

**IDEOLOGY OF GREEN AND CENTRALISM TOWARDS IBU KOTA NUSANTARA
DEVELOPMENT ON KOMPAS.ID**



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**IDEOLOGY OF GREEN AND CENTRALISM TOWARDS IBU KOTA NUSANTARA
DEVELOPMENT ON KOMPAS.ID**



THESIS

**Submitted as one of requirement to fulfil bachelor's degree in Communication
Department at Faculty of Socio-Cultural Science, Universitas Islam Indonesia**

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STATEMENT OF ACADEMIC ETHICS

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Through this letter I hereby state the following:

1. The research did not engage in academic fraud of any type throughout the completion of this thesis research, such as plagiarism, involve others help with the thesis, or any other infraction that violate the academic ethic highly upheld by Universitas Islam Indonesia.
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Thus, I truly agree with this remark.



MOTTO

“In real life and through arduous struggles, we are not figures of the legend of myth—heroic and full of valor—but ordinary individuals shaped by perseverance and reality”

Gus Dur

DEDICATION

This thesis is wholeheartedly dedicated to beloved family—my parent, sisters, and brothers—whose unwavering love, endless encouragement, and constant support have been my foundation of my journey. Without their presence and sacrifices, this achievement would not have been possible.

I also extend dedication to my extended family and dear friends, whose faith in me and steady support have helped me persevere through every challenge. This work stands as a reflection of their belief in me.

PREFACE

Praise and gratitude be to the Almighty, by whose grace and guidance this thesis has been successfully completed. This final thesis, entitled “Ideology of Green and Centralism towards Ibu Kota Nusantara on Kompas.id, is submitted as one of the requirements for completing my studies at Communication Science, Universitas Islam Indonesia.

The process of writing this thesis has not been an easy journey. It has required not only intellectual effort but also emotional perseverance. There were moments of doubt, fatigue, and frustration—but through them all, I found growth, insight, and resilience. Each step taken, each word written, reflects not only academic pursuit but also a personal journey of discipline and determination.

The journey toward the completion of this work has been filled with challenges, learning, and growth. I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to all those who have contributed, directly or indirectly, to the realization of this thesis.

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In this regard, I am deeply reminded that no academic achievement is ever truly solitary. The completion of this thesis was made possible through the presence and support of many individuals—each with their own acts of kindness, wisdom, or simply companionship during the most trying times. To them, this work is also a shared milestone.

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11. And to all friends whose names I cannot mention one by one — please know that your kindness, encouragement, and presence have not gone unnoticed. Thank you for every little thing — your help, your words, your prayers — they all mattered.

I am fully aware that this thesis is far from perfect. I welcome any suggestions and constructive criticism for the improvement of this work in the future. Hopefully, this thesis can offer useful insights and contribute positively to the field of Communication Science. Thank you to everyone who has been part of this journey.

Sincerely,

Ilyasa Alvin Abadi

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ABSTRACT

The relocation of Indonesia's capital from Jakarta to the new capital, Nusantara, is not merely an infrastructure project, but an ideological process in which space is negotiated and discussed. This study examines the communication geography and its representation that transform an abstract space into a concrete one through Kompas—id media coverage. The study also aims to analyze how media discourse represent relocation using Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis. The data were taken from Kompas.id that published since 2019. The method used is a three-dimensional analysis: text, discourse practice, and socio-cultural practice. The study showed narrative about Nusantara is also negotiated within a discursive space representing national progress and greatness as reflected through the capital city, conceptualized as a green, sustainable, innovative, and high-performance technological city. These findings reveal how the media functions as ideological agents in constructing of Ibu Kota Nusantara.

Keyword: Ibu Kota Nusantara, communication geography, critical discourse analysis, Fairclough, ideology.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

On August 26, 2019, President Joko Widodo announced the relocation of Indonesia's capital from Jakarta to the regencies of Kutai Kartanegara and North Penajam Paser in East Kalimantan. Discussions regarding the capital's relocation began intensively in 2017, with planning and development efforts commencing in 2019. The relocation is targeted to be completed by 2024 (Indonesia, 2022). The narrative surrounding the capital's relocation has been widely discussed and has become increasingly familiar in public discourse.

Historically, the idea of relocating Indonesia's capital is not new. In 1957, President Soekarno proposed moving the capital to Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan, citing its strategic location, its relative immunity to earthquakes, and its potential to represent a different facet of Indonesia. However, this vision was never realized due to political instability, and the plan halted after a symbolic foundation stone was laid, which today stands as a historical marker (Bappenas, 2020). Later, President Suharto also proposed relocating the capital to Jonggol, in Bogor Regency, envisioning it as an independent city. This plan was ultimately abandoned due to the monetary crisis that struck Indonesia at the time.

The policy of relocating the capital city was subsequently formalized as part of the national strategic priority project agenda (Bappenas, 2020) This decision provided policy certainty, framed under the rationale of promoting equitable development, reducing regional disparities, and fostering economic growth in areas beyond Java Java (Minister of National Development Planning, 2019).

In addition, the media has illustrated the spatial ambiguity between Jakarta and the new capital (IKN), portraying Jakarta as the root of the problem and IKN as the proposed solution. This spatial ambiguity blurs both real and physical boundaries within territorial space and gives rise to contextual ambiguity, driven by advances in technology and media. As a result, the distinctions between territory and space become increasingly unclear (Dhona, 2017).

Through media coverage, the government has effectively framed Jakarta's issues as national concerns. The discourse surrounding the relocation of the capital from Jakarta to North Penajam Paser has become a prominent topic of public discussion in Indonesia. As noted by Jamal and Ika (Jamal & Ika, 2022) "There are at least five reasons for this rapid relocation plan carried out by President Jokowi: first, Jakarta is no longer considered ideal to bear the burden of serving simultaneously as the center of government, politics, and business; second, the city faces significant challenges in urban spatial planning and infrastructure; third, Jakarta suffers from severe traffic congestion and an inadequate public transportation system; fourth, it frequently experiences disasters caused by land subsidence; and fifth, the city continues to face rising crime rates."

Ultimately, the relocation of the Nusantara capital city is not solely a political issue, but also involves a communicative act that constructs space. A dialectical negotiation unfolds between the government and the Indonesian public through the circulation of ideas made visible and accessible via mass media. This can be understood as a form of communication that actively produces space. As noted by Holy on Remotivi, drawing from Edward Said, this process reflects how discourse shapes spatial meaning:

"... None of us, in a complete sense, is free from the struggle for space. The struggle is complex and interesting because it involves not only soldiers and cannons, but also through ideas, appearing in various forms, images and imaginations." (Dhona, 2017)

The concept of the "Forest City" (Hutan Kota) was introduced by President Joko Widodo as part of the development narrative surrounding the new capital. This term functions as a rhetorical pretext amid widespread climate crises and ongoing deforestation in Kalimantan, largely due to palm oil plantations and extensive mining operations. Kompas (2022) reported on the President's visit to monitor forest rehabilitation efforts around the IKN area. Leveraging advanced technology, media coverage of this visit was enhanced with 3D animations projecting the envisioned future of Nusantara. The forest, in this context, may be understood as an ideological construction—an attempt to naturalize and legitimize the development by framing it as an environmental solution, positioning President Jokowi as a visionary figure or even a "hero" in the face of ecological challenges.

Rather than focusing solely on the narrative of an urban forest, data from the Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago (AMAN) indicates that the land designated for the IKN area encompasses the territories of at least 22 Indigenous communities. This situation has intensified existing conflicts, particularly following the issuance of Presidential Regulation No. 75/2024 on the acceleration of IKN development, which grants business use rights (HGU) for up to 190 years. As a result, thousands of community members continue to face uncertainty, as their land rights remain unrecognized and unprotected, threatening both their cultural identity and the sustainability of their livelihoods (HARTONO, 2024).

Perhaps this statement implicitly implies that this communication practice is a communication strategy that fights for space by giving the image of the branding of Nusantara's capital city, seizing the support of foreign and domestic capital investment, getting support from the Indonesian public, and showing its dominance of power over the Indigenous peoples of Indonesia in the IKN area.

Many studies on Indonesia's new capital, Nusantara, have focused on media-centric perspectives. In this context, the media functions not only as a channel for communication and message dissemination but also as the producer of content that shapes public perception. For example, research by Rustant, Alfani, and Yolanda (2022) explores how various mass media outlets—including MediaIndonesia.com, Antaranews.com, JawaPos.com, Detik.com, Republika.co.id, Kompas.com, Tirto.id, Kumparan.com, and Tempo.co—construct the reality of the capital's name, "Nusantara." Their study highlights how each media outlet contributes to shaping the spatial narrative of Nusantara through specific discursive practices.

In addition, the development of the Nusantara Capital City is driven not only by policy decisions but also by the strategic aim of attracting foreign investment. This is evident in media coverage such as the article titled "Use Sri's Money" (Miragi & Abidin, n.d.) which highlights the government's efforts to build foundational infrastructure as a means to appeal to future foreign investors. However, existing research on this topic remains largely focused

on textual analysis, interpreting media narratives and correlating them with broader socio-political and economic dynamics.

This research adopts a geographic communication framework with a spatial mediation approach, focusing on how space is symbolically represented across temporal dimensions—past, present, and future (Dhona, 2018). Rather than relying solely on political communication, which primarily emphasizes message transmission to stakeholders, this study investigates how the Nusantara Capital City is discursively negotiated and constructed as space through mass media. Specifically, the research examines Kompas.id, one of Indonesia's leading news platforms, which actively reports on the development of the new capital. The coverage in Kompas.id often includes a combination of written reports, videos, images, and infographics, with some articles presented bilingually in both Indonesian and English.

B. Research Question

Based on the problem description above, this research seeks to explore how the Nusantara Capital City is mediated through various ideas in the process of spatial creation. As a space that is actively being produced and constructed, Nusantara becomes a site of contestation and negotiation. Therefore, this study aims to investigate these dynamics more deeply by addressing the following research questions:

1. How are the ideologies of green and centralism in Ibu Kota Nusantara news, particularly in Kompas.id?

Then, several research questions were mentioned below:

1. How does ideology work in the text?
2. How does ideology work in the text production?
3. How does ideology work in the macro context (socio-cultural practice)?

C. Research Question

This study seeks to examine how communication practices contribute to the production of spatial meaning surrounding the Nusantara Capital City as Indonesia's new capital. It builds on the understanding that space is not inherently formed but is constructed through communicative processes. What was once an undefined landscape—a wilderness or abstract space—has been gradually transformed into a concrete and meaningful space through media representations. In this context, the media serves as a tool not only for dissemination but also

for symbolically shaping and legitimizing the spatial narrative of Nusantara. Therefore, the purpose of this research can be described as follows:

1. Explains how ideology works in producing the Nusantara Capital City space in the mass media.
2. Analyzes how the process of spatial formation and creation involves not only the use of military power and state civilian apparatus, but also the mobilization of ideas, imagination, and discourse.

D. Research Benefit

a. Academic Benefit

1. This research is expected to contribute to the expansion and enrichment of theoretical studies on media within the field of communication geography.
2. This research is expected to increase and expand the theoretical study of media in critical discourse analysis.

b. Practical Benefit

This research aims to be expected to be a complimentary future strategy of communication Geography and Journalism to produce balanced news between discourse and power.

E. Literature Review

1. Previous Research

Research conducted by Dhona (2018) found that the construction of spatial imagery about Indonesia is carried out through communication practices that employ specific textual composition strategies. The study identifies several key elements in how spatial representations are constructed: First, Indonesia is represented through the diction of Nusantara, which symbolizes the archipelagic nature of the country, emphasizing the interconnectedness between land (islands), sea (water), and the cultural characteristics of the archipelago itself. This symbolic representation is supported by the use of photographs, presented as natural modalities, which serve to visually represent Indonesia's landscape and reinforce a sense of realism. Second, Indonesia is framed through a globalized lens, portraying it as a space not confined by state borders. This is evident in the writing style, which frequently associates Indonesia with other international territories, reflecting the influence of globalization in dissolving traditional geopolitical boundaries. Third, supporting features in the text include representations of local

elements—such as food and daily activities—framed from the perspective of the author as a tourist. This narrative strategy introduces subjectivity by using first-person pronouns, notably "I", thereby transforming objective reporting into a more personal storytelling approach. Fourth, the use of English plays a strategic role in targeting a global readership, suggesting an intention to position Indonesia within an international context. Fifth, spatial representation is also constructed through the use of maps. These maps highlight specific locations within Indonesia without omitting the broader world map, subtly suggesting that Indonesia is integrated into the global spatial order—where the notion of fixed national territories is blurred.

Research (Lestari & Dhona, 2022) analyzes women's perspectives in interpreting sexist comments on Gita Savitri Devi's YouTube channel. While the study initially focused on audience reception, it interestingly incorporates the lens of geographic communication. The comment section is examined as a form of expression space—a type of social space. Although this space is programmatically and systematically structured by the YouTube platform, it becomes a socially constructed space through the active participation of viewers who leave both sexist and non-sexist comments. The study further explains that respondents' understanding of sexism constitutes a form of structure within geographic communication. The meanings that respondents attach to the comments are shaped by their prior knowledge and awareness of sexism. The research posits that the comment section can serve as a space for women to express themselves. However, in terms of textual texture, the findings suggest that the prevailing neglect or misrecognition of sexist content reflects a broader issue—namely, that many women do not fully recognize or identify sexism within the space. As a result, the study concludes that there is a limited realization among women regarding the presence and implications of sexism in digital social spaces.

Research by Dhona (2021) examines *pangkalan ojek* (motorcycle taxi bases) as social spaces emerging in response to the expansion of digital capitalism, particularly through the ride-hailing platform Gojek. The study explores how a space referred to as *Mako* (Command Headquarters) by the Goblin community has emerged—not merely as a logistical base but as a site of socio-economic interaction and dialogue. These bases function as tools of production by optimizing proximity and working hours for drivers, although they are not formally recognized as production spaces by the company. Spatial

representation in this context is also evident through digital navigation maps provided by the Gojek platform. These technological tools serve as mediums of exchange among consumers, merchant partners, and Gojek drivers, effectively linking virtual and physical spaces. One such base, known as *Avania*, exemplifies a collectively imagined space built by drivers. It operates as a space of social bonding—a place to build friendships, networks, solidarity, and mutual support. Crucially, this space emerged as a form of resistance against corporate policies that denied the legitimacy of physical driver bases. Thus, *Avania* becomes a spatial manifestation of grassroots agency, functioning as a site of security and shared identity among drivers. (Dhona, 2021).

