

# Framing The Future: An Ecolinguistic Analysis Of Government And Media Discourses On Indonesia's New Capital (IKN)

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## Abstract

The relocation of Indonesia's capital city to Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) in 2019 has sparked public discussion and controversy regarding its environmental, developmental, and political consequences. As a place of national change, IKN is not just a physical project but also a discursive one—built and fought over using language. The article examines how the government (<https://setkab.go.id>) and the media frame (<https://en.tempo.co>) IKN in their narratives using an ecolinguistic approach based on Stibbe's (2015) ecological discourse analysis from 2019 to 2025. Although the earlier objective of the study is hypothetically predicted different framing between those two discourses, after undergoing the analysis, the researchers found a surprisingly similar frame between government and media discourse. Especially when they frame IKN through Development frames, Sustainability frames, and Erasure frames, both discourses aligned in articulating the frame through similar metaphors, lexical choices, and linguistic patterns. This unanticipated alignment changes the emphasis of the study from discursive difference to the discovery of ideological congruence and its consequences for public ecological awareness. The five main frames the study finds are Development, Sustainability, Resilience, Presidential Legitimacy, and Erasure. By means of these frames, both institutions create a common story of national growth while sidelining other ecological voices and suppressing the non-human effect of development. By demonstrating how coordinated framing by strong institutions shapes environmental discourse, hence affecting public perception and limiting the space for critical ecological reflection in Indonesian culture, the results add to ecolinguistic research.

**Keywords:** Ecolinguistics, Framing, Government Discourses, Media Discourses, Indonesia's New Capital

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Climate change, biodiversity loss, pollution, and resource depletion are among humanity's unparalleled environmental challenges in the 21st century [1,2,3]. The presence of these obstacles necessitates a comprehensive re-evaluation of how humans engage with the natural world, as well as their approach to addressing, communicating, and understanding environmental issues. The discussion, debate, and expression of social values, views, and priorities are significantly influenced by environmental issues.

In 2019, Indonesia's President announced the relocation of Indonesia's capital city. This relocation is due to various environmental problems in Jakarta which has been ranked the world's most environmentally vulnerable city with more than 10 million people inhabitants in its limited 661,5 km<sup>2</sup> area [4,5]. The relocation is also expected to spread the nation's development evenly and not centred in Java island [6]. However, the relocation causes another controversy because the new capital city will be built on an unproductive forest in East Kalimantan [7,8]. Kalimantan is renowned for its status as the world's greatest oxygen generator, mostly attributed to its huge forest cover and pristine environment. Relocating the capital city to this thus arouses many concerns about environmental and cultural issues. The pro group insists that relocation is the best solution for solving the nation's environmental issues in Jakarta and can bring wealth and even development to the area outside Java island [5,9]. However, another contra group argues that relocation will have more negative impacts than benefits, such as environmental

degradation and cultural embezzlement [10]. They argue that this relocation will only shift the destruction from Java island to Kalimantan island.

Along with the controversy and arguments, implementing new capital city development arises with all its related discourses. The government's website regularly promotes and informs the progress of the new capital development. It brings other discourses, such as mass media to respond to every government's move. Here, language and discourse are applied to shape public opinions. How the government depicts IKN in their discourse and responds to the issue can reflect their ecological framing, and so do other mass media. The way they frame Indonesia's capital city will affect how the public perceives its development. The debates and disputes around Ibukota Khusus Nusantara (IKN) underscore the significance of language in the discourse, which is a component of ecolinguistic study. Ecolinguistics is a nascent field that integrates linguistics, ecology, and discourse analysis to examine the linguistic and ideological dimensions of environmental discourse [11]. As stated by Alexander and Stibbe [12], "ecolinguistics is the examination of the influence of language on the vital interconnections among humans, other organisms, and the physical environment." Ecolinguistics, akin to critical discourse analysis (CDA), aims to reveal the implicit assumptions inherent in the prevailing societal discourses [11]. CDA seeks to enhance awareness of social inequity and foster social change, while ecolinguistics and EDA employ linguistic analysis to reveal and emphasize discourses detrimental to the environment [11].

