



Analysis of the Formation of the Red and White Cabinet: Narrative Policy Framework Approach

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ABSTRACT: This study analyzes the formation of the Red and White Cabinet under President Prabowo Subianto through the lens of the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF). It examines whether the cabinet expansion was driven by technocratic considerations or political representation. This research provides insights into Indonesia's governance structure and policymaking dynamics by exploring the narratives shaping ministerial appointments. This study employs a qualitative approach, utilizing the NPF to analyze policy narratives that influenced the expansion of ministries. Data collection involves document analysis of relevant laws, regulations, academic literature, and credible media reports. This approach systematically examines how political narratives shape institutional decisions and governance strategies. The findings reveal that the expansion of the Red and White Cabinet was primarily influenced by political coalition-building rather than administrative efficiency. Key narratives, such as governance effectiveness, political stability, and national unity, were strategically constructed to justify the increased number of ministries. While some appointments reflect technocratic expertise, many were dictated by political negotiations, highlighting the predominance of partisan interests over governance optimization. This study concludes that policy narratives legitimize political decisions, often surpassing technocratic considerations. The findings contribute to the understanding of political decision-making in Indonesia by demonstrating how institutional constraints, elite bargaining, and strategic policy narratives shape governance structures.

Keywords: The Red and White Cabinet, Narrative Policy Framework, Political Motivations, Technocratic Considerations.



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INTRODUCTION

On the evening of October 20, 2024, following his inauguration, President Prabowo Subianto announced the formation of the Red and White Cabinet, which consists of 48 Ministers and 56 Deputy Ministers. This Cabinet's structure is based on Law No. 61 of 2024, which amends Law No. 39 of 2008 regarding State Ministries. Article 15 specifies that the number of Ministries is determined by the needs of government administration, previously capped at a maximum of 34 Ministries. During the United Indonesia Cabinets I and II under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and the Working Cabinet and Advanced Indonesia Cabinet under President Joko Widodo, the total number of Ministries was 34, the legal maximum. Consequently, compared to

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previous administrations, the number of Ministries in the Red and White Cabinet is the highest since the Old Order era.

The increasing number of ministries in the Red and White Cabinet presents a phenomenon requiring deeper analysis within political science and government studies. According to Lowndes ([Lowndes, 2010](#)), government institutions evolve based on structural and political contingencies, suggesting that the expansion of ministries is not merely a technical decision but a reflection of broader political dynamics. Additionally, March and Olsen's ([March & Olsen, 1996](#)) Institutional theory emphasizes that historical, political, and normative constraints shape governmental structures. The formation of the Red and White Cabinet should be examined through formal regulations and underlying political motivations.

The concept of government institutions and the related political context influences the dynamics surrounding the number or formation of Ministries. ([Koelble et al., 1995](#)). This concept explores how these entities are established, operate, and engage with the public in contemporary government institutions. Research on government institutions frequently examines their structure, processes, and dynamics, but typically within the governance context, rather than the political context. Such studies often focus on constitutional law and government systems ([Ainul Haq et al., 2021](#); [Monteza, 2023](#); [Sudarmo et al., 2024](#)), which means that investigations into the formation of Ministries may overlook implicit or explicit factors, such as fulfilling campaign promises and other political motivations. Research is needed to investigate why President Prabowo established the Red and White Cabinet, considering that the number of Ministries has reached its highest point since the Old Order era.

The relevance of this research is particularly urgent in Indonesia today, as the increasing complexity of governance demands a balance between technocratic efficiency and political representation. The formation of a cabinet is not only an administrative decision but also a political strategy to maintain stability, accommodate coalition interests, and implement policy priorities ([Grindle, 2017](#)). The implications of cabinet composition on public policy are significant, affecting decision-making efficiency, bureaucratic coordination, and policy outcomes ([Shanahan et al., 2011](#)). Given the evolving political landscape in Indonesia, where coalition-building plays a crucial role in governance, analyzing the narratives behind the expansion of ministries provides insights into how political and technocratic considerations shape governance structures.

This study aims to review each narrative surrounding the formation of the Red and White Cabinet at the onset of President Prabowo Subianto's administration. These narratives can provide a foundational context that may lead to a deeper understanding of the underlying events. For instance, the involvement of President Jokowi or the father of Vice President Gibran Rakabuming Raka in the formation of the Red and White Cabinet warrants exploration, particularly regarding the extent of Jokowi's influence, especially since several Ministers in the Red and White Cabinet also served during President Jokowi's administration. By analyzing the narratives in the cabinet formation process, this study seeks to present arguments on each issue and decision made by President Prabowo.

To provide a sharper analytical focus, this study seeks to answer the following research question: *How do political and institutional narratives shape the formation of the Red and White Cabinet, and what are the*

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implications for public policy in Indonesia? More specifically, this research will explore the motivations behind increasing the number of ministries, the political and technocratic justifications presented, and the potential impacts on governance effectiveness. Additionally, this study will examine whether the expansion of the cabinet aligns with historical precedents, international comparisons, and the stated policy priorities of the new administration.

This study posits that the formation of the Red and White Cabinet, particularly concerning the number and nomenclature of Ministries, is based on decisions that consider not only technocratic factors but also political considerations. This assumption is grounded in preliminary information and data, such as the determination of the number of Ministries, the division of Ministries, or the establishment of new entities like Ministries, Agencies, or Offices, as well as the profiles and backgrounds of Ministers, Deputy Ministers, and Non-Ministerial Officials. Technocratic issues must be emphasized regarding the interests behind them, such as the enhancement of the state revenue system through the establishment of the State Revenue Agency in a program plan that was not executed, despite the appointment of three Deputy Ministers of Finance to assist Sri Mulyani, who served as Minister of Finance during the administrations of Presidents SBY and Jokowi. Furthermore, how was the discourse on the abolition of the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises, which was to be transformed into a super holding, affected by the formation of the Anagata Nusantara Investment Management Agency?

This study will employ The Narrative Policy Framework as its analytical tool to investigate the aforementioned issues and decisions. This framework highlights the significance of narratives in the policy decision-making process. From the viewpoints of various disciplines such as psychology, marketing, and neuroscience, narratives can serve as story structures that elucidate policy issues, particularly concerning how policies are perceived and accepted by the public (Jones & McBeth, 2010). By utilizing The Narrative Policy Framework, this study not only seeks to address the research questions, specifically to uncover the reasons behind decisions made but also has the potential to engage with theoretical matters, particularly the relationship between government institutions and the political context. Within the methodological framework of political science, this study will adopt an institutional perspective and an interpretive approach ([Marsh & Stokker, 2019](#)).

Previous Studies

Based on previous studies, research on cabinet composition or ministry nomenclature is rarely conducted. Existing studies examine the dynamics of cabinet composition or ministry nomenclature from a normative or legal-rational perspective ([Supryadi et al., 2024](#)). Some studies approach it from the perspective of the governmental system but still focus on formal aspects ([Turner et al., 2022](#)). At the level of informal analysis, there are examples of studies on cabinet composition announcements linked to their influence on public response; however, their scope does not align with political science and governance. These studies include: 1. A study on limiting the President's authority in altering the nomenclature of State Ministries ([Monteza, 2023](#)), 2. A study on cabinet dynamics and efforts to maintain consistency within the presidential system in Indonesia ([Ainul Haq et al., 2021](#)), 3. A study on market reactions to government cabinet announcements ([Sudarmo et al., 2024](#)). From the review of these literature representations, this

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study aims to analyze cabinet composition or ministry nomenclature from normative legal and system perspectives and context. It considers both formal and informal aspects while focusing on the scope and methodology of political science and governance [Click or tap here to enter text.](#) ([Haryono et al., 2023](#); [Nugroho & Akbar, 2023](#); [Sari & Suswanta, 2023](#); [Syukri et al., 2023](#)).

Tracing back, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia includes a chapter on State Ministries comprising four articles that address the relationship between the President and Ministers, the appointment and dismissal of Ministers, the areas of Ministerial affairs, and the formation, alteration, and dissolution of Ministries as regulated by law. It explicitly mentions the necessity for a Minister of Foreign Affairs, a Minister of Home Affairs, and a Minister of Defence, collectively referred to as the Triumvirate Ministers or Three Ministers, who jointly assume presidential duties if the President and Vice President are unable to do so ([Razak et al., 2024](#)). Additionally, there are Ministers whose areas of responsibility are explicitly stated in the 1945 Constitution, along with other Ministers established based on the refinement, coordination, and synchronization of Government programs. Before Law No. 39 of 2008 was enacted on State Ministries, Presidential Decrees on Cabinet Formation were directly derived from the 1945 Constitution. Establishing the Law on State Ministries aims to provide legal certainty in the formation, alteration, and dissolution of Ministries. It also outlines the requirements for the appointment and dismissal of Ministers and the functional relationship between Ministries, Non-Ministerial Government Institutions, and Regional Governments. A key point is the limitation of the number of Ministries to a maximum of 34, reflecting the spirit of bureaucratic reform, and the appointment of Deputy Ministers in Ministries where the workload necessitates special handling. This aspect becomes a focal point in revising the Law on State Ministries.

Analytical Framework

To elaborate on the variables highlighted in the review of previous studies and documents, this study will position the phenomenon of the formation of the Red and White Cabinet by President Prabowo as a policy, specifically within the policy process ([Shanahan et al., 2011](#)). As a normative simulation, the President has programs and actions to implement, and to achieve these goals, the President establishes Ministries or Agencies as part of the process. In policy studies terminology, this represents the transformation from a policy statement to a concrete policy outcome. Referring to the work of Merilee Serill Grindle, policy efforts often encounter internal influences such as administration and external influences like the political context. The administrative perspective primarily assesses the efficiency of policy implementation and sometimes the external pressures implementers face. In contrast, the political perspective fully considers the external environment, including new technologies and public preferences ([Santoso, 2010](#)).