The transformation of Lake Poso from a site of localized activity to a sex tourism destination did not occur organically, but rather through the involvement of multiple actors—including business owners, commercial sex workers, local communities, tourists, and government entities—who collectively contributed to the spatial construction of the area. This shift coincided with broader infrastructural and economic developments around Lake Poso, particularly the growth of the hospitality sector, which began to frame localization as part of a sex tourism attraction. The practice of prostitution in this context has been systematized through business strategies that involve the provision of facilities, services, and products tailored to tourist demands. These changes have not only altered public perceptions of Lake Poso but also enhanced local capacities in tourism management, thereby facilitating its transformation into a destination that has attracted global interest. Media has played a pivotal role in shaping the image of Lake Poso as a sex tourism space. Through websites, blogs, and social media platforms, narratives and representations have been disseminated that contribute to the reimagining of the area as a desirable and exoticized destination. These mediated portrayals are influential in shaping tourist behavior and play a significant role in redefining spatial meanings and perceptions (Putra, 2019).

Research on Naga Village in Tasikmalaya Regency illustrates the importance of the relationship between physical space and the dynamics of cultural communication. Through establishing a new space in Naga Village, primarily through the connection with the Sanaga area, there is a realization of spatial interaction that creates a strong communication network between the local community, the government, and visitors. The Sanaga space is a central point in facilitating the exchange of knowledge, values, and

cultural practices between Kampung Naga and the outside world. Thus, this study highlights how geography not only affects the physical structure of a place but also shapes patterns of social interaction and communication that are vital in the context of cultural and economic development. Geography, this research shows that space is not only a place but also an actor that shapes social identity and dynamics. Understanding the role of space in facilitating intercultural interaction can be the foundation for strengthening sustainable development and preservation of local culture. Thus, this research enriches the understanding of the complexity of the relationship between geography, communication, and culture and provides a more holistic view in designing sustainable regional development and tourism policies (Amanah, 2018).

2. Theoretical Framework

Communication Geography and Representation

Communication and geography have traditionally been regarded as distinct disciplines, particularly in terms of their subject matter and methodological foundations. Initially, communication studies engaged with the concept of spatial change within communication theory, especially in response to the rise of media and technological advancement. This intersection gave rise to communication geography, which focuses on how media and communication processes influence cultural and spatial transformations—later conceptualized more broadly as geographic communication.

In this context, scholars such as Adams, Falkheimer, and Jansson (often cited together) emphasize that these disciplines converge in their study of technological and cultural processes that generate spatial ambiguity, particularly in the era of globalization. Geography, they argue, holds a critical role in unraveling the complexities of contemporary space—spaces that are increasingly fragmented, overlapping, and multi-layered in both meaning and function (Rafika Dhona, 2018).

Paul Adams conceptualizes the geography of communication as a process through which communication contributes to the production of space. This perspective highlights the inherent complexity of space, particularly as it is shaped by both general communication practices and, more specifically, by mediated forms of communication (Adams, 2012). Geographic communication, therefore, examines the reciprocal relationship between communication and space: how communication actively constructs space, and conversely, how space influences and structures communication.

This field represents an interdisciplinary convergence between communication studies and geography, united by a shared focus on spatiality. In this view, space is not only the context in which communication takes place, but also a product of communicative processes. Accordingly, geographic communication can be understood as the study of how space is shaped, contested, and communicated through various forms of interaction, media, and discourse (Rafika Dhona, 2018).

Geographic communication posits that space is not fixed or static, but rather dynamic and continually shaped through social and communicative processes. Space is not a natural or neutral entity; instead, it is constructed and produced through interactions, meanings, and power relations. Communication plays a central role in this process, serving as a key factor in the formation and transformation of space. In this view, space is not merely a passive backdrop for communication, but an active and evolving outcome of communicative practices.

In Dhona (2018) quoted Lavabre emphasizes that the formation of space is not a neutral or spontaneous process: " Natural space has been destroyed and transformed into a social product through a series of techniques..." This means that these communication techniques are communication and information itself.

Geographic communication posits that space is neither stable nor fixed; rather, it is continuously shaped and constructed by various external factors. From this perspective, space is understood as a social product, not merely a physical location where life unfolds. Lavabre underscores that this constructed nature of space emerges through specific techniques of communication, while scholars of geographic communication refer to this process as spatial mediation.

Spatial mediation involves the representation and reconstruction of space through communicative practices, which can produce distinct spatial meanings and even influence how individuals interact with and interpret space. Importantly, this mediation does not necessarily reflect the original or physical space itself. Instead, it often results in placelessness—a condition where space is experienced more as an image or symbolic construct than as a tangible, lived environment. Thus, what is mediated is not the authentic space, but a constructed representation shaped by media, discourse, and imagination.

Representation is a key area of study in communication that examines how places and spatial processes are conveyed, interpreted, and understood through communicative practices. The central focus lies in understanding how human knowledge of a place is shaped by its representation across various forms of media. This concept is well-established in both communication and geography, forming a shared analytical ground between the two disciplines. The study of representation seeks to explore how individuals construct meaning about a place based on how it is depicted—through language, images, narratives, and other media forms—and, in turn, how these representations influence spatial understanding and perception.

Adams provides an example of how spaces that are largely inaccessible to humans—such as Antarctica—are made knowable through verbal and visual representations. These mediated depictions allow people to perceive and construct an understanding of spaces they cannot physically experience. Such communication practices are not neutral; rather, they are embedded with ideological content that shapes how these spaces are imagined and valued. Similarly, (Dhona, 2018) illustrates how representations of Indonesia on maps often depict specific national territories without omitting the broader global context. This cartographic strategy subtly communicates Indonesia’s integration into the global community and positions Indonesian tourism within a larger international framework. In both cases, space is produced and understood not solely through physical engagement, but through symbolic and mediated representations.

Discourse and Ideology

Ideology is produced and reproduced in service of maintaining and legitimizing power. Its presence within texts plays a crucial role in reinforcing and sustaining power relations embedded in social structures. Ideology operates subtly—often unconsciously—yet remains explicitly present in shaping, organizing, and influencing public consciousness. The construction of meaning within reality—through language and discourse—is inherently ideological, as it shapes perceptions of the world, social relations, and social identities. This process naturalizes power dynamics and reinforces dominant positions in society by presenting them as common sense or taken-for-granted truths.

“significations/constructions of the reality.. which are built into several various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination” (Fairclough, 1992).

Fairclough views that ideology operates subtly in media texts. It is not explicitly present, but is manifested through word choice, sentence structure, emphasis on specific issues, and omission of information. In his critical discourse analysis, Fairclough emphasizes the importance of examining texts, discursive practices (the process of production and consumption of texts), and broader social practices (Fairclough, 1992). This implies that to understand how the media disseminates ideology, one must go beyond analyzing the content of the news and also examine the processes of its production and reception within specific socio-political contexts.

Ideology is seen as a practice that exists in every process of meaning production oriented to maintaining power. Thus, from the perspective of production, ideological struggles serve to reshape existing ideologies and discursive practices, thereby restructuring and transforming power relations and systems of domination.

The existence of ideology in the text is latent and must exist. Ideology operates behind discursive discourses and practices that have great potential to influence, shape the subject's views in interpreting relations, and direct their social practices. Even more critically, ideology becomes particularly powerful when it is naturalized into common sense, rendering its presence invisible and unquestioned within everyday discourse (Munfarida, 2014).

Ideology in the social space always contests with the views developed by Antonio Gramsci with the concept of hegemony. This view shows that ideologies compete in the space of forced negotiation. Hegemony is then interpreted as the power over society built through alliances with other social forces in which an unstable equilibrium is created (Fairclough, 1992). Hegemony is a matter of domination and a space for negotiating the meaning of the various social forces that participate in the hegemonic battle, the fight for the space of public acceptance.

Fairclough This process is referred to as the 'naturalization of ideology,' where ideological constructs are normalized to the extent that they appear as common sense or objective reality.. Through a continuous discourse process, dominant ideologies can seem natural and unquestionable. This is very dangerous because the ideology seems to be part of the "natural truth", when it is a social construct that favors a certain power. Media that constantly reproduce certain narratives, such as neoliberalism or extreme nationalism, help normalize these ideologies.

Fairclough also highlights the importance of the gap between text and context. Media texts are often structured to obscure an event's social or political context. For example, in reporting on conflicts, the media may choose to use terms such as "riots" rather than "oppression" or "resistance," depending on their ideology. These semantic choices have a major impact on shaping public perception and determining who is considered "guilty" or "entitled."

In modern media practice, Fairclough also emphasizes how commercialization and economic interests affect discourse. Media that rely on advertising or are owned by large corporations tend to reproduce discourses that support the status quo. This shows that ideology is not only present in politics but also in the economic structure that underlies media production. Even in entertainment or infotainment, ideological values can still be instilled implicitly.

F. Methodology

1. Type of Research

This research adopts a Critical Paradigm to explore and analyze how Ibu Kota Nusantara was communicated. Qualitative employed to address the research question. Thesis was categorized and analyzed to descriptive research which understanding the meaning of communication.

2. Research Paradigm

This research adopts a Critical Paradigm to explore and analyze communication practices more deeply. The Critical Paradigm assumes that reality is shaped by long-standing historical processes and influenced by socio-cultural and economic forces—an understanding often referred to as historical realism. Therefore, this paradigm is considered the most appropriate approach for analyzing real-world communication practices.

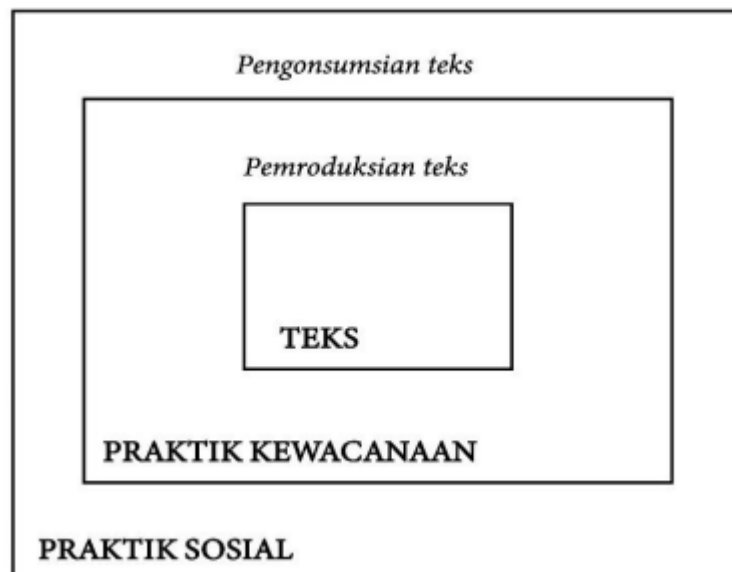
3. Object Analysis

This research focuses its analysis on news texts published on Kompas.id, particularly those featured within the dedicated news section concerning the Nusantara Capital City. It also focuses on the semiosis of text and spatial mediation practices through text, images, maps, the choice of words, images, visual representations, or narratives. The qualified objects are news that describe developmentalism, nation, green, and centralism.

4. Data Collection Technique

This research focuses its analysis on news texts published on Kompas.id, particularly those featured within the dedicated news section concerning the Nusantara Capital City. It also focuses on the semiosis of text and spatial mediation practices through text, images, maps, the choice of words, images, visual representations, or narratives. The qualified objects are news that describe developmentalism, nation, green, and centralism.

5. Model Analysis



a. Teks

In Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), there are three key dimensions that must be examined. The first is the textual dimension, which includes spoken or written language, as well as visual imagery and other symbolic representations. This dimension is analyzed using a linguistic approach that considers the formal features of the text, such as vocabulary choice, grammar, and overall textual structure. Through this formal analysis, the underlying values embedded in the text can be uncovered, revealing the ideological traces and intentions of the text's producer.

b. Discursive Practice

The second dimension focuses on how readers consume and interpret the text. This level of analysis examines not only the reception of the text by its audience but also the dynamics of its production process. It is a form of interpretation that seeks to understand how meaning is constructed by both producers and consumers of the text. This interpretation is divided into 4 levels; First, the surface of utterance as a process

that converts signs into words or sentences in the form of phonology, grammar, and vocabulary, second, the meaning of utterance, which is in the form of meanings (Munfarida, 2014) in expressions in texts that use semantic and pragmatic tools, third, local coherence, which is the discovery of inner meaning in various expressions that finally find about pairs and sequences, fourth, text structure and point, namely the meaning of the text as a whole.

c. Social-Cultural Practice

This analysis is also referred to as context analysis in order to further explore and map economic, social, and political relationships. This context is divided into two domains, situational analysis that traces the social order that surrounds the production of texts and institutional analysis that traces the interactional history of various discourses so that it can be seen which discourses are related to the discourses in the text. Then, this analysis is explored further to provide an explanation as an effort to portray discourse as part of social practice and show the effects of reproduction as establishing or changing structure.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

A. Ibu Kota Nusantara

1. From Discourse to Policy

The discourse on moving the Indonesian capital from Jakarta to North Penajam Paser became a state plan affirmed by President Joko Widodo on August 26, 2019. This announcement was also a moment for the country to make this planning and development into a long-term strategic plan for the country. This discussion had been intensively planned and prepared by the Indonesia Vision 2030 team since 2017.

