

## The Discourse of the Capital City of Nusantara: Learn from President's Tweets

Sapto Setyo Nugroho<sup>1</sup>, Yonarisman Muhammad Akbar<sup>2</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Universitas Terbuka, Indonesia

Correspondent: [yonarismanakbar@ecampus.ut.ac.id](mailto:yonarismanakbar@ecampus.ut.ac.id)<sup>1</sup>

Received : January 1, 2023

Accepted : April 4, 2023

Published : April 30, 2023

Citation: Nugroho, S. S. & Yonarisman M. A. (2023). The Discourse of the Capital City of Nusantara: Learn from President's Tweet's. Ijomata International Journal of Social Science, 4(2), 157-174.

<https://doi.org/10.52728/ijss.v4i2.681>

**ABSTRACT:** This paper examines the construction and contextuality of the discourse on the Capital City of the Nusantara by President Joko Widodo's Twitter account. Focusing on the phenomenon of the relocation of the capital city with a discourse perspective can contribute to discussions about the operation of ideological power in power through political or governmental communication. Using the research method of critical discourse analysis, this paper finds that the discourse on the new State Capital is constructed through three stages of discourse, namely the study discourse, the strategic decision discourse, and the political economy consolidation discourse. While the context in the discourse is in three situations, namely the agenda engineering situation, the policy formulation situation, and the policy implementation situation. These three situations have tug-of-war at their respective moments and tend to create contradictions between one statement and another from President Joko Widodo about the new National Capital. However, the context of the discourse on the new State Capital by President Joko Widodo in this paper also tends to prove the arguments in previous writings, namely that President Joko Widodo is building a legacy strategically in ambitious ways.

**Keywords:** Discourse Analysis, Ideological Power.



This is an open access article under the CC-BY 4.0 license

## INTRODUCTION

This article reviews the Twitter tweets submitted by President Joko Widodo regarding the Capital City of Nusantara Plan (IKN) in East Kalimantan. The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the ontological discussion of political science and governance in the IKN case ([Chekirova, 2022](#); [Gokmenoglu, 2022](#); [Haddad, 2017](#)). According to Steven Lukes, power in political science can operate in three forms, namely decision-making power, non-decision-making power, and ideological power. There needs to be a study that identifies whether there is relevance to the phenomenon of the IKN case with the three domains in the study of power ([Lukes, 2005](#)).

In the decision-making power dimension which emphasizes the operation of power in decision-making moments, a study of the IKN case in this dimension can take the form of a discussion of the IKN Academic Paper ([Monoarfa, 2021](#)), regulations related to IKN: Law on IKN,

Government Regulations regarding IKN, Presidential Regulation on IKN and Regulation of the Head of the IKN Authority as well as other contemporary-critical decision issues (See for example: writings from Haryanti, 2022; Nugrohosudin, 2022; Fristikawati, 2022; Mulyaningsih, 2022; Sihombing, 2022; Erwanti, 2022; Caesar, 2022; Nugroho, 2022 and Aldilla, 2022).

Whereas on the non-decision-making power dimension, studies on the IKN case can take the form of discussions outside of the moment of decision-making. According to Karim & Mas'udi ([Karim & Mas'udi, 2021](#)), this dimension is an alternative to the tendency to focus on studying the phenomenon of decision making which is explicit and easy to grasp. Therefore, examples of studies like this are not entirely institutional in nature and tend to be more behavioral in nature. (See for example: Hamdani's ([Hamdani & Wulan, 2022](#)) which discusses the Executive Heavy Regime in IKN and Septiani's writings ([Septiani et al., 2022](#)) which discusses the Analysis of Public Acceptance Sentiment via social media towards IKN).

Finally, on the ideological power dimension, this dimension emphasizes the workings of governmentality and/or discourse in a phenomenon or case regarding IKN ([Mudhoffir, 2013](#)). Governmentality which is the logic of how power is exercised in the IKN and/or discourse which is the practice of using language for the interests of power in the IKN was initially identified in writings that have a political and symbolic communication style. (See for example: Mustaqim's ([Mustaqim, 2022](#)) which examine President Joko Widodo's rhetoric in constructing IKNs, Hairunnisa & Syaka's ([Hairunnisa & Syaka, 2022](#)) which examine political communication efforts in building IKNs, and Yuliana & Atikurrahman's ([Yuliana & Atikurrahman, 2022](#)) which examine various representations of symbols in IKN).

Preliminary analysis on the relevance between the dimensions of political science and government and the IKN case maps out several things: First, this paper seeks to examine the IKN constructively, meaning that there is a need for a study that looks at the formation of knowledge about the IKN, such as behind the scenes agenda setting and policy formulation. Second, this paper seeks to examine IKN contextually, meaning that knowledge about IKN needs to be analyzed not only on things that happen on the surface, but also on things behind the surface. Third, this paper seeks to critically examine IKN, meaning that there is a need for a study that analyzes things that are illogical, rational, and systematic in the IKN case.