An ecolinguistic approach is advantageous for examining the discursive formations of the new capital and its environmental implications within the framework of Ibukota Khusus Nusantara (IKN). The researcher can elucidate the framework representing IKN in the discourse by analyzing the terminology utilized in governmental and mainstream media communications. The researchers select a government official website that consistently publishes discourses pertaining to IKN in English, sourced from <https://setkab.go.id>. In order to compare the production of government discourses, the researcher selects other discourses from the English-language newspaper Tempo in Indonesia (<https://en.tempo.com>). The researchers choose Tempo newspaper as the subject of the study due to its perceived reliability and neutrality, along with its clear language, rendering it suitable for research and varied audiences [13,14].

The primary aim of this study was to examine how governmental and media discourses generate distinct ecological frameworks concerning the development of Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN). The hypothesis claimed that these two institutions, typically characterized by opposing communicative objectives, would demonstrate differing narrative tactics, especially in their portrayal of environmental issues.

As the investigation advanced, a significant alignment between government and media discourses became evident. Instead of expressing divergent or conflicting perspectives, both sectors seemed to replicate analogous frameworks, metaphors, and linguistic patterns, especially in their justification of IKN as a "green" development initiative. This unforeseen similarity necessitated a reassessment of the research focus—from emphasizing discursive divergence to revealing the ideological congruence and possible ramifications of this framing alignment.

The revised aim of this study is to examine the common discursive patterns utilized by government and media in shaping ecological narratives regarding IKN, and to critically assess what this alignment indicates about environmental ideology, narrative control, and the function of ecolinguistic framing in Indonesian public discourse.

Recent researchers have employed ecolinguistic analysis to examine diverse discourses, including news articles [15,16], UN narratives [17], presidential speeches [18], vegan campaign posters [19], and public debates [20]. Research has demonstrated that specific discourses embody varying ideologies, ideas, attitudes, or messages that can either harm or benefit the environment. Many of these studies examine unilateral narratives, showcasing a singular party's viewpoint regarding the environment [16,17,18,19], whereas Zhang, Chandran Sandaran & Feng [15] offer a comparative analysis of two international media ideologies, and Poole [20] presents a debate involving two factions concerning mining in Arizona. Nonetheless, no studies have been undertaken to elucidate how governmental media and mainstream media portray a particular problem and to compare their representations. This research will employ Stibbe's ecolinguistics framework to elucidate the representation of IKN by the government and the media. The frames may serve as propaganda or campaigns that might be detrimental, ambiguous, or

advantageous for the environment. This heightened awareness will illuminate the extent to which those discourses seek to influence readers regarding the topic matters.

## 2. Method

### 2.1 Research Design

This present research is a qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology using an ecolinguistic perspective to examine the framing techniques utilized in constructing narratives around the building of Indonesia's future capital city, IKN Nusantara. The study is based on the premise that language not only mirrors reality but also actively influences ecological awareness and legitimizes specific ideas. The primary objective is to elucidate how various frames—both environmental and non-environmental—formulate, reinforce, or diminish ecological values within IKN-related discourses.

### 2.2 Source of Data

The dataset comprises 73 publicly accessible articles from national media (e.g., Tempo.co) and 72 official government discourses concerning the relocation and development of IKN from 2019 to 2024.

### 2.3 Data Collection

The researchers underwent several stages to collect the data source as follows:

1. Researchers examine news items, presidential remarks, speech transcripts, and press releases on the official government website, <https://setkab.go.id>, for governmental discourses. The researchers ensure that the discourses on the website are in English and locate the articles using the search index "IKN". Consequently, the researchers consider the articles from 29 April 2019 as the initial reference to IKN, extending until April 2025.
2. For the media discourses, the researchers access <https://en.tempo.co> and do a search using the index sorted by date. The researchers conducted a manual search of the item from 29 April 2019 to April 2025 pertaining to IKN.
3. For all articles the researchers use a system for labelling the corpus as (Source)-(Section)-(Year)-(Month)-(Date)-(Order) for instance the article which is taken from <https://en.tempo.co> in the section "National" which is published on September, 11<sup>th</sup> 2019 will be labelled as Tempo-National-2019-09-11.

Every article was preserved in .docx format for analysis using NVivo and AntConc. Qualitative coding was performed in NVivo, utilizing frame nodes for manually highlighted portions, while AntConc is used to find frequent words that represent the frames. Frames were discovered and classified according to recognized frameworks from media studies [21,22], ecolinguistics [23], and critical discourse analysis [24,25]. These encompassed ecological frames such as sustainability, exploitation, erasure, and harmony, in addition to socio-political frameworks like development, nationalism, and presidential legitimacy.

