

Critical Discourse Analysis of Television News Coverage on the Relocation of Indonesia's Capital City

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Abstract

The new phase of the State Capital Relocation (IKN) began in 2019, after President Joko Widodo inaugurated that Indonesia's capital would move to East Kalimantan. The relocation has been ongoing since then and has entered the infrastructure development stage. However, beyond the grandeur of the IKN construction, many aspects have been affected. This research aims to understand how the examined media construct discourse on capital relocation. This research employs a qualitative method, utilizing Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model. Discourse analysis is conducted through three stages: text analysis, discourse practice analysis, and sociocultural analysis. Data collection methods were carried out using observation techniques, documentation studies through television media reporting, and in-depth interviews with informants representing Trans TV, Kompas TV, SCTV and NET. The research results in the text dimension indicate that the majority of the reporting is not in favour of the government's decision to relocate the capital because it is considered rushed in planning and has various negative impacts. In the discourse practice dimension, the reporting is heavily influenced by the media's socio-economic status (SES) in shaping the discourse. In the sociocultural dimension, it is shown that the capital relocation is one of the political strategies, and there is disagreement among various parties regarding the relocation. Therefore, the researcher suggests that the examined media should present balanced reporting and provide a balanced perspective in their coverage. Furthermore, caution is needed from the media to avoid being influenced by external media domination, ensuring that the information reported is accountable and prioritizes the public interest.

Keywords: capital city relocation; critical discourse analysis; television news coverage; external media domination; media socioeconomic status

Abstrak

Fase baru Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) dimulai pada tahun 2019, setelah Presiden Joko Widodo meresmikan pemindahan ibu kota negara ke Kalimantan Timur. Relokasi tersebut sudah berlangsung sejak saat itu dan sudah memasuki tahap pembangunan infrastruktur. Namun dibalik kemegahan pembangunan IKN, banyak aspek yang terkena dampaknya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memahami bagaimana media yang diteliti mengkonstruksi wacana pemindahan ibu kota. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan menggunakan model analisis wacana kritis Norman Fairclough. Analisis wacana dilakukan melalui tiga tahap: analisis teks, analisis praktik wacana, dan analisis sosiokultural. Metode pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan teknik observasi, studi dokumentasi melalui pemberitaan media televisi, dan wawancara mendalam dengan informan perwakilan Trans TV, Kompas TV, SCTV dan NET. Hasil penelitian pada dimensi teks menunjukkan bahwa mayoritas pemberitaan tidak mendukung keputusan pemerintah untuk melakukan pemindahan ibu kota karena dianggap terburu-buru dalam perencanaan dan menimbulkan berbagai dampak negatif. Dalam dimensi praktik wacana, pemberitaan sangat dipengaruhi oleh status sosial ekonomi (SES) media dalam membentuk wacana. Pada dimensi sosiokultural terlihat bahwa pemindahan ibu kota merupakan salah satu strategi politik, dan terdapat perbedaan pendapat di antara berbagai pihak mengenai pemindahan tersebut. Oleh karena itu, peneliti menyarankan agar media yang diteliti menyajikan pemberitaan yang seimbang dan memberikan perspektif yang seimbang dalam pemberitaannya. Selain itu, diperlukan kehati-hatian dari media agar tidak terpengaruh oleh dominasi media eksternal, memastikan bahwa informasi yang diberitakan dapat dipertanggungjawabkan dan mengutamakan kepentingan publik.

Kata Kunci: pemindahan ibu kota; analisis wacana kritis; liputan berita televisi; dominasi media eksternal; status sosial ekonomi media

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INTRODUCTION

The discourse regarding the issue of relocating Indonesia's capital city has become a polarizing topic since it first surfaced. This is reflected through various discussions depicted in the mass media, including through social media which is able to influence and organize public thinking by generating public opinion (Masitah & Dewi, 2022). Recent studies also show that news as information produced by the media has the potential to have effects on audience values, attitudes, and beliefs, specifically how media reporting on the issue of relocation of the capital city may influence the public or readers' minds (Hendrastuti, 2022). This polarized discourse first emerged when President Jokowi announced his intention to move the capital of Indonesia from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. However, the discourse of relocating the capital city has existed since the era of Soeharto, and even Soekarno once explored potential capital city locations in Palangkaraya, with the aim of distributing economic equality and development in each region (Wahyudi, 2023).

This idea was never realized during the previous presidencies in Indonesia. However, during President Joko Widodo's leadership in 2019, he officially announced the plan to move the capital to East Kalimantan. This is a significant step because Indonesia has a centralized system, where Jakarta has become the center of the economy, government, justice, legislature, and has advanced human and infrastructure resources compared to other regions in Indonesia (Ishenda & Guoqing, 2019). Furthermore, considerations in relocating the country's capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan are based on several factors such as population density, especially in the Jakarta and Java Island areas, the development gap between regions which is a strong reason for relocating the capital, as well as based on a disaster perspective, where the island of Java is located in the ring of fire area, which is prone to earthquakes and floods (Saputra et al., 2021), while also statistically referred to as one of the cities most threatened by climate change, where the negative impacts that are caused by climate change could affect its economy, human health, and biodiversity (Van de Vuurst & Escobar, 2020).

