

Framing Analysis of Environmental Issues in the New Indonesian Capital City (IKN) on Kompas.id

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Abstract: This paper aims to determine how the framing of environmental news in the Indonesian media, in this case, Kompas.id media as the object of research. News related to environmental issues on the topic of IKN development on Kompas.id media in the range of August 2022 - November 2022 were collected and analyzed using the framing analysis model by Robert Entman. From the analysis, it was found that Kompas gave significant attention to constructive news about the IKN project, especially in the context of physical and infrastructure development. In addition, it was also found that socio-cultural aspects were also a concern in Kompas news, with an emphasis on the Balik Tribe and Paser Tribe communities that inhabit the IKN development area.

Purpose: This paper aims to determine how the framing of environmental news in the Indonesian media, in this case, Kompas.id media as the object of research

Design/Methodology/Approach: This study is descriptive qualitative research, using Entman's framing analysis model.

Findings: This research presents that Kompas gave significant attention to constructive news about the IKN project, especially

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in the context of physical and infrastructure development. In addition, it was also found that socio-cultural aspects were also a concern in Kompas news, with an emphasis on the Balik Tribe and Paser Tribe communities that inhabit the IKN development area.

Originality/value: This research's originality lies in its analysis of how Kompas.id frames environmental news regarding the new Indonesian capital city project (IKN), providing insights into media influence on public perception and decision-making on major development projects. Additionally, the study includes a focus on socio-cultural aspects, offering a unique perspective on the topic.

Keywords: Framing, Environment, IKN Project, Deforestation

Paper Type: Article-Research.

Introduction

This study aims to present the news framing by the Kompas media on Kompas.id regarding the reporting of the New National Capital (IKN) project, which is considered to have an impact on deforestation in East Kalimantan. The mega project IKN has been reported by various media from various perspectives, including economic, investment, technological development, and environmental aspects. Since the approval of the National Capital Bill by the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) and the Indonesian Government, at least 41,493 hectares of forest area will be released for IKN Nusantara (Purwa 2022). The same media also reported the appointment of 27 directors and bureau heads of IKN (Fandi 2022). The issue of IKN development budget promised to use only 20 percent of the state budget was mentioned in the article (Tim CNN Indonesia 2022). Furthermore, it is planned that IKN will have a data center and a digital village (Telkom-CNN Indonesia 2022). Another article highlighted concerns about the existence of wild pigs due to forest clearing (Sumbogo 2022). Another news item mentioned the potential environmental damage due to the relocation of IKN (DPR - Republika 2022). From various perspectives of the news coverage of IKN by

various media outlets, the environmental issue is one of the main topics and is quite highlighted in the IKN relocation.

One of the main topics raised in the coverage of IKN is the environmental aspect. This is because, in terms of location, IKN is in Kalimantan, one of the largest forest centers in the world, and has experienced a decrease in forest area of 11.9 million hectares in 2001-2021 (Global Forest Watch 2022). The loss of forests and their functions significantly impacts the survival of flora, fauna, and humans. The Executive Director of the Indonesian Environmental Forum (WALHI) East Kalimantan, Yohana Tiko, stated that the development of IKN would consume 256 thousand hectares, including the Sungai Wain Protected Forest. The forest is home to various animals such as hornbills, proboscis monkeys, sun bears, and orangutans (Febryan 2022). In another report cited from CNN Indonesia by WALHI along with several other Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), it was stated that the location of the IKN development is in a strategic area and supports the water needs of 5 regions at once (CNN Indonesia 2022). The areas include Balikpapan, Penajam Paser Utara, Kutai Kartanegara, coastal areas, especially Samboja District, Muara Jawa District, Loa Kulu District, and Samarinda City, especially in the southern part. WALHI also added that under normal conditions, the city of Balikpapan often faces a crisis of clean water and drinking water availability. Therefore, Penajam Paser becomes a source of water for Balikpapan. In another press release, WALHI further explained that the development of IKN would threaten the existence of mangrove ecosystems in Balikpapan Bay up to 2,603.41 hectares (Rachman 2022). This could threaten the survival of nature and living creatures in the surrounding area. These issues are exacerbated by the high number of mining concessions and the many unclosed mining pits, thus increasing the risk of contamination of groundwater, surface water, and coastal areas. There is a total of 162 mining, forestry, oil palm plantation, and coal-fired power plant concessions in the total area of 180 thousand hectares of the IKN area.