The discourse of moving the Indonesian capital from Jakarta to another city is not a new discourse but has been discussed and planned almost every period of the president's tenure. Let's say, during the Soekarno period, the movement of the capital was mentioned twice during his tenure. In 1957, he inaugurated Palangkaraya as the capital of Central Kalimantan province and also declared Palangkaraya as the capital of the country. He consciously poured out the master plan that he made himself in the development of the city during the independence period. Second, he mentioned Palangkaraya as a candidate for the country's capital at the TNI-AD I seminar in Bandung in 1965 (Riana, 2019).

"Let's make Jakarta and Surabaya as mato cities. The two big cities for our brothers and sisters outside Java are like Singapore and Hong Kong. Capital is only centered in the two big cities, and seems to divide areas outside Java".

Likewise with the era of Soeharto's leadership. The idea of moving the country's capital was also planned from Jakarta to the Jonggol area, Bogor, as the capital. Then continued by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in October 2010, with a note of maintaining Jakarta as the capital but moving the center of government to other regions and hoping for such as Canberra (Australia) and Ankara (Turkey) (Riana, 2019).

Then this idea finally found its momentum during the leadership of President Jokowi. Through the Indonesia 2033 vision team, this idea began with a proposal to move the Indonesian capital from Jakarta to Kalimantan. This fundamental reason cannot be separated from the complexity of urban social problems in Jakarta which considered to have failed to overcome permassal with partial policies. On the other hand, Jakarta and the Greater Jakarta

megaurban area also consuming tens of trillions of rupiah to overcome these problems but still have not found results.

Then, on April 29, 2019, President Jokowi decided to move the Indonesian capital to Penajam Paser in Kalimantan which is written in the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development (RPJMN). This decision was based on the economic gap between Java and outside Java.

This strategic reason was then written in more detail by Andrinof A Chaniago and M Jehansyah (Agustina, 2024) with 9 main reasons behind the move of the Indonesian capital. Structuring the Jakarta metropolitan area and the Greater Jakarta megaurban area by reducing the rate of urbanization in Jakarta, Reducing economic waste in Jakarta's restructuring efforts in dealing with congestion problems, saving agricultural fertile land in Java, establishing the epicenter of Indonesia, preparing to elevate Eastern Indonesia, establishing an Indonesian public city, a city of one nation, and positioning the capital of Indonesia from the potential for natural disasters.

In addition, Indonesia's development is Java-centric or an uneven development term that described a gap and inequality between Java and the outer islands of Java. Kalimantan has a land area of 30 percent of Indonesia's area while the island of Java is only 7 percent and with a population of 57 percent. So this reason is also the basis for moving the capital on an island with a dense population. This move is believed to provide greater and fairer benefits for economic equity that does not only focus on Jakarta.

The reason is, Jakarta bears such a heavy burden as a Greater Jakarta megaurban area. Problems such as endless congestion give birth to new problems in various sectors (August, 2024). The reason is, this situation will only worsen the situation of Jakarta because of the economic value affected by fuel waste, maintenance costs, health restoration and finally a lot of time lost on the road.

2. The Development of Ibu Kota Nusantara

On March 14-15, Jokowi invited 34 Governors throughout Indonesia to attend the new capital city candidates to inaugurate the initial construction of the capital city. However, on that night before continuing the procession, he and 5 elected governors: West Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, North Kalimantan, and Central Kalimantan in the Sepaku area, North Penajam Paser.

On the other hand, President Jokowi called all provincial governors throughout Indonesia to gather at the zero point of the nusantara's capital. This summons is for the procession of unifying land and water as a symbol of diversity. This procession was carried out as a form of 'ritual' led by the president to collect land and water from all regions in Indonesia. This fundamental reason is the unification of various tribes and cultures. He believes that land and water are inseparable entities from the area. The procession led by the president by calling the governors one by one. It began with the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Anies Baswedan and ended with the Governor of East Kalimantan "Isran Noor" (Pransiska, 2022).

"This is a form of our diversity and a strong unity between us. In order to build the capital city of the nusantara. Collaboration between the central government and local governments, the TNI, the National Police, the private sector, and the entire community in the development of this capital city will be very helpful". Then this event continued and closed with tree planting by President Jokowi and Iriana Widodo and all regional heads (Rita Sulistyawaty, 2022)

The choice of the name of the capital city was initially announced by the Minister of Bappenas, Suharso Monoarfa, who later revealed it to the public. He said that there were a lot of name proposals, which numbered more than 80. Until finally elected by the president with the nusantara. Because this name is well known in the ears of the public and the international community (Kusnadi, 2021).

Suharso emphasized that the choice of this name was confirmed by President Jokowi on January 14, 2022, on the grounds that the name was already familiar to the ears of the Indonesian people and even internationally. In addition, the name is enough to describe the country, the republic of Indonesia.

"This word also describes the unity of all of us, the Republic of Indonesia. I think we all agree with the term Nusantara," he said. Suharso Monoarfa.

The ceremony of Indonesia's 79th Birthday in 2024 was being held in the National Capital City directly even though it is still in the development process. This was directly initiated by President Jokowi at the end of his term. And it is clear that the theme of this ceremony is "Nusantara Baru Indonesia Maju" (Kusworo, 2024a).

B. Kompas Media

Initially, Harian Kompas was the initiation of Achmad Yani as the Minister/Commander of the Army who then proposed to Drs. Frans Seda as the Chairman of the Catholic Party to have a media. The initiation was then responded to by calling two of his colleagues who are experienced in mass media management, namely Petrus Kanisius Ojong and Jakob Oetama.

This Kompas media finally published its first print on June 28, 1965 with a payment of Rp. 500 per month. This media then faces challenges and obstacles as its media production progresses. The challenge and incident experienced by *Harian Kompas* was a tragic incident in January 1978 which was oppressed by regime to be unable to publish news (Dhiya Haq & Fadhillah, 2018).

Along with the development of technology and information needs, in July 2008 *Harian Kompas* carried out a transformation to answer the internet ecosystem that began to mushroom in Indonesia by presenting a newspaper in the form of an e-paper format which is a digital replica of the printed form on the internet. Not only that, on February 2, 2017, Kompas then launched a form of digital innovation called Kompas.id in the form of a website that can be downloaded via Android and IOS. Then, this presence encourages diverse innovations with interesting features without then putting aside the journalistic values owned by *Harian Kompas*. At the same time, Kompas.id is a digital version of the *Harian Kompas* Newspaper.

Kompas.id daily carries the tagline or slogan "People's Conscience Mandate". The motto gives the understanding that *Harian Kompas* is required to always stand beside the people and has the goal of educating and prospering the people by providing quality information. Kompas.id still maintains the typical journalism quality of *Harian Kompas*, which is journalism that is not fast, but has accurate and important information for the public to know, not just interesting information. This shows that *Harian Kompas* and Kompas.id have high ideals for the quality of journalism. This is evidenced by the many awards that have been won by *Harian Kompas* and Kompas.id, one of the last awards won was winning gold in the Newspaper Front Page Design category at the 2021 Asian Media Awards.

The website Kompas.id shows more than a lot of rubrics from politics, economics, opinions, humanities, research, nusantara, metropolitan, international, figures, lifestyle, video, photography, youth, entertainment, literature, books, and behind the news. Of course, these rubrics are made with the aim of providing quality information, both in the form of interactive and multimedia visuals and in the form of longform writing that is presented as attractive as possible. This media is also active in reporting the development of the development of the nusantara's capital city. In addition, Kompas.id understands the needs of readers in general by presenting personalization features with a *user-friendly* interface, where readers can access every space in the *interface*.

Then, Kompas.id is the new transformation of Harian Kompas in digital age, which could be accessed through digital media like an app. Kompas.id and Kompas.com are different product. Kompas.id is the official digital version of the *Harian Kompas* (Kompas Daily Newspaper), offering in-depth, premium journalism with a focus on curated, editorial-quality reporting, often behind a paywall to maintain its exclusivity and credibility. It mirrors the structure and content of the print edition, making it more suitable for readers who seek serious, analytical, and comprehensive news coverage.

On the other hand, Kompas.com functions as a real-time digital news portal that is more accessible to the general public, offering faster, more dynamic coverage including breaking news, lifestyle, entertainment, and viral stories. Its tone is often more conversational, and it is designed to compete in the fast-paced online media landscape, prioritizing speed and engagement over depth. Together, both platforms reflect the dual strategy of traditional and modern journalism: one upholding legacy media values, and the other adapting to the demands of digital immediacy. Then, to seek more in-depth news coverage, researcher conducted analysis on Kompas.id.

C. News Analysis Unit

This study uses a research object called an analysis unit. A unit is what is observed, recorded, and considered as data then separated according to its boundaries and identified in the analysis. In general, all parts of the text content become analysis material, both words, visual data, videos, and photos. These news about the nusantara's capital city in Kompas became a research sample unit. The news is based on contexts such as news that contains the capital city of the nusantara and the like.

Table 1.1

Nusantara Capital City News Analysis Unit

NO	EDITION	TITLE	CONTENT
1	27 August 2019	<i>Urgensi Pemindahan Ibu Kota</i>	<i>"...Tidak ingin terus menjadi wacana, kini Presiden Joko Widodo langsung mengeksekusi dengan menetapkan ibu kota akan dipindahkan ke Kalimantan pada 2024. Pusat pemerintahan baru akan pindah ke Kalimantan Timur,</i>

			<i>sedangkan DKI Jakarta menjadi pusat ekonomi dan bisnis. Bappenas menaksir biaya pemindahan ibu kota mencapai Rp 485 triliun, dengan Rp 93 triliun di antaranya dari APBN. Sisanya diharapkan bersumber dari hasil pemanfaatan aset pemerintah dan kerja sama dengan swasta.”</i>
2	23 February 2022	<i>IKN Nusantara dibangun untuk tunjukkan kebesaran bangsa Indonesia</i>	<i>“...Pemindahan ibu kota negara merupakan lompatan bagi bangsa Indonesia untuk melakukan transformasi menuju Indonesia maju...”</i>
2	25 April 2021	<i>Imaji Kota Hijau di Ibu Kota Negara Baru</i>	<i>“...Pradesain istana negara yang tampak seperti garuda menimbulkan pro dan kontra karena dinilai tidak sesuai dengan prinsip bangunan ramah lingkungan. Pemerintah membuka ruang diskusi untuk itu...”</i>
3	25 February 2022	<i>Ihwal “Kota 10 Menit” di IKN Nusantara</i>	<i>“...Keyakinan, harapan, dan aneka pandangan menyeruak di tengah perbincangan mengenai rencana pembangunan Ibu Kota Negara Nusantara. IKN Nusantara digadang dapat menunjukkan kebesaran bangsa Indonesia...”</i>
5	15 March 2022	<i>Kota Hutan, Konsep IKN Nusantara, Pastikan Rehabilitasi</i>	<i>“..Presiden Joko Widodo memastikan, kota hutan menjadi konsep pembangunan Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) Nusantara di Penajam Paser, Kalimantan Timur. Pemerintah akan merehabilitasi hutan di area sekitar IKN agar kembali pulih...”</i>

6	15 August 2024	<i>Ikhtiar Nusantara Menuju Kota Netral Karbon 2045</i>	<i>"..Ibu Kota Nusantara didesain sebagai pionir kota ramah lingkungan. "Carbon neutral city" IKN ditargetkan pada 2045..."</i>
7	15 March 2022	<i>Ketika Tanah dan Air dari Aceh sampai Papua Menyatu</i>	<i>Ridwan menuturkan, air suci dan tanah istimewa yang dibawanya datang dari 27 daerah, yakni 27 kota dan kabupaten, yang ada di Jawa Barat. Air tersebut disatukan terlebih dahulu di Gedung Sate sebelum kemudian dibawa ke Titik Nol IKN Nusantara untuk disatukan dengan air dan tanah dari seluruh provinsi di Indonesia. "Jadi, saya kira, simbolis ini penting bahwa semua mendukung,"</i>
8	15 March 2022	<i>Tanah dan Air dari Gianyar Bali Turut disatukan</i>	<i>Dalam tanah dan air yang dibawa oleh setiap kepala daerah tersebut, bersemayam harapan, doa dan restu. Ia merupakan simbol dari proses penyatuan keberagaman dari lokalitas yang berbeda-beda. Simbolis tanah dan simbolis air menjadi kalimat "tanah air</i>
8	20 May 2022	<i>Upacara Kemerdekaan</i>	<i>"..Pemanfaatan kendaraan listrik otonom mulai diuji coba di Mall Q Big di BSD, Tangerang, gratis bagi masyarakat mulai Jumat (20/5/2022). Kendaraan ini direncanakan jadi bagian dari transportasi umum di IKN Nusantara..."</i>

9	17 January 2022	<i>Ibu Kota yang Baru diusulkan Bernama "Nusantara"</i>	<i>Alasannya, Nusantara sudah dikenal sejak dulu dan ikonik di internasional, mudah, dan menggambarkan kenusantaraan kita semua, Republik Indonesia. Saya kira kita semua setuju dengan istilah Nusantara itu</i>
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CHAPTER III FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Representation of Ibu Kota Nusantara

In Faircough's discourse analysis, texts need to be analyzed with a linguistic approach that includes formal forms such as vocabulary, grammar and textual structure. Then, the text is further analyzed by drawing the values in it; experiential value, relational value, expressive value and connective value.

To further show this discussion. The author classifies this text into several main themes that have been contained in Kompas.id news. This theme writing is taken from several news stories that have the same topic and approach the theme being talked about then analyzed textually and explored the ideological values represented and expressed in these texts.

Building the Image of Ibu Kota Nusantara

NO	EDITION	HEADING	WRITER
1	23 Februari 2022	Urgensi Pemindahan Ibu Kota	Enny Sri Hartanti

Starting this article with a Kompas news entitled "The Urgency of Relocating the Capital City" written by Enny Sri Hartanti (2019) as a senior researcher at the Institute for Development of Economics and Finance. This text directly shows that the relocation of the capital is urgent. This news sentence shows the value of experience where using 'urgency' is a production of a text that wants to get public acceptance. In addition, contributors who are economic researchers will also strengthen the legitimacy of social capital to strengthen the reader's belief.