The process of relocating the capital city (IKN) is still ongoing as of today, with the official name "Nusantara" being designated as stated in Law No. 3 of 2022 on the Capital City, which is expected to be an effort to improve the governance of the Capital City region, as well as realizing a Capital City that is safe, modern, sustainable and resilient as well as becoming a reference for the development and arrangement of other regions in Indonesia (Gusnaeni & Putra, 2023). The construction of essential infrastructure and vital buildings, such as the presidential palace, has already begun. The government is pushing for the initial relocation of the capital city to take place from 2020 to 2024, as stated in the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (2020-2024 RPJM), where development will focus on two administrative regions, namely North Penajam Paser Regency and Kutai Kartanegara Regency, East Kalimantan, that were chosen due to their proximity to Balikpapan and Samarinda, two cities that are already well developed (Farida, 2021).

The relocation has significant implications, including changes in the governance, social, economic, cultural, and environmental sectors. Therefore, mass media, especially television, plays a crucial role in providing accurate, comprehensive, and balanced information to the public. Although television news often has limited space and time to develop stories, the medium pressures toward visualization and personalization, but not necessarily lower in context, and shows that in many contexts, it is an effective source of political learning (Hallin & Mellado, 2018). In regards to the function of information, quality television content is often associated with the concepts of independence, pluralism, objectivity, veracity, balance, neutrality, rigor, and trustworthiness, which involves balancing stories with multiple and diverse points of

view, ensuring that it involves diverse and credible sources, and the presence and expression of diverse ideas and ideologies representing the different segments in society (Bayo-Moriones et al., 2018). Additionally, besides its role in providing information, mass media also serves as a watchdog over the government. This role is closely related to the surveillance function, specifically in digging up information, investigating facts and reporting news with a broad perspective to convey to the public. Furthermore, this supervisory function can be a warning to regulatory or power stakeholders (Wright, 1960). In connection with this, it can be argued that in several television media reports regarding the issue of capital city relocation, it was indicated that there were media efforts to warn the government regarding the relocation of the capital city so that it would not be carried out too hastily and that thorough preparations were needed.

Television media as a source of information is still considered the main media choice for Indonesian citizens. This is reflected in the data which shows that the largest media penetration is still television at 96% from the results of a survey in 11 cities totalling 54.8 million people, while in second place is occupied by outdoor media at 53% and in second place is outdoor media at 53%. thirdly internet by 44% (Databoks, 2017). In the context of media reports regarding the relocation of the capital city, various problems caused by the capital city relocation plan were highlighted in mass media coverage, including television in Indonesia (Amilia & Andung, 2023). In fact, a recent study shows that issues related to the relocation of the capital city have not only received a lot of attention from the Indonesian media, but also from foreign media, where most media such as ABC, BBC, and VOA show a tendency for support from foreign mass media regarding relocation plans, based on the frequency of the positive evaluation of information found in the news (Hendrastuti, 2022). It can be argued that high media exposure, both from national and foreign, has the potential to influence people's attitudes towards the issue of relocating the capital city, as stated in a study which states that if the public is exposed to a high volume of information from news conveyed through television media, regardless of the content, that issue will be more cognitively accessible to audiences, which may increase the incorporation of attitudes about the issue into subsequent political judgments (Gollust et al., 2019).

The relocation of the capital has brought many changes to various sectors. These changes which include impacts on governance, society, economy, culture, and the environment are closely linked to the political and social situation at the time, especially in the context of the 2019 elections, where the outbreak of post-election protests in Indonesia was caused by the polarized political climate, in which Indonesian television media has played a role, both intentionally and unintentionally (Ahmad, 2019). So, the decision to relocate the capital has become a significant topic of debate and concern among the Indonesian public. In this context, mass media, especially television media, plays a vital role in conveying information and understanding about the capital relocation to the public. Television media not only provides information but also influences how the public understands and responds to government policies (Happer & Philo, 2013). Therefore, it is crucial to analyse how television media report and discuss the issue regarding capital relocation.

This research will analyze how television channels such as *Trans TV*, *Kompas TV*, *SCTV*, and *NET*, frame the discourse of relocating the capital of Indonesia. The use of text analysis aims to reveal the meaning and understanding contained in the discourse as conveyed through the media studied. In general, the objectives of this research are to understand how the discourse of capital relocation in Indonesia is presented in television media reporting, analyze discourse practices in television media regarding capital relocation in Indonesia, and identify social practices related to the discourse of capital relocation in Indonesia in television media

reporting.

To analyze the discourse texts, discourse practices, and social practices related to the capital relocation in Indonesia, the researcher uses the analytical framework of critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough. Through this analysis, the researcher hopes to provide deeper insights into how this issue is understood, constructed, and presented by Indonesian television media. Researchers use this approach because Critical Discourse Analysis offers the best analytical tools for analyzing the hidden motive carried by language, it views language as a form of “social practice”. Moreover, Fairclough stated that language has a strong relationship with its speaker. No language in its essence is strong or weak but the way any group of speakers specifically use language decides its strength and power (Ashraf et al., 2022). This is consistent with the findings of a study which states that each subject, symbol, material depicted represents an individual point, and they all possess a deliberate message to be delivered to the readers, in which these messages demonstrate the relationship between language and power (Dumaz & Yogun, 2022). Thus, Fairclough’s analysis is based on how to relate the text micro-to the community context at a macro level (Risdianto et al., 2018).