In addition to the various physical impacts predicted to occur due to the relocation of IKN, there is also a critical public response to this development. This can be seen from the civil society coalition lawsuit against the IKN Law in the Constitutional Court, which is considered to ignore public deliberation, although it resulted in rejection. Critical responses also continue in both mass media discourse and social media. The National Research and Information Agency (BRIN) highlights two issues that are challenges in the IKN development process, namely technocratic issues, and anti-political responses in the development of IKN Nusantara.

The above points demonstrate the importance of the media in presenting news about IKN which cannot be denied. The media has the power to build ideas or concepts that exist in society. The relationship formed between the media and the government also influences directing and providing the information needed by the public.

The framing of news between one media and another differs. This is partly due to the media ideology that is the hallmark of each media in framing news (Tapsell 2017). Robinson and Hadiz (2004) argue that authoritarian rule no longer exists, the new era of Indonesian democracy since 1998 has been dominated by oligarchs, through the restructuring of old predatory power relations in the new system (in Tapsell 2017). As Tapsell states in his book, with the Oligarchy approach, oligarchs as media owners produce news and information according to what they want. Tapsell (2017) states that media ownership creates barriers to journalist autonomy, in what information they can and cannot report, and how news should be framed. Similarly, in reporting on the relocation of the new national capital. The framing of news about the new national capital in several media outlets is truly diverse.

Starting from its economic framing, which emphasizes news about the expected economic benefits of this capital relocation. The environmental framing emphasizes things like deforestation, environmental damage, climate change impacts, and loss of wildlife

habitat. From a political framing perspective, it emphasizes the political reasons for the planned relocation of the capital. Furthermore, in the news's social framing, the media show the social impact of capital development, such as its influence on society, local communities, and social and cultural changes.

As previously explained, each media has certain characteristics that distinguish it from other media. For example, Detik.com, in an analysis released by Media Bias/Fact Check, is a media outlet that is quite minimally biased (Media Bias/Fact Check 2023a). They rarely use emotionally charged word choices, and their news presentation is quite strong based on existing facts. On the other hand, there is Tribunnews, which is ideologically right-leaning—conservative but still moderate (Media Bias/Fact Check 2023c). They often present news that is emotionally charged and sometimes stereotypical in their word choices. The sources of their news are quite reliable, although their authenticity still needs to be re-investigated (Media Bias/Fact Check 2023c).

Kompas.com, as the media chosen for this study, is classified as quite minimally biased (Media Bias/Fact Check 2023b). Its word choice is simple and avoids using phrases that evoke emotion or stereotypes. Its reporting also uses reliable sources (Media Bias/Fact Check 2023b). Media Bias/Fact Check shows that Kompas.com, as a digital media, has a strong credibility to be used as a reliable source of information reference.

In this study, Kompas.Id was chosen as the subject of the study because the media is the premium version of Kompas.com, which according to claims by Kompas.Id, has higher quality and more qualitative reporting. In terms of reporting on the IKN issue, Kompas.Id tends to emphasize news about the environmental and social impacts of this project. Kompas.Id also highlights the potential environmental damage that may occur, the erosion of forests, the loss of wildlife habitats, and climate changes. Then, social impact issues

such as the population that must migrate to switch to the environment also become important concerns.

From the various explanations, it can be concluded that Kompas.Id tends to highlight the environmental and social aspects when reporting on the plan to relocate the new national capital. Therefore, this is in line with our research specification which focuses on the environmental impact of the issue of relocating the new national capital with the formulation "How is the Analysis of the Framing of Environmental News in the New Indonesian National Capital City Project on Kompas.id?".

Methods

Robert Entman's Framing Analysis is a theoretical framework used to dissect how the media understands an event, issue, or topic – also constructing interpretations of these things (Entman 1993). Framing Analysis relies on at least three important components. The first is selection – message producers, in this case, the media, determine which aspects to highlight and which ones to exclude from an event. The reality of events, issues, or topics is selectively filtered and chosen according to the media's needs. Next, this leads to the second component, salience, or emphasis – media then try to highlight the selected aspects to make them the focus of a news story. This is done to help shape a specific perception in the audience. Finally, in interpretation, the media formulates a frame of mind based on the selected elements or aspects to construct the message and its meaning for the audience.

