

Narrative Policy Framework: The Role of Media Narratives on Alcohol Investment Policy in Indonesia

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan mengetahui peran narasi kebijakan publik dalam merumuskan kebijakan investasi alkohol di Indonesia. Narasi publik berfungsi memberikan informasi secara kolektif terkait proses kebijakan dalam rangka merespon dukungan dan tuntutan. Studi ini melakukan studi Narrative Policy Framework terkait kebijakan investasi alkohol di Indonesia. Metode penelitian menggunakan pendekatan Q-DAS (*Qualitative Data Analysis Software*) dengan alat analisis software Nvivo Plus 12. Data penelitian adalah aktivitas media massa nasional dan media sosial Twitter yang ditentukan berdasarkan periode tertentu. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa respon naratif publik terhadap Kebijakan Peraturan Presiden (Perpres) Nomor 10 Tahun 2021 tentang Bidang Usaha Penanaman Modal mendapat tanggapan yang beragam dari masyarakat dan organisasi masyarakat. Dalam gerakan sosial melalui narasi kebijakan penolakan investasi miras di Indonesia, masyarakat terbagi menjadi kelompok-kelompok besar, antara lain LSM, LSM, dan ormas keagamaan. Penolakan tersebut memiliki substansi naratif terkait dengan nilai-nilai yang menjadi dasar penolakan, diantaranya merusak moral anak bangsa, yaitu pemuda sebagai generasi penerus bangsa, dalam upaya membangun karakter bangsa (*nation and character building*) akibatnya, intensitas kejahatan di masyarakat akan meningkat. Selain itu, penolakan tersebut juga mendapat legitimasi yang kuat dari berbagai aktor yang membuat masyarakat ikut terlibat mendukung gerakan penolakan investasi miras.

ABSTRACT

This study aims to determine the role of public policy narratives in formulating alcohol investment policies in Indonesia. Public narratives work in concert with the policy process in response to support and inquiries. This study conducted a Narrative Policy Framework study related to alcohol investment policies in Indonesia. The research method uses the Q-DAS (Qualitative Data Analysis Software) approach with the Nvivo Plus 12 software analysis tool. The research data are the activities of the national mass media and Twitter social media which are determined based on a certain period. The results of the study show that public narrative responses to the Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Policy Number 10 of 2021 concerning the Investment Business Sector have received various responses from the community and community organizations. In social movements through the narrative of alcohol investment policies in Indonesia, the community is divided into large groups, including NGOs, NGOs, and religious organizations. The refusal has the substance of the narrative with the values that are the basis of, among others, damaging the morals of the nation's children, namely youth as the nation's next generation, in an effort to build character, as a result, crime in society will increase. it also gets strong legitimacy from various actors who make the community get involved in alcohol interactions.

Keywords:

Narrative Policy;

Public Policy;

Social Media.

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Introduction

The media can be understood as a channel for spreading their problems to mobilize groups and citizens in achieving policy success (Bragg & Soler, 2017; M. Weible et al., 2018; Mark K McBeth et al., 2005). The potential of the media as an intermediary for mass communication can be a significant force for social movements so that the existence of narratives in the news media has the potential to strengthen or change public problems around controversial topics that are of concern to the broader community (E. A. Shanahan, Jones, et al., 2011). The process of forming public narratives in policy responses is systematically carried out by policy actors such as Governance, Civil Society, and Politicians who describe policies, issues that can be powerful in shaping public opinion and policy agendas (Ertas, 2015; E. A. Shanahan, Jones, et al., 2011; Yoo, 2019). Narrative in the media can become a discourse in playing a vital role in policy formulation, so identifying narratives in the news media is a challenging task (N. Gupta et al., 2017).

Public narratives can reconstruct the aims and objectives conveyed by actors on policy issues, which are the Government's focus in formulating policies. In democratic countries, especially in Indonesia, the Narrative Policy Framework can play an essential role in public policymaking through participation in the media (Bedsworth et al., 2004). Policy experts use the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) to systematically study policy group actors' narrative elements and strategies to control government policies (N. Gupta et al., 2017). So that the media can make a collective discussion of substance that has the attention of every group regarding stakeholder communication in environmental policymaking, analyzing stakeholder narrative strategies, effectiveness, and framing the aims and objectives in each narrative strategy used (Rodríguez-Martínez et al., 2019).

