ADVOCACY JOURNALISM ON THE PROJECT MULTATULI ON THE ISSUE OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL CITY (IKN) OF NUSANTARA

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ABSTRACT

This research departs from the premise that the voices of marginalized people are rarely touched by the media. This study aims to analyze the application of advocacy journalism to the Project Multatuli on the issue of the Indonesian National Capital (IKN). Many parties still disagree with the transfer of this capital. Related to this, the media has covered the IKN issue a lot. However, most of the media did not cover much about the impact directly felt by local residents with the transfer of this IKN to their area. In fact, many residents of Penajam Paser Utara also expressed rejection. However, there is no doubt that the mainstream news coverage in Indonesia is dominated by elite perspectives and does not pay attention to the perspectives of citizens who are unable to speak out. So, this is where the role of advocacy journalism comes in. Advocacy journalism is a genre in journalism that focuses on the voices of marginalized groups that are rarely exposed by the media. By using a qualitative content analysis method through one Project Multatuli article title, the result is that advocacy journalism in this alternative media has been well implemented. The five elements of journalism are applied to existing coverage articles. Researcher only found one missing element in this advocacy journalism, which is related to the principle of legality. However, Project Multatuli has carried out a form of advocacy journalism that is in accordance with its passion to raise the voices of marginalized group.

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Keywords
Advocacy Journalism; Content Analysis, Project Multatuli; IKN nusantara

1. Introduction

Reports on the issue of the National Capital City (IKN) of the Archipelago have been widely published by various Indonesian media. Of course, this news cannot be separated from the idea of transferring the IKN, which was initiated in 1957 by President Soekarno. At that time, Soekarno chose Palangkaraya as the IKN by reason of its location in the middle of the Indonesian archipelago. However, this idea was never realized. In the end, President Joko Widodo's administration took the idea of moving seriously in April 2019 by deciding to move...
the capital city from Jakarta to Kalimantan Island, namely Penajam Paser Utara, East Kalimantan. No doubt this transfer has been published in the decision of Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the State Capital.

However, until now the issue of transferring IKN is still very controversial. On the one hand, those who support the transfer of the IKN state that Jakarta is no longer suitable as an IKN (Nainggolan, 2022). In addition, there is an urgency to equalize development in the archipelago. This argument is based on the fact that so far Jakarta and its surroundings are known as the center of everything. It is not surprising that the circulation of money in this region is very high. This then causes inequality of development and prosperity in Indonesia. The same thing also comes from the assumption that Indonesia has a big vision. In 2045, Indonesia is targeted to enter the top 5 in terms of the world economy. Hence the need for a major economic transformation. It was then considered that this achievement would only be realized if the capital city was moved from Jakarta to Kalimantan. However, the relocation and construction of the IKN on the island of Kalimantan also brought a lot of rejection and criticism, both from academics, NGOs to the local indigenous and local communities who were directly affected. The rejection comes, for example, with the consideration that Kalimantan Island is the lungs of the world, because of its forest area which reaches 40.8 million hectares. If this green space is used haphazardly, it is feared that it will cause many problems related to the local flora and fauna to the local community itself. Apart from that, there is also an opinion that the government should first solve the problems of forest fires and deforestation before moving the capital city to Kalimantan Island (UII, 2022). The Indonesian Forum for the Environment (Walhi) itself assesses that the transfer of the IKN will damage the environment around the North Penajam Paser area. For example, the problem of pollution and environmental damage (Raharjo & Aranditio, 2022). It is no exaggeration if there are many assumptions that this megaproject will actually threaten the indigenous people (local people), for example what happened with the Sepaku River which was built to supply raw water to the IKN.