These three components also explain the workings of framing itself. The main point is about making an element or aspect of information about an event or issue more prominent, meaningful, and present as the center of attention for the audience (Entman 1993). The existence of framing as a methodology is also in line with human psychological tendencies to focus on certain aspects of information while ignoring other aspects that are considered less or irrelevant

(Rakhmat 2011). This allows framing to significantly impact the audience's understanding and decisions.

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach, focusing on the analysis of a research object naturally and comprehensively to provide an exposition of phenomena that are ongoing and have occurred (Sugiyono 2013). The analysis is conducted using the framing analysis model formulated by Robert Entman on the online media Kompas ID—focusing on news articles with the title New National Capital (IKN) which take an environmental perspective from August 2022 to November 2022.

Framing analysis itself, as explained by Entman, is a method for constructing discourse to build a specific perspective in the audience. Entman emphasizes his method of the selection and salience of a particular topic or issue. This is then processed and interpreted by the media, which can form a specific framework of understanding, which in turn can be captured by the audience.

Discussion and Findings

Public Sphere by Habermas

Public sphere, as conceptualized by Habermas, refers to a space for people to develop opinions independently (Habermas, Lennox, and Lennox 1974). These opinions are nurtured in an accessible place, with no restrictions on access. Every individual has the right to and must be protected in accessing this space. The public sphere serves as a means for everyone to obtain the information they need and desire. In the context of communication, mass media serves as a platform for the public to voice and transmit ideas to the general audience. It can be said that the public sphere is a crucial pillar in democracy, providing a space for ideas and thoughts to freely develop and dialectically evolve.

Throughout history, the public sphere has continued to evolve. Starting from its inception during the Renaissance period, with a group of middle-class actively voicing their political ideas ((Habermas, Lennox, and Lennox 1974). Eventually, thanks to the increasingly massive technological advancements, the public sphere has become

closer and more integrated into people's daily lives. Smartphones, digital media, and social media represent the new face of the public sphere, each with its own unique characteristics. Empowered by the limitless power of the internet, the public sphere has expanded globally (Papacharissi 2002). New perspectives are born, viewing the internet to unite the world through the ideas that grow within it.

Habermas understands that the public sphere is necessary to ensure civilization's advancement through the creativity of ideas born within it. Civilization progresses alongside the dialectics of life and the freedom for people to express them. However, there is a missing aspect in Habermas' ideas. He only generally discusses the public sphere. The environmental aspect, as one of the essential ideas in the dialectics of the public sphere, has not been addressed. This is where Pezzullo and Cox (2018) present their ideas on environmental communication and the public sphere.

Environmental Communication

Environmental communication is a process of exchanging information related to ideas about nature and the impact of human actions on it (Pezzullo and Cox 2018). This field of communication has found its momentum regarding the increasing issue of climate change, as people begin to grow concerned about the quality of the environment they live in. In the study of the environment itself, communication plays a crucial role as people need to understand what is happening in the world around them. Pezzullo and Cox (2018) emphasize that environmental communication is a pragmatic method we use to express the relationships we have with entities other than humans. At least, environmental communication has two different functions.

First, environmental communication is a form of pragmatic communication that emphasizes communicative actions—providing an understanding of what needs to be done immediately regarding environmental aspects. For example, campaigns to turn off electricity for an hour once a month aimed at conserving electricity. Second,

environmental communication has a constitutive function—meaning, communication becomes a means to convey aspirations and perspectives on the environment. People exchange ideas and collectively negotiate perspectives and meanings regarding the environment itself.

Environmental communication in this regard has three main principles as its framework (Pezzullo and Cox 2018). First, human communication is a symbolic action. Humans tend to interpret something by giving it a symbolic representation. This occurs hoping the constructed meaning will be understood and agreed upon by those who recognize the symbolic representation. Humans create symbols, whether in the form of "names" or visual representations, with the aim of assigning value to something—and forming a perspective on that thing.