### 3.4 Frame Categories

Frames are categorized into **two major types**:

#### a. Primary (Ecological) Frames (Stibbe,2015):

Table 1 Primary Frames

Frame Type	Description
<b>Sustainability</b>	Positions IKN as environmentally friendly, green, or low-impact
<b>Harmony</b>	Frames human-nature relationships as balanced and coexistent
<b>Resilience</b>	Depicts nature or systems as recoverable with proper intervention
<b>Reconnection</b>	Encourages respect for and spiritual return to nature
<b>Exploitation</b>	Frames nature as a resource to be used for human benefit
<b>Disaster</b>	Describes environmental threats or ecological collapse
<b>Erasure</b>	Silences or backgrounds environmental concerns, biodiversity, or indigenous perspectives

The researchers will utilize only four frames from Stibbe [23], as only three are pertinent to the discussion of IKN representation: Environment Sustainability, Resilience, Exploitation, and Erasure.

## b. Secondary (Ideologically Significant) Frames:

Table 2 Secondary Frames

Frame Type	Description
<b>Development</b>	Emphasizes progress, modernization, economic growth
<b>Conflict</b>	Provides different point of views about the development of IKN
<b>Technocentric</b>	Promotes technology and infrastructure as solutions
<b>National Unity</b>	Uses symbolism to foster collective ownership of IKN
<b>Presidential Heroism</b>	Frames Jokowi as visionary and personally involved
<b>Sacralization</b>	Uses rituals or spiritual language to legitimize IKN
<b>Security/Militarization</b>	Focuses on defense, control, and strategic governance

These secondary frames are analyzed based on their ecological implications or omissions. The selected frames are utilized to examine the types of frames prevalent in IKN-related discourses from both governmental and mass media perspectives.

## 3. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Researchers examined 72 government discourses and 73 mass media discourses concerning Indonesia's new capital city, referred to as Ibukota Khusus Nusantara (IKN), published in 2019 following Former President Joko Widodo's announcement of the capital's relocation, as well as those published in 2025 that illustrate the present circumstances and advancements of IKN. The frameworks of the discourses might be presented in the following tables:

Table 3 Frames Found in Government and Mass Media Discourses

Frame Types	Government Discourses (n=72)	%	Mass Media Discourses (n=73)	%
<b>Conflict</b>	1	1,39	11	15,07
<b>Development</b>	40	55,6	40	54,79
<b>Environmental Sustainability</b>	22	30,6	24	32,88
<b>Erasure</b>	22	30,6	26	35,61
<b>Exploitation Frame</b>	4	5,56	4	5,48
<b>National Unity/Symbolism</b>	11	15,3	1	1,37
<b>Presidential Legitimacy</b>	10	13,9	12	16,43
<b>Resilience</b>	1	1,39	8	10,96
<b>Sacredness</b>	6	8,33	0	0
<b>Security/Militarization</b>	0	0	3	4,11
<b>Technocentric</b>	11	15,3	11	15,07

The quantitative distribution of frames among the 72 government and 73 media discourses is summarized in the table above. As indicated, both sources prominently utilize the Development Frame, appearing in more than half of the articles (55.6% government, 54.79% media), followed by regular deployment of the Environmental Sustainability and Erasure Frames. This trend indicates a discursive convergence, in which both institutions advocate a comparable narrative that depicts IKN as a progressive and environmentally responsible national initiative.

The following section provides a thematic analysis of the predominant frames to enhance understanding of their language operation. Selected extracts from governmental and media sources demonstrate how

linguistic patterns, metaphors, and thematic omissions influence the portrayal of IKN. Both sources utilize promotional words such as “eco-smart capital” and “Indonesia’s green future” to maintain the Sustainability Frame, while seldom discussing ecological hazards or biodiversity trade-offs—indicative of erasure framing. The examples categorized thematically below elucidate the utilization of ecolinguistic tactics to both inform and shape public opinion regarding extensive environmental changes.