Indonesia, in the latter case, has more attention in the policymaking process related to alcohol investment. The alcohol investment policy is stated in Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 10 of 2021 concerning the Investment Business Sector. The Government's decision to set the liquor industry as a positive investment list (DPI) starting in 2021 has drawn criticism. The policy is contained in Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 10 of 2021 concerning business fields open to investment activities where the Liquor Industry (Liquor) Containing Alcohol and Beverage Industry Containing Alcohol (Wine) are included with conditions. This policy results from a follow-up to the February 2021 State Budget report, in which alcohol is a potential industrial sector that contributes revenue to the state in the form of excise. Excise revenue from Beverages Containing Ethyl Alcohol (MMEA) in January amounted to Rp250 billion. The figure is minus 15.18 percent on an annual basis (CNN, 2021). In Presidential Decree 10/2021, Jokowi regulates liquor investment licensing for four provinces, including Bali, East Nusa Tenggara, North Sulawesi, and Papua.

The policy, within one week, had a negative response from elements of the wider community (NGOs/NGOs). Religious organizations are the ones who are very loud in rejecting the rule. Among them came from PBNU, PP Muhammadiyah to MUI (CNN, 2021). The refusal of these policies collectively becomes a public narrative conveyed through the use of ICT social media and the role of digital mass media. With this refusal, the Government decided to revoke the regulation regarding investment in the liquor industry, as stated in the attachment to Presidential Regulation (Perpres) Number 10 of 2021 concerning the Investment Business Sector after it became a polemic past week (Kompas, 2021).

In this case, religious organizations play their role in teaching spiritual values. In Indonesia, which is predominantly Muslim and adheres to an eastern culture, it is not allowed freedom related to alcoholic beverages. The rejection of various social institutions and religious organizations shows resistance to cultural changes/transitions that will distort moral values in Indonesian society that have been formed so far.

This study looks at the role of social media and mass media in producing public narratives in the policy process. Then the results of the narrative analysis are carried out by constructing the narrative that is delivered so that it aims to develop ideological assumptions

that are contained behind the words in the text or speech in various forms of power (Darma & Shenia, 2009). Then, these results can describe a text (social reality) related to the interests of a person or dominant group who has a specific goal to get what they want (Darma & Shenia, 2009). Thus, this research can answer the development of Information and Communication Technology that can be appropriately utilized in the public policy sector and policy communication, which is a crucial aspect to be one of the attentions of the Government as a policy actor to consider media and social media as a basis for public communication.

Policy narratives become a source of strategically constructed political life. "Stories" contain predictable elements and strategies to influence public opinion towards support for specific policy preferences (Layzer & Goodson, 2006; E. A. Shanahan, Jones, et al., 2011; Stone Jr. et al., 2019). A narrative is a story with a temporal sequence of events (McComas & Shanahan, 1999) that unfolds in a plot (Abell, 2004; Somers, 1992) populated by dramatic moments, symbols, and archetypal characters (Mark K McBeth et al., 2005) that culminates in the moral of the story (Das, 2017). Thus, the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) role in policy is through policy actors using stories (narratives) to influence the policymaking process. In addition, the essential thing in the policy narrative is to create a structured frame related to the development of a problem definition based on the inclusion of some evidence and not other information to support specific policy outcomes (Entman & Rojecki, 1993; T. Shanahan & Shanahan, 2008).

NPF begins by scientifically exploring the notion that humans use narrative, or stories, as primary, and provides a way to understand themselves and the world around them (Archer et al., 2016; M K McBeth et al., 2014). The idea is that if you can scientifically understand people's stories about public policy, then you can not only explain and explain the policy process, we might as well predict. Policy actors reduce complex policy issues into stories with settings, characters, plots, and morals that help people understand the problem (M D Jones et al., 2014). Through the NPF policy narrative, public actors can provide policy solutions based on several choices of their attitudes (Boucquey et al., 2016; Bragg & Soler, 2017). For example, about some public problems that have great concern for the public, they will highlight some problems and ignore some others (Boucquey et al., 2016; Bragg & Soler, 2017).

