

**POWER AND IDENTITY REPRESENTATION IN NEWS ON INDONESIA'S CAPITAL RELOCATION: A FAIRCLOUGH CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

*(Representasi Kekuasaan dan Identitas dalam Berita tentang Relokasi Ibu Kota Negara: Analisis Wacana Kritis Fairclough)*

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**Abstract**

*This study investigates how Metro News and Kumparan.com represent the relocation of Indonesia's new capital (IKN), focusing on power and identity in media discourse. Using Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis at micro-, meso-, and macrostructural levels, a qualitative approach analyzes online news excerpts and interviews through a matching method validated by triangulation. Findings indicate that Metro News constructs an oppositional identity by critically framing President Jokowi's policies, reflecting the ideological stance and institutional influence of its ownership. In contrast, Kumparan.com emphasizes government achievements, portraying a progressive and development-oriented identity of the administration. The analysis shows that media discourse functions both as a political watchdog and as a constructor of social and political identities, shaping public perception and legitimizing authority. The study underscores the importance of media literacy, transparency, and public dialogue in fostering critical awareness of strategic national issues such as capital relocation. Further research is recommended to examine how media representations of power and identity affect policy reception and public opinion.*

**Keywords:** critical discourse analysis, ibu kota negara (IKN), identity, kumparan.com, metro news

**Abstrak**

Studi ini menyelidiki tentang bagaimana Metro News dan Kumparan.com merepresentasikan relokasi Ibu Kota Baru Indonesia (IKN), dengan fokus pada kekuasaan dan identitas dalam wacana media. Menggunakan analisis wacana kritis Norman Fairclough pada tingkat mikro, meso, dan makrostruktural, pendekatan kualitatif menganalisis kutipan berita daring dan wawancara melalui metode pencocokan yang divalidasi oleh triangulasi. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa Metro News membangun identitas oposisional dengan membingkai secara kritis kebijakan Presiden Jokowi, yang mencerminkan sikap ideologis dan pengaruh kelembagaan pemiliknya. Sebaliknya, Kumparan.com menekankan pencapaian pemerintah, menggambarkan identitas pemerintahan yang progresif dan berorientasi pembangunan. Analisis menunjukkan bahwa wacana media berfungsi baik sebagai pengawas politik maupun sebagai konstruktor identitas sosial dan politik, membentuk persepsi publik dan melegitimasi otoritas. Studi ini menggarisbawahi pentingnya literasi media, transparansi, dan dialog publik dalam menumbuhkan kesadaran kritis terhadap isu-isu nasional strategis seperti relokasi ibu kota. Penelitian lebih lanjut

disarankan untuk mengkaji bagaimana representasi media tentang kekuasaan dan identitas mempengaruhi penerimaan kebijakan dan opini publik.

**Kata-kata Kunci:** analisis wacana kritis, ibu kota negara (IKN), identitas, kumparan.com, berita metro

## INTRODUCTION

The news distribution to the public, which the government automatically hears in this post-modern era, is strategically carried out through online news. Most of society is aware of information across all aspects of life through mass media, whether local, regional, national, or even international. News is a report about a fact or an event. This indicates that the work of journalists and the media is to convey facts, although they cannot depict events precisely as they are, 100% by reality. However, media is not merely a free channel. The media is also a subject that constructs reality with its viewpoints, biases, and partiality (Eriyanto, 2015; Rahmawati & Muhid, 2019). In addition to shaping reality, the media also functions as a site for identity construction, where certain groups, political actors, or institutions define themselves in opposition to others. Media discourse produces, reproduces, and legitimizes collective and political identities that are inseparable from the struggle over power (Hall, 1996; Fairclough, 1992). Various media information has inundated society with its easy and inexpensive access. News related to criticism of the government is often exploited by certain parties, whether for political interests or for the media's interest in attracting readers. (Suharyanto, 2016; Tike & Rosida, 2018). Althusser (2015) states that the media occupies a critical position, mainly due to its ability as a tool to validate an event. Mass media is part of the instruments of power and plays a role in ideology to build public compliance with the ruling group.

The news reported in both print and online media seems to reflect the thoughts or ideologies of the media owners. Media owners utilize their outlets to express their thoughts, and even more than that, they use the media to shape the opinions of readers. This can be seen from the media's linguistic

structure and word choices (Choiriyati, 2015; Kurniasari & Aji, 2015). Through linguistic choices, the media not only reflects ideological positions but also marks in-groups and out-groups, constructing identities that align with political stances or institutional interests (van Dijk, 1998; Wodak et al., 2009).

In addition to being the owner of the media group, Surya Paloh is also active in politics and currently serves as the General Chair of the National Democrat Party. As we know, the Nasdem Party is the opposition to the government. The researcher is interested in analyzing news about the Jokowi government published by Metro News. The researcher uses a critical paradigm approach to uncover the news writers' ideology.

Critical paradigm adherents understand that reality is an illusory truth shaped by social, political, and economic forces. The reality presented to journalists is a distorted one. This reality has been filtered and voiced by the dominant groups in society. The critical paradigm views journalists not as robots who report things as they are or as they see them. Morality, in many ways, means taking sides with a particular group or value, an integral part that cannot be separated in shaping and constructing reality. Journalists here are not merely reporters; consciously or unconsciously, they become participants of those with vested interests (Baker, 2007; Prakosa, 2018; Zelizer, 1993). Within this paradigm, discourse does not only reproduce ideology but also actively constitutes identities, both of the ruling elites and of oppositional voices, making identity a central dimension of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak, 2011).

Research on critical discourse analysis has been widely conducted. Siswanto, in his study titled "The Representation of Indonesia in Stand-Up Comedy (A Critical

Discourse Analysis of Norman Fairclough in Pandji Pragiwaksono's Special Show "Mesakke Bangsaku," revealed that bias towards a particular political figure leads to the production of texts that create a negative image of certain parties (Siswanto & Febriana, 2017). Research on Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis has also been conducted by several previous researchers, who highlighted that critical discourse analysis emphasizes that discourse is a form of interaction and that the use of language in discourse is viewed as a social practice. Norman Fairclough stated that discourse analysis examines spoken and written language as a social practice (Cenderamata & Darmayanti, 2019; Cibro et al., 2022; Khotimah & Khotimah, 2024). In addition, critical discourse analysis also explores how discourse contributes to the construction of social and political identities. Identity is not fixed but discursively produced, negotiated, and contested through language use in the media (Hall, 1996; Fairclough, 2003; Wodak, 2011). Although many have researched Norman Fairclough's critical discourse studies, none have focused specifically on the news regarding "Critical Discourse Analysis on Power and Identity Representation in News on Indonesia's Capital Relocation."