In addition to the normative policy model ([Gilbert, 1983](#)) which emphasizes policy content and context—what needs to be achieved and the environment during implementation—this study will focus more on the motives or motivations behind policy decision-making. This means that the study does not concentrate on what the policy is or how it is implemented, but rather on why it is created. One policy analysis model sensitive to this argument is the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) ([Shanahan et al., 2018](#)). As a model that emphasizes narrative in the policy process, narratives are assumed to serve as justifications for the policies enacted. An example of a narrative

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constructed in the formation of the Red and White Cabinet is "a large cabinet because of a large nation" or "large-bodied ministries are now divided into lean ones" ([Riedho & Angga, 2024](#)).

NPF utilizes social construction and limited relativity to establish knowledge or policy truth, engaging with various narrative elements and structures. Concerning narrative elements, the narrative focuses on the story's setting, characters, plot, and moral. The setting represents the policy context while the characters are involved. The plot serves as the storyline that connects the characters and the setting, ultimately conveying the story's moral or, in this case, the proposed policy solution. For instance, in the context of forming the Red and White Cabinet, one character involved is President Jokowi, with the plot emphasizing the need for continuity in development. Thus, the story's moral is the necessity for certain individuals from the previous Cabinet to remain Ministers in the Red and White Cabinet.

There are narrative strategies for processing the narrative elements of the aforementioned policy, such as the conflict coverage strategy, which either expands or constrains the policy issue; the causal mechanism strategy, which organizes narrative elements to establish accountability; and the devil-angel shift strategy, which portrays opponents as malevolent and oneself as a hero. These narrative elements and strategies can be analyzed at three levels. At the micro-analysis level, this analysis is referred to as the Homo Narrans model, which describes individuals as decision-makers influenced by narratives. This model often demonstrates that narratives are more persuasive when they align with individual beliefs. At the meso-analysis level, or the Agora Narrans model, this analysis focuses on how policy actors construct and utilize narratives within the policy subsystem. This model suggests that actors who feel defeated on policy issues will broaden the narrative to garner additional support. At the macro-analysis level, the grand narratives model explains human events broadly and consistently; however, these grand narratives can evolve, ultimately influencing policy changes. From the analytical framework outlined above, this study will ultimately concentrate on why rather than what and how, emphasizing the influence of narratives in policy rather than implementation.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach using the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) technique. ([Jones & McBeth, 2010](#); [Shanahan et al., 2011, 2018](#)) To analyze the narrative surrounding the establishment of the Red and White Cabinet at the beginning of President Prabowo Subianto's administration. NPF is justified as it allows for a systematic examination of policy narratives by identifying key narrative elements and strategies across different levels. To ensure a rigorous data analysis process, this study follows these steps:

Data Collection

- a. Primary Sources: Official documents such as Prabowo Subianto's Vision, Mission, Program, and pertinent Laws or Regulations related to governance and cabinet formation.
- b. Secondary Sources: Journalistic outputs, particularly credible mass media reports that discuss the formation of the cabinet. The selection of media reports follows specific criteria, such as:
 - Published by reputable national or international news organizations.
 - Providing in-depth analysis rather than opinion-based reporting.

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- Covering different perspectives on the cabinet formation.

Data Analysis

1. Selection of Literature and Media Reports: Documents and articles are screened based on relevance, ensuring they directly discuss the formation of the cabinet and related political narratives.
2. Thematic Coding: Applying the NPF framework, key narrative elements (characters, plot, moral of the story, and policy solutions) are identified.
3. Comparative Analysis: Examining how different sources construct the narrative and identifying patterns or contradictions in the discourse.
4. Multi-Level Narrative Examination:
 - Micro-Level: Individual actors and their roles in shaping the narrative.
 - Meso-Level: Organizational or institutional influences.
 - Macro-Level: Broader societal and ideological contexts affecting the cabinet formation narrative.

By detailing the selection criteria and analytical steps, this study ensures a systematic and transparent methodology in applying the NPF approach to investigate the political narrative of cabinet formation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Cabinet during Prabowo Subianto's presidency for the 2024-2029 term is called the Red and White Cabinet. This name, while carrying philosophical significance—such as the unity, bravery, or purity symbolized by the red and white colors of the Indonesian flag—also refers to the coalition that supported Prabowo during the 2014 General Election. This coalition included the Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra), the Golongan Karya Party (Golkar), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), the National Mandate Party (PAN), the United Development Party (PPP), the Crescent Star Party (PBB), and other supportive parties, such as the Democratic Party and the Indonesian Unity Party (Perindo). At that time, this coalition opposed the Great Indonesia Coalition supporting Joko Widodo, which comprised the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), the National Democratic Party (Nasdem), the People's Conscience Party (Hanura), the National Awakening Party (PKB), the Justice and Unity Party (PKPI) and later included Golkar, PAN, and PPP during the administration period ([Aspinall & Mietzner, 2014](#); [Mietzner, 2016](#)). In 2019, the Red and White Coalition continued as the Just and Prosperous Indonesia Coalition, while the Great Indonesia Coalition evolved into the Working Indonesia Coalition, later becoming the Advanced Indonesia Coalition, referencing the name of the Working Cabinet in its first term and the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet in President Joko Widodo's second term.

In the 2024 General Election, Prabowo Subianto's supporters began with the Awakening of Greater Indonesia Coalition, initially formed by Gerindra and PKB. However, PKB later departed to join the coalition established by Nasdem in support of Anies Baswedan. Subsequently, Golkar and PAN from the United Indonesia Coalition also backed Prabowo, while PPP exited to join the coalition formed by PDIP and Perindo in support of Ganjar Pranowo. Prabowo's support base was further bolstered by PBB, the Aceh Party, the Indonesian Wave Party (Gelora), the Republic

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of Indonesia Guard Party (Garuda), the Just and Prosperous People's Party (PRIMA), and the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI). The Democratic Party also joined after leaving the Unity for Change Coalition, which included Nasdem and PKB. This coalition supporting Prabowo Subianto was then named the Advanced Indonesia Coalition (KIM), endorsed by Joko Widodo, who nominated his son, Gibran Rakabuming Raka, as a candidate for Vice President. This coalition ultimately won the election, forming the Red and White Cabinet (Akbar et al., 2024).

The Red and White Cabinet comprises 48 Ministers, 56 Vice Ministers, 8 officials at the ministerial level, and 2 officials at the vice-ministerial level. The position of Cabinet Secretary, previously at the ministerial level, is now under the Ministry of State Secretariat. Additionally, the President's Special Officials include 7 Presidential Special Advisors, 7 Presidential Special Envoys, and 1 Presidential Special Staff, all of whom have been publicly announced. Furthermore, the Governor of Lemhanas was also sworn in. Several officials have been appointed to lead and serve as deputy heads of agencies, such as the Agency for Development Control and Special Investigations, the Investment Management Agency for Daya Anagata Nusantara, the Hajj Organizing Agency, the Agency for Accelerating Poverty Alleviation, the Halal Product Guarantee Agency, and the National Nutrition Agency. The results section should present the key findings of the study.

Table 1. The composition of the Red and White cabinet

| No | Ministry/Institution | Minister/Head | Affiliation |
|----|--|------------------------------------|-------------|
| 1 | Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs (Separated from Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs) | Budi Gunawan | PDIP |
| | | Lodewijk Freidrich Paulus (Deputy) | Golkar |
| 2 | Home Affairs | Tito Karnavian | PAN |
| | | Bima Arya Sugiarto (Deputy) | |
| | | Ribka Haluk (Deputy) | |
| 3 | Foreign Affairs | Sugiono | Gerindra |
| | | Anis Matta (Deputy) | Gelora |
| | | Arrmanatha Nasir (Deputy) | |
| | | Arif Havas Oegroseno (Deputy) | |
| 4 | Defense | Sjafrie Sjamsoeddin | TNI |
| | | Donny Ermawan (Deputy) | |
| 5 | Communication and Digital (Changed from Ministry of Communication and Information) | Meutya Hafid | Golkar |
| | | Angga Raka Prabowo (Deputy) | Gerindra |
| | | Nezar Patria (Deputy) | |
| 6 | Attorney General of the Republic of Indonesia | Sanitiar Burhanuddin | PDIP |
| 7 | Military Force | Agus Subiyanto | TNI |
| 8 | National Police | Listyo Sigit Prabowo | Polri |

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| | | | |
|----|---|---|-----------------|
| 9 | Coordinating Minister for Law, Human Rights, Immigration, and Corrections (Separated from Coordinating Ministry for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs) | Yusril Ihza Mahendra Otto Hasibuan (Deputy) | PBB |
| 10 | Law (Separated from the Ministry of Law and Human Rights) | Supratman Andi Agtas Eddy Hiariej (Deputy) | Gerindra |
| 11 | Human Rights (Separated from the Ministry of Law and Human Rights) | Natalius Pigai Mugiyanto (Deputy) | |
| 12 | Immigration and Corrections (Separated from the Ministry of Law and Human Rights) | Agus Andrianto Silmy Karim (Deputy) | Polri |
| 13 | Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs | Airlangga Hartanto | Golkar |
| 14 | Labor | Yassierli Immanuel Ebenezer (Deputy) | PKS Gerindra |
| 15 | Industry | Agus Gumiwang Kartasasmita Faisol Riza (Deputy) | Golkar PKB |
| 16 | Trade | Budi Santoso Dyah Roro Esti (Deputy) | Golkar |
| 17 | Energy and Mineral Resources | Bahlil Lahadalia Yuliot Tanjung (Deputy) | Golkar |
| 18 | State-Owned Enterprises | Erick Thohir Kartika Wirjoatmodjo (Deputy) Aminuddin Ma'rif (Deputy) Dony Oskaria (Deputy) | |
| 19 | Investment and Downstreaming (Changed from Ministry of Investment) | Roesan Roeslani Todotua Pasaribu (Deputy) | |
| 20 | Tourism (Separated from the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy) | Widiyanti Putri Ni Luh Puspa (Deputy) | |
| 21 | Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture | Pratikno | |
| 22 | Religious Affairs | Nasaruddin Umar Muhammad Syafi'i (Deputy) | Gerindra |
| 23 | Primary and Secondary Education (Separated from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology) | Abdul Mu'ti Atip Latipulhayat (Deputy) | Muhammadiyah |