Policy experts use the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) to systematically study the narrative elements and strategies used by policy group actors to advance the agenda (K. P. Gupta et al., 2018). In the policy literature, theoretical work on narratives based on contrasting differences and assumptions, such as individual models, constitutes reality (Husmann, 2015). Using a multi-case study of stakeholder communication in environmental policymaking analyzes stakeholder narratives of strategy, effectiveness, and framing winners and losers (M D Jones & McBeth, 2020). In addition, the NPF also has a strong relationship in the implementation of policymaking research, both of which seek to uncover the complexity of the temporal interactions between public policy and policy actors, events, contexts, and outcomes (García Lozano et al., 2019).

The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) attempts to describe, explain, and predict the role of narratives in politics and policy (Lin & Chung, 2020). As for the benefits with theoretical tools developed within the NPF, researchers have scientifically described the relationship between individuals, groups, coalitions, and institutions, and culture, with various aspects of public policy (E. A. Shanahan et al., 2018). The policy process framework has two main expositions detailing core assumptions, levels of analysis, hypotheses, and definitions of narrative concepts (Bolívar et al., 2015; Bragg & Soler, 2017). Three levels of analysis are available: micro, meso, and macro (Huda, 2021). In addition, the approach to using content analysis identifies elements of the policy narrative (Michael D. Jones & McBeth, 2010).

Method

This research focuses on seeing how the public narrative responds to alcohol investment policy to influence the policy process (M D Jones & Radaelli, 2015). Researchers use news data and social media Twitter as material for narrative analysis of the response to alcohol investment

policy. We used the primary search term "Alcoholic Investments," "Alcoholic Investment Banks," from January 01, 2021, to March November 2021. The news was reviewed and ensured that the article included an essential section on informational news on Alcoholic Investments. (Blair & McCormack, 2016) Non-news articles (e.g., editorials, comments) are removed and replaced with other randomly selected articles. One of two coders coded the document using a similar codebook (Peterson et al., 2020). The stages of building a research question (NPF), identifying the research locus, the level of analysis distinguished from the unit of analysis, specifying the research model, coding visual narrative data, accessing narrative data, analyzing narrative data (Sioen et al., 2018). The research steps in the NPF tradition described above illustrate a mixed tradition between positivistic and postpositivist (Salahudin et al., 2020). For example, one of the news focuses has a policy-centered narrative by examining the policy process of a policy issue through narrative and strategic elements (M D Jones & Radaelli, 2015).

Discussion and Discussion Results

The Alcohol Investment Policy in Indonesia has received significant attention from every community, NGOs, and NGO through the public narrative messages conveyed. Policy narratives can be formed through public productivity in addressing issues and discussing policy-related issues (Peterson et al., 2020). The public's response to government policies related to alcohol investment has more attention on media and social media. The broader community of Actors uses the Internet and social media platforms such as YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, and Reddit to provide attitudes and narratives related to policy narratives (Veselková, 2017). In the alcohol investment policy in Indonesia, Twitter is one of the platforms used to produce policy narratives against alcohol investment in Indonesia. This condition can be seen from the high productivity of the community through social media Twitter as a public facility in representing public attitudes related to the movement to reject alcohol investment. The problems that are conveyed by the public through narratives in the media must be considered by the Government is looking at systematically and how actors take attitudes related to policies that are being or will be made (Stephany, 2020).

The Twitter social media platform is the basis for public intermediaries in using public narratives as a social movement in rejecting alcohol investment in Indonesia. The tracer results show a narrative that can be visualized from the results of the public response, which can be seen from the movement in the massive use of hashtags. The following is one of the hashtags used by the public who are members of the movement against alcohol investment in Indonesia.

Table 1. The use of hashtags as a symbol of the movement to reject alcohol investment

No.	Hashtags	Descriptions
1	#rezimperrusakmoral Thehashtag	use of theas a whole is a form of public disappointment with the attitude of the Government in establishing the rules for legalization of alcohol; several actors argue through the hashtag which is related to investment policies in the liquor and alcoholic beverage industry it will facilitate the massive circulation of alcohol in various regions. As a result, the intensity of crime in society will increase. Moreover, this alcohol can damage the morality of the nation's children, namely the youth as the nation's next generation.