The selection of these commercial television media is based on the results of the Quality Index of Television Program Broadcasts in the second quarter of 2018, issued by the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI). It established that four private television channels had the highest quality index for news program broadcasts. The first position was occupied by Trans TV with an index of 3.14, followed by Kompas TV (3.12), SCTV (3.10), and NET. The assessment index was determined based on various indicators such as diversity, supervision, factual accuracy, fairness, public interest, impartiality, and relevance. Trans TV, Kompas TV, SCTV, and NET. scored highly in each of these indicators, making them part of the news broadcasts by broadcasters with the highest index, exceeding the KPI standard of 3.0 (3.10) (KPI, 2018).

From each media, two most relevant news articles related to the capital relocation were selected for examination. The first media, Trans TV, had news headlines titled “Ecological Dangers of Capital Relocation” and “Citizens’ Opinions on Capital Relocation.” The second media, SCTV, had news headlines titled “Exploring Tourist Locations in the New Capital” and “Land Brokers Flock to Penajam Paser Utara.” The third media, Kompas TV, had news headlines titled “Capital Relocation Dialogue, Rushed? (Part 1 & 2)” and “Controversy of Capital Relocation.” The fourth media, NET., had news headlines titled “Criticism from Parliament Members Regarding Capital Relocation” and “A Glimpse of Teachers Serving in Remote Areas of the New Capital.”

This research refers to various previous studies relevant to critical discourse analysis. Previous research has explored various issues related to language use and media narratives, including topics such as dominant ideologies (Sharifi et al., 2017), same-sex marriage (Srnrdelj & Pajnik, 2022), language use in politics (Mohammadi & Javadi, 2017), and discrimination in the media (Rezaei et al., 2019). Meanwhile, in a narrower research context, which focuses on the study of the issue of capital relocation, the researcher found that previous studies have explored various impacts of relocation on the environment, especially on the sustainability of peatlands in East Kalimantan (Theresia et al., 2020), as well as the potential negative impacts due to climate change that can be transferred from Jakarta to Borneo (Van de Vuurst & Escobar, 2020), to the impact of relocation on the livelihoods of residents in earthquake-stricken areas of rural China (Zhou et al., 2021). Based on the media perspective, the researcher also found similar research that only focused on the analysis of information related to the issue of capital relocation on social media Twitter, both from information containing hoaxes (Darmawan et

al., 2023), and sentiment analysis related to the issue (Sutoyo & Almaarif, 2020). Therefore, it can be argued that there has been no study that has explored in depth the use of language and media narratives in a specific context, namely the issue of relocating the capital of Indonesia. Through a review of these studies, this research aims to fill the research gap. By using the critical discourse analysis approach of Norman Fairclough, this research will delve deeper into how the media constructs the discourse related to capital relocation and how it can affect public perception. Furthermore, in the world of media and communication, various theories and concepts have developed to understand their complexity and impact on society. Additionally, this research will discuss several relevant theories, including Media Political Economy Theory, Cultural Studies Theory, Intertextuality, and Semiotics Theory. Each of these theories provides a unique approach to understanding the role of media in shaping meaning, power, and culture.

The contribution of this research includes both theoretical and practical aspects. Theoretically, this research will contribute to the development of critical discourse analysis theory, particularly in the context of mass media. Practically, the research results are expected to be a source of reference and guidance for policymakers, mass media, and the public in understanding the impacts and implications of the capital relocation in Indonesia. Furthermore, this research serves as a reminder of the importance of mass media in shaping public opinions and understanding of important issues in society, including significant changes like the capital relocation. With a better understanding of how television media report on the capital relocation, we can assess whether the reporting is neutral or exhibits certain biases that may influence public perception. By understanding the context and findings of previous research, this research will attempt to make an additional contribution to understanding how the media shapes public discourse and influences public opinion on important issues in society. This research will help identify key aspects of media discourse construction and its potential impact on social and political understanding.

In summary, this research aims to achieve several main objectives. First, it aims to identify discourse texts related to the capital relocation in Indonesia in television media reporting. Second, it will conduct a detailed analysis of the discourse practices used in this reporting. Lastly, it seeks to understand the social practices related to the discourse of capital relocation in Indonesia as presented in television media.

RESEARCH METHOD

In this research, the researcher employs a qualitative method to analyse the discourse regarding the relocation of the capital city of Indonesia as presented in the reporting by four major television stations: Trans TV, Kompas TV, SCTV, and NET. The chosen approach is the critical discourse analysis model by Norman Fairclough, which enables the researcher to examine how television media responds to this issue. Fairclough's primary focus is on viewing language as a practice of power. The discourse analysis to be used is critical discourse analysis, commonly employed to dissect the content of media. The researcher divides the analysis into three main dimensions: the text dimension, the discourse practice dimension, and the sociocultural practice dimension (Eriyanto, 2009).

First, the researcher conducts text analysis to understand how the news is structured, which words are used, and how the relationships between concepts are defined in the text. Second, in the discourse practice dimension, the researcher examines how the process of news production and consumption takes place, including the role of individual journalists, the media organization's structure, and the work routines in composing news. Lastly, in the sociocultural practice dimension, the researcher acknowledges that the social context outside the media significantly influences how this news is presented.

The data collection methods employed by the researcher include direct observation of television news reporting, in-depth interviews with news program producers, monitoring of intertextual elements in the news, and tracing the history related to the capital relocation through library sources. The researcher also uses triangulation techniques by combining results from various data sources to ensure the validity of our research findings.