About the understanding that news shapes reality according to the interests of the news creators, this study aims to analyze a news article titled "*Representation of Power and Identity in News on Indonesia's Capital Relocation: A Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis of Kompas.com and Metro News.*" This study not only seeks to reveal the ideological paradigms implied within the news but also to investigate how identities—both governmental and oppositional—are represented, legitimized, or challenged through media discourse. Is the news reported purely without any interests, or is it utilized by certain parties, thus wrapped in language that encourages readers to think in ways desired by the news creators? By uncovering these patterns, this study is expected to contribute to a deeper public

awareness of media framing practices, enhance critical media literacy, and provide academic and practical insights for researchers, journalists, and readers in understanding how discourse shapes social perception and power relations.

## FRAMEWORK THEORY

Fairclough refers to his understanding of language with the term discourse. According to Fairclough, discourse is a form of "social practice" with three implications. First, discourse is part of society. Discourse cannot stand alone, separate from society. Second, understanding discourse as a social practice implies that discourse is a social process. Just as society processes and develops, so does discourse (language) also process and develop. Third, discourse evolves according to the conditions established in society. (Fairclough, 1989). There is a kind of dialectic between language and social conditions. Social conditions influence discourse, but social conditions are also influenced by discourse. Fairclough's approach to analyzing texts is considered comprehensive because it attempts to unite three traditions.

### Textual Dimension (Microstructural)

Fairclough conceptualizes discourse as a form of social practice that is reflected in the linguistic construction of the text. At this microstructural level, the analysis focuses on how representation, relations, and identities are formed through lexical choices, grammar, and rhetorical structure (Fairclough, 2003). Identity becomes central because discourse does not simply report events or power dynamics, but actively constructs social and political identities. Hall (1996) emphasizes that identity is not a fixed essence but a continuous process shaped through discourse. Similarly, Fairclough (2003) explains that identity is discursively produced in interaction, while Wodak (2011) highlights that political discourse often legitimizes certain actors by creating "us" versus "them" distinctions. Thus, texts should be understood not as neutral but as arenas of identity negotiation, influenced by

the ideological perspectives of the discourse producers (Munfarida, 2014).

### **Text Production Practice Dimension (Meso-structural)**

This dimension examines how texts are produced, circulated, and consumed within institutional frameworks. Discourse is a social process that evolves along with the society that produces it (Fairclough, 1989). Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) describe Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis as a text-oriented approach that integrates linguistic text analysis, sociological interpretations of social practices, and micro-sociological interpretive traditions. This integration highlights that texts are shaped by newsroom routines, editorial decisions, and institutional interests. Munfarida (2014) emphasizes that analyzing production practices helps reveal how ideological interests influence what is included, emphasized, or omitted in media discourse. Therefore, the meso-level analysis connects textual features to the institutional and communicative settings that frame their creation and interpretation.

### **Cultural Social Practice Dimension (Macrostructural)**

At the macrostructural level, discourse is understood within broader situational, institutional, and societal contexts. Fairclough (1989) asserts that discourse is part of society and evolves within social conditions. There exists a dialectical relationship: social structures influence discourse, and discourse simultaneously shapes social reality. By incorporating sociocultural conditions, this dimension exposes the ideological and power relations embedded in discourse practices. Munfarida (2014) argues that textual analysis alone is insufficient without examining the socio-cultural forces that motivate the discourse, while post-structuralist approaches that focus solely on socio-cultural contexts lack methodologies for systematic text analysis. Therefore, Fairclough's approach bridges text and context to uncover how power, ideology, and identity are articulated and

sustained within broader cultural-social practices.

## **METHODS**

This research was conducted using qualitative research methods with the critical discourse analysis framework developed by Norman Fairclough through three stages: microstructural, mesostructural, and macrostructural. Data was obtained from excerpts of online news from Metro News and Kumparan.com and editor interviews. Data analysis employed a matching method with referential techniques, while validity testing was conducted through data triangulation. This qualitative approach focuses on the general principles underlying the manifestation of meaning from social phenomena within society (Bungin, 2007; Handayani et al., 2019). This research paradigm is a critical paradigm, which posits that media is not a neutral entity but can be controlled by dominant groups (Eriyanto, 2015). The critical paradigm believes that the media serves as a means by which dominant groups can control or mobilize non-dominant groups, even marginalizing them by dominating and controlling the media (Munfarida, 2014). This research is qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is descriptive-analytical research with an inductive approach. The process and meaning are more emphasized in qualitative research. The existing theoretical framework is utilized as a guide to ensure that the research focus aligns with the facts on the ground, while also providing a background foundation and serving as material for discussing the research results.

In applying Fairclough's analytical framework, this study follows three systematic steps. First, at the Textual Dimension (Microstructural) stage, the analysis focuses on how representation, relations, and identities are constructed in the news texts, including examining vocabulary, metaphors, modality, and sentence structure to reveal how actors and issues are framed. Second, at the Text Production Practice Dimension (Meso-structural) stage, the

analysis examines the processes of text production, dissemination, and consumption, including newsroom routines, editorial policies, and audience interpretation patterns as reflected in interviews with news editors. Finally, at the Cultural Social Practice Dimension (Macrostructural) stage, the analysis situates the discourse within broader situational, institutional, and social contexts, exploring how political power relations, media ownership, and ideological interests influence and are reinforced by news discourse. Through these interconnected stages, this research aims to reveal how media discourse shapes and is shaped by structures of power and ideology in society.

DISCUSSION

The observations conducted on the reporting in Metro News using a critical discourse analysis approach can then be elaborated on regarding the content of the news article titled “Jokowi Dinilai Terlalu Memaksakan Citra Baik IKN” and Kumparan.Com, which features the news titled “Kenapa IKN Harus Dilanjutkan?”. To facilitate the analysis of the three dimensions present in critical discourse analysis, a table outlining the reporting on Metro News and Kumparan.Com has been power relations.