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- 2 #batalkanperpresmiras use represents normatively criticizing the regulations of the
Thehashtags presidential regulation, which should not be for the sake of
investment. It will damage aspects of the nation's education.
In addition, the public thinks that although initially the
investment policy in the business sector of the liquor and
alcoholic beverage industry was considered to be able to bring
income to the state, the negative impacts were far more
significant. Foreign exchange may increase, but it must be
remembered that the damage to the morality of the
Indonesian nation will be permanent and prolonged. The
reason is that education is a manifestation and the principal
capital in efforts to develop the nation's character (nation and
character-building).
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The use of hashtags can be an effective delivery and become one of the social media movements in giving an attitude of rejection to government policies. The role of public opinion in policy outcomes is understood normatively as “must” or “must” in the policy process (McMorris et al., 2018). Narrative messages conveyed by the public in social media Twitter have various forms of messages conveyed through hashtags created by the public. The hashtag generally represents a form of rejection of the Government's policy of legalizing alcohol investment. The narrative of rejection can be a form of the social movement against government policies (Darmastuti et al., 2016). With the development of rejection through hashtags on February 24, 2021, the trend of conversations on social media continues to rise, with 93k mentions on Twitter and 3.4k on online news. So that this condition illustrates the problems in the alcohol investment policy in Indonesia, policy problems can be identified from the relationship between actors in the policy process in general, besides that the core of the policy narrative is a discussion in substance-related to policy issues and problems (Petridou & Mintrom, 2020).

The emergence of the hashtags #rezimperrusakmoral and #batalkanperpresmiras is a form of disappointment and opposition from the public, especially Twitter users, to the government. Because people think that the government is more concerned with the value of an investment and financial benefits that the state will receive, but ignores and forgets that this results in the degradation of people's values and morals. The adverse effects of social life, the erosion of religious, moral values, and eastern culture are pawned for the state's benefits from investing in alcohol in Indonesia.

People assume that moral values and eastern culture which do not liberate people from drinking alcohol must be maintained. Because if alcohol investment in Indonesia has been used as a positive investment, this is a step taken by the government and is considered a wrong step by the community. Because these policy steps are viewed as a form of slowly destroying the nation's morale. Because the policy is implemented, it will erode the moral values of the community. It will change the cultural pattern in which alcohol has been used in Indonesia as a drink that must be avoided for consumption and is considered a taboo/adverse action when drinking it. It will turn into a natural and normal act to drink alcohol.

The problem with this policy is that there is a massive rejection of social media Twitter through broadcast messages using hashtags that have become symbols of the social movement to reject alcohol investment, including #rezimperrusakmoral, #batalkanperpresmiras, and #tolakinvestasimiras. Hashtag messages are conveyed by individual community social media accounts, NGO media accounts, NGOs, and Community Organizations using trending hashtag mentions. Based on the hashtag used in rejecting investment policies, it can be seen that the cluster group is viewing the rejection relationship on social media Twitter