During this research, the researcher carried out different analysis practices across the three identified dimensions. The researcher conducted text description, interpretation of discourse practices, and explanations related to sociocultural practices. This helped the researcher uncover the meanings and concepts that emerge in television media reporting related to the relocation of the capital city of Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The research encompasses eight reports from four different media outlets: Trans TV, Kompas TV, SCTV, and NET. Trans TV. Based on the number of views on YouTube, the first report titled “Ecological Dangers of Capital City Relocation” has been viewed 27,431 times. The second report, “Residents’ Opinions Regarding the Capital City Relocation,” has been viewed 99,923 times. The third report, “Capital City Relocation, A Hasty Move,” Part 1, has been viewed 14,960 times, while Part 2 has been viewed 85,798 times.

The fourth report, “Controversy Surrounding Capital City Relocation,” has been viewed 209,694 times. The fifth report, “Exploring Tourist Locations in the Future Capital City,” has been viewed 3,692 times. The sixth report, “Land Brokers Flocking to North Penanjam Paser,” has been viewed 125,983 times. The seventh report, “Critiques from Members of Parliament Regarding the Capital City Relocation,” has been viewed 1,101 times, and the last report, the eighth report titled “Portrait of Teachers Serving in Remote Areas of the Future Capital City,” has been viewed 1,580 times. The following is a critical analysis of the eight reports on the capital city relocation, involving the identities of the journalists.

Table 1. Results of Identity Analysis in Eight Reports on the Capital City Relocation on TRANS TV, KOMPAS TV, SCTV, and NET.

No.	Media	News Title	Identity Analysis
1	TRANS TV	Ecological Dangers of Capital City Relocation	In this report, the journalist appears to identify themselves as an environmental activist. This is reflected in the dominance of environmental activist viewpoints and opinions regarding the ecological impact of relocating the capital to East Kalimantan.
2	TRANS TV	Residents' Opinions Regarding the Capital City Relocation	In this report, the journalist seems to be trying to identify themselves as part of the Jakarta capital city community that does not fully support the relocation of Indonesia's capital.
3	KOMPAS TV	Capital City Relocation Dialog, A Hasty Move? (Part 1 & 2)	In this report, the journalist appears to identify themselves as part of the community that agrees with the views of public policy analysts and the Indonesian Parliament (DPR RI) regarding the perceived haste of the capital city relocation.

(continued on next page)

Table 1 (continued)

4	KOMPAS TV	Controversy Surrounding Capital City Relocation	In this report, the journalist is identified as part of the community that supports the statements of Ridwan Kamil as an architect and urban planning expert, as well as Sutyoso. This relates to the controversy surrounding the capital city relocation.
5	SCTV	Exploring Tourist Locations in the Future Capital City	In this report, the journalist appears to have the role of providing information to the public about the latest developments in East Kalimantan.
6	SCTV	Land Brokers Flocking to North Penanjam Paser	In this report, the journalist appears to have affiliations with the local government dealing with social and economic issues and with the sultanate responsible for local customs and culture.
7	NET.	Critiques from Members of Parliament Regarding the Capital City Relocation	In this report, the journalist is identified as a member of the Indonesian Parliament (DPR RI). This is reinforced by the absence of a response from the Indonesian government regarding the critique from the Indonesian Parliament about the capital city relocation.
8	NET.	Portraits of Teachers Serving in Remote Areas of the Future Capital City	In this report, the journalist appears to identify themselves as representatives of the community residing in the Delta Mahakam. They play a role in advocating for the development and education inequalities in the remote areas of the future capital city.

Source: Research Results (2022)

It is essential to address the environmental implications of relocating the national capital to East Kalimantan, with a specific focus on ecological concerns and potential environmental degradation. Trans TV's initial report, titled "Ecological Dangers of Capital City Relocation," brings into question the potential ecological ramifications associated with the relocation of the capital to Kalimantan Timur. The second report by Trans TV involves conducting interviews with local residents to gather their perspectives and insights regarding the proposed capital city relocation. This qualitative approach aims to provide a window into the public sentiment and opinions on this significant national endeavour.

In contrast, Kompas TV offers a more comprehensive perspective by inviting government officials and members of the Indonesian Parliament (DPR) to share their insights and concerns pertaining to the capital city relocation. These stakeholders emphasize the necessity for a meticulous and well-prepared approach to the relocation process, thereby discouraging haste. Moreover, they underscore the social issues that arise, including the relocation of Jakarta's civil servants (ASN) to Kalimantan Timur.

SCTV, through their program "Liputan 6," delves into the tourism and economic facets of the capital city relocation. The assessment indicates that there have been no substantial alterations in the tourism infrastructure or the influx of visitors to the prospective new capital city region. Notably, the report also underscores the increased involvement of land brokers and the growing appreciation for local cultural and traditional aspects.

Furthermore, NET. concentrates its reporting efforts on critiquing the capital city

relocation from members of the Indonesian Parliament, with an emphasis on highlighting legislative delays associated with the relocation process. Additionally, NET. sheds light on the challenges faced by the education infrastructure in Kalimantan Timur, which significantly affects the quality and effectiveness of education in the region.

Representation

When viewed from the perspective of representation analysis developed by Norman Fairclough, an expert in critical linguistic studies, Fairclough understands that language and texts play a crucial role in shaping social representation. Which in turn influences how we understand social and political reality (Eriyanto, 2012). In this representation analysis, several essential elements can be identified. In some news reports, journalists are positioned as holders of power who possess higher knowledge and authority in addressing issues such as ecological impacts and capital relocation procedures. This reflects a constructed representation that legitimizes the media as critical and independent information keepers. The public audience is also portrayed as a significant actor in this analysis, especially when they are involved in discussions. This indicates that in some news coverage, the media acknowledges the participatory role of the public in shaping policies and opinions. There is variation in the representation of the legislative body (DPR), where in some news reports, the DPR is considered to have a dominant view.