With the above intention, this paper will use the ideological power dimension in contextually re-analyzing the IKN case. This dimension was chosen because it can flexibly accommodate the purpose of the study. In contrast to Weber's attributive power and Marx's class power, this paper tries to approach the IKN case from the perspective of Foucault's discursive power. The perspective of discursive power has succeeded in assembling a method of analysis in responding to political and governmental phenomena that cannot be answered by means of mainstream analysis. (See for example: Ardianto's (2016) which examine policies not only technocratically, but also politically, or Prasetyo's (2017) which examine phenomena that cannot be analyzed using research methodologies that are measurement and/or in-depth debriefing with informants).

Thus, the formulation of the problem in this paper is what and how the discourse of the capital city of nusantara: learn from president's tweets. The discourse will be analyzed on knowledge production from President Joko Widodo through social media Twitter. The discourse on President Joko Widodo's tweet is the latest representation that opens cognition socially and politically in the

public sphere. This claim is based on Teun Van Dijk's argument about discourse as social cognition ([Van Dijk, 2002](#)).

### METHOD

This paper is based on a review of similar previous writings. These writings are the writings of Andika Hendra Mustaqim ([Mustaqim, 2022](#)) entitled *Constructing the Future of Indonesia: The Rhetorical Situation of the Capital City of Nusantara*, the writings of Hairunnisa & Wisda Aprilia Syaka ([Hairunnisa & Syaka, 2022](#)) entitled *Analysis of Political Communication in Accelerating the Development of the Capital City of Nusantara (IKN) Towards Sustainable Cities* and writings by Nanik Yuliana & Moh Atikurrahman ([Yuliana & Atikurrahman, 2022](#)) entitled *National Capitals that are (not) Missed: Kendi Nusantara, Jokowi's Javaneseism, and Barthesian Semiology*. The three writings above share an analysis style on discursive power.

In Mustawim's writing, he has studied the construction of IKN as the future of Indonesia. The construction is examined using President Joko Widodo's speech with the theory of rhetorical situations that the most found rhetorical approaches are persuasive, followed by deliberative, explication and argumentative. At the end of the article, Mustawim notes that his analysis of the rhetorical situation can be developed using ethnographic methods and/or polling the audience ([Mustaqim, 2022](#)).

In the writings of Hairunnisa & Syaka, the study of the development of IKN is seen through a political communication approach, both representation of cultural identity, preparation of understanding of cultural diversity and socio-economic conditions of the local population, sustainability of residents' livelihoods and synergy of culture and local wisdom with the use of technology and innovation. Even though it is wrapped in an offer of discursive analysis, this paper analyzes more on technocratic related matters, such as strategic agendas and formulations to expedite the development of IKN ([Hairunnisa & Syaka, 2022](#)).

In the writings of Yuliana & Atikurrahman, the context of IKN is studied by analyzing one of the Kendi Nusantara ritual events as a form of representation. In this event, there were motives and actions regarding President Joko Widodo's aspirations regarding the development of the IKN by seeking support from the public and assuring investors that the construction of the IKN would be realized, unlike its predecessors. Although this paper is rich in context analysis, it has not yet touched on pre-context analysis, namely the analysis of the construction of events as representations ([Yuliana & Atikurrahman, 2022](#)).

Based on the review above, this paper attempts to present an analysis of the power of discourse on IKN which accommodates: 1. Dialogical discourse, meaning that it does not only observe the production of knowledge about IKN in only one direction, from the state, but also the public and society. 2. Technocratic-political motives, meaning not only observing technocratic government matters regarding the IKN, but also the socio-political aspects. 3. Interdiscursiveness, meaning not only observing one event, but also a series of events that affect and are influenced by knowledge about IKN.

To outline the direction of how to answer the problems above, this paper is structured with a discourse analysis scheme as a method of data collection and analysis. The scheme was chosen because in substance and instrumentation it can accommodate a review of gaps in previous related writings as well as research questions in writing. This social research approach with an interpretive pattern is then expected to be able to review the Twitter tweets submitted by President Joko Widodo regarding the Plan for the Capital City of Nusantara (IKN) in East Kalimantan.

This article is about how the construction and contextuality of the Nusantara Capital discourse, using Twitter tweets from President Joko Widodo's account as the focus of the review or study. Initial search results on social media Twitter have collected a total of 63 tweets from President Joko Widodo's (@jokowi) account about IKN from 13 July 2017 to 1 December 2022.

This paper is interpretive research with discourse analysis method. This method can guide researchers in uncovering hidden intentions in every action of political actors, which if the motive is further analyzed, it will produce an analysis of the constructivity and contextuality of discourse in a particular phenomenon ([Eriyanto, 2008](#)).

In discourse studies, the disclosure of this intention is related to the ideological search process (the system of ideas expressed), awareness (the essence of the behavior of the messenger), and hegemony (the process of the "dominant" ideology being conveyed, awareness is formed, and social power is exercised) over the message of meaning. in the text, as in a Twitter tweet in the context of this article ([Sobur, 2006](#)).

In data analysis or discussion, this paper will try to contain the dimensions in discourse studies: what is said (thematic), how opinions are structured (schematic), the meaning emphasized (semantics), how opinions are conveyed (syntax), what word choices are used (stylistic) and how and in what way the emphasis is done (rhetorical) ([Eriyanto, 2008](#)).