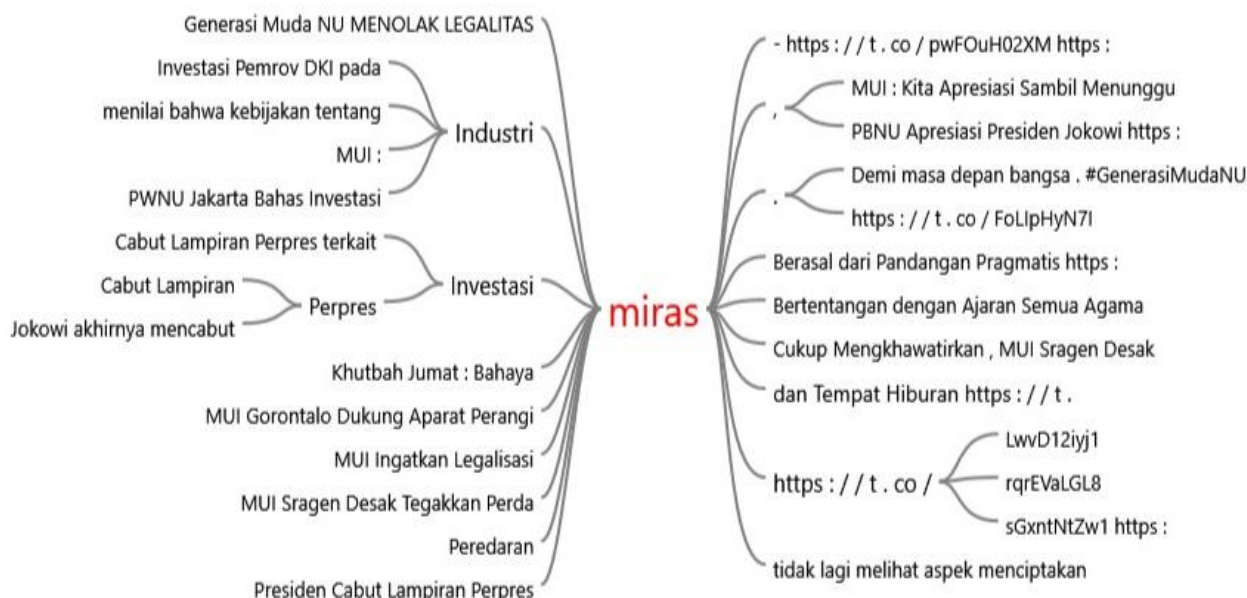


Figure 1. Public narrative relations

Content analysis shows that the use of narratives related to alcohol investment policy problems is influenced by several problems that arise, including religious and social factors of the community. In addition, the results of the visualization of narrative relations show the participation of community organizations and the public in general in producing policy narratives. In this case, the role of community organizations can provide legitimacy to the public, which can create a greater power of social movement capital. As for the policy narrative, the rejection of alcohol investment is also carried out by the official social media accounts of community organizations, including Muhammadiyah, Nahdatul Ulama, and the Indonesian Ulema Council. The narrative results of the social movement rejecting alcohol investment in Indonesia show a high collectivity related to the rejection of government policies. The policy actor makes the rejection based on the objective aspect of influencing policy refusal. Based on the results of the narrative visualization, it shows the primary reasons for rejecting the policy, based on the very pragmatic alcohol investment policy and contrary to religion.

Problems in policy are often accompanied by policy solutions (E. A. Shanahan, Mcbeth, et al., 2011). In this case, the Government pays more attention to the response of the community's rejection. The visualization results also show a solution or the Government's attitude in responding to public narratives. The solution given by the public in responding to government policies is the revocation of these policies, which are considered to hurt the community. Thus, the analysis of narrative relations can show the substance of policy problems that are of public concern.

Policy narratives begin by articulating five basic assumptions, that people are rationally bound, that the world of policy is socially constructed, that the socially constructed world is relative (that is, constrained by what people initially believe), that narratives are separable objects. Into a quantifiable part, humans prefer to communicate and think in narrative form (E. A. Shanahan, Mcbeth, et al., 2011). The mass media can be one of the places in creating high public attention related to public policy issues. The role of the media, in particular, in generating policy narratives is sufficiently mainstreamed by the nature of the role of the media in policy systems (Dyckman, 2019; Menahem & Gilad, 2016; Roengtam et al., 2017). The researcher analyzed several national mass media that have paid more attention to the development of the issue of alcohol investment. Based on the search results related to Indonesia's alcohol investment policy process, the researcher found 30 news stories that focus on discussions related to alcohol investment in Indonesia.

Table 2. National Media Classification

Media	Time	Total
Detik	27/02/2021-04/03/2021	15
Kompas	16/02/2021-03/03/2021	12
CNN Indonesia	02/03/2021-03/03/2021	16

The researcher uses three national media sources of information on public narratives built on the media. Based on the rejection narrative tracer results published in the three national media, Detik, Kompas, and CNNIndonesia, there were 42 news stories. Based on the results of narrative analysis from three Indonesian national media with different characteristics from each actor. Policy narratives conveyed by actors in mass media can become content issues in maintaining the substance of certain narratives that will reflect the communication strategies they use to change specific policies or support them (Witting & Dudley, 2019). Policy narrative structures can argue that most policy narratives contain identifiable elements, such as setting, characters, plot, and morals (Menahem & Gilad, 2016). However, the existence of these elements can vary substantially, depending on the policy issues addressed by the narrative, the actors who construct the narrative, and the media used to communicate the story.