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| | | | |
|----|--|---|--------------------|
| | | Fajar Riza Ul Haq (Deputy) | PSI |
| 24 | Higher Education, Science, and Technology (Separated from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology) | Satryo Soemantri Brodjonegoro Fauzan (Deputy) Stella Christie (Deputy) | Muhammadiyah |
| 25 | Culture (Separated from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology) | Fadli Zon Giring Ganesha (Deputy) | Gerindra PSI |
| 26 | Health | Budi Gunadi Sadikin Dante Saksono (Deputy) | |
| 27 | Women's Empowerment and Child Protection | Arifah Choiri Fauzi Veronica Tan (Deputy) | NU |
| 28 | Population and Family Development (Upgraded from National Population and Family Planning Agency) | Wihaji Isyana Bagoes Oka (Deputy) | Golkar PSI |
| 29 | Youth and Sports | Dito Ariotedjo Taufik Hidayat (Deputy) | Golkar Gerindra |
| 30 | Coordinating Minister for Infrastructure and Regional Development (New) | Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono | Demokrat |
| 31 | Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning | Nusron Wahid Ossy Dermawan (Deputy) | Golkar Demokrat |
| 32 | Public Works (Separated from the Ministry of Public Works and Housing) | Dody Hanggodo Diana Kusumastuti (Deputy) | Demokrat |
| 33 | Housing and Settlement Areas (Separated from the Ministry of Public Works and Housing) | Maruarar Sirait Fahri Hamzah (Deputy) | Gerindra Gelora |
| 34 | Transmigration (Separated from Ministry of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration) | Iftitah Sulaiman Suryanagara Viva Yoga Mauladi (Deputy) | Demokrat PAN |
| 35 | Transportation | Dudy Purwagandhi Suntana (Deputy) | Polri |
| 36 | Coordinating Minister for Community Empowerment (New) | Muhaimin Iskandar | PKB |
| 37 | Social Affairs | Saifullah Yusuf Agus Jabo Priyono (Deputy) | NU PRIMA |
| 38 | Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (Upgraded from Agency for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers) | Abdul Kadir Karding Christina Aryani (Deputy) | PKB Golkar |

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| | | | |
|----|---|--|--------------|
| | | Dzulfikar Ahmad Tawalla (Deputy) | Muhammadiyah |
| 39 | Villages and Development of Disadvantaged Regions (Separated from the Ministry of Villages, Development of Disadvantaged Regions, and Transmigration) | Yandri Susanto | PAN |
| | | Ahmad Riza Patria (Deputy) | Gerindra |
| 40 | Cooperatives (Separated from the Ministry of Cooperatives and Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises) | Budi Arie Setiadi | |
| | | Ferry Juliantoro (Deputy) | Gerindra |
| 41 | Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (Separated from the Ministry of Cooperatives and Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises) | Maman Abdurrahman | Golkar |
| | | Helvi Yuni Moraza (Deputy) | Gerindra |
| 42 | Creative Economy (Separated from the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy) | Teuku Riefky Harsya Irene Umar (Deputy) | Demokrat |
| 43 | Coordinating Minister for Food Affairs | Zulkifli Hasan | PAN |
| 44 | Agriculture | Amran Sulaiman | |
| | | Sudaryono (Deputy) | Gerindra |
| 45 | Forestry (Separated from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry) | Raja Juli Antoni | PSI |
| | | Sulaiman Umar Siddiq (Deputy) | |
| 46 | Marine Affairs and Fisheries | Sakti Wahyu Trenggono | |
| | | Didit Herdiawan (Deputy) | TNI |
| 47 | Environment (Separated from the Ministry of Environment and Forestry) | Hanif Faisol Nurrofiq | |
| | | Diaz Hendropriyono (Deputy) | PKP |
| 48 | National Food Agency | Arief Prasetyo Adi | |
| 49 | National Nutrition Agency | Dadan Hindayana | |
| | | Lodewyk Pusung (Deputy) | TNI |
| 50 | State Secretariat | Prasetyo Hadi | Gerindra |
| | | Bambang Eko Suhariyanto (Deputy) | TNI |
| | | Juri Ardiantoro (Deputy) | |
| 51 | Finance | Sri Mulyani | |
| | | Thomas Djiwandono (Deputy) | Gerindra |
| | | Suahasil Nazara (Deputy) Anggito Abimanyu (Deputy) | |
| 52 | Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform | Rini Widyantini | |

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| | | | |
|----|--|---|----------|
| | | Purwadi Arianto (Deputy) | Polri |
| 53 | National Development Planning | Rachmat Pambudy Febrian Alphyanto Ruddyard (Deputy) | Gerindra |
| 54 | State Intelligence Agency | Muhammad Herindra | TNI |
| 55 | Presidential Staff Office | Anto Mukti Putranto Muhammad Qodari (Deputy) | TNI |
| 56 | Presidential Communication Office | Hasan Nasbi | |
| 57 | Head of Nusantara Capital Authority | Basuki Hadimuljono | PDIP |
| 58 | National Economic Council, Chairman and Special Advisor to the President for Digitalization and Government Technology, Deputy Chairman and Special Envoy of the President for International Trade and Multilateral Cooperation | Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan Mari Elka Pangestu (Deputy) | Golkar |
| 59 | Cabinet Secretariat | Teddy Indra Wijaya | TNI |
| 60 | Special Advisors to the President: - Hajj Affairs | Muhadjir Effendy | |
| | -Energy | Purnomo Yusgiantoro | |
| | -Economy | Bambang Brodjonegoro | |
| | -National Defence and Chairman of the Defence Industry Policy Committee | Dudung Abdurachman | TNI |
| | -Health | Terawan Agus Putranto | TNI |
| 61 | -Politics and Security | Wiranto | TNI |
| | Special Envoys of the President: -Food Security | Muhamad Mardiono | PPP |
| | -Economy and Banking | Setiawan Ichlas | Gerindra |
| | -Religious Harmony and Religious Facility Development | Miftah Maulana Habiburrohman | |
| | -Youth Development and Arts Workers | Raffi Ahmad | |
| 62 | -Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises, Creative Economy, and Digital | Ahmad Ridha Sabana | Garuda |
| | -Tourism | Zita Anjani | PAN |
| | Special Staff of the President | Yovie Widiyanto | |
| 63 | Development Control and Special Investigation Agency | Aris Marsudiyanto | Gerindra |
| 64 | Nusantara Investment Management Agency | Muliaman Darmansyah Hadad | |
| | | Kaharuddin Djenod (Deputy) | |
| | | Mochamad Irfan Yusuf | Gerindra |
| 65 | Hajj Management Agency | Dahnil Anzar Simanjuntak (Deputy) | Gerindra |

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| | | | |
|----|---|--|----------|
| | | Budiman Sudjatmiko | |
| 66 | Poverty Alleviation Acceleration Agency | Nanik Sudaryati Deyang (Deputy) | |
| | | Iwan Sumule (Deputy) | Gerindra |
| 67 | Halal Product Assurance Agency | Haikal Hassan Afriansyah Noor (Deputy) | PBB |
| 68 | National Resilience Agency | Ace Hasan Syadzily | Golkar |

Source: Compiled from various sources

Based on the description of the nomenclature list of Ministries/Agencies, the names of officials, and their affiliations mentioned above, Gerindra contributes the largest number of members to the Red and White Cabinet, totaling 20 names, followed by Golkar with 13 names, and both PAN and the Democratic Party, each with 5 names. Among the Non-Parliamentary parties, PSI has 4 names, PBB has 2, Gelora has 2, and Garuda has 1 name. When focusing on ministerial positions, Golkar is the party with the most ministers, totaling 8 names. One reason presented to the public for this is the exchange of positions with the Chairman of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), which was allocated to Gerindra. Although not stipulated by regulations, the Chairman of the People's Representative Council (DPR) is typically assigned to the party with the highest vote share, in this case, PDIP, while the MPR Chairmanship is given to the party with the second-highest vote share. Golkar achieved the second-highest vote share, while Gerindra secured the third-highest.

During the cabinet formation process, there was discussion about several political parties joining KIM, which had previously supported other presidential candidates in the General Election. Upon the announcement, the parties that joined included PKB with 2 members, PKS with 1 professional candidate, and Nasdem, which expressed its support for the government but did not propose any ministerial candidates. Among the Non-Parliamentary parties, several individuals from these groups have been appointed as cabinet officials, including 1 representative from PPP and 1 from Perindo. Other Non-Parliamentary parties that expressed support for the government include the Labor Party and the Ummat Party. Meanwhile, from the parties that did not participate in the 2024 General Election, 1 member each from PRIMA and PKPI was appointed as cabinet officials. Additionally, several parties also declared their support for the government, such as the Beringin Karya Party (Berkarya), the People's Sovereignty Party (PKR), the Indonesian People's Voice Party (Parsindo), and the Aceh Party, a local party in Aceh.