Critical discourse analysis also examines the context of communication: who is communicating with whom and why; in what type of audience and situation; through which medium; how the differences in types of communication development occur; and the relationships for each of these aspects. Critical discourse analysis considers the discourse context, such as background, situation, events, and conditions. In this case, discourse is produced, understood, and

analyzed within a specific context. This refers to Cook's perspective. Fairclough's approach to analyzing texts is considered comprehensive because it seeks to unify three traditions: 1. Textual Dimension (*Microstructural*), including: cohesion and coherence, grammar, and diction. 2. Discourse Dimension (*Mesostructural*), including: text production, text dissemination, and text consumption. 3. Socio-Cultural Practice Dimension (*Macrostructural*), including: situational, institutional, and social (Maelasari & Rohayati, 2022; Maghvira, 2017). This research will take these three dimensions to examine the comprehensive results of how Metro News constructs reality as reflected in the news text “Jokowi is Considered to be Forcing a Positive Image of IKN,” and Kumparan.com, which contains news titled “Why IKN Should be Continued?” created. In addition to analyzing the discourse structure, this study also highlights how identity is constructed and represented through the reporting of Indonesia’s capital relocation. The language choices, framing of arguments, and attribution of agency in both Metro News and Kumparan.com articles do not merely inform readers but also shape particular subject positions and collective identities. For example, Metro News tends to depict President Jokowi’s identity as a political actor forcing legitimacy, whereas Kumparan.com positions him as a rational leader seeking continuity and national stability. These contrasting portrayals influence how readers identify with or distance themselves from certain political stances, ultimately reinforcing or contesting power relations embedded in the discourse. The news content from Metro News is presented in the following table (Table 1).

Table 1. News content on Metro News

Type of Media	Media Name	Link	Title
Online	Metrotvnews.com	<a href="https://www.metrotvnews.com/read/NP6CplMv-jokowi-dinilai-terlalu-memaksakan-citra-baik-ikn">https://www.metrotvnews.com/read/NP6CplMv-jokowi-dinilai-terlalu-memaksakan-citra-baik-ikn</a>	Jokowi Dinilai Terlalu Memaksakan Citra Baik IKN

(Note: IKN refers to “Ibu Kota Negara,” which means “Capital

The different news content that shows bias toward government policies related to the Nusantara Capital is presented by September 14, 4:02 PM, with the title “Kenapa IKN Harus Dilanjutkan”. From the perspective of identity theory, the news constructs Jokowi’s identity as a progressive leader who frames the continuation of IKN as a



rational and inevitable choice for national development. In this representation, Jokowi is not only positioned as the initiator of the project but also as the embodiment of modernity and transformation. Such framing

reinforces his political identity as a reformist figure while simultaneously marginalizing opposing voices that question the feasibility and urgency of the project. Table 2 presents biased news from Kumparan.com.

**Table 2.** News content on Kumparan.Com

Type of Media	Media Name	Link	Title	Published	Identity Representation
Online	Kumparan.Com	<a href="https://kumparan.com/silkyana/kenapa-ikn-harus-dilanjutkan-22D4N8etSge/1">https://kumparan.com/silkyana/kenapa-ikn-harus-dilanjutkan-22D4N8etSge/1</a>	Kenapa IKN Harus Dilanjutkan?	March 11, 2024, 4:40 PM	Jokowi is represented as a visionary leader who seeks to establish his identity as a bearer of national progress through the IKN project, despite criticism and public resistance.

### Microstructural Analysis

Analysis of textual dimensions from the perspective of critical discourse analysis by Norman Fairclough encompasses descriptions of vocabulary, grammar, textual structure, and identity (Maghvira, 2017; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). In terms of vocabulary, there are several aspects of vocabulary used to represent the discourse

surrounding the news titled “Jokowi Dinilai Terlalu Memaksakan Citra Baik IKN” by Metro News. To understand the construction of the text in a news article, it is necessary to conduct a text analysis of the news. Below is the discourse analysis of the news on Metro News published on September 14, 2024, at 07:40 AM.

**Tabel 3.** News Data Card on Metro News

Title	:	Jokowi Dinilai Terlalu Memaksakan Citra Baik IKN	
Publisher	:	Metro News	
Code	Text Excerpt	Word Choice/Sentence Structure	Identity Representation
M-1	“Jokowi Dinilai Terlalu Memaksakan Citra Baik IKN”	Sentence Structure:  Passive Sentences Word Choice: - Jokowi - Memaksakan	Jokowi is represented as a leader who dominates public discourse by imposing a positive image of the IKN, despite facing resistance.
M-2	“Pakar sosial politik dari Universitas Negeri Jakarta (UNJ) Ubedilah Badrun mengkritik langkah Presiden Joko Widodo (Jokowi) yang berkantor selama 40 hari di Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN).	Word Choice:  Mengkritik	Jokowi’s identity is constructed as that of a leader who is hasty, ambitious, and imposing his will in the IKN project.
M-3	Ubedilah menyakini “Paling kuat beberapa hari saja untuk seremonial dan semacam show of power mengumpulkan petinggi TNI/Polri. Bukan berkantor tetapi mirip konsolidasi”	Word Choice:  Clause: Paling kuat beberapa hari saja  Word : Seremonial  Phrase: Show Of power	Jokowi’s identity is shaped as a leader who demonstrates power (show of power), focusing more on symbolism than on substance.
M-4	“Selain itu, langkah Jokowi mengajak menteri hingga publik figur ke IKN tidak berbuah maksimal. Ia meyakini	Word Choice:  “tidak berbuah	Jokowi’s identity is represented as a leader whose programs are considered to have failed in achieving real success.

<b>Title</b>	:	<b>Jokowi Dinilai Terlalu Memaksakan Citra Baik IKN</b>		
<b>Publisher</b>	:	<b>Metro News</b>		
<b>Code</b>	<b>Text Excerpt</b>	<b>Word Choice/Sentence Structure</b>	<b>Identity Representation</b>	
	<i>pembangunan IKN akan berhenti di era Presiden Jokowi.”</i>	maksimal”		
M-5	<i>“Itu tandanya kegagalan proyek IKN sudah di depan mata. Itu akibat <b>grasah grusuh</b> dan <b>ngoyo</b>. Logikanya bangun IKN itu bukan pada periode Jokowi, tetapi yang tepat itu saat ekonomi negara sudah pada level aman, tandasnya.”</i>	<b>Word Choice:</b> <b>Phrase:</b> Grasah-grusuh <b>Word:</b> Ngoyo	Jokowi’s identity is constructed as a leader who is hasty, ambitious, and imposing his will in the IKN project.	