### 3.1 Development Frame: Shared Vision on Progress

The development frame is the language used to emphasize progress, modernization, and economic growth resulting from the relocation and development IKN as the new capital city of Indonesia. The development frame appears to be the most noticeable frame in government (55.6%) and mass media discourses (54.79%). Most of the articles related to IKN talk about how IKN is the solution for fair and evenly development, and avoiding Java-centrism as can be seen in the following excerpt:

“Indonesia needs national-scope **economic justice**. There are 17 thousand islands, not just one. We need **equality and equitable** development. This is what we expect from the construction of the IKN,” President Jokowi stated in his remarks at the talk adopting theme of the Nusantara Capital City: New History, New Civilization in Jakarta, Tuesday (10/18). (SETKAB-NEWS-2022-10-18). In the cited extract, President Joko Widodo emphasizes that the aim of IKN development is to promote equity and equitable progress across Indonesia. He also noted the vastness of Indonesia, with 17,000 islands; hence, shifting the capital city will facilitate the objective. Another objective is to persuade individuals that the advancement of IKN would serve as a pivotal moment—a foundation for Indonesia to attain developed nation status. The objective is conveyed in the title of the statement, which refers to Nusantara Capital City as a New History, New Civilization. The repetition of the term “new” in the title signifies the government’s ambition to establish a completely distinct capital city from Jakarta, the current capital of Indonesia. The advancement of IKN illustrates the government’s commitment to fostering an equal economy and development. The development of the Nusantara Capital (IKN) is the Government’s effort to **evenly** distribute the economy in the country, President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo has said. (SETKAB-NEWS-2023-10-21-2)

This similar voice is articulated from mass media discourse as follows:

The **relocation** is necessary for economic and development **equity** across the country and to ease the burden on Java Island in general and Jakarta in particular, Jokowi had explained earlier. (Tempo-Archipelago-2019-08-28-8) President Jokowi asserted that the development of IKN is the sole solution for the equitable advancement of Indonesia. The focus on the equitable distribution of the country’s development is conveyed by vocabulary selections that signify uniform advancement, including terms such as “even(ly),” “balance(d),” “inclusive,” “harmonious,” “fair,” and “equal(ity),” which appear in 36 out of 72 articles, totalling 75 occurrences. The government presents the notion of equitable development as a primary justification for the advancement of IKN. Consequently, the majority of governmental narratives position development as the principal rationale for constructing IKN. In addition to fostering equality, the advancement of IKN seeks to improve the nation’s quality of life. President Joko Widodo has frequently asserted that IKN will serve as a pivotal moment for Indonesia’s progression towards becoming a developed nation, as indicated in the subsequent quotation:

The plan to relocate this capital city is in line with the vision of Indonesia 2045 which will make Indonesia a **developed** and **high-income** country. (SETKAB-NEWS-2019-10-01)

A similar frame is also found in the media discourse as follows:

IKN Nusantara will be set as a **showcase for transformation**, on the side of the environment, economic-based work methods, technology, and others, including higher quality of health and education services and a social system that upholds public ethics,” said the President in a virtual broadcast on Wednesday, Feb. 9(Tempo-EconomyBusiness-2022-02-09) Based on the sentence above, we can see that the mass media plays a role in conveying information from the government, so the ideas and frames within it do not differ from the government discourse. Like the government

media, which proposes IKN as the solution to achieve advanced development for Indonesia, especially for boosting the economic growth as stated as follow:

On the national scale, **the new capital city is estimated to drive economic growth up** to 0.1 percent in the long run and 0.05 percent in the short run. In terms of employment, the project is expected to increase employment by 9 percent at the national level and 10.5 percent on the island of Kalimantan. (Tempo-National-2019-09-11-1)

Then this objective is well accepted by some of Indonesian citizen as captured by mass media discourse as follows:

Ismail, a visitor from Balikpapan, said that his IKN visit was driven by curiosity about the project. "Hopefully the construction could be completed in the next five years. Hopefully, IKN can become the expected nation's capital, much more **advanced and have a positive impact** on the entire Indonesian society," he said. (Tempo-Economy & Business-2025-04-07)

The cited paragraphs clearly indicate that both governmental and media narratives regard IKN as a strategic initiative representing progress, modernity, and national prosperity. The capital's relocation is persistently presented as a "solution" for attaining equitable, balanced, and inclusive growth, linguistically underscored by the recurrent use of adjectives such as "advanced," "developed," "modern," and "thriving," which appeared 20 times across 11 pieces. These lexical selections portray IKN not merely as an economic infrastructure initiative but as a narrative of national transition, envisioning Indonesia as a developed nation by 2045.