Regarding PDIP's involvement in the government, there were plans for Prabowo to meet with Megawati Soekarnoputri, but this meeting did not occur until after Prabowo was inaugurated. The prevailing discourse suggested that PDIP would join the government with the appointment of three individuals as ministers: Budi Gunawan, Abdullah Azwar Anas, and Olly Dondokambey. Despite PDIP's official statement asserting that it was not part of the government, Budi Gunawan was appointed as the Coordinating Minister for Political, Legal, and Security Affairs, although he did not represent PDIP. Other individuals affiliated with PDIP who were appointed to the cabinet include Attorney General Sanitiar Burhanuddin and the Head of the Nusantara Capital Authority,

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Basuki Hadimuljono. Furthermore, this composition does not address the representation of cabinet officials from the Indonesian National Army (TNI), the Indonesian National Police (Polri), Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, or other elements such as campaign teams, volunteers, or independent professionals. Moreover, unlike the Attorney General, who is typically appointed at the start of each administration and may have previously been a member of a political party, the positions of TNI Commander and National Police Chief are filled when the incumbent retires and are occupied by active members, meaning they are not bound by the presidential term, unlike ministers and vice ministers in the cabinet.

Thus, when calculated using the published list of officials and their affiliations, the composition of the Red and White Cabinet consists of 25 members from political parties and 23 from non-political parties for ministers, as well as 23 from political parties and 32 from non-political parties for vice ministers. This composition excludes officials from Non-Ministerial Agencies, such as the Heads and Deputy Heads of Agencies or Offices, the TNI Commander, the National Police Chief, the Attorney General, the Head of the National Intelligence Agency (BIN), the Cabinet Secretary, and their deputies.

Narrative of Zaken Cabinet

A narrative that emerged during the formation of the Red and White Cabinet is President Prabowo's intention to establish a Zaken cabinet. This term refers to a cabinet where the ministers are experts or professionals in their respective fields (Nggilu & Fence M. Wantu, 2020). One cabinet frequently cited as an example is the Djuanda Cabinet, as its formation did not consider the number of seats in the parliament. This cabinet is regarded as effective in implementing its programs, one of which was the Djuanda Declaration during President Soekarno's era. Other examples often mentioned include the Natsir Cabinet, the Wilopo Cabinet, and even the Reform and Development Cabinet during President Habibie's era. From these examples, the Zaken cabinet is understood not to eliminate the role of political parties but rather to prioritize the interests of the people over those of political parties. President Prabowo himself interprets the Zaken cabinet as one that could be filled by political party cadres who are genuinely experts or masters in their respective fields. This interpretation contrasts with the notion that a Zaken cabinet should not represent political parties within its composition. To further examine the argument for the Zaken cabinet, in which ministers are experts in their fields, an analysis is conducted on each minister's name and their relevance to the ministry they lead:

Table 2. List of Minister Profiles

| No | Name of Minister | Ministry | Relevance |
|----|------------------|----------|-----------|
|----|------------------|----------|-----------|

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| | | | |
|----|----------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | Budi Gunawan | Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs | Relevant, previously served as Head of BIN |
| 2 | Tito Karnavian | Minister of Home Affairs | Relevant, previously served as Minister of Home Affairs |
| 3 | Sugiono | Minister of Foreign Affairs | Quite relevant, previously served as Chairman of Commission I of the DPR RI |
| 4 | Sjafrie Sjamsoeddin | Minister of Defense | Relevant, previously served as Deputy Minister of Defense |
| 5 | Meutya Hafid | Minister of Communication and Digital | Relevant, previously served as Chairman of Commission I of the DPR RI |
| 6 | Yusril Ihza Mahendra | Coordinating Minister for Law, Human Rights, Immigration, and Corrections | Relevant, previously served as Minister in the field of Law |
| 7 | Supratman Andi Agtas | Minister of Law | Relevant, previously served as Head of the Legislative Body of the DPR RI |
| 8 | Natalius Pigai | Minister of Human Rights | Relevant, previously served as a Member of Komnas HAM |
| 9 | Agus Andrianto | Minister of Immigration and Corrections | Less relevant, previously served as Deputy Chief of Police |
| 10 | Airlangga Hartanto | Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs | Relevant, previously served as Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs |
| 11 | Yassierli | Minister of Manpower | Relevant, Professor in the field of Ergonomics at ITB |
| 12 | Agus Gumiwang Kartasasmita | Minister of Industry | Relevant, previously served as Minister of Industry |
| 13 | Budi Santoso | Minister of Trade | Relevant, previously served as Secretary General of the Ministry of Trade |
| 14 | Bahlil Lahadalia | Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources | Relevant, previously served as Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources |
| 15 | Erick Thohir | Minister of State-Owned Enterprises | Relevant, previously served as Minister of State-Owned Enterprises |
| 16 | Roesan Roeslani | Minister of Investment and Downstreaming | Relevant, previously served as Minister of Investment |
| 17 | Widiyanti Putri | Minister of Tourism | Less relevant, Entrepreneur and Foundation Manager |
| 18 | Pratikno | Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture | Quite relevant, previously served as Minister of State Secretariat |
| 19 | Nasaruddin Umar | Minister of Religious Affairs | Relevant, previously served as Deputy Minister of Religious Affairs |

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|----|-------------------------------|---|--|
| 20 | Abdul Mu'ti | Minister of Primary and Secondary Education | Relevant, Bureaucrat and Manager in the field of Education |
| 21 | Satryo Soemantri Brodjonegoro | Minister of Higher Education, Science, and Technology | Relevant, previously served as Director General of Higher Education |
| 22 | Fadli Zon | Minister of Culture | Relevant, Active in the field of Culture |
| 23 | Budi Gunadi Sadikin | Minister of Health | Relevant, previously served as Minister of Health |
| 24 | Arifah Choiri Fauzi | Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection | Quite relevant, Secretary of PP Muslimat NU |
| 25 | Wihaji | Minister of Population and Family Development | Quite relevant, Graduate in Population Studies and former Regional Head |
| 26 | Dito Ariotedjo | Minister of Youth and Sports | Relevant, previously served as Minister of Youth and Sports |
| 27 | Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono | Coordinating Minister for Infrastructure and Regional Development | Quite relevant, previously served as Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning |
| 28 | Nusron Wahid | Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning | Less relevant, Head of BNP2TKI |
| 29 | Dody Hanggodo | Minister of Public Works | Less relevant, Private Sector |
| 30 | Maruarar Sirait | Minister of Housing and Settlement Areas | Less relevant, Member of the DPR RI |
| 31 | Iftitah Sulaiman Suryanagara | Minister of Transmigration | Less relevant, Military |
| 32 | Dudy Purwagandhi | Minister of Transportation | Quite relevant, Director of a Transportation Company |
| 33 | Muhaimin Iskandar | Coordinating Minister for Community Empowerment | Quite relevant, previously served as Minister |
| 34 | Saifullah Yusuf | Minister of Social Affairs | Relevant, previously served as Minister of Social Affairs |
| 35 | Abdul Kadir Karding | Minister of Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers | Less relevant, Member of the DPR RI |
| 36 | Yandri Susanto | Minister of Villages and Development of Disadvantaged Regions | Less relevant, Member of the DPR RI |
| 37 | Budi Arie Setiadi | Minister of Cooperatives | Less relevant, previously served as Minister of Communication and Informatics |
| 38 | Maman Abdurrahman | Minister of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises | Quite relevant, previously served as Chairman of Commission VII of the DPR RI |
| 39 | Teuku Riefky Harsya | Minister of Creative Economy | Less relevant, Member of the DPR RI |

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|----|-----------------------|--|--|
| 40 | Zulkifli Hasan | Coordinating Minister for Food Affairs | Quite relevant, previously served as Minister |
| 41 | Amran Sulaiman | Minister of Agriculture | Relevant, previously served as Minister of Agriculture |
| 42 | Raja Juli Antoni | Minister of Forestry | Less relevant, previously served as Deputy Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning |
| 43 | Sakti Wahyu Trenggono | Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries | Relevant, previously served as Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries |
| 44 | Hanif Faisol Nurrofiq | Minister of Environment | Relevant, previously served as Director General of Environmental Planning |
| 45 | Prasetyo Hadi | Minister of State Secretariat | Less relevant, Member of the DPR RI |
| 46 | Sri Mulyani | Minister of Finance | Relevant, previously served as Minister of Finance |
| 47 | Rini Widyantini | Minister of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform | Relevant, Secretary of the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform |
| 48 | Rachmat Pambudy | Minister of National Development Planning | Less relevant, Professor in the field of Entrepreneurship at IPB |

Source: Compiled from various sources

Based on the data analysis above, it is publicly recognized that the profiles of 26 ministers are relevant to their respective ministries, 9 ministers are somewhat relevant, and 13 ministers are less relevant. However, it does not necessarily follow that ministers with relevant profiles will perform better, just as those whose profiles are somewhat or less relevant may still achieve positive outcomes within their ministries. Regardless of political party affiliation, group representation, or other interests, in the fields of Politics and Security, the names of ministers have relevant profiles in their areas, with the exception of Sugiono. Despite being the chairman of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Commission, the Foreign Minister is typically a career diplomat or a strategic ambassador. In the fields of Law, Human Rights, Immigration, and Penitentiary Affairs, all names have profiles pertinent to their fields, except for Agus Andrianto, whose appointment was discussed as part of a deal to secure a four-star general position, as he did not become the National Police Chief, similar to Budi Gunawan when he led the National Intelligence Agency (BIN).

In the economic sector, most of the names have profiles that are quite significant because they have either previously served as ministers or are newly appointed ministers toward the end of President Joko Widodo's administration. Specifically, the name Yassierli, proposed by the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), is particularly relevant as he is a professor in ergonomics, which pertains to labor affairs. Conversely, the name Widiyanti Putri, who is less connected to tourism, is the wife of Wisnu Wardhana, and there were speculations that Widiyanti would replace her husband, who was previously offered a ministerial position, albeit not a strategic one. In the field of Human Development and Culture, nearly all ministers have relevant profiles, having either served as ministers, deputy ministers, or directors-general in related ministries or been active in these areas, such as Fadli Zon in culture. However, Pratikno, Arifah Choiri Fauzi, and Wihaji are

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somewhat relevant as, although they have been ministers and managed related organizations, they lack direct experience in the specific ministry.