This illustrates differences in the levels of influence and authority between government and legislative institutions in the context of capital relocation. This analysis also notes tension in the relationship between the government and the DPR regarding the capital relocation procedures, depicting how the media represents conflicts or differences of opinion within politics. Emphasizing the role of journalists in shaping narratives and conveying their views on capital relocation reflects the crucial role of the media in shaping public opinion. Media not only delivers information but also shapes how we understand political issues.

Relations

The analysis of relations in this text refers to the framework developed by Norman Fairclough in critical text analysis. Fairclough identifies three main participant categories in the text, namely journalists, the media audience, and the public participants. Below is an analysis of relations in the text based on some relationship categories.

In the first report (TRANS TV), the relationship between journalists and the viewing audience is positioned as higher and more knowledgeable. This is evident from the fact that journalists do not include the opinions of the general public in the news and instead focus on providing general information about the new capital city relocation. Journalists also use the perspectives of environmental activists to assess ecological impacts. This indicates that journalists play a role as holders of higher knowledge in this context.

In the first report (TRANS TV), the relationship between journalists and the Indonesian government appears conflicting. Journalists present views that are less supportive of the capital relocation plan, while the Indonesian government is keen on implementing it. This reflects a conflict in the relationship between the media and the government in this context.

In the first report (TRANS TV), the relationship between journalists and environmental activists is portrayed as equal. Both share similar views on the ecological impacts of relocating the capital city to East Kalimantan. This suggests an agreement in their analysis of this issue.

In the second report (TRANS TV), the relationship between journalists and the public audience is portrayed as equal because the report uses the vox pop method to gather the opinions of citizens regarding the capital relocation. Journalists give voice to the public in this context. In the second report (TRANS TV), the relationship between journalists and the government

(DPR) initially appears conflicting. The DPR proposes a referendum or public participation in determining the capital relocation policy, but journalists later include government responses that emphasize the unnecessary need for a referendum. Although initially conflicting, this relationship turns supportive as the suggestion of a referendum eventually becomes dominant in the reporting.

In the third report (KOMPAS TV), the relationship between journalists and the Indonesian government appears conflicting. Journalists pose investigative and intimidating questions to the government, indicating that journalists hold a higher position in this context. In the third report (KOMPAS TV), the relationship between journalists and the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) is portrayed as equal and mutually supportive. Both argue that the capital relocation is rushed and requires comprehensive scrutiny. They assess that the government is acting hastily.

In the seventh report (NET.), the relationship between journalists and the public audience is more focused on the opinions of the DPR RI than the opinions of the general public. Journalists refer more to the opinions of the DPR RI in this reporting. Throughout this analysis, the relationships between journalists, the government, activists, media audience, and the public audience vary depending on the context and issues discussed in each report.

Identity

In the context of journalist identity described by Fairclough, it is important to note how journalist identities are reflected and constructed in the reporting (Eriyanto, 2012). Journalists position themselves and identify with the issues or social groups involved in the news. Overall, in these eight reports, journalists tend to identify themselves as members of the public or the media audience with diverse views on the capital relocation.

This disagreement arises for various reasons, such as the lack of detailed information about the capital relocation, related social issues, such as the relocation of thousands of people from Jakarta to Kalimantan, and potential environmental impacts from this relocation. Additionally, journalists are also identified as members of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) in some reports, criticizing the capital relocation due to procedural defects as no bills or government budget proposals have been submitted.

Interdiscursivity

Norman Fairclough's analysis of interdiscursivity is used to understand how the principles of interdiscursivity apply at the social, institutional, and personal levels in the context of reporting on the relocation of the Indonesian capital. Interdiscursivity involves various elements such as genre, types of activities, style, and discourse. In the analysis of the eight reports, here are the results of interdiscursivity analysis presented in terms of genre, types of activities, style, and discourse.

The genre of the news about the relocation of the capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan falls into the genre of news articles or news programs with sub-genres of television news. This reflects conventions related to the delivery of information in the form of news. The types of news activities examined include straight news, soft news, vox pop, interactive dialogue (talk show), and feature story. This shows variation in how information is presented and the context in which the information is used. For example, there are more formal news types like straight news, and there are more relaxed ones like soft news and vox pop.

Out of the eight reports studied, reports 1-7 use standard, formal language and tend to be dry in their delivery style. However, in the eighth report, which is a feature story, the information delivery is more narrative and uses figurative vocabulary. This indicates variation

in the language style used in different types of news.

In the eight discourses, several aspects are expressed. This includes the plan to relocate the Indonesian capital, from planning, preparation, implementation, to the impact caused by the relocation from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. Discourse analysis helps in understanding the content, ideas, themes, and topics expressed in the news.

Intertextuality

Norman Fairclough's analysis of intertextuality is used to understand how the discourse on the relocation of the Indonesian capital is connected to past events and how those events influence the construction of the current discourse. Fairclough uses the concept of intertextuality to describe that a text does not exist in isolation but is related to other texts in an intertextual chain. This reflects the historical influence on the text and vice versa, where history and society are linked to the text, and the text is linked to history. Here is an analysis of intertextuality presented in the form of manifest intertextuality, discourse on capital relocation, and relations in the era of President Joko Widodo.