The dimensions in discourse studies above can guide the analysis of discourse construction, whereas in the effort to discover contextuality, discourse studies also provide elements that are the center of attention of text interpretation, namely things/events that occur (discourse field), parties included in the text (discourse participants) and designation on grammar (means of discourse) ([Sobur, 2006](#)).

Not all the dimensions in the discourse study that have been mentioned will be used. The use of dimensions and elements is flexible depending on the characteristics of the text object found. In addition, this article limits on a few things: First, the author does not have access to meet President Joko Widodo or his Twitter account admin in person, the author deals with secondary data regarding the management of President Joko Widodo's Twitter account. Second, the authors did not explore the social context of the public or related parties directly, the authors returned to work around this with secondary data, this will also be a note for further related discussions or writings.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The discussion on the New State Capital started with President Joko Widodo's tweet on July 13, 2017:

Figure 1. The beginning of the discourse



Source: Twitter @jokowi

In 2017 or President Joko Widodo's third year in office, the government is indeed reviewing the transfer of the capital city from Jakarta. The study was carried out by the Ministry of National Development Planning (PPN)/National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) (Agustina, 2017). Judging from various media reports, other parties such as the Vice President, Minister of Defense and Minister of Public Works and Public Housing also spoke about moving the National Capital in accordance with their respective work capacities (Taufiqurrahman, 2017).

After the tweet on July 13, 2017, there were no subsequent tweets that specifically discussed the Capital City until April 30, 2019. In the 2017-2019 period, the national agenda that was in the spotlight was the 2019 General Election. There was no serious discussion about relocating the capital during the campaign period, even from President Joko Widodo as the incumbent candidate. However, Bappenas is still reviewing the plan to move the capital city and the decision will be made by President Joko Widodo at the right time (Nasution, 2018).

Figure 2. Discourse after the Political Year



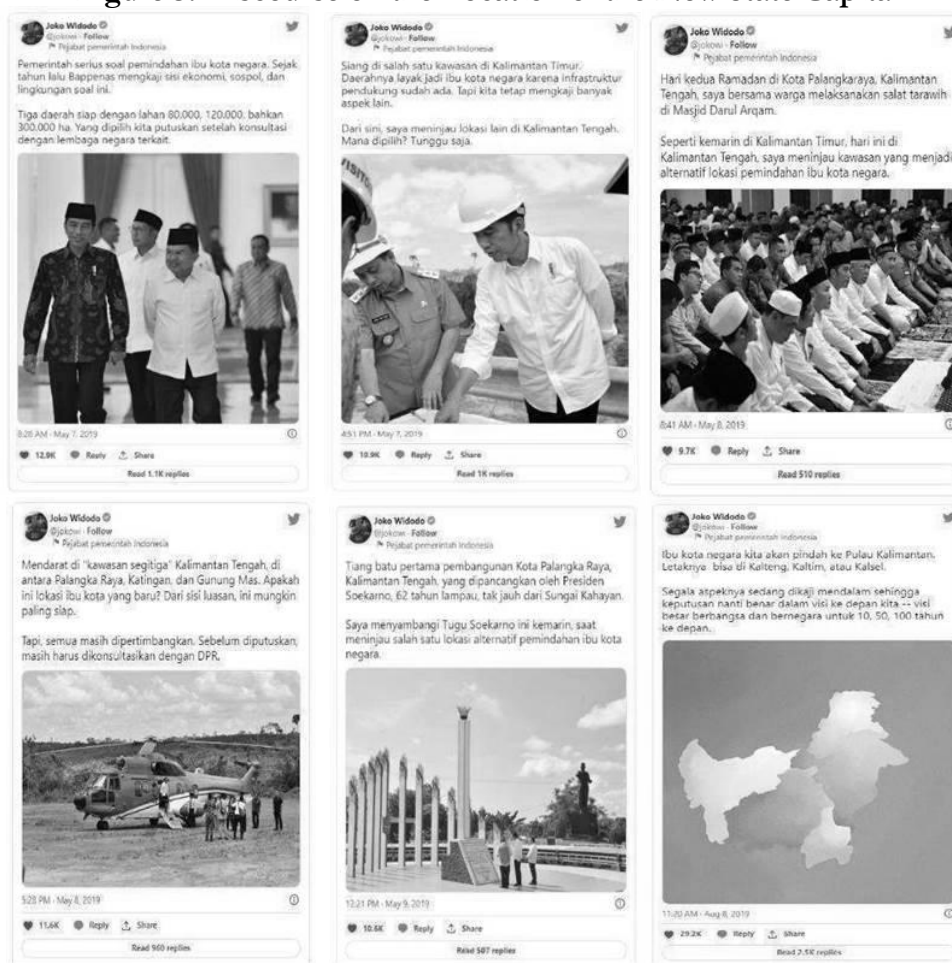
Source: Twitter @jokowi

After the 2019 elections, exactly 13 days after the voting on April 17, 2019, President Joko Widodo tweeted about the burden on Jakarta, the idea of moving the national capital that was not realized, and the question of where the national capital should be. These tweets tend to make the public

relatively surprised, because they were discussed by President Joko Widodo after the moment of electoral politics that consumed public energy. However, the tweet was the result of a limited follow-up meeting on the study of plans to relocate the National Capital which had been conducted since 2017.