In the areas of infrastructure and regional development, the profiles of many ministers are less relevant to their ministries, except for Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, who is quite relevant due to his previous role as a minister, and Dudy Purwagandhi, who previously served as the director of a transportation company. The profiles of Nusron Wahid, Dody Hanggodo, Maruarar Sirait, and Iftitah Sulaiman Suryanegara are less relevant to their ministries. Their appointments are speculated to be due to other considerations. Nusron Wahid represents Golkar and was Secretary of the Winning Team, so his ministerial post is seen as a reward. Dody Hanggodo, although representing the Democratic Party, is allegedly close to businessman Andi Syamsuddin Arsyad (Haji Isam), who reportedly recommended several names for ministerial posts. Maruarar Sirait's appointment is seen as related to his network of conglomerates, especially to support the 3-million-homes program. Lastly, Iftitah Sulaiman Suryanegara is a close associate of former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and his appointment as Minister of Transmigration aims to assist in accelerating regional development under Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono's coordination.

In the field of community empowerment, a newly established sector, almost all of the names lack relevant profiles, except for Saifullah Yusuf, who was appointed Minister of Social Affairs at the end of President Joko Widodo's administration. Muhaimin Iskandar remains somewhat relevant due to his past governmental roles, as does Maman Abdurrahman, who previously led the House of Representatives' Commission VII overseeing Small and Medium Enterprises. Other names such as Abdul Kadir Karding, Yandri Susanto, and Teuku Riefky Harsya have less relevant profiles, even though they were former members of the House of Representatives but did not serve on commissions directly related to their ministries. Specifically, Budi Arie Setiadi, although having previously served for a year as a minister, was not related to the Cooperatives ministry, and his tenure as a minister attracted public criticism.

In the emerging field of food security, several ministers possess relevant profiles, including Amran Sulaiman, Sakti Wahyu Trenggono, and Hanif Faisol Nurrofiq, all of whom have previously served as ministers or directors-general in related ministries. Zulfikli Hasan, a former minister, is somewhat relevant, while Raja Juli Antoni, despite his experience as Deputy Minister, lacks a background in the Ministry of Forestry. Among the ministries directly accountable to the President, Sri Mulyani's profile stands out as highly relevant. She has been endorsed by both Presidents Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo, having served as Finance Minister across three presidencies. Similarly, Rini Widyantini, a career official in the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform (PANRB), only emerged during the announcement, as earlier speculation indicated that the position would be filled by Abdullah Azwar Anas, a PDIP cadre. Conversely, Prasetyo Hadi and Rachmat Pambudy lack backgrounds directly pertinent to their ministries; however, Prasetyo Hadi is a close associate of Prabowo and is responsible for managing secretarial functions, while Rachmat Pambudy has contributed strategic input for Prabowo's initiatives.

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From this analysis, it can be concluded that while President Prabowo has taken ministerial profiles into account that align with their respective ministries, in line with the argument for a Zaken cabinet, he has also shown a tendency to prioritize political representation over strict relevance. This is illustrated by the appointment of several ministers whose profiles are only somewhat or less relevant, as well as some individuals whose relevance raises questions regarding their past performance and public scrutiny.

This relevance map does not encompass the 56 deputy ministers in the Red and White Cabinet. Historically, the role of deputy minister was first established by President Sukarno in several of his cabinets. There were also junior ministers, who functioned similarly to deputy ministers. The appointment of deputy ministers was later governed by the Ministry of State Affairs Law for ministries with specific workloads that necessitate special handling. Initially, deputy ministers were career officials, but the Constitutional Court ruled that deputy ministers could also be appointed from civil servants or non-civil servants. In the United Indonesia Cabinet, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono appointed a deputy minister in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, while in his second term, he appointed deputy ministers across 17 ministries. In the Working Cabinet, President Joko Widodo appointed deputy ministers in 3 ministries, and in the Indonesia Forward Cabinet, there were deputy ministers in 18 ministries. Some deputy ministers were appointed toward the end of President Joko Widodo's administration for transition, including Thomas Djiwandono, Sudaryono, Angga Raka Prabowo, and Yuliot Tanjung. These individuals followed newly appointed ministers such as Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, Supratman Andi Agtas, Bahlil Lahadalia, Rosan Roeslani, and Saifullah Yusuf. Compared to the number and composition of deputy ministers in previous cabinets, the deputy ministers in the Red and White Cabinet do not conform to the Zaken cabinet argument, as nearly every ministry has a deputy minister, with the exception of the Coordinating Ministries of Economic Affairs, Human Development and Culture, Infrastructure and Regional Development, Community Empowerment, and Food Security. Some ministries even have two deputy ministers, including the Ministry of State Secretariat, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology, Ministry of Migrant Workers Protection, and the Ministry of Communications and Digital Affairs. There are also ministries with three deputy ministers, such as the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Finance, and State-Owned Enterprises. Although the Presidential Regulation regarding Deputy Ministers, following the Constitutional Court's ruling, has eliminated the requirement that deputy ministers must be career officials, it is evident that the appointments of deputy ministers in the Red and White Cabinet diverge from the Zaken model.

In the context of public policy in Indonesia, the concept of a Zaken Cabinet has significant implications for government effectiveness. If the cabinet is genuinely filled with experts in their respective fields, policies are expected to be more data-driven and aligned with sectoral needs. However, in Indonesia's political reality, political party involvement in ministerial appointments often becomes a dominant factor. This can impact how policies are formulated and implemented, especially if political interests conflict with technocratic goals. Therefore, the primary challenge in applying the Zaken Cabinet model in Indonesia is ensuring a balance between professionalism and political representation so that policies remain effective and are not merely political compromises.

Narrative of Efficient Cabinet

The Head of the Presidential Communication Office, Hasan Nasbi, conveyed that the creation of 48 ministries in the Red and White Cabinet aims to streamline government operations and enhance focus. Ministries with expansive responsibilities were split to simplify their organizational structures, thus facilitating more efficient and targeted management. In the Red and White Cabinet, 19 ministries remain unchanged, while 2 ministries changed nomenclature: the Ministry of Communication and Digital Affairs, which now focuses on addressing contemporary challenges and digitization, and the Ministry of Investment and Downstream Industry, which expanded its scope to include the promotion of downstream industries and job creation. Regarding the Coordinating Ministries, there are 7 in total, with two ministries remaining unchanged, two ministries being separated from the Coordinating Ministry of Political, Legal, and Security Affairs (Kemenko Polhukam), and three new ministries formed from the division of other ministries, including the dissolution of the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Investment, replaced by new Coordinating Ministries.

The increase in the number of Coordinating Ministries was intended to accommodate political party leaders, including the Chairpersons of PAN, PKB, Democrat, and PBB. Meanwhile, the Chairperson of Golkar opted to take on the role of Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM), while the Ministry of Economy was again headed by Airlangga Hartarto, a former Chairperson of Golkar. Other ministerial positions were filled by political figures, such as Budi Gunawan, who represents PDIP in the areas of politics and security, and Pratikno, who is regarded as a key operator in President Joko Widodo's administration. The Red and White Cabinet also established a position referred to as Senior Minister or Principal Minister, which encompasses a broader scope of responsibilities. This concept, previously proposed by Prabowo, envisioned such a position as one responsible for overseeing all sectors of the economy, not merely a specific subset of sectors, as seen in the role of the Coordinating Minister for the Economy. In the current Cabinet, this role was assigned to Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan, who serves as the Chairman of the National Economic Council.

For the remaining 20 ministries, there was a reorganization that saw some ministries split to better focus on their respective functions. For example, the Ministry of Law and Human Rights was divided into three distinct ministries, while the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology was split into three separate ministries. The Ministry of Manpower was divided into two ministries, one of which now specifically addresses the protection of Indonesian migrant workers. Additionally, ministries such as Public Works and Public Housing, Village Development, Environmental Affairs, Cooperatives and MSMEs, and Tourism and Creative Economy were each divided into two ministries. The establishment of the Ministry of Population and Family Development, a strengthened version of the National Population and Family Planning Board, is aimed at advancing national programs to combat stunting and promote family planning.

However, despite the restructuring and formation of new ministries, there has been criticism concerning the principles of bureaucratic reform, which emphasize efficiency. The establishment of multiple new ministries, as well as the splitting of existing ones, raises concerns about the potential for inefficient management and the creation of siloed departments. Furthermore, some

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argue that these changes are driven more by political representation needs than by the objective of improving government effectiveness and implementing government programs. From a bureaucratic reform perspective, it is suggested that the Coordinating Ministries could be abolished, ministries with overlapping functions could be merged, and some ministries could be restructured as agencies to reduce redundancy and optimize resources (Prasojo, 2024).