Moreover, the consistency of language in government and media narratives—especially through official forecasts, vision statements (e.g., Indonesia 2045), and citizen testimonials—demonstrates a discursive convergence that legitimizes the development initiative. Instead of scrutinizing its viability or ecological implications, both sources affirm IKN as an unequivocal national objective, so entrenching the Development Frame as a prevailing and normative narrative in public discourse.

### 3.2 Environmental Sustainability Frame: Green Framing with Limited Depth

Environmental sustainability frames are employed to characterize IKN as ecologically benign, green, or minimally detrimental to environmental damage. Environmental sustainability frames are prominently present in both discourses, with 22 (30.6%) articles in government discourses and 24 (32.88%) articles in mass media. The depiction of environmental sustainability is prominently reflected in IKN's tagline as "green city" and "forest city." The analysis reveals the presence of environmentally related terminology, including "green," "forest," "natural," "environment," "renewable," "reforestation," and "biodiversity," throughout 32 articles with a total of 107 instances. The government's utilization of specific terminology to frame environmental sustainability in relation to the development of IKN is seen in the following excerpt:

Bambang went on to say that the construction of IKN will also take into account the **environmental** aspect and empowerment of local people. Regarding **forest** and land conversion, he added, the Government will carry it out based on the prevailing laws and regulations. In addition, the Government will also **preserve the forest** through **reforestation**. (SETKAB-NEWS-2022-06-03)

The statement indicates that the government presents the development of IKN as not contributing to further environmental degradation and marginalizing indigenous voices, which are deemed the most significant in the discourse around IKN development. The government's assertion that "the construction of IKN will also consider environmental factors and the empowerment of local communities" suggests an underlying discourse emphasizing these elements prominently. Consequently, the government must elucidate its commitment to addressing environmental concerns and considering the rights of indigenous populations. A corresponding voice is also present in media discourses, as outlined below:

The Joko Widodo (Jokowi) administration or the government has assured that the development of the **capital city will not damage the environment** and **vowed** that East Kalimantan **forests will remain intact**. (Tempo-Archipelago-2019-08-28-8) President Joko Widodo's speech statement significant skepticism over the development of IKN and its potential to exacerbate environmental degradation in East Kalimantan; hence, he vowed to preserve the forests in the region. In addition to forest preservation, environmental sustainability frames are exemplified by the utilization of

renewable energy, referenced 12 times throughout 7 government articles, as illustrated in the following instance:

According to the President, the IKN development is carried out with the concept of a nature-based future smart city with 70 percent green area and will prioritize **renewable energy** as energy source, including in transportation. (SETKAB-NEWS-2022-10-18)

The media also articulates the similar voice, as follows:

According to Rizal, the association is also pushing for the use of **renewable energy** at the new capital city. (Tempo-Economy & Business-2019-08-28-4) The proposal of renewable energy is one of the ways the government frames environmental sustainability in IKN. The government expects the use of renewable energy to reduce pollution in IKN, thereby preventing it from becoming another Jakarta. This aligns with President Joko Widodo's goal for IKN to achieve a better air quality index (SETKAB-NEWS-2024-06-05-1). However, this renewable energy is correlated to implementing electric vehicle policy in IKN, which leads to downstream mining, especially of nickel, as the main resource for creating an electric car battery (SETKAB-REMARKS-2024-10-11-1). Therefore, this renewable energy, instead of thoroughly solving the environmental problem, leads to massive nickel mining. The government action that seems serious about reforestation is to build a nursery center for seedlings of endemic trees of Kalimantan, as mentioned in the following excerpt:

The Government, the President added, has prepared a **nursery center** which was built last June and he expressed hope that the nursery will be able to **reforest** Kalimantan by planting various types of seeds. "The nursery will have approximately 15 hectares of area with 7 hectares of ponds. We hope that it will be completed at the beginning of the year where the annual seedling capacity can produce approximately 15 million seedlings per year," he conclusively remarked. (SETKAB-NEWS-2022-10-18) The nursery center serves as a preliminary initiative for the government to actualize reforestation and then validate their environmental sustainability frames. The compelling evidence of environmental sustainability in media discourse is highlighted by the metaphor of Kalimantan or Borneo as the lung of the globe, as illustrated in the following statement: Relocating the capital city in Kalimantan has triggered debates on both sides. The island, also known as Borneo, is considered "the lung of the world" as it is home to vast forests that help absorb CO<sub>2</sub>. (Tempo-Archipelago-2019-08-28-8)