“Jika melihat permasalahan yang mendera Jakarta, wacana pemindahan ibu kota bisa jadi cukup rasional. Posisi Jakarta memang terlalu sentris dan menjadi barometer semua kegiatan, yakni sebagai pusat pemerintahan, politik, bisnis, dan budaya. Daya tampung Jakarta semakin tidak memadai, menimbulkan berbagai permasalahan yang pelik dan kompleks, mulai dari kemacetan, banjir, hingga potensi bencana lingkungan. Berdasarkan hitungan Bappenas, kerugian akibat kemacetan di Jakarta Rp 100 triliun dan 50 persen wilayah Jakarta termasuk kategori rawan banjir. Banjir tidak hanya berasal dari hulu, tetapi juga dari penurunan tanah di pantai utara dan kenaikan permukaan air laut.”

This news departs by placing Jakarta as a problem, and the capital city of the Nusantara as a solution for economic equity. Jakarta is rumored in binary opposition as the capital to define the capital city itself. This means that the feasibility of this relocation needs something that can be described as not feasible by providing a narrative that Jakarta is too full to support all activities and become the center. In the end, this text will make it clear that Jakarta is urgent to relocate. Even with a picture like this, it will strengthen the legitimacy of moving the capital city to North Penajam Paser.

“Pemindahan aktivitas pusat pemerintahan ke Kalimantan secara langsung akan meningkatkan aktivitas di sekitar lokasi ibu kota baru. Namun, belum tentu secara otomatis berdampak luas mengakselerasi kegiatan ekonomi di seluruh pulau Kalimantan. Apalagi, jika diasumsikan otomatis menyebar ke wilayah sekitar, seperti Papua, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Nusa Tenggara Barat, Maluku, dan kawasan timur lainnya. Sebab, instrumen utama untuk menggerakkan ekonomi lebih ditentukan infrastruktur ekonomi, baik berupa kebijakan maupun infrastruktur dasar dan konektivitas. Apalagi di era otonomi daerah, ujung tombaknya adalah kebijakan daerah yang ramah investasi, terutama kebijakan yang tidak menghambat dan memberi kepastian realisasi investasi.”

This understanding describes the disparity in Indonesia's economy that occurs due to centralization in only one region, namely the capital city. This text is an argumentative text that forms a relationship that is legitimate. This text also produces certain views by positioning itself as informative and authoritative figures, as well as reflecting part of dominant discourse institutions such as policy experts or academics.

This text ignores the voices of local communities or marginalized groups such as indigenous peoples. They are not presented as active subjects in texts and discourse, but rather as affected objects. This text reflects hierarchical social relations, where the center of knowledge and policy is in the central actors (governments, experts, investors), while the regions are only positioned as policy recipients. This is a form of reproduction of power through discourse. (as in the news of indigenous peoples).

“Dari masa ke masa, rencana pemindahan ibu kota negara belum pernah ada yang terealisasi. Kini, rencana pemindahan itu ke Kaltim, dengan masa jabatan Presiden Jokowi sekitar dua tahun lagi, menunggu dibuktikan.”

This text hints that the relocation of the capital is not only President Jokowi's dream but a continuation of the vision of previous Indonesian leaders. This emphasis on parallel continuity frames the text as part of a larger narrative of nationalism. That the reality of moving the capital city is a noble idea but is a historical failure or a delayed achievement.

With this, the transfer is a progression from failures and the achievement of ideals is a success of the state and its people.

NO	EDITION	HEADING	WRITER
1	23 Februari 2022	IKN Nusantara dibangun untuk tunjukkan kebesaran bangsa Indonesia	Cyprianus Anto Saptowaloyi & Nina Susilo

“...Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) Nusantara akan dibangun untuk benar-benar menunjukkan kebesaran bangsa Indonesia; mencerminkan identitas nasional; menjamin keberlanjutan sosial, ekonomi, dan lingkungan; mewujudkan kota hutan; kota cerdas; kota modern dan berkelanjutan; serta memiliki standar internasional....” (Saptowalyono & Susilo, 2022)

First, the text in this news seeks to occupy the National Capital City as a symbol of national transformation and the greatness of the nation which is not only interpreted as an administrative transfer but as a leap towards Advanced Indonesia. Indonesia's greatness and progress is defined as sustainability, both economic, social, and environmental. So that the capital city, which has a performative function as a symbol of national identity, is depicted with the vision of the formation of the capital city which becomes a "forest city", a "smart city", and a city that has international standards.

“Saya yakin IKN Nusantara akan menjadi representasi bangsa yang unggul sehingga menjadi contoh bagi perkembangan kota-kota lain di Indonesia. Dan, menunjukkan kepada warga dunia bagaimana Indonesia menjalankan rencana baru dalam membangun cita-cita masa depan.,”

Jokowi, as the keynote speaker in this text, positioned himself as a visionary leader by inviting all Indonesian people to participate in affirmations in the national vision and ambition. The use of the phrase "I believe" shows a persuasive and affirmative closeness to build a relationship of togetherness between leaders and their people in the "development of the Capital City of the Nusantara". The composition of this text hints at the optimistic and inspirational tone that dominates the president's statements. This visionary aspect slowly affirms and has expressive value.

"Transformasi dalam bergerak atau mobilitas. Transportasi dan prasarana hijau yang efisien, hemat energi, dan rendah karbon. Kota yang berbasis pejalan kaki dan transportasi massal dan siap beradaptasi dengan transportasi masa depan"

On the other hand, Indonesia's future aspirations to show the greatness of this nation are interpreted as having a Green Capital City. This is also interpreted that the Capital City of the Nusantara is a form of Indonesia's commitment to combating climate change and achieving net zero carbon and 100 percent renewable energy in the future. In other words, there is a transformation of living where humans can coexist with nature, the transformation of productive work and the transformation of community movements that can go hand in hand with technology.

NO	EDITION	HEADING	WRITER
1	25 Februari 2022	Ihwal “Kota 10 Menit” di IKN Nusantara	Cyprianus Anto Saptowaloyono, Nina Susilo, Mawar Kusuma Wulan Kuncoro Manik (2022)

"Ibu Kota negara dimimpikan sebagai kota yang bersinergi dengan hutan. Pembangunan yang diharapkan menimbulkan dampak seminimal mungkin ke alam. Pemerintah berencana menghujaukan kembali kawasan ibu kota negara yang kini tutupan hutanya 30-40 persen. Jutaan bibit telah disiapkan."

These terms were born as described earlier, which is as a transformative effort. As a result of this phenomenon, green and environmentally friendly have become populist words that can be accepted by the public. And it is also captured as a state prevention effort to project the country as a country that cares and 'knows' what is happening in the world these days on a global scale. This ambition then became a desire that wanted to be called a pioneer or even a reference to the world such as the Nusantara in Majapahit to lead civilization.

"Selain itu, bangunan-bangunan di ibu kota negara diproyeksikan sebagai bangunan ramah lingkungan yang hemat energi, ibu kota negara diharapkan jadi referensi dunia seperti Liuzhou, China. Arab Saudi juga berencana membangun kota nol karbon yang disebut The Line, yakni kota pejalan kaki yang menggunakan energi bersih." (Sucipto, 2023)

These efforts were then affirmed by the president's attitude towards Indonesia's commitment to combating climate change which was achieved through the achievement and management of various aspects towards Net Zero Carbon and New and Renewable Energy by 2060. This translates into aspects; A 10-minute city (a city that takes about 10 minutes to travel from one point to another), 80 percent public transportation, 70 percent green space, and a 2-degree drop in temperature.

"Saya juga meyakini IKN Nusantara akan menjadi kota yang inklusif, kota yang terbuka, kota untuk semua. Kota yang akan sangat ramah bagi semua lapisan masyarakat untuk hidup berdampingan, hidup rukun, hidup bersama-sama, dan memiliki peluang yang sama untuk ikut serta membangun dan mengembangkan IKN Nusantara ini," (Gandhawangi, 2021b).

And as an effort to do this. The transformation in question is the transformation of society to a new lifestyle through the city. Which is interpreted as human culture towards technological development as a 'developed city'. And this is meant in the definition of a city that is ready for a future where nature and the environment can go hand in hand with people and technology. This means that progress is the transformation of Indonesian society.

"Seminimal mungkin berdampak pada lingkungan. Menggunakan material alami dan berbasis energi terbarukan. Transformasi dalam berbangsa dan bernegara, memperkenalkan kembali pada poros peradaban Nusantara, pada kekayaan dan keberagaman alam dan budaya Indonesia"

Cultural transformation is meant to familiarize you with a new lifestyle and illustrate how a 10-minute city can transform human culture with a city. The picture is framed by showing how technological sophistication will disrupt many of the common amnation habits that produce too much carbon and rely on fossil fuel vehicles. . In addition, the city is designed with energy-efficient buildings, utilizing 100 percent renewable energy by 2060, and using natural materials and environmentally friendly technologies in construction.

Including green urban areas that reach 70 percent function as forests and urban parks which are also natural carbon sinks to balance the emissions produced from urban activities. The '10-minute' city is a discursive term and rule in preaching this new capital, which is also imagined to be able to connect one place to another within 10 minutes of being directly connected to the internet.

Green and Forest City

NO	EDITION	HEADING	WRITER
1	15 Maret 2022	Kota Hutan, Konsep IKN Nusantara. Pastikan rehabilitasi Ibu Kota	Agnes Rita Sulistyawaty (2022)

This news features a 3D animated video projecting the country's future capital. The presence of this technology is able to demonstrate and illustrate how the country's capital with its forest city concept can be imagined by the public.



Figure 1. Illustration of the National Capital of the Nusantara (Sulistyawaty (2022))

This image specifically highlights the Presidential Palace which has been uploaded on the President's social media platform. The 3D projection technology explicitly highlights the presence of green vegetation surrounding the palace.



Figure 2. The Transformation of Human Culture Sulistyawaty (2022)

Furthermore, this image illustrates how humans coexist with high technology, namely electric transportation, which can operate without a driver and is powered by renewable fuels, namely sunlight. On the other hand, this video shows President Jokowi's statement to show his commitment to the climate crisis in the process of developing the capital city.

"Dari situlah nanti kita tanam untuk rehabilitasi dan ada yang di IKN Nusantara sehingga tanamannya ini tidak monokultur tetapi tanaman endemik, tanaman lokal yang mampu menarik hewan untuk masuk. Burung-burung untuk masuk. Kupu-kupu

untuk masuk untuk hutanya. Bahkan untuk merahabilitasi bekas-bekas tambang yang ada".

At the end of this video, the contributor conveys the government's hope to build a sustainable economy by explaining the strategic position of the Capital City in the midst of the stretch of islands in Indonesia, as the pole of the national economy that is not only centered on the island of Java.

NO	EDITION	HEADING	WRITER
1	15 Agustus 2024	Ikhtiar Nusantara menuju Kota Netral Karbon 2024	Erika Kurnia, Sucipto, Aditya Putra Perdana (2024)

This text discusses the ideal concept of the development of a new National Capital City (IKN) in East Kalimantan as a "green city" that prioritizes environmental sustainability. The Government of Indonesia carries the vision of a forest city with a development approach that respects ecosystems, green open spaces, and harmony between humans and nature. This narrative shows a commitment to changing the paradigm of urban development that is more environmentally friendly.

"Saat IKN sepenuhnya beroperasi sebagai ibu kota negara pada 2045, kawasan seluas sekitar 250.000 hektar itu diproyeksikan sudah mencapai NZE. Dalam mencapai itu, praktis penyediaan energi bersih harus diterapkan secara bertahap serta berkelanjutan."

On the other hand, the text also reflects the tension between the green vision and the reality of the proposed architectural design, especially related to the design of the Garuda bird-shaped State Palace by Nyoman Nuarta. Some architectural experts, such as Ariko Andikabina of the Indonesian Architects Association, criticized the design because it was considered inefficient in terms of space and potentially unenvironmentally friendly. This criticism shows the importance of consistency between vision and implementation.

"Selain pemanfaatan energi ramah lingkungan, strategi lain yang diterapkan di IKN adalah penghematan energi. Menurut Undang-Undang Nomor 3 Tahun 2023 tentang IKN, setiap gedung di IKN juga mesti menghemat energi. Di KIPP IKN, ditargetkan sedikitnya 60 persen penghematan energi untuk konservasi energi dalam gedung untuk kemudian meningkat hingga 70 persen pada 2045."

Visually and symbolically, the design of the Garuda Palace does have cultural and artistic value. However, in the context of sustainable development, aesthetic value should not come at the expense of material efficiency, spatial function, and ecological impact. This is where the importance of evaluation of various disciplines before the final design is implemented.

Overall, this article provides a complex overview of the dynamics between sustainable development idealism and political practice and power symbolism. The development of IKN as a green city must continue to be monitored so that it not only becomes a beautiful narrative, but also manifests in concrete and responsible practices.

Ritual and Ceremonies

NO	EDITION	HEADING	WRITER
1	15 Maret 2022	Ketika Tanah dan Air dari Aceh sampai Papua Menyatu	Cyprianus Anto Saptowaloyo (2022)

President Jokowi called all Indonesian regional heads to gather at point zero of the Nusantara's capital city to carry out a procession to unify land and water throughout Indonesia. Land and Water are considered as an inseparable entity of each region. This effort was carried out as an excuse that the capital of the Nusantara is the mother of all cities with diverse ethnicities and cultures.

This procession was attended by 34 regional heads throughout Indonesia and the first lady, Iriana Widodo. The unification procession ran and alternated from each regional head to another blood chief. It was started by the Governor of DKI Jakarta and ended by the Governor of East Kalimantan, Isran Noor. The soil and water were put together into a Metal Barrel and then buried in a pit not far from the State Capital's Zero Point. And ended with the planting of trees by President Jokowi and Mrs. Irian Widodo, witnessed by regional heads throughout Indonesia

The head of the Bengkulu region specifically brought land taken from the land of Balai Semarak Bengkulu which is the official residence of the Governor of Bengkulu as a place to live in carrying out duties and obligations. And water taken from an old well in the Karno

pond and water from Dendam Tak Sudah Lake which has its own myth for the people of Bengkulu.