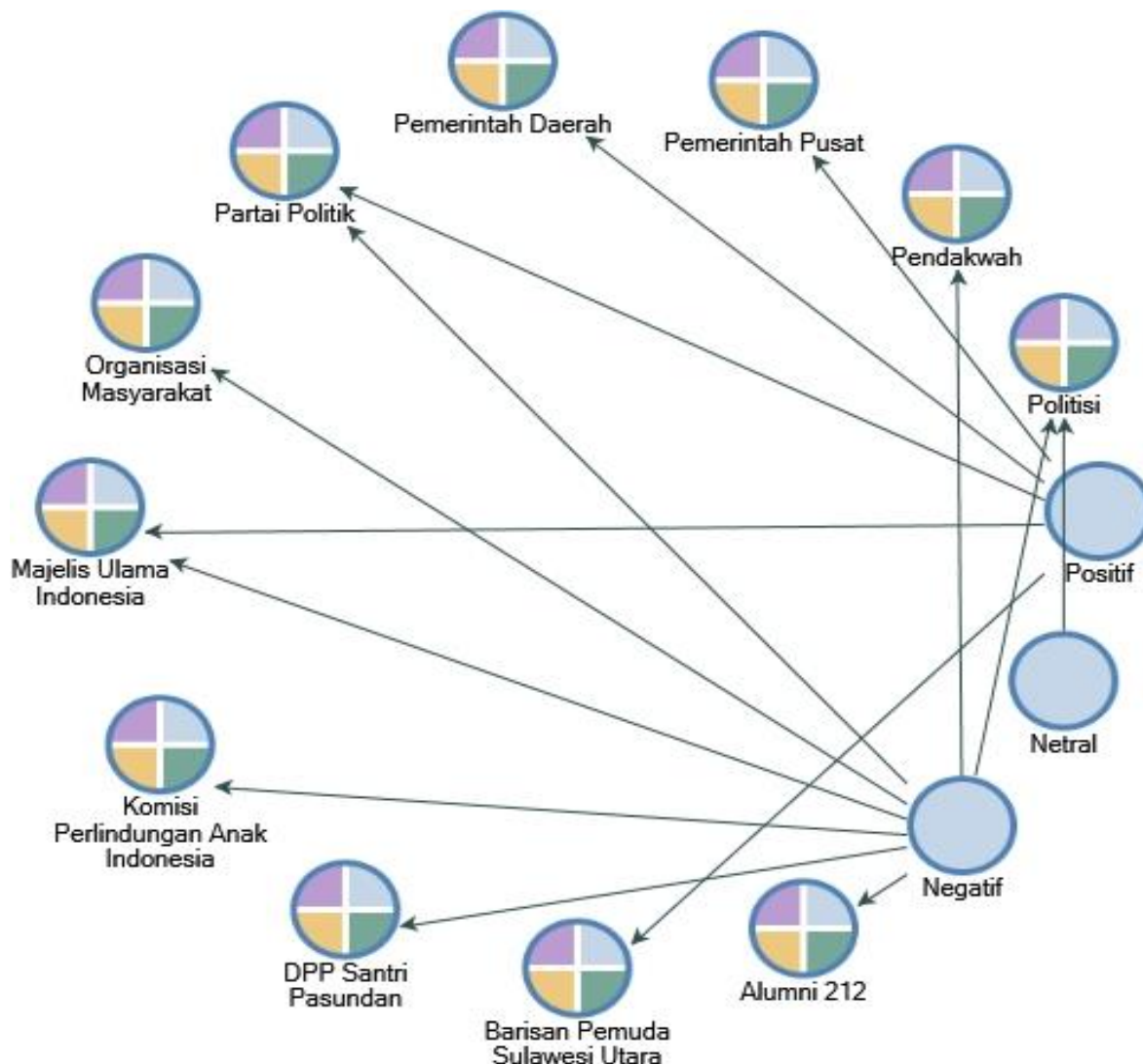


Figure 2. The sentiment of actors based on policy narrative

The analysis results on media narratives related to Alcohol Investment in Indonesia have three narrative response sentiments related to policies, including positive, negative, and neutral. Policy narratives conveyed by actors and groups, who believe that they are in a policy battle, will carry out narrative strategies to increase the number of people involved in the policy narrative battle, in addition to these narratives that believe a policy or problem harms a large number of people. In contrast, relatively few people benefit (Witting & Dudley, 2019). A pattern shows that public policy narrative sentiment is divided into positive and negative related to alcohol investment policy. Dominantly policy actors have negative sentiments related to alcohol investment policies, while a small number of policy actors have positive attitudes related to alcohol investment.