The second principle, the environmental aspect becomes significant here because humans create and negotiate meaning through communication. The environment has a specific perception resulting from social constructions that grow in a certain society. There may be one society that views the environment or nature with awe and fear. On the other hand, there are those who see nature as an important entity ready to be explored for human interests. In the last principle, the public sphere plays a key role in the discourse on the environment. This perspective has a strong relationship with the idea of the public sphere by (Habermas, Lennox, and Lennox 1974)—defining it as a space for individuals to freely express ideas and form public consensus safely and protected. The perspectives people have about the environment are indirectly shaped through their interactions in the public sphere.

Disucussion

Based on the results of the analysis using Entman's framing method, the researcher found several key ideas conveyed by Kompas ID regarding environmental and social issues in the reporting of the Indonesian National Capital (IKN):

1. Development of the National Capital (IKN)

In the first part, the researcher found that Kompas presented quite a lot of news discussing the development of IKN, especially from a constructive perspective. In one news article titled "Government Adds Rp 5.1 trillion for Basic Infrastructure Development," Kompas emphasized the additional funding of Rp5.1 trillion for the development. The allocation includes provisions for clean water supply, flood handling, and the construction of reservoirs in the core government center area there. Additionally, a budget of Rp2.11 trillion is allocated for road and bridge construction purposes. In this news, two development stages are planned for the fiscal year 2022.

In another news article titled "Buffer Zone of IKN Asked to Improve Land Services," Kompas affirmed by conveying the presence of digital development and transformation projects in the region. This digitalization process is crucial as part of efforts to build supporting infrastructure for governance. The news also mentioned that the Minister of Agrarian and Spatial Planning/Head of the National Land Agency, Hadi Tjahjanto, emphasized the importance of digitalization and ease of land services in the IKN buffer city. One specific news article Kompas highlighted was the construction of the Sepaku-Semoi Dam. This dam is planned to be a source of raw water for meeting the industrial needs of the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) to be built in IKN.

The researcher found that the aspect of physical development and infrastructure is quite strongly highlighted by Kompas. This is in line with the public's perception of the Jokowi administration, which has played a significant role through massive infrastructure development across Indonesia. To strengthen this perception, one article discusses that the SEZ is claimed to have a low disaster risk. However, the researcher found a quite contradictory Kompas article, containing criticism of the hasty approval of the SEZ IKN Law – especially regarding transparency in the drafting of the law.

The lack of transparency from the government's side can be said to shape a negative perception of the public towards this IKN

development project. Especially regarding the land acquisition scheme and compensation to be provided by the government. This is because of the significant increase in land prices in the area. In an article titled "Sepaku IKN Festival and the Inner Atmosphere of Watching It," published in August 2022, one resident expressed concern about their livelihoods when prices of basic goods may rise along with the increase in land prices.

Based on Robert Entman's framing theory, we can analyze how Kompas frames its coverage of the IKN (Indonesia's new capital) development project. Framing involves the selection and emphasis of certain aspects of an issue, thereby shaping how audiences perceive it. Let's break down the framing of Kompas's coverage.

The Kompas publication strongly underscores the significance of infrastructure development within the IKN project, in line with the vision of the Jokowi administration, which prioritizes infrastructure enhancement throughout Indonesia. Regarding fund allocation, Kompas particularly accentuates investments in essential infrastructure, such as road construction, bridges, and the Sepaku-Semoi Dam. Consequently, the coverage portrays the IKN project as a strategic endeavor aimed at augmenting the quality of physical infrastructure in the region. As a prominent media outlet, Kompas places infrastructure development as a central agenda in national development. This report not only underscores the pivotal role of the IKN project in infrastructure advancement but also fosters a better public comprehension of the government's endeavors to propel this sector nationwide. Additionally, Kompas evaluates the digital development and transformation initiatives within the IKN region optimistically. By highlighting the significance of digitization in land governance and service facilitation, Kompas depicts the IKN project as a progressive stride aligned with modernization endeavors. This emphasis signifies that the project encompasses not only physical infrastructure but also administrative process enhancements and service improvements. Through this lens, Kompas illustrates that