Reactions that occurred in the public sphere varied, for example from the tweet reply to column, many Twitter users immediately mentioned certain areas in response to questions about locations. Or many analyzes have developed from saying that President Joko Widodo is visionary, thinking forward after the election, to the fact that this will have an impact on adding to the state debt and burdening the state budget. However, this tweet initiated further discourse from President Joko Widodo regarding the realization of moving the new National Capital ([DW, 2019](#)).

Figure 3. Discourse on the Location of the New State Capital

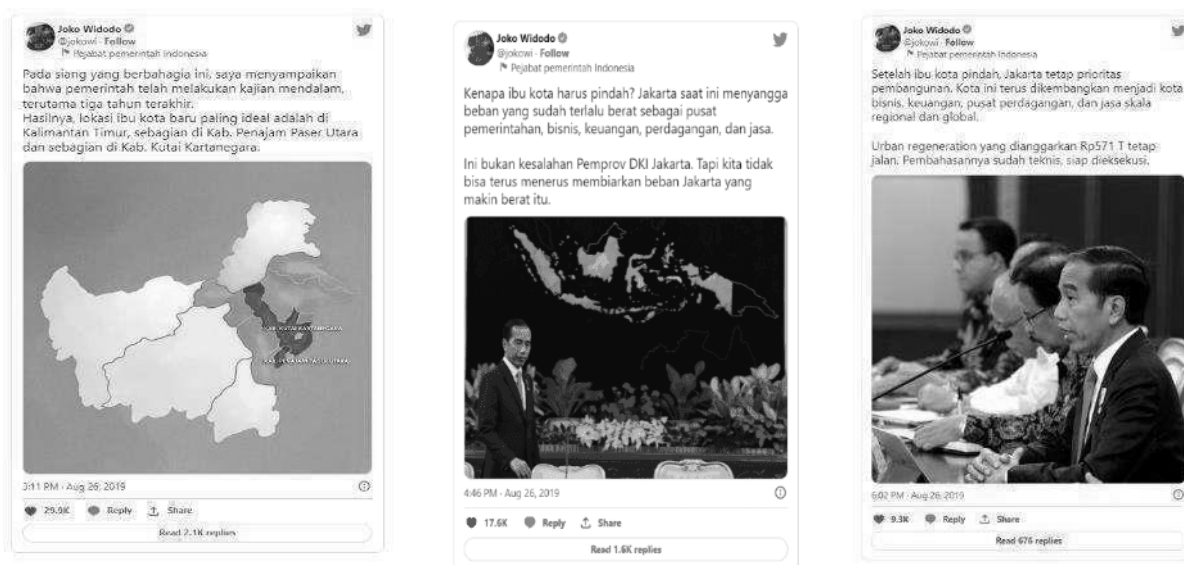


Source: Twitter @jokowi

On May 7, 2019, President Joko Widodo tweeted about Bappenas' study of relocating the National Capital based on economics, socio-politics, and the environment, as well as three areas that are ready in terms of land availability. This tweet-initiated President Joko Widodo's working visit to several areas on the island of Kalimantan, including an area in East Kalimantan (Suharto Hills), a "triangular area" (between Palangkaraya, Katingan and Gunung Mas) in Central Kalimantan, and one of the areas in Palangkaraya. However, the three areas on the island of Kalimantan that have been discussed publicly are Central Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, and South Kalimantan.

The selection of the three regions on the island of Kalimantan was not without reason. Technocratically, Kalimantan Island was chosen because of the availability of land, the readiness of supporting infrastructure, disaster resilience, and economic opportunities. Politically, Kalimantan Island was chosen because it reflects Indonesia-centric representation, geographically and historically, as well as lessons learned from the cases of other countries. Geographically, Kalimantan Island can be Indonesia's central position as an archipelagic country. In history, the plan to move the National Capital was discussed by President Soekarno in 1957. Meanwhile, from lessons from other countries, moving the National Capital to an area farther from the old capital had a purpose and was nothing new.

**Figure 4. Discourse on the Fate of Jakarta and the Selection of East Kalimantan as the Capital of the New State**



Source: Twitter @jokowi

On August 26, 2019, President Joko Widodo announced in a press conference that based on the study, the most ideal location for the National Capital City is in parts of North Penajam Paser and parts of Kutai Kartanegara, East Kalimantan Province. President Joko Widodo stated that East Kalimantan Province was chosen because: 1. The risk of disaster is minimal, 2. The location is in the middle of Indonesia, 3. It is close to Balikpapan and Samarinda. 4. It has a relatively complete infrastructure, and 5. There is 180,000 hectares of land owned by the government (Widodo, 2019).

At the same press conference, along with the announcement of the location of the new National Capital, President Joko Widodo also stated about Java Island in general and Jakarta in particular. It also confirms why the National Capital had to move: 1. Jakarta's burden as the center of government, business, finance, trade, and services, as well as with Indonesia's largest airport and seaport, 2. Java's burden with 54 percent of the total population and 58 percent of economic GDP, as well as a source of food security. The urgency of relocation so that Jakarta and Java Island are not getting worse in terms of population density, traffic jams, and air and water pollution.