The group of actors who provide the policy narrative participates as individuals or groups, forming coalitions that compete to obtain favorable policy outcomes by spreading the narrative (Blair & McCormack, 2016). Negative sentiment towards the alcohol investment policy is carried out by some public actors, including community organizations (Nahdatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Indonesian Ulema Council, and Political Parties). The actor has a firm attitude in questioning the alcohol investment policy in Indonesia. Attitudes in the form of policy narratives can serve as expanding or contracting the scope of the conflict to control other actors' involvement in the policy subsystem to support their position (Michelini et al., 2017). So that group narrative messages conveyed through mass media can become social advocacy and as a common strategy used in narrative elements when communicating with the public (Pierce et al., 2014).

Political party groups are also one of the main actors in the production of narratives in the media. In the narrative of investment policy in the mass media, the attitude of political parties, which represents the institutional structure and politicians of political parties, functions as seemingly universal organizations. In addition, the role of political parties cannot be separated from the function of political communication and representing the aspirations of the people so that they act as part of the tool for individuals to sharpen some aspects of reality while leveling others (van der Voet, 2021). An in-depth analysis of policy narratives conveyed by political parties in the mass media systematically shows the division of sentiment. Then the researcher looked systematically at the policy narratives conveyed by political parties and politicians in various media, where the results of the systematic structure analysis in the policy narratives in the mass media showed that the narrative was divided into two positive and negative parts in addressing the issue of alcohol investment in Indonesia.

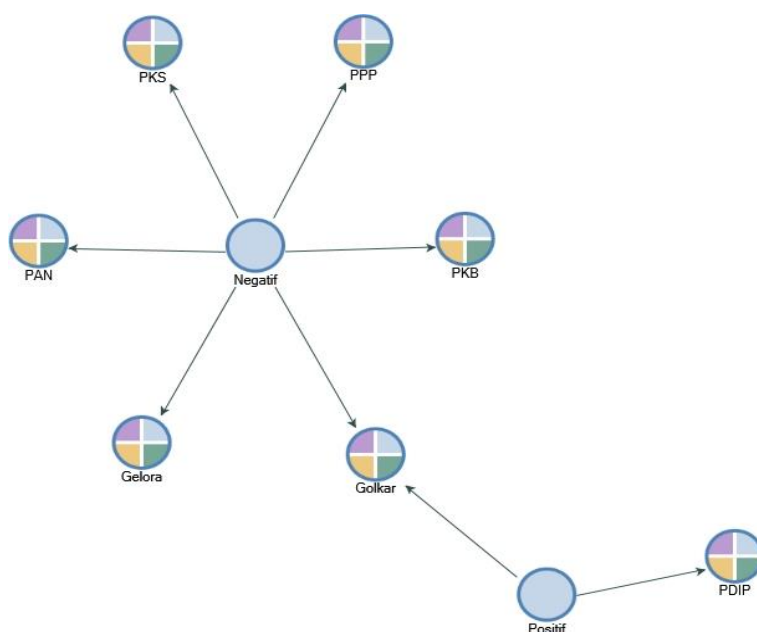


Figure 3. The sentiment of Political Parties

shaping social movements digitally through social media and Information and Communication Technology (ICT). The rapid and effective development of narratives directly creates a process of great public attention so that the digital social movements carried out have great power. For example, in social movements through the policy narrative of refusing alcohol investment in Indonesia, the community is divided into large groups, including NGOs, NGOs, and religious community organizations. Because the policy is implemented, it will erode the moral values of the community. It will change the cultural pattern in which alcohol has been used in Indonesia as a drink that must be avoided for consumption and is considered a taboo/adverse action when drinking it. It will turn into a natural and normal act to drink alcohol. The refusal has a narrative substance related to the values that are the basis for the rejection. Besides that, the rejection also gets strong legitimacy from various actors who make the community get involved in supporting the movement to reject alcohol investment. The narrative policy framework strategy in the case of rejection of alcohol investment in Indonesia has had success, as evidenced by the repeal of the Presidential Regulation regarding alcohol investment. So it is clear that social media and media today can be part of the process of making public policies and the function of effective control strategies related to government policies.

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