The aforementioned assertion is articulated by the journalist who wrote the article in opposition to the developments of IKN and the ensuing arguments regarding IKN development. The exact metaphor, "the lung of the world," appears in governmental media, albeit with differing intents, as illustrated in the following example:

"This is a commitment to continuing to maintain the island of Kalimantan as the lung of the world, which brings concrete benefits for the community as well as creating a new magnet for the economy," he said. (SETKAB-NEWS-2024-01-13) The distinct methods employed by government and media discourse to convey the identical metaphor "the lung of the world" are evident. The media discourse uses the metaphor to remind the readers how important Borneo's (a.k.a. Kalimantan) forest is and to justify the debates surrounding its development and the concerns raised by experts. Government media employs the metaphor as a slogan to garner attention and promote economic progress. The emphasis is not on conserving the forest. The forest is essential for the slogan "forest city" of IKN; yet, the government discourse lacks a comprehensive explanation of how this will be accomplished. Many environmental sustainability frames are mostly manifestations of greenwashing, employed to rationalize land acquisition, downstreaming, and the economic expansion associated with the development of IKN. Media discourse typically serves as a conduit for governmental messages; yet, certain publications still express divergent viewpoints to ensure a balanced presentation of news, as is appropriate.

### 3.3 Erasure Frame: Silencing Environmental Voices

Erasure frames are linguistic representations that obscure or marginalize environmental issues, biodiversity, or indigenous viewpoints. Data indicates that 22 (30.6%) of government articles and 26 (35.6%) of media articles either exclude or minimize the environmental issues associated with the

development of IKN. Frequently, both governmental and media narratives suppress the potential for environmental deterioration resulting from the development of IKN. This frame typically contrasts with the development frame, wherein, according to this research, government discourse on development predominantly overlooks the environmental deteriorations and issues that may arise. In SETKAB-NEWS-2024-09-25-2, the government discusses investment and land acquisition for the construction of a hotel, serviced apartments, a shopping center, offices, and a sports and fitness center; however, terms such as “environment,” “forest,” “biodiversity,” and even “green” are conspicuously absent from the discourse. This instance recurs throughout governmental discourse, which addresses investment and land acquisition. As previously mentioned, media discourse functions as a governmental emissary, so similarly obscuring the presence of nature in an indistinguishable manner.

### **3.4 Presidential Heroism Frame: IKN as President Jokowi Legacy**

Presidential heroism frames serves Jokowi as visionary and personally involved in the developing of IKN. Throughout the discourses related to IKN, the researchers found 10 (10.39) of government articles and 12 (16.43%) of media articles are promoting IKN as the legacy of President Jokowi as it can be seen from the lexical choice such as “Jokowi’s vision” as in the following excerpt:

On that occasion, the Prime Minister of Singapore Lee Hsien Loong expressed support for the IKN development and President Jokowi’s vision to realize the IKN as a smart city and a green city. (SETKAB-NEWS-2023-03-16) The use of genitive case “Jokowi’s vision” emphasize IKN as Jokowi’s legacy. It implicitly says IKN belongs to Jokowi or it is Jokowi’s handcraft. It is supported by statement from media discourse as follow: As a big nation, Indonesia had never decided and designed the whereabouts of its administrative hub yet,” said the seventh President. (Tempo-EconomyBusiness-2019-08-26-4)

The clause “Indonesia had never decided and designed” indicated a structural presupposition in which IKN is a brand new thing created by President Jokowi, from his visions. Then it is with no surprise that government media depict IKN as an all rounder solution for the problem in Jakarta, evenly distributed development and to transform Indonesia into a develop country. The implication of Presidential heroism frame in the discourse is to bring President Jokowi’s name along with IKN as his legacy.

### **3.5 Conflict Frame: The media did not provide enough counterweight**

Conflict frames provide different points of view about the development of IKN. As expected from the government discourse which barely mentions any contra-information in their discourse which should ensure the continuity of their programs having 1 (1.39%) article that involve conflict frame as seen in the following instance: “This does not mean that infrastructure is being sidelined. On the contrary, we must reassess our priorities and make adjustments to ensure that the main priorities of national development over the next five years, especially at the beginning of President Prabowo Subianto’s administration, are well supported,” he added. (SETKAB-NEWS-2025-02-03)

While there is only one article covers the conflict frame in government discourse, as expected from media discourse provide more conflict frames with 11 (15.07%) articles from 73 articles. The conflict frames are varied such as presenting problems when planning IKN in 2019 which is without public consultation and disregarding the polarized public opinion on it (Tempo-EconomyBusiness-2023-10-30), curbing the mining industry behind the relocation of capital city (Tempo-Economy & Business-2019-08-29-1) and how the development will lead to environmental issues (Tempo-Environment-2019-08-28-2).