In this case, the problems of local indigenous and local communities in the Penajam Paser Utara region are of course a separate central issue. Unfortunately, the media in Indonesia do not cover much about the impact directly felt by local residents with the transfer of this IKN to their area. In fact, many residents of Penajam Paser Utara also expressed rejection. However, there is no doubt that the mainstream news coverage in Indonesia is dominated by elite perspectives and does not pay attention to the perspectives of citizens who are unable to speak out. So, this is where the role of advocacy journalism comes in. Advocacy means defense. Advocacy journalism means journalistic activities based on advocacy to support marginalized parties in the media. This advocacy journalism defends those who have no voice. This is what Project Multatuli is trying to do. In its profile, this media says that it serves marginalized voices and serves the public interest. Through every article it publishes, the Project Multatuli carries out advocacy journalism that always fights for minority rights, including in this case what researcher also want to examine is the issue of transferring the IKN to Penajam Paser Utara in its article entitled “Nanti Kita Kayak Ondel-Ondel, Ngamen di Lampu Merah: Penggusuran & Krisis Iklim di Balik Jargon Green City IKN”. The article contains advocacy carried out by the Project Multatuli in fighting for the rights of the residents of Sepaku District who are directly affected by the transfer of this IKN to their area. This is due to the construction of the Sepaku Semoi Dam which will supply raw water to the IKN with a capacity of 2,000 liters/second and the City of Balikpapan with 500 liters/second. The problem is, with this construction, residents around the Sepaku River have complained that the water has gotten increasingly muddy since
the intake project was carried out. Not only that, other consequences of this development also resulted in several houses no longer having water in their homes, the trees of the residents were also cut down, which resulted in the demolition of the residents' cemeteries.

Previous research on advocacy journalism has always been based on articles and documentaries in choosing their analysis. For example, research that was conducted by Simons et al., (2017). Using the case study method, Simons et al., showed that an article from The Herald Sun entitled 'Take a Stand' in discussing the issue of violence against women proved to be able to influence political parties to adopt policies to resolve violence against women in 2014. This article written by The Herald Sun shows that there is writing in the form of advocacy journalism that has succeeded in raising marginalized issues and ultimately bringing high engagement with the community. Media such as The Herald Sun are certainly worthy of imitation by the existing mainstream media because marginal issues will actually be raised by the presence of coverage from media that promotes advocacy journalism itself. This is important to point out considering that the mainstream media is so busy with purely profit matters which in the end results in its coverage only being on the surface. However, with regard to this research, the research mentioned above still uses a foreign framework. Researcher also feel it is important to relate it to how it is implemented in the Indonesian media itself, in this case the Project Multatuli.

In the Indonesian context, research on advocacy journalism has also been conducted by Astrid (2019). The article narrates advocacy journalism on the issue of child marriage in South Sulawesi. However, the article has not yet discussed how to directly apply advocacy journalism itself in a media. This is because this research still discusses normative matters that journalists need to pay attention to when advocating. This gap is what the researcher wants to fill, by focusing on the essence of advocacy journalism itself as a whole concept.

In addition to this research, researcher also found other similar studies, for example, study conducted by Rakhmawati (2015). This research specifically talks about advocative journalism that can be used as a solution for reporting on child victims of sexual violence. This research is based on the low quantity of the current mainstream media which tends to ignore the issue of sexual violence. However, even so, the research analysis is only in a purely theoretical setting. He has not yet related the theoretical framework of advocacy journalism with how the media reports on certain issues, in this case violence against children.

From various previous analytical approaches, it can be seen that advocacy journalism is still lacking in the Indonesian context. This is debatable actually. Bearing in mind, media with an advocative spirit are still rare in Indonesia. Therefore, with the existence of the Project Multatuli which then raises issues of the marginalized who are affected by the IKN, of course, this becomes a light for a separate study on advocacy journalism. Therefore, this research was made. This research has a strategic and sharp aim, which is to analyze the content of a special article published by Project Multatuli entitled, "Nanti Kita Kayak Ondel-Ondel, Ngamen di Lampu Merah: Penggusuran & Krisis Iklim di Balik Jargon Green City IKN ". That way, the footrest will also be specifically at the locus of the article. The existence of this research, as previously mentioned, can indeed add to the body of knowledge in the world of journalism itself, especially regarding advocacy. Hence, this research is important to do. Then the question of this research is, how is the practice of advocacy journalism in the Project Multatuli on the issue of IKN Nusantara? That sharp question is what the researcher wants to achieve in this study, so that later the researcher can also hope to provide recommendations to the parties involved in this study.

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To achieve this goal, the researcher uses Eni Setiati's (2005) advocacy journalism theory which has six elements of advocacy journalism. The five elements in sequence are; First, the emphasis of the news. Second, the issues raised. Third, the main source. Fourth, work priority. Fifth, the principle of legality in reporting. And the last one is the expectation after the news is loaded.

