



References

- Achmad, N. M. & Setuningsih, N. (2023, December 1). Sekjen Gerindra: Prabowo Akan Tambah Anggaran Pembangunan IKN Jika Terpilih Jadi Presiden. Kompas. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/12/01/12552731/sekjen-gerindra-prabowo-akan-tambah-anggaran-pembangunan-ikn-jika-terpilih>
- Akbar, A. (2024, January 4). Prabowo Dukung IKN: Jangan Termakan Brainwash Bahwa RI Negara Miskin. Detik. <https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-7124349/prabowo-dukung-ikn-jangan-termakan-brainwash-bahwa-ri-negara-miskin>
- Anam, K. (2023, September 23). Peta Koalisi Capres 2024 Terbaru: Anies Vs Prabowo Vs Ganjar. CNBC Indonesia. <https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20230923171523-4-474957/peta-koalisi-capres-2024-terbaru-anies-vs-prabowo-vs-ganjar>
- Arofiati, A. H. (2023, December 7). Bahlil Sindir Capres Kritik IKN Nusantara, Co Captain Timnas AMIN: Investor Ragu Sebelum Ada Capres. Tribun. <https://kaltim.tribunnews.com/2023/12/07/bahlil-sindir-capres-kritik-ikn-nusantara-co-captain-timnas-amin-investor-ragu-sebelum-ada-capres>
- BBC. (2023, October 17). Putusan MK 'pintu masuk' Gibran jadi cawapres Prabowo, siapa yang diuntungkan dan dirugikan dalam Pilpres 2024?. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/articles/ce54n1p400zo>
- Belia, B. (2023, November 1). Pelapor Nilai Status Ketua MK Ipar Jokowi Pengaruhi Independensi Hakim. Detik. <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7013287/pelapor-nilai-status-ketua-mk-ipar-jokowi-pengaruh-independensi-hakim>
- Brewer, A. M. (2021). Strategic policy narratives: A narrative policy study of the columbia river crossing. *Public Policy and Administration*, 36(4), 496-517. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0952076720904434>
- CNN. (2023, June 25). Anies Lagi-lagi Kritik Subsidi Mobil Listrik, Singgung Keadilan Sosial. Available at: <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20230625162224-617-966347/anies-lagi-lagi-kritik-subsidi-mobil-listrik-singgung-keadilan-sosial>
- Faiz, D. & Rizki, R. (2023, June 23). Diksi Perubahan Koalisi Anies Versus Keberlanjutan Program Jokowi. CNN.

- <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20230622150942-617-965320/diksi-perubahan-koalisi-anies-versus-keberlanjutan-program-jokowi/2>
- Callen, J. L., & Roos, L. L. (1977). Political coalition bargaining behaviour. *Public Choice*, 32(1), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01718666>
- Capano, G., Galanti, M. T., & Barbato, G. (2023). When the political leader is the narrator: The political and policy dimensions of narratives. *Policy Sciences*, 56(2), 233-265. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-023-09505-6>
- Chaterine, R. N. & Krisiandi. (2023, November 28). Soal Pemindahan IKN, Ketua DPP PSI: Jakarta Sudah Tak Mampu Tanggung Beban Kependudukan. Kompas. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/11/28/12584841/soal-pemindahan-ikn-ketua-dpp-psi-jakarta-sudah-tak-mampu-tanggung-beban?page=all>
- Chaterine, R. N. & Kuwado, F. J. (2023, November 26). Soal Nasib IKN, PKB: Menangkan Dulu AMIN.... Kompas. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/11/26/14325011/soal-nasib-ikn-pkb-menangkan-dulu-amin>
- Crow, D.A., & Wolton, L.P. (2020). Talking Policy in Congressional Campaigns: Construction of Policy Narratives in Electoral Politics. *Politics and Policy*, 48, 658-699. <https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12369>
- Detik. (2023, November 23). Kritik Anies Baswedan soal IKN Bikin Kubu Prabowo Terheran-heran. Available at: <https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-7051764/kritik-anies-baswedan-soal-ikn-bikin-kubu-prabowo-terheran-heran/2>
- Dodd, L. C. (1974). Party coalitions in multiparty parliaments: A game-theoretic analysis. *The American Political Science Review*, 68(3), 1093-1117. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1959150>
- Fadilah, I. (2024, January 24). Bahlil Respons Kritik Tom Lembong soal IKN: Sahabat Saya Halusinasinya Tinggi. Detik. <https://finance.detik.com/infrastruktur/d-7158664/bahlil-respons-kritik-tom-lembong-soal-ikn-sahabat-saya-halusinasinya-tinggi>
- Gamson, W. A. (1961). A Theory of Coalition Formation. *American Sociological Review*, 26(3), 373-382. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2090664>
- Ghoffar, A. (2018). Problematika presidential threshold: Putusan Mahkamah Konstitusi dan pengalaman di negara lain. *Jurnal Konstitusi*, 15(3), 480-501. <https://doi.org/10.31078/jk1532>