Table 3. List of Government Cabinets

| No | Cabinet Name | Start of Term | End of Term | Cabinet Leader | Position | Number |
|---|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------|
| The Era of the Independence Struggle | | | | | | |
| 1 | Presidential | 2 September 1945 | 14 November 1945 | Ir. Soekarno | President | 21 |
| 2 | Sjahrir I | 14 November 1945 | 12 March 1946 | Sutan Syahrir | Prime Minister | 17 |
| 3 | Sjahrir II | 12 March 1946 | 2 October 1946 | Sutan Syahrir | Prime Minister | 25 |
| 4 | Sjahrir III | 2 October 1946 | 3 July 1947 | Sutan Syahrir | Prime Minister | 32 |
| 5 | Amir Sjarifuddin I | 3 July 1947 | 11 November 1947 | Amir Sjarifuddin | Prime Minister | 34 |
| 6 | Amir Sjarifuddin II | 11 November 1947 | 29 January 1948 | Amir Sjarifuddin | Prime Minister | 37 |
| 7 | Hatta I | 29 January 1948 | 4 August 1949 | Mohammad Hatta | Prime Minister | 17 |
| * | Emergency | 19 December 1948 | 13 July 1949 | S. Prawiranegara | Chairman of PDRI | 12 |
| 8 | Hatta II | 4 August 1949 | 20 December 1949 | Mohammad Hatta | Prime Minister | 19 |
| The Era of Parliamentary Democracy | | | | | | |
| * | RIS | 20 December 1949 | 6 September 1950 | Mohammad Hatta | Prime Minister | 17 |
| 9 | Susanto | 20 December 1949 | 21 January 1950 | Susanto Tirtoprodjo | Acting Prime Minister | 10 |
| 10 | Halim | 21 January 1950 | 6 September 1950 | Abdul Halim | Prime Minister | 15 |
| 11 | Natsir | 6 September 1950 | 27 April 1951 | Mohammad Natsir | Prime Minister | 18 |
| 12 | Sukiman-Suwirjo | 27 April 1951 | 3 April 1952 | Sukiman Wirjosandjojo | Prime Minister | 20 |
| 13 | Wilopo | 3 April 1952 | 30 July 1953 | Wilopo | Prime Minister | 18 |
| 14 | Ali Sastroamidjojo I | 30 July 1953 | 12 August 1955 | Ali Sastroamidjojo | Prime Minister | 20 |

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|------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-----|
| 15 | Burhanuddin Harahap | 12 August 1955 | 24 March 1956 | Burhanuddin Harahap | Prime Minister | 23 |
| 16 | Ali Sastroamidjojo II | 24 March 1956 | 9 April 1957 | Ali Sastroamidjojo | Prime Minister | 25 |
| 17 | Djuanda | 9 April 1957 | 10 July 1959 | Djuanda | Prime Minister | 24 |
| The Era of Guided Democracy | | | | | | |
| 18 | Work I | 10 July 1959 | 18 February 1960 | Ir. Soekarno | President/Prime Minister | 33 |
| 19 | Work II | 18 February 1960 | 6 March 1962 | Ir. Soekarno | President/Prime Minister | 40 |
| 20 | Work III | 6 March 1962 | 13 November 1963 | Ir. Soekarno | President/Prime Minister | 60 |
| 21 | Work IV | 13 November 1963 | 27 August 1964 | Ir. Soekarno | President/Prime Minister | 66 |
| 22 | Dwikora I | 27 August 1964 | 22 February 1966 | Ir. Soekarno | President/Prime Minister | 110 |
| 23 | Dwikora II | 24 February 1966 | 28 March 1966 | Ir. Soekarno | President/Prime Minister | 132 |
| 24 | Dwikora III | 28 March 1966 | 25 July 1966 | Ir. Soekarno | President/Prime Minister | 79 |
| 25 | Ampera I | 25 July 1966 | 17 October 1967 | Gen. Soeharto | Chairman of Presidium | 31 |
| 26 | Ampera II | 17 October 1967 | 6 June 1968 | Gen. Soeharto | Acting President | 24 |
| The Era of Development | | | | | | |
| 27 | Development I | 6 June 1968 | 28 March 1973 | Gen. Soeharto | President | 24 |
| 28 | Development II | 28 March 1973 | 29 March 1978 | Gen. Soeharto | President | 24 |
| 29 | Development III | 29 March 1978 | 19 March 1983 | Soeharto | President | 32 |
| 30 | Development IV | 19 March 1983 | 23 March 1988 | Soeharto | President | 42 |
| 31 | Development V | 23 March 1988 | 17 March 1993 | Soeharto | President | 44 |
| 32 | Development VI | 17 March 1993 | 14 March 1998 | Soeharto | President | 43 |
| 33 | Development VII | 14 March 1998 | 21 May 1998 | Soeharto | President | 38 |
| The Era of Reform | | | | | | |
| 34 | Reform Development | 21 May 1998 | 20 October 1999 | B.J. Habibie | President | 37 |

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|----|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------|----|
| 35 | National Unity | 26 October 1999 | 9 August 2001 | Abdurahman Wahid | President | 36 |
| 36 | Mutual Cooperation | 9 August 2001 | 20 October 2004 | Megawati Soekarnoputri | President | 33 |
| 37 | United Indonesia | 21 October 2004 | 20 October 2009 | Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono | President | 34 |
| 38 | United Indonesia II | 22 October 2009 | 20 October 2014 | Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono | President | 34 |
| 39 | Work | 27 October 2014 | 20 October 2019 | Joko Widodo | President | 34 |
| 40 | Advanced Indonesia | 23 October 2019 | 20 October 2024 | Joko Widodo | President | 34 |
| 41 | Red and White | 21 October 2024 | 20 October 2029 | Prabowo Subianto | President | 48 |

Source: Compiled from various sources

From the data above, the Red and White Cabinet represents the largest cabinet in the number of ministries since the New Order era under President Soeharto and the sixth largest overall, following the Second Dwikora Cabinet with 132 members, the First Dwikora Cabinet with 110 members, the Third Dwikora Cabinet with 79 members, the Fourth Working Cabinet with 66 members, and the Third Working Cabinet with 60 members during the Guided Democracy era under President Soekarno. This composition is vastly different from the cabinets formed during the National Independence era and the Parliamentary Democracy era. For instance, the Susanto Cabinet had 10 members, the Emergency Cabinet/PDRI had 12 members, and the Halim Cabinet had 15 members. The first Presidential Cabinet comprised 15 ministries: Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, National Security, Justice, Information, Finance, Prosperity, Transportation, Public Works, Social Affairs, Education, Health, Religious Affairs, State Minister, and State Secretariat. The longest-serving cabinet during President Soekarno's era, which was relatively efficient in its composition and programs, is referred to as the Zaken Cabinet, the Djuanda Cabinet with 24 members. The Djuanda Cabinet included the Prime Minister, Vice Prime Ministers I, II, and III, Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Defense, Justice, Information, Finance, Agriculture, Trade, Industry, Transportation, Shipping, Public Works and Manpower, Labor, Social Affairs, Education and Culture, Religious Affairs, Health, Agrarian Affairs, Mass Mobilization for Development, Veterans, Inter-Regional Relations, and State Minister. This demonstrates that the number of ministries is not necessarily correlated with performance efficiency; a larger number does not automatically lead to more effective work outcomes.

This discussion does not yet address non-ministerial agencies, such as the National Nutrition Agency, the National Development Control and Special Investigation Agency, the Investment Management Agency of Daya Anagata Nusantara, the Poverty Eradication Acceleration Agency, the Hajj Organizing Agency, the Halal Product Guarantee Agency, the Presidential Staff Office, the Presidential Communication Office, as well as the President's Special Officials, which include Special Advisors, Special Envoys, and Presidential Staff. The National Nutrition Agency and the National Food Agency operate under the Coordinating Ministry for Food Affairs, and these

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agencies were formed to support food security programs, including implementing a Free Nutritious Meal program. The National Food Agency was established in 2021, while the regulation for the National Nutrition Agency was enacted toward the end of President Joko Widodo's administration, transferring some of the duties from the National Food Agency. The National Development Control and Special Investigation Agency was inspired by earlier agencies such as the Operational Development Control Secretary during President Soeharto's era, the Presidential Working Unit for Development Monitoring and Control during President SBY's era, and the Presidential Staff Office under President Jokowi. This agency plays a role in identifying obstacles and providing solutions for physical development and the implementation of other programs, distinguishing itself from the Financial and Development Supervisory Agency (BPKP), which focuses on audits and cross-sector supervision, and the Presidential Staff Office, which deals with policy resolution, political dynamics, and cross-sector coordination.

The Investment Management Agency of Daya Anagata Nusantara (Danantara) is envisioned as the precursor to a Superholding for State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs), initially managing several high-portfolio SOEs alongside the Indonesian Investment Authority's assets. This plan aligns with the revisions to the State-Owned Enterprises Law, which will gradually assign SOE management to Danantara, starting with investment management. The Poverty Eradication Acceleration Agency coordinates, accelerates, and improves the data and implementation of poverty eradication and empowerment programs. Similarly, the Hajj Organizing Agency and the Halal Product Guarantee Agency were designed to manage parts of the Ministry of Religious Affairs' responsibilities, with their creation requiring a review of relevant laws. Establishing the Presidential Communication Office at the end of President Joko Widodo's term was a preparation for President Prabowo Subianto. This office focuses on the President's strategic policy communication and priority programs, taking on some duties from the Presidential Staff Office, especially those previously handled by the President's Special Staff for Communications or the presidential spokesperson.

Regarding the President's special officials, there are the Special Envoys, Special Staff, and a new position, the Special Presidential Advisors. The regulation for these positions was re-enacted at the end of President Joko Widodo's administration. Special Envoys were initially appointed for issues such as international relations and strategic matters, including the Special Envoy for Maritime Boundary Determination, Interfaith Dialogue and Cooperation, Poverty Eradication and Food Security, and International Cooperation for the Development of the Capital City of Nusantara. Currently, Special Envoys are assigned to areas including Food Security, Economy and Banking, Interfaith Harmony and Religious Facilities Development, Youth and Arts Workers Development, Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises and Creative Digital Economy, International Trade and Multilateral Cooperation, and Tourism. On the other hand, Special Staff positions, which were numerous in previous administrations, have been streamlined in the Red and White Cabinet, with only one Special Staff for Creative Economics being publicly disclosed. The newly introduced position of Special Presidential Advisor comprises several domains, including Politics and Security, Digitization and Government Technology, National Defense, National Economy and Development, Energy, Hajj, and National Health. The Special Presidential Advisor is

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envisioned to replace the Presidential Advisory Council, which was originally intended to be filled by former presidents.

From the breakdown of ministries, agencies, and presidential special officials, the composition reveals a lack of operational efficiency, as indicated in the narrative. Instead of fulfilling the functional needs of the government, many of these ministries, agencies, and special officials seem to be created more for political representation or may appear redundant. This could result in overlapping responsibilities and administrative challenges such as office management, budgeting, resource allocation, and other governance-related issues. For instance, the Defense sector encompasses the Ministry of Defense and various agencies like the Defense Industry Policy Committee, the National Defense Council, the Special Presidential Advisor for National Defense, and the National Defense Institute.