In the title (M-1) “Jokowi Dinilai Terlalu Memaksakan Citra Baik IKN,” this sentence is in passive voice, where the subject of the action (“Jokowi”) is placed in a position that is being judged, while the evaluator is not explicitly mentioned. This can be seen as a strategy to convey criticism without directly accusing a particular party. The choice of words, specifically the use of “Jokowi” instead of “President,” gives an informal or more personal impression, reflecting a critical or less formal judgment. This also reduces the social distance between the speaker and the subject, creating an informal impression and expressing criticism (Yule, 1996). Additionally, the word “Memaksakan” indicates that Jokowi’s actions are unnatural or done with coercion, suggesting that these actions are not voluntarily accepted by the public or the evaluating parties. Identity Analysis Added: Through this framing, Jokowi’s identity is constructed as a coercive leader who imposes his will on the public rather than seeking democratic consensus. The title itself portrays him as embodying domination rather than collaboration.

At the beginning of the report (M-2), particularly in the opening paragraph, Metro News presents an overview of the news that will be discussed. The diction or choice of words used is given careful attention. This clearly shows the author's intention to corner President Jokowi, as the author also aims to convey information to the public. In the first paragraph, there is the word “mengkritik” in the sentence “Ubedilah Badrun mengkritik langkah Presiden Joko Widodo (Jokowi)

yang berkantor selama 40 hari di Ibu Kota Nusantara (*IKN*).” According to the Great Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), the word “criticize” has the meaning of condemnation or response. The author could have chosen a word with a softer connotation, such as “menilai.” However, this choice of diction is a way for the author to portray a negative impression of President Jokowi. The author’s efforts do not stop there; in the following sentence, there is also the statement ““Jokowi terkesan memaksakan membangun citra bahwa IKN layak ditempati.” In this sentence, the word “memaksakan” implies an action that exceeds the limits of reality. Thus, it can be interpreted that the author wants to explain that IKN is not yet suitable for habitation. This aligns with Roland Barthes’ (1967) view that every word carries connotative and denotative meanings. In this context, the selection of harsher or more direct diction can be seen as a semiotic strategy to deliver sharp criticism, while a softer word choice may give the opposite impression. Identity Analysis Added: In this case, Jokowi’s identity is represented as an authoritarian figure whose leadership style disregards feasibility and reason, framing him as someone who enforces rather than persuades.

In the content of the news (M-3), the author increasingly directs the readers’ thoughts to give a negative image of President Jokowi. This is evident in the mention of the object in the sentence “Ubedilah menyakini Jokowi tidak sepenuhnya berkantor di *IKN*.” The source refers to the object simply as “Jokowi”

without using the word President, which implicitly suggests a lack of respect when addressing a national leader. According to Moffitt (2016), the way the media refers to public figures can reflect their political and ideological attitudes. The author also continues the statement made by Ubedillah: *"Paling kuat beberapa hari saja untuk seremonial dan semacam show of power mengumpulkan petinggi TNI/Polri. Bukan berkantor tetapi mirip konsolidasi."* In that sentence, the clause *"paling kuat beberapa hari saja"* suggests that President Jokowi will not last long in IKN. This is followed by the clause *"Show of Power,"* which has the connotation of a *"display of power"* and seems aimed at cornering President Jokowi. This is further supported by the next clause, *"Bukan berkantor tetapi mirip konsolidasi."* Although this statement was made by the source, the author and the media owner have full control over the choice of sources in the news. Identity Analysis Added: Here, Jokowi's identity is constructed as a symbolic leader who prioritizes spectacle and performance over substantive governance, shaping him as a figure concerned with consolidating power rather than practical leadership.

In the next paragraph (M-4), the author increasingly directs the readers' thoughts to justify the news presented by Metro News. The author convinces readers that the development of the IKN (Nusantara Capital City) will not continue and that President Jokowi's efforts to move the capital to IKN will fail. This is evident in the sentence: *"Selain itu, langkah Jokowi mengajak menteri hingga publik figur ke IKN tidak berbuah maksimal. Ia meyakini pembangunan IKN akan berhenti di era Presiden Jokowi."*

This sentence is a compound sentence because the clauses stand alone and have equal degrees. The two clauses are connected by related meanings but each has its own subject and predicate. In the first clause, *"tidak berbuah maksimal"* means that President Jokowi's efforts to invite ministers and public figures to IKN have not succeeded in proving to the public that IKN

is ready to be the Capital City of the Country. Then, in the next sentence:

*"Ia meyakini pembangunan IKN akan berhenti di era Presiden Jokowi."*

The subject *"Ia"* in this sentence refers to Ubedillah. Ubedillah believes that the development of IKN will not continue under the next president's leadership. By writing Ubedillah's response, the author employs a strategy to influence the readers' ideology so that they believe what the author states is true. The selection and presentation of information conveyed by the source can shape how readers understand an issue (Entman, 1993). Identity Analysis Added: In this construction, Jokowi's identity is positioned as a transitional leader whose policies lack sustainability, portraying him as ineffective in ensuring long-term national development.

In the next paragraph (M-5), the author reassures the readers that President Jokowi's effort to relocate the capital to IKN is a misguided step. This is implied in the sentence:

*"Itu tandanya kegagalan proyek IKN sudah di depan mata. Itu akibat grasah grusuh dan ngoyo. Logikanya bangun IKN itu bukan pada periode Jokowi, tetapi yang tepat itu saat ekonomi negara sudah pada level aman."*

In that sentence, the phrase *"grasah grusuh,"* borrowed from Javanese, means *"in a hurry."* The author uses this phrase to portray a negative image of President Jokowi, who is seen as too hasty in realizing IKN. Additionally, there is the word *"Ngoyo,"* also borrowed from Javanese, which means *"to push oneself too hard."* The use of these terms seems to create a negative image for President Jokowi, and this represents the author's attempt to influence the readers' thoughts by presenting opinions from sources chosen by the author as well as the media outlet Metro News. Identity Analysis Added: Through the use of local vocabulary like *"grasah grusuh"* and *"ngoyo,"* Jokowi's identity is framed as an impatient and overly ambitious leader, reinforcing the narrative that he imposes his agenda regardless of readiness or context.