2. Method

This research is qualitative and descriptive in nature. In this descriptive study, it was carried out by first collecting and then analyzing data in the form of pictures and words instead of numbers. Data excerpts were then included in the research report to describe the presentation. Meanwhile, qualitative content analysis research was used. Content analysis within the framework of Drisko & Maschi (2016) is a research technique for making research systematic, credible and valid by using the help of text and other forms of communication. Bernard Berelson also defines the same thing that content analysis is an objective and systematic method of describing a particular text (Berelson, 1952). The source of the data was taken from a coverage article published by the Project Multatuli with the title, "Nanti Kita Kayak Ondel-Ondel, Ngamen di Lampu Merah: Penggusuran & Krisis Iklim di Balik Jargon Green City IKN". The report was published on August 15, 2022. This article was chosen by the researcher because, based on the initial research that had been conducted, several applications of advocacy journalism were found in this report. Apart from that, the issue of Nusantara's IKN is an issue that is currently being hotly discussed. Even though the new capital of Indonesia will soon be moved, many local residents and observers still criticize it. Sources of data were also obtained from searching literature, documents, articles, books, journals and other written materials regarding the subject of this research. Meanwhile, the Project Multatuli media was chosen based on the popularity of this media because he said that he was himself serving marginalized voices and serving the public interest. With this vision and mission, it seems that this is in line with the research that the researcher wants to do, namely about advocacy journalism which is very closely related to raising the voices of the marginalized as echoed by the Project Multatuli. That is what ultimately becomes the main reason for choosing this alternative media by researcher.

3. Results and Discussion

_Nanti Kita Kayak Ondel-Ondel, Ngamen di Lampu Merah: Penggusuran & Krisis Iklim di Balik Jargon Green City IKN_ is a coverage article selected by the researcher. This article is in the form of feature writing. That is, there will be many sides of humanism and human interest in it.

Broadly speaking, this coverage article actually talks about the complaints from the voices of marginalized communities. They are rarely recorded in the media. In fact, many mainstream media have glorified IKN Nusantara. The capital city is said to be able to overcome various problems in Indonesia. Whereas in reality, this project will also have an impact on the local community. Viewed further, this paper is then opened by the initial sentence which reads, "The paddy fields belonging to residents are across from the Sepaku River intake project. This project was built to supply raw water to the National Capital, President Joko Widodo's ambitious megaproject that many observers call a waste and only benefits the oligarchs but alienates the local community."
The IKN Nusantara project is a project to move the new capital city from Jakarta to North Penajam Paser. However, many contra parties do not agree with this transfer. They judge that moving will only create new problems. This is what the Multatuli Project does in its writing by voicing marginalized voices using advocacy aspects.

The Project Multatuli is very focused on the voices of the local people who are directly affected by the existence of the National Archipelago's IKN. This impact is for example the existence of the Sepaku River which has been dammed by the intake project. This project will become a dam to fulfill water availability for IKN with a capacity of 1,100 liters/second. Worked on by PT Adhi Karya (Persero) Tbk since early 2022, this project has in fact been described as having a very bad impact on local residents. River water going downstream is stopped and dried. There are several houses directly affected by the project: there is no river water behind their houses. Some of the houses were cut down. Residents' plants, such as ferns, durian, and oil palm, were also cut down. However, the damming of the Sepaku River did not only affect residents whose homes were considered "directly affected". The intake project also led to the demolition of the residents' cemetery. Initially, the project cut off the entrance to the burial area, the project workers installed a portal in front of the grave and the public was prohibited from entering it. The location of this grave was covered with a tarpaulin. Gradually, not only closed, residents' graves have been dismantled.

In addition, currently society is experiencing the bad effects of the climate crisis. Natural disasters are increasingly hitting homes due to deforestation which destroys the absorption capacity of the soil for water. At the same time, they are experiencing a water crisis. River water is no longer clean. Several small rivers behind residents' houses were closed. Meanwhile, making well water is not a possible option. Several residents have tried, but the ground beneath them is rocky and difficult to drill. Even when the source of the spring was found, the water smelled of iron. Now, even for water consumption needs, people buy gallons of water or refill jerry cans for IDR 5,000. Meanwhile, if there is no river access at all for bathing and washing, residents add to their expenses by buying reservoir water for IDR 70,000. In this way, the concept of the "Green City" of IKN that is being promoted by the government has in fact not been properly realized.

