days, January 21 and 22, 2022.

Table 3. Reply Interactions

No.	Account	Number of Reply Interactions	Date
1	@ridwankamil	2.228	January 22 nd , 2022
2	@ridwankamil	1.571	January 21 st , 2022
3	@hnurwahid	853	January 18 th , 2022
4	@tempodotco	785	January 26 th , 2022
5	@democrazymedia	530	January 30 th , 2022
6	@msaid_didu	427	January 24 th , 2022
7	@hnurwahid	340	January 22 nd , 2022
8	@MardaniAliSera	302	January 18 th , 2022
9	@kompascom	278	January 21 st , 2022
10	@OposisiCerdas	272	January 25 th , 2022

Source: Research results



Figure 3. Tweet from Ridwan Kamil’s twitter account (@ridwankamil) on January 22nd, 2022.

Ridwan Kamil uploaded a video of IKN, tweeting “*IBU KOTA NEGARA resmi dinamai “Nusantara”. Apa harapan kita kepada ibu kota baru ini?*” (the capital city is officially named "Nusantara". What are our hopes for this new capital?). This question provoked 2,228 replies. Here is some of the replies:

fdzr @fadjarkim “Gak jadi pindah pak. Gak penting” (Not move. Not Important)

Txtrobotbera @robotbera “Epic nih beberapa taun lg” (Epic in few years away)

&cok @Ccookk_ “Harapan sih semoga hutan gak rusak , tp pas liat video nya keliatan ngerusak hutan, jadi kepikiran kalo udh jadi nya gmn” (Hopefully the forest will not be damaged, but when you see the video it looks like will destroying the forest, think about how it will be)

Table 4. Quote Interactions

No.	Account	Number of Quote Interactions	Date
1	@ridwankamil	1.349	January 22 nd , 2022
2	@tempodotco	523	January 26 th , 2022
3	@hnurwahid	185	January 18 th , 2022
4	@ridwankamil	170	January 21 st , 2022
5	@TrendAsia_Org	169	January 19 th , 2022
6	@tempodotco	140	January 19 th , 2022
7	@MardaniAliSera	105	January 18 th , 2022
8	@kompascom	103	January 21 st , 2022
9	@sudjiwotedjo	102	January 26 th , 2022
10	@msaid_didu	92	January 24 th , 2022

Source: Research results

As mentioned in Table 4, this Ridwan Kamil’s tweet also got the highest *quote* interactions of 1,349 times. Twitter account that *quote* this tweet will commenting while sharing with their followers. After Ridwan Kamil, tempo.co took second place in *quote* interaction.



Figure 4. Tweet from tempo.co’s twitter account (@tempodotco) at January 26th, 2022.

Just like before, tempo.co re-shared the news from his online media *bisnis.tempo.co* entitled “*Kepala Bappenas Tak Tahu Ada Konsesi Tambang di Ibu Kota Negara*” (Head of the Ministry of National Development Planning Doesn't Know There Are Mining Concessions in the National Capital). Ringkasan berita ditulis dalam tweet “*Kepala Bappenas Suharso Manoarfa tak tahu sebagian lahan di Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) merupakan wilayah konsesi tambang*” (Head of the Ministry of National Development Planning Suharso Manoarfa did not know that some of the land in the National Capital City (IKN) was a mining concession area).

Tempo.co also continues to add hashtags, namely #TempoBisnis, a tempo.co rubric containing the latest and latest business news about economics, finance, banking, investment, stocks in Indonesia and the world today.

From these four twitter interactions, it can be seen that the dominant actors in communication about IKN on Twitter in the period 18-31 January 2023 are Muhammad Said Didu and Ridwan Kamil. Said Didu was Secretary of The Ministry of State Owned Enterprises in 2005-2010, and having long been known to be very vocal in criticizing the government.

One of Said Didu's most vocal criticisms of the government was related to the acquisition of PT Freeport Indonesia's shares. Said Didu considered that the government's policy in purchasing Freeport Indonesia's shares through PT Inalum could harm the state. Outline his statement regarding the heavy burden of the state budget due to Corona. However, on the other hand, the National Capital City (IKN) development program in East Kalimantan Province has not been postponed. For Said Didu, the IKN project under *Menteri Koordinator Kemaritiman dan Investasi* (the Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment) must be diverted to handling Corona. The dialogue in question stated that the reason there has been no budget transfer from IKN is because of Luhut's strong focus on the investment sector. This conflict then continued in the legal path.

Said Didu has also been reported to *Bareskrim Polri* (the National Police Criminal Investigation Office) regarding his tweets allegedly insulting *Menteri Agama* (Minister of Religious Affairs) *Yaquut Cholil Qoumas*. Said Didu's statement was considered too judgmental of Yaquut, who had just been appointed as Minister of Religious Affairs. Through the tweet, it is alleged that there have been violations of alleged criminal acts of hate speech or individual and inter-group hostility (SARA) and crimes against the general authorities.

How Said Didu did on social media is what makes it not surprising if then the *likes* and *retweets* he gets on tweets related to IKN get a high number.

Besides Said Didu, the dominant actor in communication on social media related to IKN is Ridwan Kamil. Currently, Ridwan Kamil occupies the position as Governor of West Java. The politician, who is familiarly called Kang Emil, emphasized that he fully supports the development of the National Capital of the Archipelago. This support is realized by conveying the challenges that will be faced by IKN, along with their solutions.

One of the major challenges that IKN will face is to bring civil society or non-state civil apparatus populations to live in IKN, precisely in the Penajam Paser Utara, East Kalimantan. For this reason, Kang Emil will invite West Java entrepreneurs to invest in IKN. In addition, he will also invite West Java infrastructure entrepreneurs to enliven the construction sector at IKN. As an architect, Kang Emil is also one of the judges in the IKN

design competition. He also conveyed valuable input related to the design of the IKN several times to President Joko Widodo.