The microstructural analysis regarding vocabulary dimensions, grammar, and textual structure related to news texts that are

pro with this IKN policy can be seen on Kumparan.Com, which was uploaded on March 11, 2024, at 4:40 PM.

**Table 4.** News Data Card on Kumparan.com

Code	Text Excerpt	Word Choice/Sentence Structure	Identity Representation
K-1	<i>“Kenapa IKN <b>Harus Dilanjutkan?</b>”</i>	<b>Sentence Structure:</b>  Interrogative  <b>Word Choice:</b>  - <b>Phrase:</b> Harus Dilanjutkan	The discourse <i>“Kenapa IKN Harus Dilanjutkan?”</i> constructs Jokowi’s representation identity as a determined and authoritative leader who legitimizes the continuation of the IKN project as a symbol of national progress.
K-2	<i>“pembangunan IKN <b>memiliki tujuan</b> untuk <b>mengatasi berbagai masalah</b> yang melibatkan Jakarta, seperti tingkat kepadatan penduduk, kebijakan tata ruang yang tidak optimal, serta risiko bencana alam dan kenaikan permukaan air laut”</i>	<b>Word Choice:</b>  - <b>Phrase:</b> Memiliki tujuan  - <b>Clause:</b> Mengatasi berbagai masalah	represents the identity of IKN as a rational and solution-oriented project, constructed as the legitimate answer to Jakarta’s structural, demographic, and environmental challenges.
K-3	<i>“Pembangunan IKN adalah salah <b>satu jalan atau solusi</b> dari beberapa kondisi yang dialami Jakarta khususnya pada aspek lingkungan.”</i>	<b>Word Choice:</b>  Jalan atau Solusi	Constructs the identity of IKN as an environmentally responsible solution, positioning it as a progressive and necessary response to Jakarta’s ecological problems.
K-4	<i>“Indonesia <b>harus berani</b> mengambil <b>langkah besar</b> yang beresiko dibandingkan berdiam diri dan hanya menerapkan solusi jangka pendek.”</i>	<b>Word Choice:</b>  - <b>Phrase:</b> Harus berani  - <b>Phrase:</b> Langkah besar	constructs the identity of Indonesia’s leadership as bold, proactive, and visionary, emphasizing a willingness to take significant risks for long-term national progress rather than settling for safe, short-term measures.
K-5	<i>“Pembangunan IKN adalah <b>langkah besar</b> menuju <b>perubahan yang lebih besar dan lebih baik</b>. Ini adalah kesempatan bagi Indonesia untuk menjadi negara yang <b>lebih maju, berkelanjutan, dan memberikan kualitas hidup yang lebih baik</b> bagi seluruh masyarakatnya”</i>	<b>Word Choice:</b>  <b>Phrase:</b>  - Langkah Besar  - Perubahan yang lebih besar dan lebih baik.  - <b>Lebih maju, berkelanjutan, dan memberikan kualitas hidup yang lebih baik</b>	constructs the identity of Indonesia and its leadership as progressive, visionary, and committed to sustainable development, portraying the IKN project as a transformative initiative aimed at enhancing national prosperity and the well-being of its citizens.

In the opening paragraph (K-1), the author deliberately uses an interrogative sentence in the title. The question form in this sentence reflects a provocative tone. Interrogative sentences and rhetorical questions can serve to grab the reader’s attention and encourage them to reflect on important issues (Aristotle, 2007). This

question prompts a reconsideration of the reasons why the IKN (new capital city) project should continue. The choice of the word *“harus”* implies a strong obligation or necessity, reinforcing the idea that this project is not just recommended but considered urgent or inevitable. The use of the word *“harus”* also emphasizes the

presence of significant responsibility or mandate, both politically and economically. This sentence indirectly raises the issue of **development policies related to power**. **“Harus dilanjutkan”** implies political or economic pressure to proceed with the IKN project. Ideologically, this phrase could signal support for the development, but with the caveat that there needs to be clear justification behind it. Identity Representation added: The phrasing also constructs the identity of Indonesia’s leadership as determined and responsible for national development, portraying the government as a proactive agent obligated to act.

Through the next section of his writing (K-2), the author shows the fact that the development of the new capital city (IKN) is a necessity and cannot be ignored. To persuade the readers to agree with his opinion, the author presents facts about the current condition of Indonesia’s capital city. **“Memiliki tujuan”**: This phrase emphasizes the existence of a clear **intention or vision** behind the development of IKN. The use of the word **“tujuan”** indicates that this project is not arbitrary but is designed to address specific issues. **“Mengatasi berbagai masalah”**: The choice of the word **“mengatasi”** positions the IKN project as a solution to a series of problems. It implies that these issues are urgent and need to be resolved quickly and effectively. The use of the word **“berbagai”** highlights the plurality of problems, suggesting that Jakarta faces numerous challenges that need to be addressed. Identity Representation added: These expressions contribute to constructing the identity of the state and its leadership as problem-solvers and visionary planners, emphasizing accountability and capability.

The next paragraph (K-3) increasingly reveals the author's intention to support President Jokowi's administration policy to continue the development of IKN (Indonesia's new capital city). This is evident in the sentence: *“Pembangunan IKN adalah salah satu jalan atau solusi dari beberapa kondisi yang dialami Jakarta khususnya pada aspek lingkungan.”* This sentence uses

a simple but effective structure. The subject is *“Pembangunan IKN,”* followed by the predicate *“adalah,”* which strengthens the claim that IKN is a solution. The sentence emphasizes that the development project is legitimate and necessary. Then there is the phrase **“Jalan atau solusi”**: This phrase provides an alternative resolution, reinforcing the impression that the IKN project is an action offering solutions-not the only path, but one legitimate option. Identity Representation added: This choice frames the leadership and the state as strategic and solution-oriented actors, constructing an identity of competent governance capable of addressing complex urban and environmental issues.