Likewise, Anies Baswedan as the Governor of DKI Jakarta, who specifically brought land taken from mothers from the North Jakarta Aquarium Village to be united in the Nusantara IKN. This hope is inherent in the state to prioritize and prioritize benefits for the community in the majority of the community such as the people in Kampung Aquarium who were previously excluded and marginalized.

Likewise, the Governor of West Java, Ridwan Kamil, considers this as part of Indonesia's important history in moving the country's capital from scratch, not only from the existing city. He brought soil and water specifically from 27 city and district areas which were united and stored in Gedung Sate until finally brought to the zero point of the Nusantara IKN. This is a blessing and support for the entire West Java region.

"Ridwan menuturkan, air suci dan tanah istimewa yang dibawanya datang dari 27 daerah, yakni 27 kota dan kabupaten, yang ada di Jawa Barat. Air tersebut disatukan terlebih dahulu di Gedung Sate sebelum kemudian dibawa ke Titik Nol IKN Nusantara untuk disatukan dengan air dan tanah dari seluruh provinsi di Indonesia. "Jadi, saya kira, simbolis ini penting bahwa semua mendukung,".

NO	EDITION	HEADING	WRITER
1	15 Maret 2022	Tanah dan air dari Gianyar Bali Turut Disatukan di Kawasan IKN	Cokorda Yuditira M Putra (2022)

The Governor of Bali, Wayan Koster, also said that his party (Bali), took the land from a place believed to be the center of the world's cosmology (*Hunt*) and also the center of the Ocean. So the land and water are then considered as holy land and water, and are taken from the holy place where Lord Shiva is worshipped. Not only that, the place has historical ties with the Kutai Kingdom in Kalimantan, namely the Bedulu Kingdom or the so-called Bedulu Kingdom of the Warmadewa Dynasty in the 8th century AD – 14 AD.

"Sehingga tanah dan air yang kami ambikan dari Pura Pusering Jagat di Pejeng ini merupakan persembahan dari Bali untuk leluhur di Kalimantan," kata Tjok Ace yang juga sosok dari Puri Agung Ubud, Gianyar”.

In the end, not all regional heads really take land and water from their various regions like Ridwan Kamil. Anies Baswedan took land from Kampung Akuarium only, not from Tanjung Priok or from Kota Tua, say. The same goes for Bengkulu, which only takes from popular places. And Bali is represented from the Temple and the Holy Ocean.

"Dalam tanah dan air yang dibawa oleh setiap kepala daerah tersebut, bersemayam harapan, doa dan restu. Ia merupakan simbol dari proses penyatuan keberagaman dari lokalitas yang berbeda-beda. Simbolis tanah dan simbolis air menjadi kalimat "tanah air" (Saptowalyono, n.d.).

Usually in news writing, always quote from several subjects to strengthen the composition of the news. In this case, it can be seen as the way the communicator or 'Compass' represents the text.

NO	EDITION	HEADING	WRITER
1	17 Agustus 2024	Perdana, Upacara HUT Kemerdekaan di Ibu Kota Nusantara	Danu Kusworo (2024)

The news Kompas.id titled *"Perdana, Upacara HUT Kemerdekaan di Ibu Kota Nusantara"* raised the historic moment of holding the 79th Independence Day ceremony for the first time in the Capital City of the Archipelago (IKN), East Kalimantan. The ceremony was led by President Joko Widodo and attended by President-elect Prabowo Subianto and a number of high-ranking state officials. Although the IKN infrastructure has not been fully completed, the government still carries out the ceremony as a symbol of the capital city's transition and commitment to national development.

In the text dimension, the use of diction such as "premiere" and "historic" emphasizes the importance of these moments as national milestones. The visualization of the ceremony against the background of unfinished development also creates a narrative about the spirit of development and the government's optimism. This news reproduces the government's official discourse that emphasizes the success and commitment to the development of the IKN. However, there were also critical voices from the community and observers who highlighted budget surges and limited access for locals to the ceremony. This shows that there is a discourse contest between the official narrative and the experience of the community in the field. The holding of the ceremony at the IKN reflects the government's

efforts to form a new national identity and distribute the center of power outside Jakarta. However, criticism of the ceremony also reflects the tension between the nation's development ambitions and the socio-economic realities of the community. This analysis shows that news texts not only convey information, but also play a role in shaping and reproducing existing social and power structures.

NO	EDITION	HEADING	WRITER
1	17 Januari 2022	Ibu Kota Negara yang Baru Diusulkan Bernama “Nusantara”	Iqbal Basyari (2022)

The new capital city was named "Nusantara" after considering several name proposals such as Negara Jaya, Nusantara Jawa, Nusa Karya, Nusa Jaya, Pertiwipura, Cakrawalapura, and Kertanegara. This was conveyed and announced at a special committee meeting that drafted the bill by the Minister of National Development Planning, Suharso Monoarfa (Basyari, 2022b).

"Alasannya, Nusantara sudah dikenal sejak dulu dan ikonik di internasional, mudah, dan menggambarkan kenusantaraan kita semua, Republik Indonesia. Saya kira kita semua setuju dengan istilah Nusantara itu,"

He said that the choice of the name had gone through various considerations from linguists and historians. That the name has been framed for a long time and has become iconic in the international arena. In addition, the Nusantara is described as a conceptualization of the Indonesian territory with islands united by the ocean; At least the depth of recognition of geographical plurality accompanied by cultural plurality. This choice of word is interesting that Nusantara is described as a representation of conceptualization or unification of geographical areas, and also indicates maritime territory and cultural plurality.

"Pemerintah sudah memilih "Nusantara" sebagai nama ibu kota negara nantinya. Pemilihan nama tersebut telah melalui berbagai pertimbangan dari ahli bahasa dan sejarah. Alasannya, "Nusantara" sudah dikenal sejak lama dan ikonik di kancah internasional"

Text Analysis Conclusion

Table 1.2. Conclusion of Text Analysis

This table shows further how actually news analyzed textually and symbolically to show ideological values on the text:

NO	JUDUL	ISI
1	<i>Urgensi Pemindahan Ibu Kota</i>	<p>This news sentence shows the value of experience where using word like urgency shows as text production to get public acceptance. In other hand, the news was contributed by economic researcher that will strengthen the legitimacy of social capital into the text.</p> <p>In this case, the understanding describes the disparity in Indonesia's economy due to centralization in only one region that called Ibu Kota Nusantara. The text is an argumentative text that producing certain views and positioned as authoritative figure which acts like dominant discourse institution.</p>
2	<i>IKN Nusantara dibangun untuk tunjukkan kebesaran bangsa Indonesia</i>	<p>In this news, the clarity of text seeks to occupy the National Capital City as symbol of national transformation and National Greatness, which is not only interpreted as an administrative act but as an political will through Ibu Kota Nusantara.</p> <p>In other hand, the phrase 'I believe' that stated by Presiden Jokowi showed a persuasive and affirmative closeness, act like serving negotiation word to build a relationship between government and their citizen.</p>
2	<i>Imaji Kota Hijau di Ibu Kota Negara Baru</i>	<p>Kota Hijau or Kota Ikhwal 10 menit are communication practice to get public acceptance and public affirmation. Green was popular word that possibly public can imagine as</p>
3	<i>Ikhwal "Kota 10 Menit" di IKN Nusantara</i>	<p>an solution between climate crisis. So, despite having crisis, the rise of Ibu Kota Nusantara, is an like solution among crisis.</p>

		Then, Kota Hijau dan Kota Ihwal 10 menit are the words how the new capital was reimagined. Those words are not only number, but negotiation word to deal with future accessibility. Those words are new lifestyle and habit that transform culturally to demonstrate the greatness of Ibu Kota Nusantara.
5	<i>Kota Hutan, Konsep IKN Nusantara, Pastikan Rehabilitasi</i>	This text discusses the ideal concept of developing a new National Capital City (IKN) in East Kalimantan as a "green city" that prioritizes environmental sustainability. The Government of Indonesia envisions a forest city with a development approach that respects ecosystems, green open spaces, and harmony between humans and nature. This narrative shows a commitment to changing the more environmentally friendly urban development paradigm.
6	<i>Ikhtiar Nusantara Menuju Kota Netral Karbon 2045</i>	And the other hand, Green was the answer to eliminate 'developmentalism'. Its word is eliminating developmentalism was horrifying that displaced people and cut down forest. So, that word served as new paradigm to reframe how developmentalism should be.
7	<i>Ketika Tanah dan Air dari Aceh sampai Papua Menyatu</i>	President Jokowi called all Indonesian regional heads to gather at point zero of Nusantara's capital city to carry out a procession to unify land and water throughout Indonesia.
8	<i>Tanah dan Air dari Gianyar Bali Turut disatukan</i>	Land and Water are considered an inseparable entity of each region. This effort was carried out as an excuse that the capital of Nusantara is the mother of all cities with diverse ethnicities and cultures. The land and The Water (Tanah dan Air) which brought to 0 km, described as people hope and willing with the existence of Ibu Kota Nusantara through governor. So, that ritual ceremonies between president and governors are symbolically power to demonstrate that The Capital is central.
8	<i>Upacara Kemerdekaan</i>	Although the IKN infrastructure has not been fully completed, the government still carries out the ceremony to

		<p>symbolize the capital city's transition and commitment to national development.</p> <p>In the text dimension, diction such as "premiere" and "historic" emphasizes the importance of these moments as national milestones. Visualizing the ceremony against the background of unfinished development also creates a narrative about the spirit of growth and the government's optimism. This news reproduces the government's official discourse that emphasizes the success and commitment to the development of the IKN.</p>
9	<p><i>Ibu Kota yang Baru diusulkan Bernama "Nusantara"</i></p>	<p>He said that the choice of the name had gone through various considerations from linguists and historians. The name has been framed for a long time and has become iconic internationally. In addition, Nusantara is described as a conceptualization of the Indonesian territory with islands united by the ocean, at least the depth of recognition of geographical plurality, accompanied by cultural plurality. This choice of words is interesting because Nusantara is described as a representation of conceptualization or unification of geographical areas and indicates maritime territory and cultural plurality.</p>

B. Discursive Practice

Discourse Practice refers to the processes involved in the production, distribution, and consumption of the texts within specific social contexts. It bridges the gap between the text itself and the wider social practices by focusing how texts are shaped by institutional routines, power relations, and ideologies. Discourse practice operates in the intermediate level, connecting linguistic analysis with broader societal structures.

News Production

Kompas.id doesn't necessarily emerge as a digital platform that has some news. This is a long process from the Harian Kompas team itself. Initially, Kompas provided a digital service called print.kompas.com. launched since 2013. This condition is the choice of digital

platform to serve Kompas readers and customers. Initially, this product was purchased at a subscription price of IDR 98,000, including print media so that customers get two accesses, namely: print and digital. Then in 2016, this service was replaced with an e-paper subscription service for Rp 50,000. This means that this media model is a newspaper that is converted into a digital form (e-paper).

Print.kompas.com. This is considered less flexible and tends to experience several obstacles and is not in accordance with the conditions of the times. Finally, in 2016, Kompas initiated a digital team that reviewed and designed the Kompas platform with the aim of forming a platform with paid content or a digital subscription model. This situation is also based on the cost of the retail selling price which is relatively more expensive than the production price of copies.

“kita bukan mau menggantikan koran, kita mau membuat semacam alur, memberikan semacam pilihan apakah dia mau langganan koran saja atau karena tidak terjangkau sirkulasi koran, dia mau ambil digitalnya saja, atau mau dua-duanya. Kemudian digitalnya juga bukan sebuah produk yang berbeda dengan korannya, tetapi merupakan ekstensa dari koran itu sendiri. Rohnya juga sama. (Waredpel Kompas Sutta Dharmasaputra) (Haq & Fadilah, 2018).

In 2017, Kompas launched Kompas.id, which is an extension of Harian Kompas. Kompas.id and Harian Kompas, are one media with one newsroom, one editor-in-chief, one policy, with two different forms of media. In contrast to Kompas.com which have different policies and management. Kompas.id is run with two desks, namely the daily digital desk and the weekly digital desk, with several specialized journalists and taken from the conventional Harian Kompas. The compass also comes with a mobile app on Android and Apple.

Kompas.id steps to become the first newspaper to implement a digital subscription model in Indonesia. This is supported by the state of media in Indonesia which is affected by clickbait because it relies on advertising. Instead of making important news, news in free online media is dominated by interesting news and leaves news that is important to the public.

"Iklan di digital itu semakin page view-nya besar, iklannya semakin besar. Iklannya semakin mahal. Tanpa sadar, jurnalisme online akhirnya mengejar page view itu. Kalau ditanya berita menarik dan berita penting, dia pasti akan pilih berita menarik. Kalau bisa judulnya dibikin menarik, sehingga orang ramai, sehingga iklan tumbuh. Itu agak bertolak belakang dengan jurnalistik. Jurnalistik itu belum tentu menarik, tapi kalau penting mesti harus kita angkat. Meski di jurnalistik pun harus dikemas menjadi menarik, tetapi kita tidak boleh terpaku oleh clickbait itu". (Waredpel Kompas, Sutta Dharmasaputra) (Haq & Fadilah, 2018).

One of the largest print media companies in Indonesia chose to implement digital subscriptions instead of digital advertising as the dominance of online media in Indonesia today. Sutta argues that this subscription model can support journalistic work because it is not affected by digital advertising that relies on page view counts. As long as there are people who want to become customers, media with a digital subscription model can live, even encouraging their journalism to develop more. The quality of this content must indeed be developed so that many people want to subscribe.

Less than two years later, Kompas.id has received awards from several prestigious events. In May 2018, Kompas.id received the ID Website Award 2018 in the news and media category organized by the Indonesian Internet Domain Name Manager (Pandi). In addition, Kompas.id also won two international awards in the Asian Media Digital Award 2018 organized by the WAN world media association IFRA. In the Reader Revenue Initiative category for paid news portal initiatives, Kompas.id won a gold trophy. Meanwhile, in the Best News Website or Mobile Service category, the Coral Reef Tour "Beyond Coral Reef" won bronze.