One of the interesting things that needs to be underlined is that there is a statement that the condition of the Island of Java and especially Jakarta is not the fault of the Regional Government, but because of the large burden placed on the Indonesian economy on Jakarta and Java Island. In

addition, regarding the development of Jakarta in the future, Jakarta will still be a priority for the government to develop into a business city, financial city, trade center and service center on a regional and global scale. This is in line with the Jakarta Provincial Government's plan to carry out urban regeneration which is ready to be executed technically with a budget of Rp. 571 trillion.

On the one hand, the mention of "not the fault of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government" is indeed not the fault of the government's engineering in the design of the city's spatial system. This was because since the area of Jakarta was still called Jayakarta (Batavia), means of transportation were not focused along with the insignificant population volume at that time. But on the other hand, there is a public perception of the relationship between President Joko Widodo and Jakarta Governor Anies Baswedan. The relocation of the national capital has nothing to do with the relationship between the two politicians, so President Joko Widodo called it "not the fault of the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government". In addition, efforts to get out of the Java-centric development mindset have also been a strong motive in President Joko Widodo's actions, even since his first term in office.

Figure 5. Discourse on the Design of the New State Capital



Source: Twitter @jokowi



After the announcement of the location of the new National Capital in East Kalimantan Province, President Joko Widodo discussed the design and process of moving the National Capital at the end of 2019. The talking points are as follows: 1. The future capital is a city that is emission free and a city that dynamic and exhilarating. 2. The new capital city will be in the form of hills, facing the bay and accessible to the toll road, and the area will be very green with no pollution and no waste. 3. Relocating the capital city is not just moving offices and employees, but also changing the culture, work system, and accelerating economic transformation. 4. The execution of moving the State Capital will begin with the construction of basic infrastructure in 2020.

Specific to the form of the design, the “Nagara Rimba Nusa” design was chosen by Urban+ which defeated 755 participants. There are several building icons, namely: the State Palace building which embraces the legislative and judicial buildings, and the Pancasila Lake which has buildings around it that reflect the first precept in the form of the National Religion complex, the second precept in the form of the Indonesian Civilization Museum, the third precept in the form of the Indonesian Unity Monument, the fourth precept is in the form of Democracy Plaza and the fifth precept is in the form of transit & people's markets (Urban+, 2019). The question that arises in the public domain is whether this chosen design will be used in the development of the National Capital.

The Minister of PPN/Head of Bappenas Suharso Monoarfa explained that the design copyright belongs to the state, the design will spark an idea thematically, and because it is a competition, technically it cannot be used directly in development. However, the winner of the design competition not only gets a prize of 2 billion rupiah, but also can openly take part in the construction of the National Capital (Siregar, 2019). The statement from the government has also been proven, when the published design of the state palace will use the design of I Nyoman Nuarta, who is the designer of Garuda Wisnu Kencana Bali. Later this design received criticism from the Association of Indonesian Architects, even though the design had been approved by President Joko Widodo (CNN, 2022).

**Figure 6. Pre-Pandemic Discourse and New State Capital Steering Committee**



Source: Twitter @jokowi

On 28 February 2020, President Joko Widodo received a visit from Tony Blair and Masayoshi Son. Tony Blair is the Founder of The Institute for Global Change and Former British Prime Minister, while Masayoshi Son is the CEO of Softbank. Tony Blair, Masayoshi Son, and UAE Crown Prince Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed (MBZ) are on the Steering Committee for the Development of the new National Capital. The selection of three international figures with various backgrounds is certainly motivated by political economy, namely, to increase global interest in the presence of influential figures ([Asmara, 2020](#)).

President Joko Widodo's tweet about the visit of the Advisor or Steering Committee for the Development of the new State Capital initiated discussions or subsequent tweets about investment opportunities or other political economy links. In addition, the tweet on February 29, 2022, was also the last tweet before the Covid-19 pandemic which changed the health, economic and social order. The Covid-19 pandemic has also had an impact on plans for the State Capital.

The development of the National Capital City during the Covid-19 pandemic situation was criticized by several parties, one of which, for example, was Member of the Republic of Indonesia DPR Fadli Zon who said that the Government should have prioritized policies on handling the pandemic and recovering the people's economy. In addition, relocating the National Capital does not have the nature of urgency due to an abnormal situation due to budgetary difficulties, accumulated debts and so on ([DPR, 2021](#)).

**Figure 7. Discourse on the New State Capital after the Pandemic Year**



Source: Twitter @jokowi

President Joko Widodo designated the non-natural disaster Covid-19 as a national disaster through a decree signed on April 13, 2020. There were no tweets from President Joko Widodo discussing the National Capital from the date of the determination. Until November 4-5, 2021, the President met with the Chairman of the Steering Committee for the Development of the National Capital, Sheikh Mohamed bin Zayed, to discuss again the development of the National Capital and other strategic issues. The tweet-initiated discussions about the nation's capital after the Covid-19 pandemic, such as President Joko Widodo's visit to Abu Dhabi for investment purposes and a visit to Balikpapan for meetings with East Kalimantan community and traditional leaders. This marked the resumption of the realization of the construction of the new State Capital.