- Gupta, K., Ripberger, J., & Wehde, W. (2018). Advocacy group messaging on social media: Using the narrative policy framework to study twitter messages about nuclear energy policy in the united states. *Policy Studies Journal*, 46(1), 119-136. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12176>
- Harrington Jr, J. E. (1992). The revelation of information through the electoral process: An exploratory analysis. *Economics & Politics*, 4(3), 255-276. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0343.1992.tb00087.x>
- Hartanto, A. Y. (2024, March 27). Pindah Ibu Kota: Harapan Kalimantan, Kekhawatiran Jawa. Tirto. <https://tirto.id/pro-dan-kontra-masyarakat-terkait-pembangunan-ikn-gXlh>
- Ifhami, I. F. (2023, November 30). Sudirman Said Sebut Anies Baswedan Bakal Lanjutkan dan Kaji Ulang IKN Jika Menang Pilpres 2024. Tribun. <https://www.tribunnews.com/mata-lokal-memilih/2023/11/30/sudirman-said-sebut-anies-baswedan-bakal-lanjutkan-dan-kaji-ulang-ikn-jika-menang-pilpres-2024>
- Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2010). A narrative policy framework: Clear enough to be wrong? *Policy Studies Journal*, 38(2), 329-353. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2010.00364.x>
- Jones, M.D., McBeth, M.K., Shanahan, E.A. (2014). Introducing the Narrative Policy Framework. In: Jones, M.D., Shanahan, E.A., McBeth, M.K. (eds) *The Science of Stories*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137485861_1
- Junk, W. M. (2020). Synergies in lobbying? Conceptualising and measuring lobbying coalitions to study interest group strategies, access, and influence. *Interest Groups & Advocacy*, 9(1), 21-37. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41309-019-00077-6>
- Kamil, I. & Asril, S. (2023, November 28). Sebut IKN Atasi Masalah Jakarta, Riza Patria: Prabowo Janji Lanjutkan Program Jokowi. Kompas. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/11/28/09455411/sebut-ikn-atasi-masalah-jakarta-riza-patria-prabowo-janji-lanjutkan-program?page=all>
- Kamil, I. & Ihsanuddin. (2023, November 2023). Ahmad Syaikh: Kalau PKS Menang, Ibu Kota Negara Tetap di Jakarta. Kompas. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/11/26/13253211/ahmad-syaikh-kalau-pks-menang-ibu-kota-negara-tetap-di-jakarta?page=all>
- Khairunnisa, Y., Musyaffa, M. N. D., Astuti, A. A. I., Setiawan, A., & Rahmawati, N. (2024). Perubahan Koalisi Perubahan Untuk Persatuan Dalam Memilih Bakal Calon Presiden dan Wakil Presiden dalam Pilpres Tahun 2024. *POLIGOVs*, 2(1), 1-12. <https://doi.org/10.0005/poligovs.v2i1.971>