In the following sentence (K-4), it seems to convey the message about the necessity of courage in decision-making, while also building a strong and emotional argument to emphasize the importance of significant actions in the development of the new capital city (IKN). The choice of words, sentence structure, and style all work together to create a message urging the reader to agree that the development of IKN must proceed. This is evident in the phrase **“harus berani,”** which indicates a proactive attitude and courage in decision-making, giving a positive nuance to the government's actions under President Jokowi. **“Langkah besar”**: This phrase signifies significant and challenging actions, implying that major changes are needed to achieve progress, and this can be realized through the development of IKN. Identity Representation added: The leadership is represented as courageous and decisive, constructing an identity of assertive authority willing to take calculated risks for national advancement.

In the last paragraph (K-5), there is a sentence that reads, *“Pembangunan IKN adalah langkah besar menuju perubahan yang lebih besar dan lebih baik. Ini adalah kesempatan bagi Indonesia untuk menjadi negara yang lebih maju, berkelanjutan, dan memberikan kualitas hidup yang lebih baik bagi seluruh masyarakatnya.”* This sentence serves to communicate the significance of IKN's development as a major step toward

positive change in Indonesia. The choice of optimistic wording, logical sentence structure, and persuasive language style all contribute to the message that this development is an opportunity to create a better future for all citizens. In line with Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2006) perspective, the optimistic word choices in the text can evoke positive emotions and build hope among the audience, in this case, the readers. Furthermore, the phrase **“Langkah besar”** carries a positive connotation, indicating that the development of IKN is a significant action essential for the future. Then, the clause **“perubahan yang lebih besar dan lebih baik”** implies ambition and hope, with the word "better" suggesting a comparison and aspiration for continuous improvement. **“Lebih maju, berkelanjutan, dan memberikan kualitas hidup yang lebih baik”** describes the ideal outcome expected from the development of IKN, with the author creating a positive image of the desired future for IKN. Representation added: These phrases construct an identity for Indonesia and its leadership as visionary, progressive, and committed to sustainable development,

portraying the state as an agent capable of delivering improvements in social welfare and national progress.

Mesostructural Analysis

Mesostructural analysis discusses dimensions related to the processes of text production and consumption. According to Hall (1980), the process of cultural production involves multiple stages, including the creation, distribution, and consumption of texts. A text is essentially produced through a production process, such as work patterns, work charts, and routines in generating texts (Munfarida,1970). This section will explain the production process of news texts from the mass media Kumparan.com and MetroNews. Identity Representation added: The production and dissemination processes construct the identity of the media organizations as authoritative actors shaping public perception, while also framing political leaders and national projects like IKN in ways that reflect ideological positions and societal roles. The explanation is presented in the following Table 5.

Table 5. The Mesostructural Analysis of Kumparan.com and Metro News

Name of Mass Media	Owner	Media Owner Status	Office	Identity Representation
<i>Metronews</i>	Surya Paloh	Politician (Chairman of the Nasdem Party)	Jl. Pilar Mas Raya Kav. A-D, Kedoya, Kebon Jeruk, Kota Jakarta Barat, DKI Jakarta. (Swasta)	The media identity reflects political affiliation and influence, potentially shaping news content to align with the owner's political ideology.
<i>Kumparan.com</i>	Hugo Diba, Ine Yordenaya, Arifin Asydhad, dan Yusuf Arifin	Non-Politician (Independent)	Jakarta, <i>Landmark UniversityTelkom</i> (BUMN) (state-owned company)	The media identity emphasizes independence and neutrality, portraying itself as less influenced by political power and more focused on public-oriented reporting.

Media Metro News

In Indonesia, there are several print and online media outlets. One of them is a media group led by Surya Paloh. PT. Media Televisi Indonesia, commonly known as

Metro News, is a national television channel that began broadcasting on October 25, 2000. The print and online media owned by this media group includes Metro News. Metro News is a subsidiary of the Media Group

owned by Surya Paloh. Surya Paloh started his business in the media sector by founding the daily newspaper PRIORITAS (Metro News, profile, public relations).

In addition to being the owner of the media group, Surya Paloh is active in politics and currently serves as the Chairman of the National Democrat Party. As we know, the NasDem Party is part of the opposition to the government. Therefore, the researcher is interested in analyzing the news about the Jokowi government published by Metro News. To uncover the ideology of the news writers, the researcher employs a critical paradigm approach. Based on the explanation above, it can be seen that Metro News is a print and online media outlet that provides services to the public in the form of information or news. As mentioned above, the business touch and independence of Metro News are very strong. The series of events does not stand alone but is part of several institutional sequences involving many parties, including journalists, editorial staff, editors, and others.

From the perspective of identity theory, Metro News constructs a social and political identity that influences how it frames news, particularly regarding government actions and policies (Hall, 1997; Van Dijk, 1998). The ownership and political affiliation of Metro News shape its representational identity, which is enacted through editorial choices, reporting style, and source selection, ultimately affecting how audiences perceive political figures and events.

### **Media Kumparan.com**

Kumparan.com is one of the popular online media outlets. As a new media platform, Kumparan presents unique and different news content compared to other types of media. Its presence on Instagram captures public attention by providing concise, clear, and straightforward news coverage without unnecessary elaboration. Kumparan.com is a relatively new news media platform that offers news content distinct from other media. It was founded by Hugo Diba, Ine Yordenaya, Arifin Asydhad,

and Yusuf Arifin, who are pioneers of digital media in Indonesia. In 2016, they initiated the creation of a new media platform that could revolutionize digital media, focusing specifically on the online media industry in Indonesia. They observed significant changes in news consumer behavior that needed attention.

Unlike other online media, Kumparan.com views technology as the primary operational foundation, rather than just an additional tool. The principle that distinguishes Kumparan from typical online media is its belief that technology is not merely a supporting pillar but the main foundation. This is why Kumparan chose to create a platform that combines social media concepts with news. The site is intriguing for analysis as it is one of the online mass media platforms that regularly publishes opinion pieces, with a higher frequency of opinion publications and without requiring a subscription (Abdullah, 2019; Maarif et al., 2024).