The increase in the number of ministries in the Red and White Cabinet reflects an effort to expand policy focus, but it also has implications for bureaucratic efficiency. In public policy, many ministries can often lead to coordination challenges and overlapping functions. The effectiveness of a ministry is not solely determined by its scope but also by its clear organizational structure and efficient inter-ministerial coordination. Thus, while splitting ministries aims to improve focus on specific sectors, the key challenge is ensuring that bureaucracy does not become sluggish and that state budgets are used optimally without adding excessive administrative burdens.

Narrative of Asta Cita

During the campaign, Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka, backed by the Coalition for a Progressive Indonesia, presented their Vision, 8 Missions (Asta Cita), 8 Programs for Fast and Effective Results (PHTC), 17 Priority Programs, and Work Plans. It is crucial to examine these documents to determine if these ideas and programs are reflected in the structure of the Red and White Cabinet, marking the initial steps toward achieving these goals. A summary of the vision, missions, and programs is as follows:

Table 4. Vision, Mission, and Programs of Prabowo-Gibran

| No | Document | Content |
|----|-----------|--|
| 1 | Vision | Together with Indonesia Moving Forward Towards Golden Indonesia |
| 2 | Mission 1 | Strengthening the ideology of Pancasila, democracy, and human rights (HAM). |
| 3 | Mission 2 | Strengthening the national defense and security system and promoting national self-reliance through food, energy, and water self-sufficiency, creative economy, green economy, and blue economy. |
| 4 | Mission 3 | Increasing quality job opportunities, encouraging entrepreneurship, developing the creative industry, and continuing infrastructure development. |
| 5 | Mission 4 | Strengthening human resource development, science, technology, education, health, sports achievements, gender equality, and enhancing the roles of women, youth, and people with disabilities. |
| 6 | Mission 5 | Continuing downstream and industrialization to increase added value domestically. |

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| | | |
|----|-------------|--|
| 7 | Mission 6 | Building from villages and the bottom up for economic equity and poverty eradication. |
| 8 | Mission 7 | Strengthening political, legal, and bureaucratic reforms and enhancing the prevention and eradication of corruption and drugs. |
| 9 | Mission 8 | Strengthening the alignment of harmonious living with the environment, nature, and culture and increasing interfaith tolerance to achieve a just and prosperous society. |
| 10 | PHTC 1 | Provide free lunch and milk in schools and pesantren and nutritional assistance for toddlers and pregnant women. |
| 11 | PHTC 2 | Conducting free health check-ups, reducing TB cases by 50% in five years, and building quality district hospitals. |
| 12 | PHTC 3 | Developing and increasing agricultural land productivity with village, regional, and national food barns. |
| 13 | PHTC 4 | Building integrated superior schools in every district and renovating schools that need repairs. |
| 14 | PHTC 5 | Continue adding social welfare card programs and business cards to eliminate absolute poverty. |
| 15 | PHTC 6 | Increasing salaries of civil servants (especially teachers, lecturers, and health workers), military/police, and state officials. |
| 16 | PHTC 7 | Continuing village infrastructure development, direct cash assistance (BLT), and providing affordable, well-sanitized housing for those in need. |
| 17 | PHTC 8 | Establishing a National Revenue Agency and increasing the national revenue ratio to GDP to 23 percent. |
| 18 | Priority 1 | Food, energy, and water self-sufficiency. |
| 19 | Priority 2 | Improving the national revenue system. |
| 20 | Priority 3 | Political, legal, and bureaucratic reforms. |
| 21 | Priority 4 | Prevention and eradication of corruption. |
| 22 | Priority 5 | Poverty eradication. |
| 23 | Priority 6 | Prevention and eradication of drugs. |
| 24 | Priority 7 | Ensuring the availability of health services for all citizens. |
| 25 | Priority 8 | Strengthening education, science, and technology, and digitalization. |
| 26 | Priority 9 | Strengthening national defense and security and maintaining conducive international relations. |
| 27 | Priority 10 | Strengthening gender equality and protecting the rights of women, children, and people with disabilities. |
| 28 | Priority 11 | Ensuring environmental preservation. |
| 29 | Priority 12 | Ensuring the availability of fertilizers, seeds, and pesticides directly to farmers. |
| 30 | Priority 13 | Ensuring affordable housing and sanitation for rural communities and those in need. |
| 31 | Priority 14 | Continuing economic equity, strengthening MSMEs, and developing the Nusantara Capital City (IKN). |
| 32 | Priority 15 | Continuing downstreaming and industrialization based on natural and maritime resources to create the widest possible job opportunities and achieve economic justice. |
| 33 | Priority 16 | Ensuring interfaith harmony, freedom of worship, and maintenance of places of worship. |

Source: Compiled from various sources

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Based on the document description above, several missions are being pursued through the creation or separation of Ministries/Agencies and new positions, such as those related to Human Rights, Food, Creative Economy, Infrastructure and Regional Development, Science and Technology, Investment and Downstreaming, Villages and Development of Underdeveloped Regions, Acceleration of Poverty Eradication, Environment, and Culture. Similarly, within the Fast and Effective Results Programs, ministries, agencies, and positions in the fields of nutrition, primary and secondary education, and housing and settlements are established. Additionally, in the Priority Programs, such as those related to MSMEs and Interfaith Harmony and Religious Facilities Development, significant attention is given to forming a National Revenue Agency or separating Tax and Customs from the Ministry of Finance.

The ongoing discourse on this matter highlights that both President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and President Joko Widodo recommended Sri Mulyani as the Minister of Finance in the Red and White Cabinet to maintain international trust; however, Sri Mulyani herself rejected the establishment of a National Revenue Agency. Consequently, this Agency was not formed; instead, the national revenue system was enhanced by adding three Deputy Ministers in the Ministry of Finance, mirroring the structure in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises. The Ministry of Finance is now directly under the President, no longer coordinated by the Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs, similar to the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform (PANRB), which is also now directly under the President to fully support the institutional restructuring within the Red and White Cabinet.

Asta Cita, which forms the foundation of Prabowo-Gibran's policy direction, provides a strategic road map for public policy in Indonesia. However, implementing these programs requires alignment between planning and the capacity of the responsible ministries. One of the challenges in public policy is ensuring that priority programs, such as food security, welfare improvement, and infrastructure development, do not remain mere political promises but are realized through data-driven approaches and transparent governance. Therefore, regular evaluations of the implementation of these programs are essential to ensure that policies deliver tangible benefits to society.

Narrative of Great Nation

One statement made by President Prabowo regarding the large number of ministries in the Red and White Cabinet was his invitation to all parties to unite for national unity, akin to when President Joko Widodo invited him to become the Minister of Defense. This was reinforced by the vision "Together, Advancing Indonesia Toward Golden Indonesia" and the Cabinet's designation as "Merah Putih" (Red and White). This unity narrative was further emphasized through the Hambalang Retreat and training at the Military Academy in Magelang. Another narrative President Prabowo presented during the formation of the Red and White Cabinet was that of a great nation, arguing that the high number of ministries and agencies reflects Indonesia's greatness. This argument may be critiqued when comparing the Red and White Cabinet with those of other countries, such as the United States, China, Russia, South Korea, Japan, and Vietnam.

Table 5. List of the number of cabinets in various countries

| No | Country | Ministries |
|----|----------------------------------|--|
| 1 | United States (15 Ministries) | Agriculture, Commerce, Defence, Education, Energy, Health and Human Services, Homeland Security, Housing and Urban Development, Interior, Labor, Transportation, Treasury, Veterans Affairs, Attorney General |
| 2 | China (24 Ministries) | Foreign Affairs, National Defence, National Development and Reform Commission, Education, Science and Technology, Industry and Information Technology, National Ethnic Affairs Commission, Public Security, State Security, Civil Affairs, Justice, Finance, Human Resources and Social Security, Natural Resources, Ecology and Environment, Housing and Urban-Rural Development, Transport, Water Resources, Agriculture and Rural Affairs, Commerce, Culture and Tourism, National Health, Veterans Affairs, Emergency Management |
| 3 | Russia (21 Ministries) | Civil Defense, Emergencies and Disaster Relief, Defence, Interior, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Agriculture, Construction and Housing, Culture, Development of the Far East and Arctic, Digital Development, Communications, and Mass Media Economic Development, Education, Energy, Finance, Health, Industry and Trade, Labor and Social Protection, Natural Resources and Environment, Science and Higher Education, Sports, Transport |
| 4 | South Korea (18 Ministries) | Strategy and Finance, Education, Science and Technology, Foreign Affairs, Unification, Justice, National Defence, Interior and Safety, Culture, Sports and Tourism, Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs, Trade, Industry and Energy, Health and Welfare, Environment, Employment and Labor, Gender Equality and Family, Land, Infrastructure and Transport, Oceans and Fisheries, SMEs and Startups |
| 5 | Japan (16 Ministries) | Internal Affairs and Communications, Justice, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Economy, Trade and Industry, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Land, Infrastructure, Transport, Tourism, Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. Health, Labor, and Welfare, Environment, Public Safety, Social and Cultural Affairs, Defence, Internal Affairs and Communications, Finance and Social Welfare Affairs |
| 6 | Vietnam (20 Ministries) | Defense, Public Security, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Planning and Investment, Construction and Transport, Education and Training, Health, Agriculture and Rural Development, Industry and Trade, Labor, Invalids, and Social Affairs, Science and Technology, Environment, Culture, Sports, and Tourism, Information and Communications, Justice, Research and Higher Education, Urban Development, Ethnic Minority Affairs, Social Justice |

Source: Compiled from various sources

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The "Great Nation" narrative promoted in the formation of the cabinet has implications for public policy, particularly in building the government's image as a strong administration. However, a larger number of ministries does not necessarily equate to greater effectiveness in governance. In public policy practice, countries with efficient governance systems often have fewer ministries but with strong coordination and responsive bureaucracies. Therefore, to ensure that a large cabinet remains effective, the government must optimize coordination mechanisms among ministries and ensure that each policy formulated is effectively implemented on the ground.