The transformation with the addition of digital platforms also affects the condition of Kompas' daily editorial staff. The reason is that the editor of the Harian Kompas has to adjust to the latest situation of having Kompas.id and abandoning the culture of print media production. Based on the results of the digital team's study, Kompas Harian must carry out a major overhaul both in terms of organizational structure and operational management.

Although Kompas.id has the same spirit as Kompas, there are things that must be changed and improved as a form of Kompas' daily adaptation to the digital era. After Kompas.id was released in early 2017, the editorial crew decided to create two new desks that specifically addressed Kompas.id. This is done to make Kompas.id come to life because the slow and one-way print culture cannot be applied to content on digital platforms. The two desks are the Daily Digital Desk and the Weekly Digital Desk, both of which play an important role in bringing Kompas' new daily platform to life.

The Daily Digital Desk is specifically designed to produce hard news or live news that can be published anytime, every day, without deadlines like a daily newspaper. Meanwhile, the Weekly Digital Desk focuses on handling multimedia content as a long-form product Kompas.id. Meanwhile, Harian Kompas still works with the same desk as before, namely

legal politics, metropolitan, economy, Nusantara, sports, international, humanities, opinion, youth, and photography.

Kompas.com depends on the number of news productions that are rushed with continuous deadlines whereas Kompas.id is 'Harian Kompas' which produces both hard news and live news. This journalistic work is handled by maintaining the quality of journalism which is handled directly by a special structure called the Digital Desk. . In the daily digital desk, there are also metropolitan, political, legal, and economic sub-desks. Meanwhile, the weekly digital desk is specially created to produce soft news and long-form content such as in Behind the News, Visual Speech, Infographics, Drive, Gadgets, and so on (Haq & Fadilah, 2018).

With this cultural change, Kompas.id changed the way the 'editorial desk' worked. Journalists only need to send an email or through an instant messaging app to the editorial board. Then the ranks will sort and sort the news to be published. The point of difference lies in how journalists don't have to send their writing directly to the editorial board. Including Journalists, they are also equipped with supporting tools to generate news such as photos, text, and videos.

History Kompas and Power

In this section, data is taken from a seminar held by the Center for Alternative Media Studies and Documentation of Communication at the Islamic University of Indonesia and the Communication Science Study Program, Islamic University of Indonesia, called the Amir Effendi Siregra Forum discussing Communication issues in Indonesia. In the issue of this seminar, one of the themes of this discussion examines the history of the relationship between Kompas and Power Daily, 1965-2015, which was attended by Wijayanto (2020).

The history of the birth of Kompas is influenced by the Indonesian political context, including the authoritarian regime and the role of the Catholic Party. This idea first emerged from General Ahmad Yani. Kompas was born from the idea of Catholic party leaders who wanted to have a balanced media in the midst of the power of Sukarno and Suharto. This shows the importance of the media in politics. Then this idea was conveyed to appoint 2 people who already have a press background, namely P.K. Ojong and Jakob Oetama.

This idea then emerged and was challenged by the PKI, the regime that was in power at that time. From Jakob's doubts, the military will block the birth of this media. And that's right,

before this birth, there was already a demand and collection of 3000 customers. In the end, it received approval from the Kodam, which at that time was indeed controlled by the Indonesian Communist Party. Initially, this media had the name "Bentara Rakyat". However, Karno played a role in the naming of "Kompas", which means the Giver of Direction and the way in navigating the ocean and jungle. In addition, it should be noted that the media born in the midst of an authoritarian regime is very important to get acceptance and credit points from the ruler himself. In this case, it was Soekarno.



Figure 3: First Edition of Kompas (Wijayanto, 2020)

The two founders of Kompas, P.K. Oyong and Jakob Oetama, during the establishment of this media applied for a permit to the Kodam. At that time, only P.K. Oyong waited outside and Jakob Utama entered by himself. And in the publication of the first edition of Kompas, the editor-in-chief was only written as Jakob Oetama as the founder without the avania of P.K. Oyong who was considered too critical in reading politics and dangerous for the media itself. Concerns about press freedom in Indonesia make media such as Kompas have to be careful in conveying information. This is reflected in their experience in obtaining publishing licenses.

After Sukarno was deposed, Kompas began to write support for the new government to adapt the media to the changing political situation. Here, Kompas has a special section on

Kompasiana written and nurtured directly by Oyong who has critical writings. In 1971, Oyong decided to withdraw from the rubric. He thought that Suharto had shown symptoms of authoritarianism. There are starting to be reprimands for Kompas. This would harm the media itself. This relationship then improved with the meeting of Suharto and Jakob Oetama, with the acceptance of the Suharto regime. He received the Mahaputra award star, a gift given by Suharto.

• I feel of no use. If we want to write, as we believe we should write, then the life of the newspaper will be threatened. If we write according to the request of the power holders, we cannot live peacefully with our conscience. Would not it then be better not to write?" (Mochtar Loebis, "PK Ojong Whom I Know" in Ishwara, 2014: 328)

Figure 4. P.K. Oyong refusal to rewrite on his rubric Kompasiana (Wijayanto, 2020)

Despite its initial supportiveness, Kompas began to dare to be critical when the regime began to show signs of authoritarianism. This signifies the evolution of the media's position in the face of power. After that, Kompas came under political pressure with the banning of this media because of its chosen political stance.

In 1978, this relationship began to improve with the meeting of Suharto and Jakob Oetama. In the meeting, he expressed his gratitude for being given permission to publish again. And Suharto said "Ojo meneh-meneh" (don't do it again). This signifies the complexity of the relationship between the media and the government. The contract that Kompas had to face after being suspended reflects the challenges faced by the media in carrying out its journalistic function. This is important to understand the dynamics of press freedom.

The comparison of the proximity between the media and the rulers shows how the dynamics of power affect the way the media operates. That proximity will affect the way the media itself reports something.

C. Socio-Cultural Practice

Socio-Cultural Practice is the third level of analysis by Fairclough. It refers to the broader social and cultural context that shaped and is shaped by discourse. It includes elements like ideology, power relations, and institutional structures. This level of analysis focused on how discourse reflects and challenges social norms and how it contributes to maintaining or

transforming society. This level reveal the deeper meanings and functions of language within specific historical and societal settings.

From Bill to Law

The discourse on moving the capital city found a new chapter after the House of Representatives passed the Nusantara Capital City Law on January 22, 2022. The law is valid and approved by 8 of the 9 political party factions in Senayan. The eight factions that agreed were the Indonesian Democratic Struggle Party, the Golkar Faction, the Gerindra Faction, the Nasdem Faction, the National Awakening Faction, the Democracy Faction, the National Mandate Faction, and the United Development Party Faction. Only the Prosperous Justice Party faction refused to approve the IKN Bill into law (Kustiasih, 2022).

Before it was passed, the Special Committee (Pansus) of the IKN Bill consisting of the House of Representatives and the Government had conducted public consultations with several experts since the end of last year. However, long before the plan to move the IKN, President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) had submitted it in 2019. Since President Jokowi's statement, the relevant ministries have conducted internal consultations, prepared studies, coordination meetings and cabinet meetings at the State Palace before being submitted to the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia through the Presidential Letter and the IKN Bill in September 2021 (Manik, n.d.).

This bill has 11 chapters and 44 articles that outline several things; The first chapter sets out the general provisions. Second, the determination of the specificity of the position of the master plan's coverage. Third, the form of structure and authority of government affairs. Fourth, the division of territory. Fifth, spatial planning, land and the transfer of rights to land, the environment, disaster management and security defense. Sixth, the transfer of positions of state institutions, state civil servants, representatives of foreign countries and representatives of international institutions. Seventh, funding management and expenditure income. Eighth, community participation. Ninth, monitoring and review. Tenth, transitional provisions. The eleventh contains the closing provisions.

The discussion of this Law tends to be short. Since the bill was passed into law, it has only taken 43 days since the House of Representatives formed a special committee on the IKN Bill on December 7, 2021. This irregularity is assessed from a procedural point of view which indicates the lack of public participation in the formation of the law.

Some of these important points (Purwanto, 2022), the capital city of the Nusantara has the status of a special regional government called an authority and is led by a head of authority equivalent to a Minister who will later be elected, dismissed, and directly responsible to the president of the Republic of Indonesia with a term of office of 5 years. This is regulated in article 1 which says:

"IKN Nusantara adalah satuan pemerintah daerah yang bersifat khusus setingkat provinsi yang wilayahnya menjadi tempat kedudukan ibu kota negara sebagaimana ditetapkan dan diatur dengan undang-undang ini "

The position of the new Nusantara Capital City is equivalent to a special region in Indonesia. The reason is, this capital city does not have a general election. The head of the authority is directly elected by the president. This is actually not in line with the concept of special local government.

The presence of this kind of positioning actually places the position of the capital city of the Nusantara which is very centralistic. This can be seen from the implementation of the capital city which is special. This specificity is seen from how the Capital City of the Nusantara is run by the Head of the Authority who is appointed and dismissed directly by the president. This pattern is centristic, and is not in accordance with the principle of decentralization. The absence of delegation of authority from the central government to the authority areas of the Nusantara Capital City resulted in the regions not having the right to be able to manage their own government independently.

Because it does not involve elections to the regions by the people and is not supervised by the Regional Representative Council. This is a problem in the jurisdiction of the Nusantara Capital City because the head of the special government of the Nusantara Capital City is held by the head of the Nusantara Capital City authority and not by the governor and in the allocation of the position of the head of the Nusantara Capital City authority is appointed by the president not from the results of the general election, this is very contrary to the principle of decentralization.

The regional head of the Nusantara Capital City authority is the head of the Nusantara Capital City authority. The head of the Nusantara Capital City authority is the head of the special regional government of the Nusantara Capital City whose position is at the level of Minister, appointed, appointed and dismissed by the President after consultation with the DPR. This ministerial-level position results in legal consequences, namely the head of the Nusantara Capital City authority only carries out the central government's policies because

he is appointed directly by the President, is not autonomous in making policies, there is no election of regional heads and the government in the Nusantara Capital City authority area cannot carry out the government according to the needs of the community and with developing aspirations.

Then, as an area referred to as another name for the Special Regional Government, the IKN has the privilege of not holding general elections (elections) other than national level elections. This is due to the absence of a Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) which is a channel for the political aspirations of the local community. The Head of the IKN Authority is also not elected by the community like other heads of local governments. The Head of the IKN Authority will be elected and dismissed by the President. This kind of specificity is interpreted by the Central Government which gives the impression that the IKN is excluded from other regions

However, the Head of Bappenas, or the Minister of State Development Planning, Suharso Monarfa claimed that the government had been drafting the Law on the National Capital City for 2 years and involved public participation. That the Government has also completed the procedures in accordance with the formation of the Law.

After the passage of this law, several civil society organizations such as the Alliance of Indigenous Peoples (AMAN) and Wahana Lingkungan Hidup filed a lawsuit against this ratification to the Supreme Court but were rejected. Through this law, the government also legitimizes the development of the capital city of the Nusantara. This controversy and polemic declares that this development is the government's ambition and not the public's desire. Kompas.id summarize the timeline of this development discourse appears as follows:

Linimasa Penyusunan RUU Ibu Kota Negara (IKN)

26 Agustus 2019

Presiden Joko Widodo mengumumkan pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) ke Kalimantan Timur.

17 Desember 2019

Pemerintah mengusulkan Rancangan Undang-Undang Ibu Kota Negara atau RUU IKN.

15 Januari 2020

Pemerintah memfinalisasi draf RUU IKN.



17 Januari 2020

Rencana pemindahan IKN dimuat dalam Peraturan Presiden (Perpres) Nomor 18 Tahun 2020 tentang Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional Tahun 2020-2024.

25 Maret 2021

RUU IKN masuk Prolegnas Prioritas 2021.

Figure 5. Bill-Composing of Ibu Kota Negara (Sakti, 2022)

Centralization of Ibu Kota Nusantara

Historian, Andreas W. Daum, in his book *Rossam*, said that the most important function of the capital city is 3 things, namely the administrative function, the integrative function, and the performative function. In this last function, the capital is always the place in the parade of symbols that usually show the culture, history, and cultural values of the nation so that the capital city is often the focal point in the social imagination that is included in public places or in ceremonial spaces (Triana, 2022).

Through this capital, the state shows a symbolic power base by holding ceremonies and the construction of 'ritual spaces' that are an integral part of the community to feel and participate in the national identity. So in his notes, it is said that the state plays a symbolic theater of nationalism.

In 1891, the kings of Mengwi, a small kingdom in the South of Bali were besieged by the Kingdoms of Badung and Tabanan, their enemies, and conquered. However, in 1906, the Dutch army came and fought in Badung. The king, his wife, and his entourage marched in a

great suicide line firing shots. On the same day, the king and prince of Tabanan were arrested, then committed suicide by swallowing poison. One is to stab a keris in his stomach. Two years later, in 1908, this death ceremony was held by the Kingdom of Klungkung which was seen as the traditional "capital" of Balinese where the king, his entourage also marched, as if in a trance, drunk with opium, out of the palace to meet the gunfire of the Dutch army (Geertz, 2017).

The note was written by Geertz (2017) and stated the disappearance of the old order that was also still alive in the ceremony. In this case, the attitude shown by the Kingdom of Tabanan is an illustration of how the Capital City is the driving force of the kingdom or even the country itself. These ceremonies still adhere to the behavior of the Balinese people.

Which also, in his book "The State of the Theatre", in which he writes about the Capital, is the doctrine of the center of influence that connects the substantive aspects and ornaments of power. He said that the Palace and the Capital were microcosms of the supernatural order—"the picture ... the universe on a small scale"—and as a material embodiment of the political order. Not only the core, the machine, or the core of the state, but also the state itself. In contrast to Rossam who said that the capital is the center of supreme power where the elites of state leaders, rulers, and capital owners become the central figures from whose hands various policies are born and affect the fate of the entire nation.