- Kuenzler, J., Vogeler, C., Parth, A., & Gohl, T. (2024). Exploring the eternal struggle: The narrative policy framework and status quo versus policy change. *Policy Sciences*, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-024-09537-6>
- Laver, M., & Shepsle, K.A. (1990). Government Coalitions and Intraparty Politics. *British Journal of Political Science*, 20, 489 - 507. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123400005950>
- Layzer, J. (2006). Fish stories: Science, advocacy, and policy change in new england fishery management. *Policy Studies Journal*, 34(1), 59-80. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2006.00145.x>
- Mantalean, V. & Santosa, B. (2023, September 16). Anies Petakan Kebijakan Jokowi Jadi 4 Kategori, Tak Semuanya Diubah. *Kompas*. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/09/16/16080051/anies-petakan-kebijakan-jokowi-jadi-4-kategori-tak-semuanya-diubah>
- McBeth, M. K., Shanahan, E. A., & Jones, M. D. (2005). The science of storytelling: Measuring policy beliefs in greater yellowstone. *Society & Natural Resources*, 18(5), 413-429. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08941920590924765>
- McBeth, M. K., Shanahan, E. A., Arnell, R. J., & Hathaway, P. L. (2007). The intersection of narrative policy analysis and policy change theory. *Policy Studies Journal*, 35(1), 87-108. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2007.00208.x>
- McBeth, M. K., & Lybecker, D. L. (2018). The narrative policy framework, agendas, and sanctuary cities: The construction of a public problem. *Policy Studies Journal*, 46(4), 868-893. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12274>
- McBeth, Mark K., Michael D. Jones, and Elizabeth A. Shanahan. (2014). "The Narrative Policy Framework" Chapter In Paul A. Sabatier and Christopher Weible (eds.), *Theories of the Policy Process* (3rd edition), Boulder: Westview Press.
- Merry, M. K. (2019). Angels versus Devils: The Portrayal of Characters in the Gun Policy Debate. *Policy Studies Journal*, 47(4), 876-898
- Nugraheny, D. E. & Prabowo, D. (2024, August 12). Prabowo: Kalau Bisa, Pembangunan IKN Kita Percepat. *Kompas*. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/08/12/11134041/prabowo-kalau-bisa-pembangunan-ikn-kita-percepat>
- O'Donovan, K. T. (2018). Does the Narrative Policy Framework Apply to Local Policy Issues?. *Politics & Policy*, 46(4), 532-570.



- Rachman, A. (2023, November 28). Anies Mau RI Maju Bukan Dengan Kereta Cepat & Tol, Lalu?. CNBC.
<https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/tech/20231128140656-37-492683/anies-mau-ri-maju-bukan-dengan-kereta-cepat-tol-lalu>
- Raharjo, A. (2023, September 21). Koalisi Indonesia Maju Sepakat Gagasan Keberlanjutan, Bukan Perubahan. Republika.
<https://news.republika.co.id/berita/s1b5nt436/koalisi-indonesia-maju-sepakat-gagasan-keberlanjutan-bukan-perubahan>
- Rahmawati, D. (2024, July 19). HNW Ingatkan Pembangunan IKN Harus Pertimbangkan Keluhan Masyarakat Lokal. Detik.
<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7447945/hnw-ingatkan-pembangunan-ikn-harus-pertimbangkan-keluhan-masyarakat-lokal>
- Rahmawati, D. (2024, September 27). Jokowi Sebut IKN Keputusan Rakyat, HNW: Beda dengan Fakta Lapangan. Detik.
<https://news.detik.com/berita/d-7561202/jokowi-sebut-ikn-keputusan-rakyat-hnw-beda-dengan-fakta-lapangan>
- Rahmawati, D. (2023, November 22). PKS Bela Anies: IKN Sudah Keputusan politik, tapi Semua Bisa Diperbaiki. Detik.
<https://news.detik.com/pemilu/d-7051203/pks-bela-anies-ikn-sudah-keputusan-politik-tapi-semua-bisa-diperbaiki>
- Rustam, R. (2023, July 13). Prabowo Tegaskan Pembangunan IKN Harus Selesai karena Amanah Undang-Undang. Detik.
<https://www.detik.com/sulsel/berita/d-6821569/prabowo-tegaskan-pembangunan-ikn-harus-selesai-karena-amanah-undang-undang>
- Sabatier, P. A. (1988). An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein. *Policy Sciences*, 21(2/3), 129-168.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/bf00136406>
- Sabrina, D. F., & Inder, B. (2023). Concentration of power in nomination of presidential candidates in indonesia. *Asian Journal of Comparative Politics*,
<https://doi.org/10.1177/20578911231199530>
- Schnakenberg, K. E. (2016). Directional cheap talk in electoral campaigns. *The Journal of Politics*, 78(2), 527-541. <https://doi.org/10.1086/684367>



- Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., McBeth, M. K., & Lane, R. R. (2013). An Angel on The Wind: How Heroic Policy Narratives Shape Policy Realities. *The Policy Studies Journal*, 41(3), 453-483
- Shanahan, E. A., Jones, M. D., & McBeth, M. K. (2017). How to conduct a Narrative Policy Framework study. *Social Science Journal*, 55(3), 332-345.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2017.12.002>
- Simanjuntak, R. A. (2024, January 25). Pernyataan Jokowi soal Presiden Boleh Kampanye dan Memihak Dinilai Dangkal. *Sindo*.
<https://nasional.sindonews.com/read/1306479/12/pernyataan-jokowi-soal-presiden-b-oleh-kampanye-dan-memihak-dinilai-dangkal-1706137312>
- Stephan, H. R. (2020). Shaping the scope of conflict in Scotland's fracking debate: Conflict management and the narrative policy framework. *The Review of Policy Research*, 37(1), 64-91. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ropr.12365>
- Stone, D. A. (2012). *Policy paradox: The art of political decision making*. WW Norton & company.
- Sumampow, M. C. (2023, November 27). Respons Giring PSI Sikapi PKS Tak Ingin Ibu Kota Negara Pindah ke IKN: Bahaya, Jakarta Mau Tenggelam. *Tribun*.
<https://www.tribunnews.com/mata-lokal-memilih/2023/11/27/respons-giring-psi-sikapi-pks-tak-ingin-ibu-kota-negara-pindah-ke-ikn-bahaya-jakarta-mau-tenggelam>
- Syahidallah, A. N. (2023, December 26). Penyebab Cak Imin Ikut Potong Tumpeng Meski Tak Setuju Pembangunan IKN. *Detik*.
<https://www.detik.com/sulsel/berita/d-7108863/penyebab-cak-imin-ikut-potong-tumpeng-meski-tak-setuju-pembangunan-ikn>
- Triatmojo, D. (2024, January, 11). Anies Kembali Bicara IKN: Tidak Bilang Disetop, Tapi Pilih Benahi Alokasi Anggarannya. *Tribun*.
<https://www.tribunnews.com/mata-lokal-memilih/2024/01/11/anies-kembali-bicara-ikn-tidak-bilang-disetop-tapi-pilih-benahi-alokasi-anggarannya>
- Tribun. (2023, December 24). Sindiran PSI ke Anies yang Ngotot Pertahankan Jakarta Ibu Kota: saat Menjabar, Tidak jadi Lebih Baik. Available at:
<https://trends.tribunnews.com/2023/12/24/sindiran-psi-ke-anies-yang-ngotot-pertahankan-jakarta-ibu-kota-saat-menjabar-tidak-jadi-lebih-baik>
- Umam, C. (2023, November 25). Sekjen Gerindra Ungkap Prabowo Bertekad Tambah Anggaran Pembangunan IKN. *Tribun*.
<https://www.tribunnews.com/mata-lokal-memilih/2023/11/25/sekjen-gerindra-ungkap-prabowo-bertekad-tambah-anggaran-pembangunan-ikn>



- Verweij, M., Douglas, M., Ellis, R., Engel, C., Hendriks, F., Lohmann, S., Ney, S., Rayner, S., & Thompson, M. (2006). Clumsy solutions for a complex world: The case of climate change. *Public Administration* (London), 84(4), 817-843. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-8159.2005.09566.x-i1>
- Wolton, L., & Crow, D. A. (2022). Politicking with evidence: Examining evidence-based issues in electoral policy narratives. *Policy Sciences*, 55(4), 661-691. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11077-022-09478-y>
- Wiryono, S. & Ihsanuddin. (2024, August 14). Sebut IKN Bebas Polusi, Zulhas: Kalau di Jakarta, Kita Hirup Timbal dan Bisa Kena Ispa. *Tribun*. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2024/08/14/20014481/sebut-ikn-bebas-polusi-zulhas-kalau-di-jakarta-kita-hirup-timbal-dan-bisa>
- Wiryono, S. & Rastika, I. (2023, November 22). Soal IKN, Anies: Bangun Kota di Tengah Hutan Timbulkan Ketimpangan Baru. *Kompas*.
- Wiryono, S. & Setuningsih, N. (2023, December 12). Ungkap Konflik di IKN, Jubir Timnas Anies-Muhaimin: Penelitian BRIN Temukan Ketegangan Sosial Muncul. *Kompas*. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/12/20/11180671/ungkap-konflik-di-ikn-jubir-timnas-anies-muhaimin-penelitian-brin-temukan>
- Wiryono, S. & Setuningsih, N. (2023, December 20). Dualisme antara Melanjutkan atau Tidak Pembangunan IKN di Kubu Anies-Muhaimin. *Kompas*. <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/12/20/09173421/dualisme-antara-melanjutkan-atau-tidak-pembangunan-ikn-di-kubu-anies>