One tweet that attracted a lot of reply interaction was as follows:

“Sebentar lagi Kalimantan Timur menjadi ibu kota negara baru. Usulan dari Pak Presiden ibu kota ini akan dinamai Nusantara, dengan harapan bisa menggambarkan kenusantaraan atau keberagaman Republik Indonesia. Dari pada berdebat, coba kasih ide, nama ibu kota versi kalian? -admin-“

(Soon, East Kalimantan will become the capital of the new country. The proposal from Mr. President of this capital city will be named *Nusantara*, in the hope that it can describe the intermediary or diversity of the Republic of *Indonesia*. Instead of arguing, try to give an idea, the name of your version of the capital? -admin-)

Many Twitter citizens provide answers to these questions. Counted, there are 1,571 replies that appear. According to Wulansari (2014), Ridwan Kamil is often referred to as a government that makes communication breakthroughs by using social media twitter to convey messages continuously. Not only used for socialization and transparency of his work programs, Ridwan uses Twitter facilities to campaign on issues of political participation, the environment, health to the preservation of traditional culture, including this IKN issue.

One study (Abdurrahman, 2014) mentions that this form of communication participation carried out by Ridwan Kamil is utilizing the presence of new technology that provides easy access for humans. Cyberspace, in this case, Twitter, is able to create new public sphere. The current modern government, as practiced by Ridwan Kamil, then as Mayor of Bandung, utilizes twitter as a medium of representation to communicate with citizens. Furthermore, if done consistently it can build strong public participation, because the interaction relationship between citizens and their leaders is getting closer and even not distant.

The issue of moving IKN from DKI Jakarta to East Kalimantan also gave rise to other twitter accounts, which dominated the circulation of messages or communication. Broadly speaking, account types can be divided into several groups, as shown in Table 5 below. The first type of Twitter account that uploads messages related to IKN is politicians. Besides Ridwan Kami, there are Hidayat Nur Wahid (@*hnurwahid*) and Mardani Ali Sera (@*MardaniAliSera*). In his twitter profile, Hidayat Nur Wahid described himself as *Ketua Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat/MPR* (Deputy Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia) 2019-2024, Member of FPKS DPR RI Dapil DKI Jakarta II, and Deputy Chairman of the PKS Shura Council 2015-2025. Meanwhile, Mardani Ali Sera, is also a politician from PKS and a lecturer from Mercu Buana University.

Other accounts that dominate are those of activists, such as Said Didu, among them Sudjiwo Tedjo (@*SudjiwoTedjo*) and Ferry Koto (@*ferrykoto*). There is also a @*QaillaAsyiqah* account, a personal account that has become a popular actor in conveying this IKN issue.

Table 5. Type of Account

No.	Account	Account Type	Joined Year	Followers
1	@ridwankamil	Politician	October 2009	5.5 M
2	@hnurwahid	Politician	October 2009	1.5 M
3	@MardaniAliSera	Politician	March 2010	508.9 K
4	@sudjiwotedjo	Activist, Artist	September 2010	1,7 M
5	@msaid_didu	Activist	April 2019	730.6 K
6	@QaillaAsyiqah	Activist	July 2020	47.6 K
7	@ferrykoto	Activist	March 2009	41.6 K
8	@kompascom	Media & News Company	March 2009	8.5 M
9	@KompasTV	Media & News Company	September 2009	5.1 M
10	@CNNIndonesia	Media & News Company	November 2008	3.9 M
11	@tempodotco	Media & News Company	December 2008	2.2 M
12	@kumparan	Media & News Company	July 2016	1 M
13	@keuangannews_id	Media & News Company	February 2020	90.2 K
14	@democrazymedia	Media & News Company	March 2020	85 K
15	@OposisiCerdas	Media Online	July 2017	238.1 K
16	@TrendAsia_Org	Non-Government & Non-Profit Organization	November 2017	3.8 K

Source: Research results

In addition, accounts that are also involved and get high user engagement are eight accounts belonging to the media, such as Kompas (@kompascom and @kompasTV), CNN Indonesia (@CNNIndonesia), Tempo (@tempodotco), Kumparan (@kumparan), Keuangan News (@keuangannews_id), Democracy Media (@democrazymedia), and Oposisi Cerdas (@OposisiCerdas).

Even though it is included in a dominant account, the interaction owned by media accounts is still lower than personal accounts. In fact, these media accounts have a much higher number of followers. For example, @kompascom with 8.5 M followers (the highest of all accounts), apparently could not occupy first place in the four types of Twitter interactions. This is certainly a discussion, one of which is because this media twitter account is often only an extension to share news published in its online media.

Conclusion

This research was conducted to photograph and identify dominant actors and political communication formed on social media Twitter, when talking about IKN, especially since the DPR approved the National Capital Law on January 18, 2020. The results show that there are two dominating Twitter accounts with the highest amount of interaction. The two actors are Muhammad Said Didu (@msaid_didu) and Ridwan Kamil (@ridwankamil). @msaid_didu is at the top for *like* interactions (6,009 times) and *retweet* interactions (1,861 times). Meanwhile, @ridwankamil was ranked 1st and 2nd for *reply* interactions (2,228 and 1,571 times), and also got the highest *quote* interactions (1,349 times). The topic of moving the IKN involved other accounts that are activists, or a personal account that has become a popular actor in conveying this IKN issue.

In addition, accounts that are also involved and get high user engagement are eight accounts belonging to the media, but the interaction owned by media accounts is still lower than personal accounts. Although have a much higher number of followers, media apparently could not occupy first place in the four types of Twitter interactions, because they only share news published in its own online media.

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