"Persamaan tahta pemerintahan dengan kekuasaan pemerintahan, yang diekspresikan dalam konsep negara..... merupakan suatu gagasan politis yang mengatur—yaitu, dengan hanya bertindak sebagai model, suatu contoh, suatu gambaran yang tanpa salah mengenai bagaimana hidup dengan beradab, maka istana membentuk dunia sekelilingnya paling tidak menjadi tiruan yang mendekati kesempurnaannya sendiri....." (Geertz, 2017).

So in this case, the case of the Nusantara's capital city, seeks to carry out crucial tasks, namely efforts to legitimize the transfer. That the transfer of the capital is not only a transfer of space but also an aspect inherent in the capital city itself. The state will regulate and regulate the movement through 'ritual' and 'ceremonial' practices to legitimize abstract 'space' into 'concrete' space.

To begin the procession of the initial unification of the Indonesian nation in the midst of conditions that approve and disapprove of the existence of a new capital, we will discuss the Kompas news that is the object of research, to illustrate how these places were formed.

As well as the Kingdom of Bali which was divided into small kingdoms such as Badung, Karangasem, Tabanan, Gianyar, Bangli, Mengwi. Although the small kingdoms each stood independently, they still recognized the superiority of Klungkung as an authority over them.

President Jokowi called all Indonesian regional heads to gather at point zero of the Nusantara's capital city to carry out a procession to unify land and water throughout Indonesia. Land and Water are considered as an inseparable entity of each region. This effort was carried out as an excuse that the capital of the Nusantara is the mother of all cities with diverse ethnicities and cultures.

This procession was attended by 34 regional heads throughout Indonesia and the first lady, Iriana Widodo. The unification procession ran and alternated from each regional head to another blood chief. It was started by the Governor of DKI Jakarta and ended by the Governor of East Kalimantan, Isran Noor. The soil and water were put together into a Metal Barrel and then buried in a pit not far from the State Capital's Zero Point. And ended with the planting of trees by President Jokowi and Mrs. Irian Widodo, witnessed by regional heads throughout Indonesia (Saptowalyono, 2022b).

The question is whether water and soil are the soil and water of each city and region of each region? Or is the land and water really taken from every tribe in Indonesia?

In these findings, Land and Water are instruments in the practice of communication, which construct their own meaning. In the text, the media succeeded in becoming a symbol that represented public approval of the new capital through regional heads in participating in the unification procession.

Soil and Water form abstract spaces into concrete spaces. What is meant is that the extraction of land and water does not have to be taken from the original area of the space but the symbols of the area of the head of the region come from. This practice of communication finally blends various spaces into one and brings meaning of 'pleasure' and 'prayer' that is 'entrusted'. This statement can be seen from how the President's statement is quoted,

"Dan, saya ingin mengucapkan terima kasih sebesar-besarnya kepada para gubernur. Ini merupakan bentuk dari kebinekaan kita dan persatuan yang kuat di antara kita dalam rangka membangun Ibu Kota Nusantara ini,"

On the other hand, the procession places land and water as instruments only, but also as a culture wrapped in political language. The actions taken by the 'actors' in it are symbolic actions that actually want to speak a lot to voice the meaning of agreement with the intention

of unity from the results of mutual compromise. This celebration then becomes stronger to strengthen the concrete space.

The 79th Indonesian Independence Ceremony was held at the State Palace Square in the capital of the Nusantara, the first in its long history to be held in the new capital. The theme is "New Nusantara, Advanced Indonesia". This event was attended by the Cabinet Minister of 'Indonesia Maju'. The procession ended with a tribute to the ceremony participants led directly by President Joko Widodo accompanied by the First Lady, affirming the spirit of nationalism in this historic momentum (Kusworo, 2024b).

In Indonesia, this independence ceremony is held every year as a ceremony to commemorate Indonesia's independence from Dutch colonialism. This is an annual routine agenda that is always held by every element of Indonesian society. What is highlighted is that this ceremony has a stronger level of meaning if it is organized by the National Palace. This means that this commemoration becomes an institutionalized commemoration, and will give meaning to the 'place' and 'Indonesianness' itself can even evoke certain meanings. In this case, the capital city carries out its integrative function to become an element of national unity in the national parade.

Kompas displayed a text describing this ceremony as a historical momentum that marked the government's transition from Jakarta to the New Capital. This message was strengthened by highlighting the main subject, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, who wore Kustim Clothes from the Sultanate of Kutai Kartanegara and the Vice President in traditional Pontianak Malay clothing.

“Busana menjadi wujud pernyataan sikap komitmen pemimpin bangsa dalam pemerataan pembangunan di seluruh wilayah Indonesia. Di Upacara Detik-detik Proklamasi dalam rangka Peringatan Hari Ulang Tahun (HUT) Kemerdekaan Ke-79 Republik Indonesia di Ibu Kota Nusantara, Kalimantan Timur, Presiden Joko Widodo memilih memakai busana adat Nusantara yang terinspirasi dari baju adat Kesultanan Kutai Kartanegara Ing Martadipura, yaitu baju kustim dari Provinsi Kalimantan Timur” (Susilo & Wulan, 2024).

More than just a ceremony, the choice of clothing in this ceremony has a strong symbolic meaning. President Jokowi has consistently used traditional clothes that represent the transition from Jakarta to the IKN, having previously worn traditional Betawi clothing in his state of the nation speech. This emphasizes the vision of moving the capital city as part of equitable development. In addition, the holding of ceremonies in two locations simultaneously, namely in IKN and Jakarta, shows the government's concrete steps in

supporting the relocation of the government center to Kalimantan. The presence of various important figures and state officials in traditional dress from various regions further strengthens the spirit of unity and inclusivity within the national framework.

“The President also repeatedly said that the Indonesian Independence Day ceremony this time was a transition from Jakarta to IKN. Therefore, in addition to the Indonesian Independence Day celebration held in the two regions, the selection of clothes also strengthens it. However, the decision of the IKN as the capital of Indonesia is still waiting for the decision of the 2024 president-elect, Prabowo Subianto.”

The ceremony is also a testament to how cultural symbols can be used as an effective means of political communication. Jokowi and other officials not only appeared in traditional clothing, but also carried the message that development in Indonesia must be fair and sustainable. In this context, fashion becomes more than just an appearance, but a representation of the vision and direction of national policy. By holding a ceremony at the IKN, Indonesia showed the world that development is no longer centered in Jakarta, but spread to all corners of the country. The officialness of the ceremony at these two locations also strengthens the meaning of the transition, although the final decision regarding the sustainability of the IKN will be in the hands of the new government.

Thus, the commemoration of the 79th Independence Day of the Republic of Indonesia is not just a ceremonial celebration, but also an event to affirm national policies. Through the selection of costumes, the location of the ceremony, and the cultural symbolism presented, this ceremony affirms its commitment to building a more inclusive, equitable, and mutually respectful Indonesia. This event is not only part of history, but also a political message that implies that Indonesia's future lies in the spirit of unity and equitable development throughout the Nusantara.

“Karena, dengan diadakannya di IKN, itu menunjukkan bahwa pemerintah menunjukkan komitmennya terhadap pembangunan wilayah baru yang nanti akan menjadi pusat kemajuan Indonesia masa depan (Susilo & Wulan, 2024).”

Despite incomplete infrastructure, the ceremony symbolized the transition of the capital and the government's commitment to national development. The text employs terms like "premiere" and "historic" to underscore its significance, while imagery of the event amidst unfinished construction reinforces narratives of optimism and progress. The visual backdrop of ongoing construction subtly projects an image of resilience and determination, framing development as a continuous journey rather than an obstacle. This ideological functions to legitimize the IKN project, aligning it with the broader goals of modernization and

decentralization. By foregrounding official success while downplaying infrastructural shortcoming.

Nusantara as a Bond of Society

Before explaining how the Nusantara is used to represent Indonesia. It should be noted that the capital is a reflection and representation of the country. By Rossman at Kompas (Triana, 2022), said that the capital has two sides, Outward Capital which is the face of the nation to the outside world and Inward Capital which is the heart of the country. This metaphor is like the capital is the heart while other big cities are its backbone.

The capital city itself is English, which is the capital city which is rooted in the word "caput" in Latin which means head. In other words, it can be a brain, face, heart or liver. On the other hand, in Russian, the capital is called stolitsa which translates as table or throne, where the supreme power is located. So that in the long course of history, the war always aimed to occupy the capital to become a winner. Thus, the capital has an important role inherent in its functions, both administrative and symbolic of the state.

In the news, it is said that the choice of the name Nusantara has a long tie with the history of Indonesia's sustainability. That before Indonesia, the mention of the Nusantara was often used for a long time and became an icon in the eyes of the International. In addition, the Nusantara is described as a conceptualization of the Indonesian territory with islands united by the ocean; At least the depth of recognition of geographical plurality accompanied by cultural plurality. The choice of this word is interesting that the Nusantara is described as a representation of the conceptualization or unification of geographical areas and maritime areas.

Then why was the use of the Nusantara chosen and how does the history talk about the Nusantara?

In Indonesia's long history, the Nusantara was once used by Patih Gajah Mada of the Majapahit Kingdom in the 14th century, remembered as the palapa oath, then disappeared temporarily, and then appeared some time later. *Pararaton* This oath is quoted from (Waruwu et al., 2021) quoting J.L.A. Branders in 1897.

"Lamun huwus kalah nusantara isun amukti palapa, lamun kalah Gurun, ring Seram, Tanjung Pura, ring Haru, ring Pahang, Dompo, ring Bali, Sunda, Palembang, Tumasik, samana isun amukti palapa. Artinya setelah tunduk Nussantara, aku akan beristirahat. Setelah tunduk Gurun, Seram, Tanjung Pura, Haru, Pahang, Dompo,

Bali, Sunda, Palembang, Tumasik, barulah aku beristirahat." Yang mempunyai arti "jika telah mengalahkan Nusantara, saya (baru akan) melepaskan puasa. Jika mengalahkan Gurun, Seram, Tanjung Pura, Haru, Pahang, Dempo, Bali, Sunda, Palembang, Tumasik, demikianlah saya (baru akan) menikmati palapa (melepaskan puasa).

The use of this Nusantara is mentioned in the oath of Palapa Gajah Mada. Nusantara comes from the Sanskrit language Nusa which means 'island' and antara which means 'between' or 'including'. So that in the Javanese text it hints at other islands or at least remote maritime areas outside Java. Or the Nusantara is also referred to as Majapahit's ambition to expand its territory. In a sense, the mention of the Nusantara is a mention of an area outside the power of Majapahit. The Nusantara in question includes Malay (Sumatra), Tanjungpura (Kalimantan), Peninsular Malaya (Malacca), East Java and Nusa Tenggara, Sulawesi, Maluku, West Irian, and Java (except for the Kingdom of Sunda Galuh and Sunda Pakuan) (Sri Wintala, 2016). In his book entitled Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia, Bernhard Vlekke (Vlekke, 2008) refers to the Nusantara as another island as a term used to refer to islands outside or abroad other than Java and or Bali, processed therefore often referred to as Nusantara.

Long after that. In 2015, a petition was submitted to President Jokowi to propose changing Indonesia's name to Nusantara, although this petition was unsuccessful at the time. But it gives a different meaning of the Nusantara than what Gadjah Mada has. It does not refer to the ideal of conquest of territories but to the meaning of 'unity'.

This petition reads, "support President Jokowi to agree to change the name of Indonesia to Nusantara: 'the fact is that Indonesia is a name given by foreigners who is not one of the names of the rulers, the name of the nation, the name of the region, the name of the common spirit, which is usually used as a reference for the name of a country. The name Nusantara has been used as a synonym to refer to the Indonesian Nusantara since ancient times. Changing Indonesia's name to Nusantara will foster a more vibrant sense of unity and improve Indonesia's bad name structure to be good. Which will have a better impact on the country's life in all fields. Indonesia is now fed up with the Nusantara to recover. In this petition, it is explained that what is meant by Nusantara no longer refers to several regions geographically but to the meaning of the unity of these regions (*Tandatangani Petisi*, n.d.).

The name Nusantara was also proposed by Ki Hajar Dewantara for the name of Indonesia in the early days of independence (Evers, 2016). Which then in the end the name Indonesia was chosen as the name of the new country after the declaration of independence. The name

Indonesia itself is also foreign, and is often used and even popularized by Douwes Dekker who called the name 'Insulinde' which means Dutch East Indies. This name is often mentioned in historical and ethnographic literature on Insulinde.

Interestingly, long after Gadjah Mada proclaimed the oath of palapa, in J.B. Sudarmanto's notes in his book entitled "Politics of Dignity" explained that the Nusantara began to be used again and tried to be popularized as an alternative to an independent state rather than the Dutch East Indies. Nusantara in this case refers to a designation for the mention of areas in the Nusantara.

"Di Sekolah ini aku bertemu dengan sahabat-sahabat dari Andalas, Sulawesi, Ambon, Timor, bahwa bukan hanya Pakualaman, tetapi seluruh Nusantara ini sedang menanti datangnya pembebas"

Nusantara was popularized for his comments in the newspaper media when he was a journalist in *Seditomo, Midden Java, De Expres, Oetoesan Hindia, Kaoem Moeda, Tjahaja Timoer, and Poetry*. The Nusantara becomes the spirit of nationalism with fellow citizens *Bumiputera* to fight against Dutch colonial oppression and colonizers (Evers, 2016).

In addition, the word Nusantara was also used by Achmad Aidit, as the general chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1947, changing his name to D.N. Aidit, namely Dipa Nusantara (Siregar, 2021). He chose this name because he followed the name of his idol, Prince Diponegoro. Dipa/Dipo was taken from Diponegoro who inspired his resistance to Dutch colonialism and inspired the spirit of struggle in the liberation of the Nusantara from the shackles of colonialism. This is a separate spirit in the adoption of the name Dipa. Meanwhile, the Nusantara shows a national identity and a desire to fight for change throughout Indonesia.

His original name was Achmad Aidit, who later changed his name to Dipa Nusantara more triggered by his brother's political calculations, "He seems to want to hide his true identity, maybe start reading political risks", said Murad Aidit. In addition, Aidit also wants to appear in public as a person who has Minangkabau blood, which stands for Djafar Nawawi.