Figure 8. Discourse on the Mention of Nusantara and the Appointment of the Head of the New State Capital Authority



Source: Twitter @jokowi

The concrete realization of the development of the new State Capital began with the passing of Law Number 3 of 2022 Concerning the State Capital on February 15, 2022. The law contains the name Nusantara, which is the name of the new State Capital, the Authority Board of the new State Capital and other governance matters. The name Nusantara was chosen because it has been known for a long time, is iconic internationally, and is easy and describes the Nusantara of the Republic of Indonesia. This name has been considered by linguists and historians, has been chosen by President Joko Widodo and consulted with the DPR ([Ramadhan, 2022](#)).

At the Capital City of Nusantara Authority Board, Bambang Susantono and Dhony Rahajoe have been selected as Head and Deputy Head of the Nusantara Capital Authority. The background of Bambang Susantono as an expert in infrastructure and transportation planning and Dhony Rahajoe as a senior official at the Sinar Mas Land company, according to President Joko Widodo's tweet on February 22, 2022, stated that the Head of the Nusantara Capital Authority will come from a non-political party. Since 2020, President Joko Widodo has indeed said that the candidates for the Head of the State Capital Authority will come from non-political parties ([Kemenpan, 2020](#)).

Figure 9. Discourse on the Unification of Land and Water at the Kilometer Zero Point of the Capital City



Source: Twitter @jokowi

One of the activities that seized the public was the process of uniting the Nusantara land and water in the Zero Kilometer Point Area of the Nusantara Capital City in North Penajam Paser, East Kalimantan on March 14, 2022. In this procession, land and water were brought together by 34 governors. The first governor to submit was the Governor of DKI Jakarta Anies Baswedan, and the last Governor to submit was the Governor of East Kalimantan Isran Noor. On this occasion, an Nusantara camp was also held and 15 East Kalimantan community leaders, several Ministers and the Head and Deputy Head of the Capital City of Nusantara Authority (Setkab, 2022).

In the tweets discussing these activities, what was highlighted was the reaffirmation that relocating the National Capital did not mean leaving Jakarta, the Nusantara as a Modern and Green City, the procession of unification of land and water as a symbol of diversity and unity, the importance of the support of the TNI, Polri, private sector, Regional Heads and State High Institutions. Specific to the procession of uniting land and water in the Nusantara jug, the writings of Yuliana & Atikurrahman (Yuliana & Atikurrahman, 2022) can comprehensively describe how President

Joko Widodo used the Javaism strategy to declare that the Capital City of Nusantara is supported and will be realized.

**Figure 10. Discourse on the Basic Development Visit of the Capital City of Nusantara**



Source: Twitter @jokowi

After the procession of land and water unification in the Zero Point Region of the Nusantara, one of President Joko Widodo's highlighted activities regarding the Capital City of Nusantara was a working visit on 22 June 2022 with the Chairperson of the Indonesian Parliament, Puan Maharani. The President's visit with the Chair of the DPR can be interpreted as a relationship between institutions that need each other in the development of the Capital City of Nusantara. This relationship can be related to state interests or political gains. This is President Joko Widodo's pattern of embracing his partners, such as meetings with Prabowo Subianto discussing moving the capital after the 2019 elections, meetings with one of the authorities that manage capital cities in other countries, meetings with communities or organizations, and other meetings in a strategy to find support in the development of the Capital City of Nusantara.

At least President Joko Widodo's working visit on June 22, 2022, based on his tweets, attempts to discuss issues related to monitoring the performance of the Head of the Authority, discussions with the media and a review of basic infrastructure development for the Capital City of Nusantara. This can be interpreted as an effort that the construction of the Capital City of Nusantara has begun, despite previous criticism and pessimism from the public, especially due to the constraints of the Covid-19 pandemic. Explained on the [ikn.go.id](http://ikn.go.id) website, in 2024 it is targeted to be completed for the state palace building, the MPR/DPR building and ASN housing with the 79th Republic of Indonesia Anniversary Ceremony which is planned to be held in the Capital City of Nusantara. Whereas in 2035 the Capital City of Nusantara has completed government infrastructure and has become a center for innovation and the economy, in 2045 the economic infrastructure has been completed and has become the top five cities in Southeast Asia, and in the following year the Capital of the Nusantara has become a world-class city, a green city with renewable energy and leading livable cities with a total of 1 million inhabitants (IKN, 2022).

Figure 11. Discussion on Exploring the Capital City of Nusantara Market



Source: Twitter @jokowi

On October 18, 2022, the Government in collaboration with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KADIN) held a market survey to garner support from all parties for the development of the Capital City of Nusantara which is currently massive. This forum was chaired directly by President Joko Widodo. At this forum, support has been given to the development of the Capital City of Nusantara because it already has the force of law in the form of a law. However, the thing that needs attention is the derivative regulations, namely Government Regulations, Ministerial Regulations, Regional Regulations, and others. Apart from that, investment schemes need to be detailed and with super incentives for investors/developers in the form of attention to land, taxation, licensing, master plan flexibility and so on. It is hoped that the construction of government offices will trigger market interest in the Nusantara Capital ([Alexander, 2022](#)).