Kumparan.com is headquartered in the Telkom Landmark Tower located in Jakarta. This location is part of Kumparan's collaboration with Telkom Indonesia, which supports development and innovation in information technology and digital media. Telkom Indonesia is a company engaged in telecommunications and internet services, and it is a state-owned enterprise (BUMN) in Indonesia. Therefore, Kumparan.com's news coverage tends to highlight the achievements of the Jokowi government and its policies, which could indicate a social practice that promotes a viewpoint favorable to the government. Conversely, if criticism of the government is ignored or minimized, the resulting narrative could create a more positive perception of the government, even in the presence of issues that may need to be raised. A mesostructural analysis of Kumparan.com indicates that the relationship between media owners and the Jokowi government can influence social practices in news production and content representation. This interconnection can create narratives that support government policies while affecting how readers

understand and respond to the information presented. Thus, this relationship is crucial to analyze in the context of press freedom and media responsibility in conveying information to the public.

From the perspective of identity theory, Kumparan.com constructs a professional and progressive media identity that emphasizes innovation, technology, and digital engagement, reflecting the founders' vision of a modern and independent online news platform (Hall, 1997; Van Dijk, 1998). This identity is enacted through the selection of news topics, opinion pieces, and editorial choices, which can subtly shape readers' perceptions of political figures, policies, and societal priorities while maintaining the platform's image as an impartial and technologically forward media outlet.

### Macrostructural Analysis

The framing established in this analysis is that a social context existing outside the media significantly influences the discourse present within the media. Erving Goffman (1974) in *Frame Analysis* explains that the media not only conveys information but also frames issues in a certain way that reflects the surrounding social, cultural, and political contexts. The news delivered by the media is sometimes not pure but rather influenced by factors outside the media itself. This macrostructural perspective also considers how identities—such as those of political leaders, institutions, and social groups—are constructed, represented, and perceived through media framing. In this case, there are three levels of discussion:

- 1) **Situational Level:** Related to production and its situational context.
- 2) **Institutional Level:** Related to the influence of institutions, both internally and externally.
- 3) **Social Level:** Related to broader situations such as the economic, political, or cultural systems of society as a whole.

These three levels of analysis will be presented in the news analysis of *Critical*

*Discourse Analysis of Power in News Regarding the Transfer of the Capital to IKN in the Metro News and Kumparan.com Media:*

### Situational Level

News about the transfer of the Capital City to the IKN typically focuses on practical aspects such as construction processes, costs, transfer schedules, environmental impacts, and infrastructure readiness. This situation illustrates how various parties, including the government, the public, and investors, respond to developments in the transfer process. This aligns with McQuail's (2010) view in the uses and gratifications theory, where media plays a role in fulfilling audience needs related to information and future orientation, as seen in the issue of the Capital City relocation. The situational level also constructs and conveys the identities of key actors involved, including government officials, investors, and local communities, showing how these identities are perceived, contested, or reinforced in media coverage. Based on situational analysis results, implicit power representation can be observed in the news from metro.news and kumparan.com:

### Metro News

The news presented by metro.news, particularly regarding the transfer of the Capital City to the IKN, seems to imply rejection and contains elements of power from the media owners or senior editors. The communication objective of this news is to inform the public about the transfer plans and the latest developments regarding the IKN. This news includes government announcements, construction challenges of the IKN, and the debates that arise within the community. The news also frames the identities of President Jokowi and other stakeholders, portraying them as either dominant, resistant, or constrained in the development process.

### Kumparan.com

The transfer of the Capital City to the IKN occurs during a transitional period, specifically the end of President Jokowi's

term and the beginning of the next president's term. This situation undoubtedly influences how the news is understood. At this level, the situational aspect also includes the responses of the local communities in East Kalimantan and Jakarta, which can be influenced by economic, social, and cultural interests. The coverage presented by Kumparan.com represents power, seemingly reflecting the support given to President Jokowi's government for relocating the Capital City to the IKN. Through this reporting, Kumparan.com constructs identities of the government and local communities as proactive and cooperative actors, highlighting a positive image of Jokowi's leadership in the IKN project.

### ***Institutional Level***

Mass media plays an important role in presenting information about the new capital city (IKN). Each media outlet has a different perspective on packaging the news, depending on its ideology, editorial policies, and target audience. In the book by Shoemaker & Reese (1996), it is explained that media content is influenced by various factors, including institutional ideology, editorial policy, and the relationship between media and economic and political power. The selection of sources, quotes, and data used in news reflects the media institution's stance on the topic. Institutional identity is constructed through editorial choices, source selection, and framing, which together communicate the media's alignment, biases, and ideological positioning to the audience. For example, news that prominently features the viewpoints of government officials indicates support for the relocation policy, while news highlighting the opinions of experts or environmental activists may emphasize the critical aspects of the discourse.

Kumparan media appears pro-government in presenting news related to IKN, as it highlights the positive aspects of the capital's relocation, such as opportunities for economic growth and equitable development. Through its content and source selection, Kumparan constructs an identity

of the government as progressive and competent, while portraying itself as an independent and objective media institution that supports these narratives. Kumparan.com chose to publish an article written by Silkyana Maharani Kodrat, a student at the Vocational School of IPB, majoring in digital communication and media. The choice to publish Silkyana's article seems intended to reflect that Kumparan is an independent media outlet; however, the decision to select which writings to publish certainly involves the influence of the media owner's power.

In contrast, Metro News focuses more on the potential risks, such as financing, environmental damage, and social impacts on local communities. In the news published by Metro News, the source selected is Ubedilah Badrun, a political sociologist from Universitas Negeri Jakarta (UNJ). This choice of source reflects the institutional stance of Metro News. Metro News constructs an identity of the media institution as critical, oppositional, and analytical, emphasizing accountability and the questioning of government actions. Ubedilah Badrun, an academic and political observer, is known for frequently criticizing the administration of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi). His criticisms are based on various aspects of government policies and actions that he believes do not align with the principles of democracy, social justice, and transparency. Ubedilah has made many criticisms of President Jokowi's administration, which certainly serves as a consideration for Metro News in choosing him as a source. This selection of sources is not coincidental, but rather a deliberate effort by Metro News to present a critical viewpoint regarding President Jokowi's administration. Through this strategic source selection, Metro News signals its institutional identity to readers as a watchdog media, shaping how audiences perceive the government and social actors.