Analysis of advocacy journalism on Project Multatuli

1. Analysis of the emphasis of the news
This is the first analysis stage of the application of advocacy journalism to the Project Multatuli. Containing the disclosure of serious problems, threats to minorities and indigenous people and emphasizing elements of truth obtained based on the results of investigative reports, the analysis of this data will be presented in the narrative below.

a) Disclose serious problems, threats to minorities and indigenous peoples:
The Project Multatuli, through its reporting article, has actually revealed that there are serious problems threatening the local community affected by the Sepaku River intake project. This was demonstrated, for example, by presenting resource person Syamsiah who said that the pillars for the IKN project had been installed. Likewise in the land across from Syamsiah's house. There are wooden stakes around residents' houses and gardens, although they still don't know exactly what project will be built there. They suspect that there will be further development for the dam project. This also poses a
serious problem. This is because the initial plan for the construction of the dam was located far from residential areas. However, what happened instead was moving to a location near a settlement which had an impact on at least 96 families. In addition, the existence of this intake also causes river water to dry up. Several residents’ houses began to be affected so that there was no longer any water behind their houses.

At the same time, they are experiencing a water crisis. River water is no longer clean. Several small rivers behind residents' houses were closed. Meanwhile, making well water is not a possible option. Several residents have tried, but the ground beneath them is rocky and difficult to drill. Even when the source of the spring was found, the water smelled of iron. Now, for water consumption needs, people buy gallons of water or refill jerry cans for IDR 5,000. Meanwhile, if there is no river access at all for bathing and washing, residents add to their expenses by buying reservoir water for IDR 70,000. What Project Multatuli wants to show through its coverage article is actually one of the efforts of advocacy journalism that gives marginalized people a voice. That way, they will get access to voices in media that are rarely exposed.

b) Emphasizing the elements of truth obtained based on the results of the investigation report: What Project Multatuli has done through its coverage is the result of a direct investigative report. This coverage was carried out by Adinda (2022) who did a lot of advocacy for local residents. That way, the element of validity can be accounted for.

2. Analysis of the issues raised

The problems of the lowly people, human rights violations, the courage and resistance of the small people: "What worries us," said Syamsiah, "is that our status is not clear. Meanwhile, in cities where the house certificates are complete, they are still being evicted. "That is the expression of Syamsiah, the local RT who is actually the voice of the small community. She represents the people of Sungai Sepaku who find it difficult to fight against the authorities and the government. For example, she said with the sentence "We want to fight but we can't". Through that sentence, the Project Multatuli is actually raising issues and problems of marginalized people who are unable to do much to thwart the Sepaku River intake project. This is also at the same time a form of human rights violation experienced by local residents because their rights as citizens have not been properly fulfilled. However, in this article published by Project Multatuli, researcher did not find courage and resistance by them. Instead, they tend to give up by saying sentences like, "It’s useless. Not heard. There is still an intake, it will still be the capital city."

3. Analysis of key informants

Victims, namely ordinary people, minority groups, eye witnesses: The main source and an important figure in this coverage is Syamsiah who is a victim of the construction of the Sepaku River intake. Her voice was raised because he was affected by the IKN Nusantara project, which said the water of the Sepaku River was being dried and several houses were actually directly affected by the project. She admitted that many residents' plants were cut down. Furthermore, she also complained that the river water behind her house was getting muddy because of this project.

Apart from that there is also Becce who is also a local resident of Sungai Sepaku. Becce admitted that her house had also been in trouble. The water pipes that suck up river water are
buried in the ground so they are clogged due to the activities of this project. The Project Multatuli also presents other sources who can be said to act as observers. This resource person was Sri Murlianti, a lecturer at Mulawarman University who said that local indigenous peoples were a vulnerable group. She said that residents did not get equal treatment where they did not get legal rights to their land. In this case, then, the Project Multatuli is actually trying to accommodate the voices of residents who are victims of the Sepaku River intake project which are not covered by the mainstream media. All of the sources in the Project Multatuli coverage articles are victims and minority groups whose rights have been ignored by the government as administrators of the state.