Narrative of Sustainable Development

Since the campaign period, Prabowo has highlighted the necessity for sustainable development in the documents detailing his ideas, vision, missions, and programs. In referencing previous presidents, President Joko Widodo's name was mentioned 17 times, while other presidents were cited only once. Joko Widodo's name features in the foundation of "Indonesia Maju" (Advanced Indonesia), his administration's accomplishments, the preparation of the National Long-Term Development Plan, and the presentation of the Strategic Challenges facing the Indonesian nation. This narrative was adopted because Joko Widodo is a key supporter with considerable influence and resources for the Prabowo Subianto and Gibran Rakabuming Raka pair. Gibran, who is Joko Widodo's son, became a controversial candidate due to changes in the law and manipulation of the process by the Constitutional Court.

During the formation of the Red and White Cabinet, Prabowo frequently consulted with Joko Widodo, one of which concerned the transition of government and the subsequent appointments of Ministers or Deputy Ministers toward the end of Joko Widodo's term, as well as regulations established for the formation of institutions, agencies, or positions, and the revision of laws, such as the Law on Ministries, the Law on the Presidential Advisory Board (Wantimpres), and others. In the composition of the Red and White Cabinet, there are names linked to President Joko Widodo's administration, as follows:

Table 6. Names associated with President Joko Widodo's administration

| No | Name | Previous Position | Current Position |
|----|--------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | Budi Gunawan | Head of the State Intelligence Agency | Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs |
| 2 | Airlangga Hartanto | Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs | Coordinating Minister for Economic Affairs |
| 3 | Pratikno | Minister of State Secretariat | Coordinating Minister for Human Development and Culture |
| 4 | Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono | Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning | Coordinating Minister for Infrastructure and Regional Development |
| 5 | Zulkifli Hasan | Minister of Trade | Coordinating Minister for Food Affairs |

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| | | | |
|----|-------------------------|--|---|
| 6 | Tito Karnavian | Minister of Home Affairs | Minister of Home Affairs |
| 7 | Supratman Andi Agtas | Minister of Law and Human Rights | Minister of Law |
| 8 | Sri Mulyani | Minister of Finance | Minister of Finance |
| 9 | Budi Gunadi Sadikin | Minister of Health | Minister of Health |
| 10 | Saifullah Yusuf | Minister of Social Affairs | Minister of Social Affairs |
| 11 | Agus Gumiwang | Minister of Industry | Minister of Industry |
| 12 | Bahlil Lahadalia | Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources | Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources |
| 13 | Amran Sulaiman | Minister of Agriculture | Minister of Agriculture |
| 14 | Raja Juli Antoni | Deputy Minister of Agrarian Affairs and Spatial Planning | Minister of Forestry |
| 15 | Sakti Wahyu Trenggono | Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries | Minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries |
| 16 | Erick Thohir | Minister of State-Owned Enterprises | Minister of State-Owned Enterprises |
| 17 | Rosan Roeslani | Minister of Investment | Minister of Investment and Downstreaming |
| 18 | Budi Arie Setiadi | Minister of Communication and Informatics | Minister of Cooperatives |
| 19 | Dito Ariotedjo | Minister of Youth and Sports | Minister of Youth and Sports |
| 20 | Eddy Hiariej | Deputy Minister of Law and Human Rights | Deputy Minister of Law |
| 21 | Thomas Djiwandono | Deputy Minister of Finance | Deputy Minister of Finance |
| 22 | Suahasil Nazara | Deputy Minister of Finance | Deputy Minister of Finance |
| 23 | Dante Saksono Harbuwono | Deputy Minister of Health | Deputy Minister of Health |
| 24 | Yuliot Tanjung | Deputy Minister of Investment | Deputy Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources |
| 25 | Angga Raka Prabowo | Deputy Minister of Communication and Informatics | Deputy Minister of Communication and Digital |
| 26 | Nezar Patria | Deputy Minister of Communication and Informatics | Deputy Minister of Communication and Digital |
| 27 | Sudaryono | Deputy Minister of Agriculture | Deputy Minister of Agriculture |
| 28 | Kartika Wirjoatmodjo | Deputy Minister of State-Owned Enterprises | Deputy Minister of State-Owned Enterprises |
| 29 | Sanitiar Burhanuddin | Attorney General | Attorney General |
| 30 | Agus Subiyanto | Commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces | Commander of the Indonesian National Armed Forces |

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| | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---|---|
| 31 | Listyo Sigit Prabowo | Chief of the Indonesian National Police | Chief of the Indonesian National Police |
| 32 | Muhammad Herindra | Deputy Minister of Defense | Head of the State Intelligence Agency |
| 33 | Hasan Nasbi | Head of the Presidential Communication Office | Head of the Presidential Communication Office |
| 34 | Basuki Hadimuljono | Minister of Public Works and Housing | Head of the Nusantara Capital Authority |
| 35 | Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan | Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment | Chairman of the National Economic Council |

Source: Compiled from various sources

When mapping the names associated with Joko Widodo's government within the Red and White Cabinet, several individuals from Gerindra were appointed to assist in the transition, including Supratman Andi Agtas, Thomas Djiwandono, Angga Raka Prabowo, and Sudaryono. Additionally, several non-political figures who held positions at the end of Joko Widodo's administration, such as Saifullah Yusuf, Rosan Roeslani, Yuliot Tanjung, and Hasan Nasbi, were included, alongside political figures like Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono and Bahlil Lahadalia, who shifted ministries. Non-political figures with relevant profiles were also retained, including Budi Gunadi Sadikin, Sakti Wahyu Trenggono, Erick Thohir, Suahasil Nazara, Dante Saksono, Nezar Patria, and Kartiko Wirjoatmodjo. Meanwhile, other names that were either continued or had their positions reshuffled but garnered attention include Pratikno, Sri Mulyani, Amran Sulaiman, Budi Arie Setiadi, and Eddy Hiariej. Several names from political parties that were retained or reshuffled include Budi Gunawan, Airlangga Hartanto, Zulkifli Hasan, Agus Gumiwang, Raja Juli Antoni, Dito Ariotedjo, Basuki Hadimuljono, and Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan. Special mention is made of Sanitiar Burhanuddin, Agus Subiyanto, and Listo Sigit Prabowo, who were not replaced from their positions, in contrast to the newly appointed Head of the National Intelligence Agency (BIN), Muhammad Herindra.

The selection of individuals previously part of the administration does not necessarily guarantee the continuity of development, as the new cabinet must align with the new government's vision, missions, and programs. Furthermore, the choice of these individuals is closely linked to political party representation and the supporters of Joko Widodo rather than those who are technocrats or specialists in their respective fields. The process of selecting individuals for the Red and White Cabinet, both publicly through the invitation of ministers to Kertanegara and through behind-the-scenes screening, involved several channels, including recommendations from Joko Widodo, which featured both old and new names such as Abdul Kadir Karding, leading to Muhaimin Iskandar eventually proposing his name. Sufmi Dasco Ahmad's route was tasked with screening names from political parties. Sjafrie Sjamsoeddin's team was responsible for selecting candidates with military and police backgrounds. Burhanuddin Abdullah's team screened candidates for economic-related ministries, including the proposal to create a superholding of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) to replace the Ministry of SOEs. Hashim Djojohadikusumo's route sourced names from family, close associates of Prabowo, and entrepreneurs. Other channels included Prabowo seeking input from various figures, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, as

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well as notable businessman Haji Isam, who recommended his close associates, albeit through the representation of political parties. Haji Isam is recognized as a key campaign donor for Prabowo Subianto ([Rosana, 2024](#)). This selection process highlights the complexity and political intricacies behind the composition of the Red and White Cabinet.

Sustainable development is one of the main challenges in Indonesia's public policy, particularly in ensuring that policies implemented by one administration can be continued by the next. With the continuity between Joko Widodo's policies and the Prabowo administration, there is expected to be no significant disruptions in national development programs. However, the key challenge of this approach is ensuring that retained policies have measurable positive impacts and are not merely a continuation of the status quo. Additionally, in the context of sustainability, public policies must remain adaptive to social, economic, and environmental changes to stay relevant in the long term.

CONCLUSION

The formation of the Red and White Cabinet under President Prabowo Subianto was shaped by a complex interplay of political and institutional narratives involving various influential actors such as Joko Widodo ([Kenawas, 2023](#)), political parties, business elites, and coalition strategists. While framed under narratives such as the Zaken Cabinet, Efficient Cabinet, Asta Cita, Great Nation, and Development Continuity, the cabinet's composition largely reflected political bargaining rather than technocratic selection. This was evident in the increase of ministries and deputy ministers, some of which resulted in bureaucratic inefficiencies and overlapping responsibilities.

From a governance perspective, the cabinet's composition influences public policy by shaping ministerial priorities, resource allocation, and policy implementation. Political narratives were strategically employed to justify ministerial appointments, manage public perception, and respond to critiques, illustrating the significance of the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) in understanding policy-making dynamics. This study contributes to NPF scholarship by providing empirical insights into how policy narratives shape institutional arrangements and policy legitimacy in Indonesia ([Amir, 2023; Santoso, 2017](#)).

Despite its contributions, this study has certain limitations. The analysis primarily focuses on narrative construction and cabinet formation without examining the actual policy outcomes of the appointed ministries. Additionally, while the study provides a comparative framework, further empirical validation through policy impact assessments is necessary. For future research, we recommend an in-depth examination of how cabinet composition affects policy implementation in specific sectors, such as economic reform, social welfare, or digital transformation. Further studies could also explore the role of digital media in shaping public perceptions of policy narratives.

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