On the other hand, the view that the Jakarta Capital City Market Forum is gathering support from the world market is public criticism which highlights the Government's failure in terms of funding. The plan's claim that the development of the Capital City of Nusantara would not use the State Budget became invalid when President Joko Widodo signed a Government Regulation and the Latest Revision to the Law on State Capitals whose construction could be financed by the State Budget. Even the Minister of Finance Sri Mulyani herself has budgeted Rp. 27-30 trillion for the development of the Capital City of Nusantara in the 2023 State Budget ([Widyastuti, 2022](#)).

Figure 12. Discourse on the Capital City of Nusantara as host for the 2036 Olympics



Source: Twitter @jokowi

During the grand event of the Bali G20 Summit on 15-16 November 2022, President Joko Widodo tweeted about submitting Indonesia's readiness to host the 2036 Olympics in the Indonesian capital. There are several things that can be considered; First, the 2036 Olympics is an international sports event that can be economically profitable, including in the context of investment in the development of the Capital City of Nusantara. Second, the submission that coincides with the international diplomacy event at the G20 Summit could further increase the bargaining power of the development of the Capital City of Nusantara. Third, the proposal for the Capital City of Nusantara as the host for the 2036 Olympics can be considered a progressive strategy or even a pragmatic strategy.

## CONCLUSION

The discourse on the new State Capital or The Capital City of Nusantara was constructed by President Joko Widodo through his tweets in three stages of discourse, namely a study discourse, a strategic decision discourse, and a political economy consolidation discourse. The discourse on the study of the Capital City of Nusantara includes discussions about the background to moving the National Capital and the fate of Jakarta. The strategic decision discourse includes discussions on the dynamics of selecting a new State Capital, the Head of Authority to the design of cities and buildings. Meanwhile, the discourse on consolidation of the political economy includes discussions on the strategies and actions of President Joko Widodo in gathering support economically and politically from high state institutions, political coalitions, the investor community, civil society, and the public. Construction through tweets is built with a responsive, planned communication and information style and through media support such as iconic-representative documentation.

The context contained in President Joko Widodo's tweet is in three situations, namely the agenda engineering situation, the policy formulation situation, and the policy implementation situation. These three situations have tug-of-war at their respective moments and tend to create contradictions between one statement and another from President Joko Widodo about the new National Capital. However, the context of the discourse on the new State Capital by President Joko Widodo in this paper also tends to prove the argument in previous writings, namely that President Joko Widodo is building a legacy strategically in ambitious ways.

There are suggestions conceptually and practically in this paper. In terms of conception, writing on ideological power needs to be tested further in terms of its scope and methodology. This is to find the latest distinction between ideological power and decision/non-decision-making power in the study of political and governmental communication. In addition, it is necessary to dissect the strict boundaries between discursive and attributive types of power in the context of flexible research methods with fluctuating data. In practical terms, further writing or research needs to accommodate the dimensions of discourse studies strictly, namely primary data collection on the main actors of discourse and social actors in the community.

### REFERENCE

- Alexander, H. B. (2022). *Market Sounding IKN Digelar Selasa Sore, Pengembang Minta Kejelasan Regulasi dan Insentif Super*. Kompas.Com. <https://www.kompas.com/properti/read/2022/10/18/113000521/market-sounding-ikn-digelar-selasa-sore-pengembang-minta-kejelasan?page=all>
- Asmara, C. G. (2020). *Saat Jokowi, Tony Blair, dan Bos Softbank Duduk Bersama*. Cnbcindonesia.Com.
- Chekirova, A. (2022). Social Media and Cross-Border Political Participation: A Case Study of Kyrgyz Migrants' Online Activism. *Social Sciences*, 11(8). <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci11080370>
- CNN. (2022). *I Nyoman Nuarta Balas Kritik Desain Istana IKN: 70 Ahli Dilibatkan*. Cnnindonesia.Com. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/hiburan/20220211095654-248-757881/i-nyoman-nuarta-balas-kritik-desain-istana-ikn-70-ahli-dilibatkan>
- DPR. (2021). *Rencana Pemindahan Ibu Kota di Masa Pandemi Belum Urgen*. Dpr.Go.Id.
- DW. (2019). *Dampak Pemindahan Ibu Kota*. Dw.Com. <https://www.dw.com/id/pemindahan-ibu-kota-biaya-besar-dan-rawan-utang/a-48541924>
- Eriyanto, E. (2008). *Analisis Wacana: Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*. LkiS Yogyakarta.
- Gokmenoglu, B. (2022). Temporality in the social sciences: New directions for a political sociology of time. *British Journal of Sociology*, 73(3), 643–653. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12938>
- Haddad, M. A. (2017). Environmental advocacy: insights from East Asia. *Asian Journal of Political Science*, 25(3), 401–419. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2017.1352526>
- Hairunnisa, H., & Syaka, W. A. (2022). Analisis Komunikasi Politik dalam Percepatan Pembangunan Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) Menuju Kota Berkelanjutan. *Journal of Government and Politics*, 4(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31764/jgop.v4i1.8193>
- Hamdani, K., & Wulan, U. (2022). Rezim Executive Heavy Dalam Penyelenggaraan Pemerintahan Daerah Ibu Kota Nusantara. *Jurnal Legislatif*, 5(2), 91–100. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20956/jl.v5i2.21349>
- IKN. (2022). *Tentang IKN*. Ikn.Go.Id. <https://www.ikn.go.id/tentang-ikn>