By selecting sources such as Syamsiah, Becce and Sri Murlianti, the Project Multatuli is very much seen as pro-victims. There are no sources from the government. This is indeed the spirit of advocacy journalism which is more in favor of the common people. So it can be concluded, Project Multatuli has carried out the third element in advocacy journalism by making victims the main informants.

4. Work priority analysis

Raise the problem of state violations against elements of society who are unable to speak: Under these conditions, the Project Multatuli carries out advocacy journalism or prioritizes its work by raising the issue that there is a problem of state violations against local communities. This was done by quoting a statement from Sri Murlianti, a lecturer at Mulawarman University who said that the original Sepaku people had been affected by inequality since the New Order, resulting in the marginalization of local residents. Society at that time did not get the same treatment. Not getting legality over their land. Instead, their land is designated as "state property". While transmigrants were able to use land they legally owned for farming, local people found it difficult to implement a shifting cultivation system for gardening once their land had been confiscated. Murlianti said the Paser Balik tribe has experienced at least four phases of asset confiscation since Indonesia became a state. The first phase is expropriation by the state. Under Indonesian law, the customary land of the Sepaku people is claimed as state land. The second confiscation was carried out by the timber corporation PT International Timber Corporation Indonesia (ITCI). Large trees in the forest are cleared to be processed into logs and exported. Third, expropriation by monoculture plantations. After the timber trees were exhausted, PT ITCI changed to PT ITCI Hutani Manunggal which replaced traditional forests with monoculture farming in the form of acacia and eucalyptus trees as raw materials for paper production. Residents were made to believe the company was carrying out "reforestation" or forest restoration by replanting plants. The fourth deprivation is the deprivation of farming culture.

5. Analysis of the principle of legality

If necessary, disguise and in writing the news try to disguise the names of the sources (there is a fear of threats and enforced disappearance): The fifth element in advocacy journalism is the principle of legality. This element is not found in this coverage article. All sources are real names. They even openly mention the status of the work they are doing.
6. Post-loading expectation analysis

Debates and polemics arose in society which led to the strengthening of people's rights and demands that the government improve policies. In the coverage of the articles carried out, the Project Multatuli advocates in the form of hope after the publication of the news. This is reflected in the opinion of one of the sources who said that if you want to make a Green City IKN, the government should first focus on East Kalimantan so that it can make the area a backbone for renewable energy. That way, the government can think about developing IKN with 100% renewable energy status. This makes sense. Bearing in mind that the Green City concept, which is predicted to become the Nusantara IKN concept, is a movement that the government really echoes. That way, it is hoped that the government can wisely improve the solution. But more than that, it seems that the focus on improving local community problems is also important. Considering that there have been too many losses suffered by local residents. However, this was not covered and published by Project Multatuli.

4. Conclusion

Based on the analysis and discussion conducted by researcher, the Project Multatuli is indeed very focused on the application of advocacy journalism. This can be seen by the implementation and discovery of five elements of advocacy journalism practices, such as exposing serious problems, threats against minority groups and indigenous people based on the results of investigative reports; the problems of the lowly, human rights violations, the courage and resistance of the small people; attach importance to aspects of victims, namely the common people, minority groups, eyewitnesses; raises the problem of state violations against elements of society who are unable to speak; as well as giving rise to debates and polemics in society which lead to the strengthening of people's rights and demands that the government improve policies. However, one element of advocacy journalism practices such as the principle of legality which demands disguises in news writing and attempts to disguise the names of sources (there is a fear of experiencing threats and enforced disappearances) is not found in this reporting article. However, even so, advocacy journalism in the coverage article "Nanti Kita Kayak Ondel-Ondel, Ngamen di Lampu Merah: Penggusuran & Krisis Iklim di Balik Jargon Green City IKN" published by the Project Multatuli has been well implemented. Strictly speaking, Project Multatuli has carried out a form of advocacy journalism that is in accordance with its passion to raise the voices of marginalized and low-income people. It is hoped that future research will be able to better guess the application of advocacy journalism in online media in large quantities in terms of the quantity of data sources. This is very useful to see thoroughly how advocacy journalism actually looks in Indonesian online media. Quantitative analysis can thus fill the gaps through future research.

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