Manifest intertextuality is a form of intertextuality that explicitly brings up other texts within a text. In this analysis, the discourse on capital relocation reflects manifest intertextuality as it refers to past events such as previous plans for capital relocation during the eras of Soeharto and SBY. In the discourse on capital relocation, several aspects appear in various news reports, this includes the sustainability of forests as the habitat for endemic wildlife in Kalimantan, community involvement in planning, controversies in the relocation, socio-economic impacts, and issues related to educational infrastructure. This intertextuality analysis connects the history of discussions about capital relocation that were not realized in the past with the final decision to relocate the Indonesian capital in the era of Jokowi in 2019.

Discourse Practice Analysis

In the analysis of discourse practices, news texts concerning the relocation of the capital city of Indonesia in 2019 can be understood through three main stages: the individual journalist stage, the text production process, and the text consumption process. Fairclough emphasizes the importance of understanding how discourse is produced, disseminated, and received in the social, political, and cultural context.

Individual Journalist Stage: In the analysis of individual journalists, it is important to consider various factors that influence how they produce news. Fairclough refers to educational backgrounds, political orientations, and understanding of values and beliefs as essential elements affecting journalists' perspectives. In this context, there are differences in the requirements and preparations of journalists at Kompas TV and SCTV, such as psychological and health tests, which can influence how they report the news.

Text Production Stage: In the text production stage, Fairclough highlights differences in news production routines between Kompas TV and SCTV. Kompas TV uses a two-stage news processing approach, emphasizing the use of supporting data, while SCTV has a specialized news coverage division that emphasizes current news and proximity to the community. This reflects how production strategies can influence the news narrative.

Text Consumption Stage: Analysis of text consumption involves understanding how the public responds to the news. Fairclough refers to the use of shares and ratings as indicators of public interest in the news. Here, a comparison between the program "Sapa Indonesia Malam" on Kompas TV and SCTV can provide insights into how the news is received by the public. However, it is important to note that this data is not always disclosed to the public.

Sociocultural Context: In the sociocultural practice context, situational analysis reflects

the importance of understanding the heated political context when the relocation of the capital city was discussed. This is related to the controversial presidential and legislative elections, which affect how the news is interpreted by the public. President Joko Widodo's decision to relocate the capital can also be seen as an effort to strengthen his position, highlighting the relationship between political discourse and the media.

Institutional Analysis: Institutional analysis highlights the influence of media institutions in news reporting. Differences in approaches between TV stations such as NET, KOMPAS TV, SCTV, and TRANS TV underscore the issue of media independence in reporting the news. For example, NET appears to be more biased towards external parties, raising questions about the objectivity of the news.

Social Analysis: In social analysis, news about the capital relocation reflects various complex and controversial reasons. Issues such as rushed preparations, non-compliance with regulations, high costs, ecological impacts, and social conflicts reflect the disagreements between the government, media, and the public. Additionally, there are concerns about the erosion of local culture by the tide of modernization, which is an important aspect of social analysis.

Political Communication Practice: In political communication practice, President Joko Widodo's decision to relocate the capital is used as a tool to consolidate his power in a tense political situation. Jokowi, as a political communicator, plays a significant role as the conveyer of political messages, and during the election year, he had various mass media outlets that he could use as propaganda tools.

With his decision, Jokowi seemed to surprise some of his political opponents and political communicators as well as the public. The decision resulted in both support and opposition, creating a political effect that made the public believe that President Jokowi was more progressive and visionary than his rivals due to his bold decision to relocate the capital.

The development of the new capital city (Ibu Kota Negara, IKN) continued with the enactment of new regulations in 2022, such as Law No. 3 of 2022 on the National Capital City, Presidential Regulation No. 62 of 2022 on the Authority of the National Capital City, Government Regulation No. 12 of 2023 on Business Licensing, Ease of Business, and Investment, along with several related regulations. IKN is now named "Nusantara" and will be relocated in two phases, within the period 2022-2024 for the initial relocation to IKN, including the construction of the presidential infrastructure, the MPR/DPR RI building, housing, the initial relocation of civil servants, and the development of basic infrastructure for 500,000 initial residents.

The second relocation phase will take place from 2025 to 2035, with the government planning to develop IKN Nusantara as a city with complete infrastructure, innovation centres, and economic centres. This relocation aims to achieve the goals of the sustainable development and the completion of the capital relocation.

Microstructure Analysis

On August 31, 2019, Trans TV, through the CNN Indonesia news program, discussed the Ecological Risks of relocating the Capital City from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. This discussion highlighted concerns about the ecological impact of the relocation, especially regarding land conversion and potential environmental damage. The textual analysis of this news report revealed a pessimistic stance towards the capital relocation, with environmental activists expressing their concerns. In the visual representation, the construction of a highway served as a symbol of development that could threaten the ecosystem.

The conclusion drawn from this reporting is that the capital relocation is considered inappropriate. It is better to restore Jakarta rather than move the capital to East Kalimantan. The

journalists in this news report identified themselves as environmental activists who support this view.

In the second report titled “Public Opinion on Capital Relocation,” which was aired on Trans TV through CNN Indonesia on August 25, 2019, the main topic was the capital relocation with a focus on whether the public should be directly involved in shaping public policy, particularly the capital relocation. The Indonesian Parliament (DPR) argued the need for public opinion polls, while the government believed that approval from the DPR, as a representation of the public, was sufficient. CNN Indonesia conducted vox pop interviews with five Jakarta residents, all of whom supported public involvement in the decision on capital relocation (CNN Indonesia, 2019).