Sukarno also often used the Nusantara in his speech entitled "Building a New World" which was read at the United Nations General Assembly in New York on September 30, 1960, where he affirmed and spoke on behalf of the 92 million people in the Nusantara who built a country on the ruins of an empire. Namely imperialism and colonialism that have triggered wars and tensions between nations.

“... Hari ini, Presiden Soekarno lah yang berbicara di hadapan tuan-tuan. Namun lebih dari itu, ia adalah seorang manusia, Soekarno, seorang Indonesia, seorang suami, seorang bapak, seorang anggota keluarga umat manusia. Saya berbicara kepada tuan-tuan atas nama rakyat saya, mereka yang 92 juta banyaknya di suatu nusantara yang jauh dan luas, 92 juta jiwa yang telah mengalami hidup penuh dengan perjuangan dan pengorbanan, 92 juta jiwa yang telah membangun suatu negara di atas reruntuhan suatu Imperium...” (Rusyeni, n.d.).

With the intention of creating a common narrative as a modern independent state in the colonial territory of the Dutch East Indies. In addition, the Nusantara is also an enrichment of Greater Indonesia which is built on the history and glory of the Majapahit Kingdom as an anti-colonial struggle in Indonesia and marks as a geopolitical ambition to unite ASEAN countries that were once occupied by Majapahit.

In these figures, the Nusantara has its own meaning as a week of resistance against colonialism carried out by the Colonialists. However, in some ways, the Nusantara still refers a lot to the power of Majapahit which has a large territory. D.N. Aidit and Ki Hajar Dewantara tried to occupy the Nusantara as the spirit of nationalism, the spirit of struggle and revolutionary ideals at that time.

After these times, the use of the word Nusantara was not popular and the term was used by Nahdhatul Ulama to refer to Islam Nusantara. As an Islamic Movement which was launched at the 33rd Nahdhatul Ulama Conference in Jombang. The Nusantara that is emphasized is the concept as a counterweight to Radical Islam and ISIS in Iraq and Syria, which then interprets the Nusantara as Moderate. It does not refer to a conception of the region as before, but as an Islamic conception based on nationalism, diversity, and humanity.

So in this case, the use of the word Nusantara is often used to describe plurality and diversity. Meanwhile, the Nusantara has never stood limited to one island but a unity of islands. This is a fantasy that has been often mentioned since ancient times. So that the choice of this name becomes a communication practice that forms conventional boundaries and makes it within the geographical boundaries of the Capital City. In particular, in this length of history, the Nusantara has become discursive in the formation of how the place can be imagined and serves as a symbol that reinforces the power and emotional significance on the other hand.

So that the Nusantara becomes a communication instrument that is inserted with the meanings of greatness and greatness that refer to Majapahit. The spirit of the greatness of these nations binds society and fosters the sustainability of space. Indirectly, this meaning becomes a power to mobilize knowledge about the capital city.

The Nusantara is a means of communication and consolidation of the situation in the formation of space. The Nusantara has a closeness to the social image and ideals that mark the Indonesian group itself so that it is able to form and recall collective memory to foster the sustainability of 'space'.

Hiding behind Green-Narrative Production

Some of the next important points are the government's ambition in building a capital city with the principles and management of a city regulated by the government as a sustainable city in and a national identity legalized in the law in article 2:

"IKN Nusantara memiliki visi sebagai kota dunia untuk semua yang dibangun dan dikelola dengan tujuan untuk: a.) menjadi kota berkelanjutan di dunia; b.) sebagai penggerak ekonomi Indonesia di masa depan; dan c.) menjadi simbol identitas nasional yang merepresentasikan keberagaman bangsa Indonesia, berdasarkan Pancasila dan Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945".

In the various texts selected, it reflects how Kompas media is a medium of communication to reproduce the discourse of the National Capital. This constructed discourse places the government as the dominant actor in creating the collective vision and imagination of the nation's future through the National Capital. This discourse is a tool for articulation to the public.

"Ibu Kota negara dimimpikan sebagai kota yang bersinergi dengan hutan. Pembangunan yang diharapkan menimbulkan dampak seminimal mungkin ke alam. Pemerintah berencana menghujuakan kembali kawasan ibu kota negara yang kini tutupan hutanya 30-40 persen. Jutaan bibit telah disiapkan" (Gandhawangi, 2021b).

These conceptual statements such as "Green City", "Forest City", "10 Minute City" are conceptions that are ridiculed by dominant actors in order to win the ideological arena and gain public acceptance. This conception is also a rhetorical strategy in promoting the new National Capital by displaying the image of a project that is environmentally friendly, technology-based, globally competitive, and has international standards. This discourse often occupies that the country is treading a big vision towards global modernity.

"Selain itu, bangunan-bangunan di ibu kota negara diproyeksikan sebagai bangunan ramah lingkungan yang hemat energi, ibu kota negara diharapkan jadi referensi dunia seperti Liuzhou, China. Arab Saudi juga berencana membangun kota nol karbon yang disebut The Line, yakni kota pejalan kaki yang menggunakan energi bersih." (Sucipto, 2023)

In the process of consuming discourse, the public is more in a receptive position than participatory. The grand narrative about the IKN is packed with visionary and futuristic

language, which is difficult for the general public to question due to the lack of transparency and true participation. This process shows that discursive practice is not only about disseminating information, but also about shaping the way of thinking and feeling about an issue. Fairclough calls this a process of ideological hegemony, in which the meanings formed by the dominant group are considered to be the common truth.

Green is a word that stands alone. Which can be interpreted as a denotation with a literal color meaning. Green has a connotative word, which is a transformative effort to solve the problem of the climate crisis. This word was popularized by the Norwegian Prime Minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland who triggered the 'hujau' and 'sustainability' to be discussed (Bonanni et al., 2012). It was from there, that the term gained its popularity and became an important word for mobilizing power.

'Green' is the main narrative of the capital of the Nusantara. The shift in meaning from 'green' as an environmental movement that has proliferated to be reversed, is to position capitalism no longer as the cause of environmental damage, but as a savior in overcoming the climate crisis as illustrated by the idea of 'environmentally friendly'. Finally, the term then brought the dimensions of 'green' and 'sustainability' into the Neoliberal hegemonic discourse

Green is not only a matter of semantics that refers to the terms forest, environmentally friendly, renewable energy, but has become pragmatic. The vision of progress and greatness of the nation, which is translated in green, becomes the language of instruction that is then able to legitimize development in forests and mines. This form is framed by the image of Indonesia's ambition related to the Capital City itself. In the midst of the popularity of this green discourse, Indonesia is 'aware' of restorative efforts in the midst of the global climate crisis. So that this legitimizes in the discourse on the development of the Capital City, which is referred to as the 'Sustainable Forest City', becoming a discursive mention in imagining the Capital City of Indonesia in the future.

That 'green', 'sustainability', and 'concern about the climate crisis' become the language that was translated and explained to create a human attachment to knowledge about capital; community conventions in imagining the future. This means that the term is a basic tool of the imagination for remembering, guessing, and speculating about the space of the future capital.

This text actually provides its social context by giving an idea that infrastructure development, especially the capital city, should not stop in the name of carbon emissions or deforestation. Instead, the government dares to allocate larger funds that can actually potentially damage the environment. Thus, this text reflects the government's communication efforts written through Kompas, with the aim of embedding the values of partiality in development itself. So, this development practice can then be accepted by the public without being criticized by the public.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

A. Conclusion

The relocation of Indonesia's capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan, specifically North Penajam Paser, has been realized under President Joko Widodo's administration. Although the idea is not new—having surfaced during the eras of Sukarno and Suharto—it has now been implemented with significant momentum. This relocation is not merely a physical or administrative shift; it involves a contestation of power and ideology in the negotiation of meaning. This research examines Kompas.id as a media platform that produces narratives surrounding the Capital City of the Archipelago (IKN). Ultimately, the relocation serves both physical and symbolic functions, utilizing media and discourse as instruments to legitimize state authority and influence public perception.

In representing the Capital City of the Archipelago (IKN), Kompas employs a distinct vocabulary and genre in its textual construction. First, *Kota Hijau* (Green City) and *Kota Ihwal 10 Menit* (10-Minute City) are negotiated words that reimaged toward capital amid the climate crisis. The use of 'green' appeals to public environmental awareness and offers an alternative vision to traditional *developmentalism*, which has often been associated with ecological damage and social displacement. By promoting sustainability and livability, these narratives help frame IKN as a transformative project that shifts urban development toward harmony between people and nature.

Media coverage of land and water unification ceremonies and other ritual practices underscores hierarchical state structures. These rituals—featuring regional leaders—are strategically used to legitimize the relocation, portraying it as a unified, consensual decision backed by representatives from across Indonesia. So, that ritual ceremonies between president and governors are symbolically power to demonstrate that the new Capital is central. Symbolic practices within the narrative of the relocation of the National Capital City (IKN) of the archipelago—such as the homeland unification procession and the 79th Independence Day ceremony held at the IKN site—demonstrate a strong ideological function in constructing state legitimacy and reinforcing power hegemony. In this context, the media—particularly Kompas—functions not merely as a channel for conveying information, but as an active agent in reproducing and disseminating state ideology.

The transformation of *Harian Kompas* into Kompas.id marked a significant editorial shift that resulted in the formation of two distinct media branches: Kompas.id and Kompas.com. Kompas.id functions as a digital replica of the printed newspaper, available in electronic form and accessible via various digital devices. The framing of news within Kompas.id is not incidental but shaped by its longstanding and complex relationship with state power. Historically, Kompas has maintained a cautious editorial stance, particularly when reporting on issues related to political authority—an attitude rooted in its experiences during the repressive New Order regime. This cautious approach continues to influence its contemporary editorial decisions and shapes the way texts are curated and presented to the public.

The designation of “Nusantara” as the name for Indonesia’s new capital is a discursive practice that is far from neutral; it is laden with ideological significance. This naming reflects the state’s strategic effort to reconstruct national identity by unifying historical, political, and cultural narratives within a single geographical symbol. The discourse surrounding “Nusantara” is mobilized as a representation of historical continuity and cultural plurality, which hegemonically seeks to overwrite and transcend the colonial legacy embedded in the name “Indonesia.” In this process, both the media and the state function as dominant actors that actively produce and reproduce this discourse through symbolic representations, reinforcing the legitimacy of the state’s ideological vision. Consequently, “Nusantara” becomes more than a geographic label; it operates as an ideological tool designed to shape collective consciousness, solidify national identity, and renegotiate power relations between the political center and peripheral regions as part of Indonesia’s broader nation-building project.

The National Capital City (IKN) of the archipelago serves as an ideological articulation that constructs social reality in ways that sustain dominant power interests. The government, as the hegemonic actor, deploys visionary language—such as “green,” “sustainable,” and “world city”—to establish discursive hegemony that obscures structural issues like deforestation and the climate crisis behind a veil of progress and modernity. This “environmentally friendly” discourse is not mobilized as a critique of capitalist development, but rather as a neoliberal instrument that repositions capital as the solution to the very environmental degradation it generates. Consequently, the development of the IKN extends beyond mere infrastructure; it functions as a contested discursive arena in which ideological

narratives are strategically engineered to legitimize and reproduce state power within the collective public imagination.

Thus, the media do not merely function as channels of information, but also operate as ideological agents that construct social consensus on the legitimacy of development through the naturalization of meaning.

B. Research Limitation

This study is limited by the researcher's restricted access to more comprehensive data regarding the internal news production processes at *Kompas* during its digital transformation. As a result, the lack of in-depth interview data constrains the ability to provide a more detailed analysis of the production stage. These limitations hinder the researcher from thoroughly examining the relationship between news production and the resulting discursive practices.

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ATTACHMENT



FAKULTAS
PSIKOLOGI &
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Tanggal : 29 April 2025
Nomor : 682/Dok/70/DAA/TA/IV/2025
Hal : Permohonan Izin Pengambilan Data Skripsi

Yth. Pimpinan Redaksi Kompas.id

Assalamualaikum Wt. Wb

Dalam rangka mempersiapkan mahasiswa untuk menempuh ujian, bagi setiap mahasiswa diwajibkan membuat skripsi/tugas akhir:

Sehubungan dengan hal tersebut diperlukan data, baik dari instansi Pemerintah maupun Swasta. Selanjutnya kami mohon izin penelitian/pengambilan data mahasiswa Fakultas Psikologi dan Ilmu Sosial Budaya Universitas Islam Indonesia tersebut dibawah ini :

Nama Mahasiswa : Iyasa Alvin Abadi
Nomor Induk Mahasiswa : 18321238
Program Studi : Ilmu Komunikasi
Pembimbing : Holy Rafika Dhona, S.IKom, M.A.
Judul Skripsi :

Communication Practice on Producing-Space towards Ibu Kota Nusantara in Kompas.id

Demikian permohonan kami, atas perhatian dan bantuan Bapak/Ibu/Saudara/i kami ucapkan terimakasih.

Wassalamualaikum Wt. Wb

Dekan Fakultas Psikologi dan Ilmu Sosial Budaya
Universitas Islam Indonesia



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FORMULIR PENGAJUAN MAGANG/PENELITIAN

Nama Ilyasa Alvin Abadi

Status :

Program	S1
Universitas	UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA
Fakultas	FAKULTAS PSIKOLOGI & ILMU SOSIAL BUDAYA
Jurusan	ILMU KOMUNIKASI

Jenis Pengajuan:

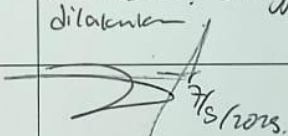
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<input type="checkbox"/>	Tugas Kuliah (Wawancara)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Penelitian(Wawancara)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Penelitian Pengambilan Data

Judul Penelitian/Survey :

Communication Practice on Producing-Space towards Ibu Kota Nusantara in Kompas.id

Catatan Tim Rekrutmen:

-

Penempatan	
Penanggung jawab	
Keputusan Diklat	Setelah dicermati, penelitian ini belum layak untuk dilakukan. Sehingga pengambilan data tidak dapat dilakukan.
	 7/5/2025.

Jakarta, 07 Mei 2025