## **DISCUSSION**

This paper sought to contrast government and media discourses' framing of IKN's growth. The results, however, show a notable convergence as both sources support similar topics—especially those stressing development, sustainability, and technocentric. Rather than showing different or contradictory environmental perspectives, both organizations reflect a consistent, forward-looking story portraying IKN as a symbol of national pride and growth [26]. This ideological link raises important questions about the freedom of media discourse in the Indonesian setting and its more general consequences for democratic environmental discourse. Despite the great emphasis on “green” language, the Environmental Sustainability Frame appears largely to be a rhetorical tool [27]. Though lacking substantial discussion of real environmental baselines, sustainability measures, or biodiversity consequences, both sources often use terms like “green capital,” “eco-smart city,” and “forest city.” The concurrent rise of the Erasure Frame,



which hides the ecological and cultural consequences of IKN, suggests that these green stories are a discursive front that justifies large development while hiding its environmental consequences. This fits Stibbe's [23] description of "destructive discourses that undermine the systems sustaining life."

Including Technocentric and Presidential Legitimacy concepts pushes the environmental conversation even further toward a management and hero-centric viewpoint. Environmental issues are seen not as systematic or natural to human-nature relations but rather as technological ones that may be solved by political will and improved technologies [28]. By emphasizing creativity over thought and symbolism over duty, this conversation common in government papers and mirrored in media limits the spectrum of options.

One worrisome trend in both discourses is the deliberate exclusion of indigenous viewpoints, local environmental expertise, and biodiversity concerns. Though neither government agencies nor media reports give thorough acknowledgment of what is being displaced—be it species, habitats, or cultures—Kalimantan is globally recognized for its ecological importance. This exclusion highlights what van Leeuwen [25] calls the suppression of social actors and fits Stibbe's call to expose negative gaps in environmental communication. The result is a clean, conflict-free narrative promoting consent rather than active participation.

The findings improve ecolinguistics by showing how popular frameworks, even when supplied from many different companies, can propagate unsustainable perspectives via repetition, omission, and intentional silence. They support more complex conversation analysis in cases when media are expected to act as watchdogs but might instead function as echo chambers. Incorporating grassroots environmental stories, indigenous media, or NGO publications could help future research to increase its depth by bringing underrepresented perspectives back into the conversation.

The conversation around IKN mostly shows the use of language to mold perception, maintain legitimacy, and simplify ecological complexity under the cover of national progress rather than emphasizing environmental sustainability.

## CONCLUSION

The present aims to examine how government and media discourses frame the narrative about the relocating and development of Indonesia's future capital, Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN), using an ecolinguistic viewpoint. The first hypothesis suggested a distinctive frames between government and media narratives; however, the research revealed a significant convergence. While ignoring ecological complexity, indigenous perspectives, and biodiversity concerns, the government and media discourse often apply developmental, sustainability, technocentric, and presidential heroism frames.

Rather than providing necessary counter-narratives, the media mostly reflects the government's rhetoric, portraying IKN as a progressive and environmentally friendly project. This convergent discourse validates government aspirations, fosters hope, and silences critical environmental viewpoints. The findings show the need of framing, word choice, and omission in shaping public opinion by suggesting that even "green" discourse can hide environmentally harmful deeds when used blindly.

The article uses an ecolinguistic viewpoint to clarify how language shapes ecological reality. It emphasizes the need for more narrative inclusion—particularly from grassroots, indigenous, and environmentally conscious groups—in shaping public conversation on large-scale development.

## Limitations and Suggestions

Notwithstanding the contributions, several limitations of this study should be addressed. This study exclusively examines English-language text, which may originate from translated Indonesian versions. Consequently, investigations into the original Indonesian version may influence the outcomes of subsequent studies. Secondly, despite the current study employing corpus-based research with very large datasets, it is exclusively dependent on two sources: the Secretary Ministry and Tempo newspaper. Examining a wider array of sources, including social media feedback, may yield more comprehensive data and insights.

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