In the representation analysis, the text reflected concerns that the decision to relocate the capital did not involve the public, as indicated by the term “reaping,” suggesting that the decision seemed to be made by the government alone. Journalists in this report identified themselves as supporters of public opinion that favored involvement in the decision to relocate the capital. There was disagreement between the government and the DPR, reflected in public opinion supporting a referendum as a solution.

In terms of news relations, journalists had an equal relationship with the general public. However, their relationship with the DPR depicted support for public views and disagreement with the government’s stance. This report identified itself as part of the general public supporting public involvement in the decision to relocate the Indonesian capital.

In the third report, consisting of two parts titled “Capital Relocation Dialogue, Rushed?” broadcast on KOMPAS TV through the program Sapa Indonesia on August 27, 2019, the discussion revolved around the social conflicts arising from the capital relocation. In the show, Aiman Witjaksono, the moderator, expressed concerns about social conflicts that could arise from the capital relocation. Data regarding the percentage of civil servants (ASN) willing to move to East Kalimantan became the focus of the discussion, with survey results indicating that 94.7% of ASN opposed the move.

The discussion also reflected that the government had not adequately prepared for the relocation mechanism and sufficient public awareness, causing concerns among government employees. This report highlighted the government’s unpreparedness in planning the capital relocation and indicated a rushed decision-making process. In terms of relations, journalist Aiman Witjaksono supported the view of the public and members of the Indonesian Parliament (DPR) that the capital relocation was being rushed, while the Indonesian government was positioned as unprepared to address this issue.

In the fourth report titled “Capital Relocation Polemics,” broadcast on KOMPAS TV on August 27, 2019, two main polemics related to the relocation of the Indonesian capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan were discussed. First, the Governor of West Java, Ridwan Kamil, criticized the capital relocation plan, considering the allocated land too extensive for a population of only 1.5 million. Second, former Jakarta Governor Sutiyoso suggested that the government should follow an ideal capital relocation concept, similar to what Australia did when moving its capital from Sydney to Canberra.

These polemics reflected the lack of clarity in the capital relocation concept, which was hindered by the issue of excessive land and the absence of legal frameworks in the form of draft laws. In terms of news relations, KOMPAS TV journalists supported the views of Ridwan Kamil and Sutiyoso, who criticized the capital relocation plan. Meanwhile, the Indonesian Parliament (DPR) highlighted the lack of legal frameworks governing the relocation in 2019, with new legislation being completed in 2022.

In the fifth report titled “Exploring Tourist Locations in the Future Capital City,” broadcast on SCTV through the Liputan6 program on August 31, 2019, the focus was on the tourism potential in East Kalimantan after being designated as the future capital. Although it had been designated, there was no significant increase in the number of visitors to the region. In the representation analysis, the use of the word “future” in the title indicated that the capital relocation was still in progress, and the report aimed to explore the developments in tourism in the region.

Although the tourism potential in East Kalimantan was substantial, concerns about environmental impacts on endemic wildlife were a significant concern. In terms of relations, SCTV journalists supported tourism site managers as part of the general public, while the government was not explicitly involved in this report. Journalists were positioned as information providers with a better understanding of the current conditions in East Kalimantan.

In the sixth report titled “Land Brokers Flock to Penanjam Paser Utara” broadcast on SCTV through the Liputan6 news program on August 27, 2019, the focus was on the economic and property aspects related to the relocation of the new capital to East Kalimantan. After the new capital location was announced, many land brokers visited the Penanjam Paser Utara region and its surroundings to offer residents high prices for their land, reflecting the significant economic potential in the area. However, the report also emphasized concerns about the preservation of the region’s culture after the capital relocation, as expressed by the Sultanate in East Kalimantan.

In terms of news relations, SCTV journalists in this report interacted with the local government and the Sultanate in East Kalimantan. Journalists were positioned as information providers discussing the economic and cultural impact of the capital relocation. While the local government and the Sultanate expressed their concerns and views on the issue.

In the seventh report titled “Criticism from Members of Parliament Regarding the Capital Relocation,” broadcast on NET. through NET24 on August 31, 2019, the focus was on the criticisms expressed by members of the Indonesian Parliament (DPR) regarding the plan to relocate the capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. This report reflected the view of the DPR, which considered the capital relocation to be procedurally flawed because the government had not proposed a bill for the relocation. DPR members also highlighted budgetary concerns, considering the State Budget (RAPBN) insufficient for the relocation.

There was an imbalance between the DPR and the government in terms of approval and coordination regarding the new capital relocation. This represented a lack of agreement between the executive and legislative branches. In this context, NET. journalists were positioned as conveyors of the DPR’s views to the general public, with minimal representation of public opinions in this report.

In the eighth report titled “Snapshot of Teachers Serving in Remote Areas of the Future Capital City,” broadcast on NET. in the program WARNA-WARNI, the focus was on the education sector and life in remote areas that would become the future capital. This news report utilized the feature news genre and highlighted human interest elements. The report depicted the experiences of teachers serving in Delta Mahakam, East Kalimantan, where education infrastructure was still basic, and the number of teachers was limited.

In the visual analysis, images of simple schools with bicycle racks for students reflected the challenges of distance and uneven education infrastructure in the area. Excerpts from interviews with teachers highlighted their dedication and the difficulties they faced. Relations in this report involved NET. journalists, teachers, and Pertamina employees, with a focus on the state of education in the remote areas of the future capital. In interdiscursive analysis, this

news used a more conversational and figurative language style compared to previous reports, and the main topic was the educational challenges in remote areas.