However, based on interviews conducted with the editor of the media group that oversees Metro News, the editor stated: *"In the process of drafting news texts, the*

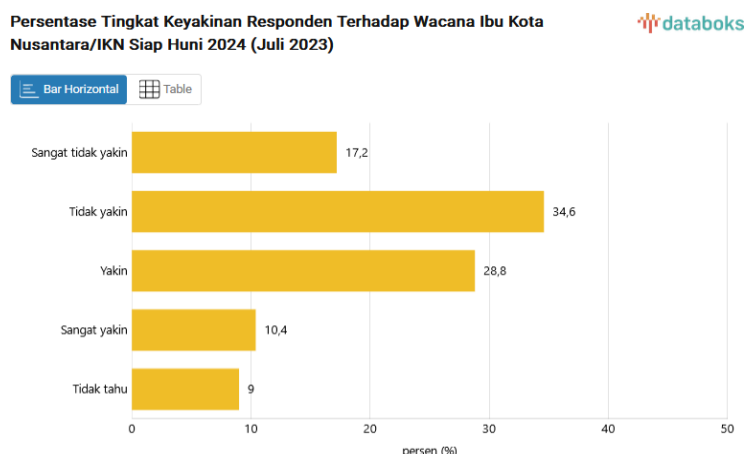


*media owner does not play a role, and the media group's policy is neutral toward President Jokowi's government policy regarding the relocation of Indonesia's capital to IKN; we only criticize if there are issues that are not good."* (Media Group Editorial: October 02, 2024)

Based on the results of this interview, the media group's editor answered the questions in a normative manner. However, if we look at the text analysis, the choice of words used by the Metro News editor seems to guide public opinion as if implying disagreement with the relocation of Indonesia's capital to IKN.

### Social Level

The relocation of the capital has broad social impacts. In the news, this is usually reflected in how the community responds, both positively and negatively. Residents of Jakarta, East Kalimantan, and other regions may have different views depending on their interests and expectations. For example, the people of East Kalimantan may see this relocation as an economic opportunity, while residents of Jakarta may feel threatened by the potential decline in property values or changes in the status of their city.



**Figure 1.** Public Survey on the Relocation of Indonesia's Capital to IKN

Therefore, a survey is needed to assess the extent to which the people in Indonesia are responding to the relocation of Indonesia's capital to the IKN. This shows how public perception contributes to the construction of social identity, as the collective opinions, doubts, and expectations of communities shape their identity in relation to the IKN project. The results of the survey by Katadata on <https://databoks.katadata.co.id/demografi/statistik/79743e4867db323/survei-kurios-mayoritas-warga-ri-tak-yakin-ikn-siap-dihuni-pada2024> can be seen in the Figure 1 above.

The Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing (PUPR) stated that the progress of the National Capital (IKN) has reached 36%, and the construction of the presidential palace has also reached 23% of the plan. However, are the people confident that IKN will be ready for occupancy by 2024? According to a survey by Kurious-

Katadata Insight Center (KIC), 51.8% of respondents expressed doubt about IKN being ready for occupancy in 2024. Specifically, 17.2% of respondents answered very doubtful, and 34.6% answered doubtful. On the other hand, 39.2% of respondents felt confident; of these, 28.8% were confident, and 10.4% were very confident. Additionally, 9% of respondents indicated that they did not know. This Kurious-KIC survey was conducted with 633 respondents, comprising 45% male and 55% female respondents. More than half of the respondents were from islands in Java, excluding Jakarta (64.04%), followed by respondents from DKI Jakarta (14.2%) and Sumatra (12.3%). The proportion of respondents from Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali-Nusa Tenggara, and Maluku-Papua ranged from 0.6% to 3.8%. The majority of respondents were aged between

35-44 years (32.7%), followed by those aged 25-34 years (30.6%) and 45-54 years (21.8%). Data was collected from July 11 to 18, 2023, using computer-assisted web interviewing (CAWI), with a margin of error of approximately 3.89% and a confidence level of 95% (Kadata, 2023). Demographic factors such as age, location, and gender contribute to the formation of community identity, affecting how different groups perceive and engage with the IKN relocation.

The news presented by metro.news and kumparan.com, particularly regarding the transfer of the capital to the new capital city (IKN), seems to imply both pros and cons, as well as an element of power from Metro News has its own approach to reporting the steps taken by President the media owners. The purpose of the communication in this news is to inform the public about the plans for the relocation and the latest developments regarding IKN. However, survey results indicate that the majority of the Indonesian public opposes the capital transfer. A total of 61.9% of respondents expressed disagreement, citing budget waste and the less strategic location as the main reasons. Additionally, another survey also showed that most people are unsure if IKN will be ready for habitation by 2024, with 51.8% of respondents expressing disbelief regarding the readiness of existing infrastructure (Katadata, 2023). Identity: Public reactions as reported by surveys construct social identity by revealing collective attitudes toward government projects, highlighting the community's stance in relation to national development.

The news presented by kumparan.com plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion regarding the relocation of the capital. News that includes narratives about the strategic reasons and long-term vision of the government contributes to the formation of a positive outlook. In contrast, metronews focuses more on issues such as funding, transparency, environmental impact, and the rights of indigenous communities, which can encourage critical or skeptical opinions. This illustrates that news related to the issue of

the capital relocation is not just about building construction, but also involves the interests of those in power in framing the IKN issue within the news text. Through media framing, both positive and critical, the media constructs collective social identities by influencing how communities perceive the IKN relocation and their relationship to political power and policy decision.

## CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the representation of power and identity in the news coverage of Indonesia's capital relocation varies according to the ideological orientation and institutional interests of the media. Metro News constructs a critical representation of government power by highlighting issues, challenges, and opposing perspectives related to the relocation, thus shaping an identity that aligns with a watchdog role and opposition discourse. This positioning encourages audiences to adopt a more skeptical stance toward state authority. Meanwhile, Kumparan.com presents a supportive and optimistic narrative regarding the relocation, emphasizing development achievements and national progress. Through this framing, Kumparan.com constructs a pro-government identity that portrays the relocation as a visionary and modernizing policy, encouraging audience alignment with national development goals. These findings show that media discourse is not neutral but is actively shaped by institutional power dynamics, ideological positions, and narrative strategies that construct how the public understands power and identity in the context of national policy change.

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