- Karim, A. G., & Mas'udi, W. (2021). *Tentang Kuasa: Lingkup Kajian, Metodologi, dan Pengajaran Ilmu Politik dan Pemerintahan*. Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Kemenpan. (2020). *Ada Bambang Brodjonegoro dan Ahok, Presiden Sebut 4 Nama Calon Kepala Otoritas IKN*. Menpan.Go.Id. <https://www.menpan.go.id/site/berita-terkini/dari-istana/ada-bambang-brodjonegoro-dan-ahok-presiden-sebut-4-nama-calon-kepala-otoritas-ikn>
- Lukes, S. (2005). *Power: A Radical View, Second Edition* (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Monoarfa, S. (2021). *Naskah Akademik Rancangan Undang-Undang Tentang Ibu Kota Negara*.
- Mudhoffir, A. M. (2013). Teori Kekuasaan Michel Foucault: Tantangan bagi Sosiologi Politik. *Jurnal Sosiologi Masyarakat*, 18(1), 75–100.
- Mustaqim, A. H. (2022). Mengonstruksi Masa Depan Indonesia: Situasi Retorikal tentang Ibu Kota Negara Nusantara. *Jurnal Komunika Islamika: Jurnal Ilmu Komunikasi Dan Kajian Islam*, 9(1), 1–14. <https://doi.org/https://dx.doi.org/10.37064/jki.v9i1.12066>
- Nasution, A. D. (2018). *Rencana Pemindahan Ibu Kota Diputuskan Setelah Pilpres 2019*. Katadata.Co.Id. <https://katadata.co.id/safrezifitra/berita/5e9a55e3bb7a2/rencana-pemindahan-ibu-kota-diputuskan-setelah-pilpres-2019>
- Ramadhan, A. (2022). *Alasan Pemerintah Pilih “Nusantara” Jadi Nama Ibu Kota Baru: Ikonik dan Dikenal sejak Dulu*. Kompas.Com. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/01/17/13251661/alasan-pemerintah-pilih-nusantara-jadi-nama-ibu-kota-baru-ikonik-dan-dikenal>
- Septiani, R. K., Anggraeni, S., & Saraswati, S. D. (2022). Klasifikasi Sentimen Terhadap Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) pada Media Sosial Menggunakan Naive Bayes. *Teknika*, 16(02), 245–254. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7535887>
- Setkab. (2022). *Di Titik Nol Kilometer IKN, Presiden Jokowi Pimpin Prosesi Penyatuan Tanah dan Air Nusantara*. Setkab.Go.Id. <https://setkab.go.id/di-titik-nol-ikn-presiden-jokowi-pimpin-prosesi-penyatuan-tanah-dan-air-nusantara/>
- Siregar, E. (2019). *Jadi Juara Desain Ibu Kota, Nagara Rimba Nusa Bakal Dipakai?* Cnbcindonesia.Com. <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20191223164200-4-125317/jadi-juara-desain-ibu-kota-nagara-rimba-nusa-bakal-dipakai>
- Sobur, A. (2006). *Analisis teks media: suatu pengantar untuk analisis wacana, analisis semiotik, dan analisis framing*. Remaja Rosdakarya.
- Taufiqurrahman, M. (2017). *Menhan Sebut Lokasi Ideal untuk Ibu Kota adalah Berdekatan Laut*. Detik.Com. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3563991/menhan-sebut-lokasi-ideal-untuk-ibu-kota-adalah-berdekatan-laut>
- Van Dijk, T. (2002). *Discourse, Knowledge and Ideology: Reformulating Old Questions and Proposing Some New Solutions*.
- Widodo, J. (2019). *Pemindahan Ibu Kota, 26 Agustus 2019, di Istana Negara, Provinsi DKI Jakarta*. Setkab.Go.Id. <https://setkab.go.id/pemindahan-ibu-kota-26-agustus-2019-di-istana-negara-provinsi-dki-jakarta/>

Widyastuti, Rr. A. Y. (2022). *Menkumham Benarkan Revisi UU IKN Agar Bisa Didanai APBN, Begini Pro Kontranya*. Tempo.Co. <https://bisnis.tempo.co/read/1668186/menkumham-benarkan-revisi-uu-ikn-agar-bisa-didanai-apbn-begini-pro-kontranya>

Yuliana, N., & Atikurrahman, M. (2022). Ibu Kota Negara yang (tak) Dirindukan: Kendi Nusantara, Jawaisme Jokowi, dan Semiologi Barthesian. *Ibu Kota Negara Yang (Tak) Dirindukan: Kendi Nusantara, Jawaisme Jokowi, Dan Semiologi Barthesian*, 5(2), 104–128. <https://doi.org/10.25139/fn.v5i2>