Mesostructural Analysis

In Norman Fairclough's mesostructural analysis, this research reveals several crucial aspects related to the production and consumption of news regarding the capital relocation. The analysis involves three key stages: the analysis of individual journalists, text production analysis, and text consumption analysis. Additionally, this research also refers to Vincent Mosco's Political Economy of Communication theory, which provides a conceptual foundation for understanding the political-economic dynamics behind mass media (Mosco, 2014).

Commodification: This research reflects the concept of commodification in the political economy of media, where information is transformed into news with commercial value. Journalists, as individuals involved in news production, play a role in selecting and packaging information to attract advertisements. This indicates that economic factors influence the process of news selection and presentation. This is in line with the fact that broadcast television in Indonesia remains market-driven, where programs produced by television do not consider the public interests because their orientation is toward profits. Thus, the capital-driven system reduces the television's role in guarding democracy (Rahayu, 2023).

Spatialization: Spatialization in this analysis refers to how media products are placed within the boundaries of space and time, both horizontally and vertically. Media outlets like Kompas TV and SCTV have the power to present news according to their target audience, including based on factors such as social class and gender. This illustrates how media manage information to meet the needs of their viewers.

Structuration: The concept of structuration in the political economy of media highlights social relationships and power processes in society. In this context, news production can influence public opinion and the public's understanding of the capital relocation issue. Both media's sources have opposing opinions on capital relocation, reflecting how media can influence public views through the narratives they convey.

News Production: Text production analysis shows the significant role of journalists in selecting topics, perspectives, and news narratives. These choices are based on their understanding of the audience and also economic factors, such as the need to attract advertisements. This reflects how journalistic practices can be influenced by economic and social considerations.

News Consumption: Text consumption analysis includes an understanding of how audiences, in this case, SCTV and Kompas TV viewers, receive and respond to the news. The contrasting views of sources on the capital relocation reflect the complexity of news reception by the audience.

In this overall mesostructural analysis, it can be seen how economic, power, and mass media factors interact in shaping narratives and public understanding of important issues like the capital relocation. It also highlights the role of journalists as mediators between information and the audience, and how mass media influences social and political dynamics in society.

Macrostructural Analysis

In the analysis of socio-cultural practice dimensions, the researcher examined the text through three stages: situational analysis, institutional analysis, and social analysis. The main findings in the discourse on Indonesia's capital relocation reported by TRANS TV, KOMPAS TV, SCTV, and NET are as follows:

Capital Relocation as a Political Strategy: The research shows that the capital relocation in Indonesia is one of the political strategies employed by President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) in

the lead-up to the 2019 elections. This allowed Jokowi to gain national attention and strengthen his position as the incumbent. The announcement occurred amid intense political processes, with the merger of presidential and legislative elections, making the political situation even more heated.

Lack of Consensus on Capital Relocation: The capital relocation has sparked a variety of reactions from the public, the Indonesian Parliament (DPR), and the media. There is disagreement in its planning, including the unfinished bills and state budget allocation, environmental damage, the erosion of regional culture due to the modernization of the capital, and social conflicts such as land issues.

Mass Media as Public Relations for Institutions: Institutional analysis indicates that mass media, particularly NET, serve as a kind of public relations for external institutions like Pertamina Hulu Mahakam. A NET report on the state of education in Delta Mahakam, East Kalimantan, appears to be part of Pertamina's Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) program. This raises questions about the independence of broadcasting and the neutrality of mass media content, and is consistent with the findings of recent research which shows the existence of political interests that color the formulation of rules in which the government and big television broadcasting companies apply the symbiotic mutualism policy to protect each other's interests (Widyatama & Polereczki, 2021). Thus, the objectivity of reporting on the relocation of the capital city is threatened.

CONCLUSION

The eight news reports examined tend to represent opposing views on the capital relocation. There were no reports that explicitly supported this policy, although some presented certain conditions or disagreements within their content. These representations were based on various reasons encompassing diverse aspects, including social, economic, policy, environmental, and cultural factors. Some reports were found to not adhere to the principles of good journalism, particularly in terms of news balance. There was an imbalance in the reporting, indicating that not all parties or perspectives were given equal space. This criticism refers to the journalistic principles that demand balance and fairness in reporting. Related mass media, such as SCTV and Indosiar, made investments and acquisitions to gain full control over the information they broadcast. This can influence the content of the news and raise questions about broadcasting independence. These practices were reflected in the theory of political economy of media, involving commodification, spatialization, and structuration. The capital relocation was interpreted as a political strategy by the ruling authorities, primarily leveraged in the context of the 2019 presidential election. The media initially supported the capital relocation, but their stance changed after the election. This illustrates how the issue of capital relocation is used in political practices.

Based on the conclusions above, there are several recommendations that can be made to the media under study. First, they should pay attention to news balance. Media outlets must ensure that their reporting reflects a fair balance of various perspectives and sources. This aligns with the principles of journalism that require independent and unbiased broadcasting. Second, independence and the public interest. Media should maintain their independence from external influences, including owners or advertisers. The focus should remain on the public interest and providing useful information to the public. Third, critical evaluation of investments and acquisitions. Mass media should consider the impact of investments and acquisitions on broadcasting independence. Practices like these can influence the issues raised in the news. This research underscores the importance of the media in shaping public opinion and serves

as a reminder of the media's responsibility to provide accurate, balanced, and independent information to the public.

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