digitization significantly contributes to enhancing efficiency and the quality of public services in the region. Furthermore, Kompas offers a comprehensive overview of the positive impacts of the IKN project on advancing progress and accessibility for both the local community and the government. This underscores Kompas's commitment to furnishing informative and in-depth coverage of ongoing developments in Indonesia, including the swiftly evolving digital transformation. While generally adopting a favorable perspective, Kompas also incorporates criticisms concerning the lack of government transparency in the approval process of the IKN SEZ Law. This framing underscores concerns regarding transparency and accountability in governmental decision-making processes related to the IKN project, indicating potential shortcomings or controversies that might influence negative public perceptions. Through this report, Kompas demonstrates its dedication not only to delivering balanced coverage but also to considering critical perspectives to offer readers a deeper comprehension of pertinent issues. Moreover, Kompas discusses land acquisition and compensation issues within the context of escalating land prices and their potential repercussions on livelihoods. By spotlighting residents' apprehensions regarding potential hikes in the prices of essential commodities and land, Kompas raises awareness of the social and economic ramifications of the IKN project. This approach adds a human-interest dimension to the coverage, underscoring the tangible impacts on the local community. Through this perspective, Kompas not only portrays policy matters abstractly but also addresses the humanitarian and everyday life facets of the project's consequences. Kompas's coverage facilitates a deeper understanding of the challenges and transformations faced by local communities in coping with environmental changes resulting from the IKN project. This reinforces Kompas's role as an information source offering comprehensive and pertinent insights into issues of societal importance. By meticulously outlining the implications of the IKN project, Kompas has reaffirmed its position as an information source that fosters a profound

understanding of the challenges and transformations encountered by local communities. By delivering informative and in-depth coverage, Kompas not only accentuates the positive aspects and optimism associated with this project but also considers critical viewpoints to provide readers with a thorough comprehension of relevant issues. Consequently, Kompas continues to uphold balanced journalistic standards and remains committed to delivering quality coverage to its readership.

2. Environmental Impact and Conservation

In the next section, the researcher found that this topic was quite central in various news articles published by Kompas. The issue of environmental impact is a central topic from August to November. In an article titled "Vulnerable Mangrove Forests in Balikpapan Bay," Kompas reported many voices of concern, especially about the sustainability of the mangrove ecosystem in Balikpapan Bay. Mangrove forests so far have played a significant role as ecosystem protectors in the coastal areas there. Government development efforts such as reclamation, infrastructure development, and illegal sand mining threaten this ecosystem.

The researcher also found public concerns about the presence of illegal mines in another news article. The case has been processed since 2020 and only in 2022 has it finally been resolved. The mining case has caused concern among the public as it could disrupt the environmental balance there. What makes the community quite annoyed is that the handling of the case by the authorities feels slow—as reported by Kompas in an article titled "Repeatedly Reported, Illegal Mines Near IKN Still Operate."

Although news with negative sentiments about environmental impacts often appears, positive news about this topic also exists. The researcher found one news article titled "Deputy Minister of Environment and Forestry: Hundreds of Hectares of IKN Land Being Planted with Endemic Seedlings" emphasizing the government's

strong commitment to sustainable development. This is signaled by the government's efforts through the Ministry of Environment and Forestry to plant endemic seedlings in the core capital region. Several hundred hectares have been planted, including eucalyptus seedlings that can be used for industrial purposes. Kompas emphasizes the government's seriousness in sustainable development efforts by reporting on the plan to establish the Mentawir Seedling which will produce 16 million tree seedlings every year. This effort is certainly a positive step that can shape a positive perspective from the public, especially regarding the government's efforts to maintain the biodiversity of the area.

Drawing from Robert Entman's framing analysis theory, this study examines how Kompas structures its portrayal of the IKN development project by accentuating diverse viewpoints. Particularly, Kompas underscores the facet of infrastructure advancement within the IKN initiative, resonating with the overarching narrative of the Jokowi administration, which places paramount importance on nationwide infrastructure enhancement. Through spotlighting resource allocation towards fundamental infrastructure, such as road and bridge construction, alongside the establishment of the Sepaku-Semai Dam, Kompas depicts the IKN undertaking as a pivotal endeavor aimed at bolstering physical infrastructure within the locale. Furthermore, Kompas presents the development and digitalization thrust of the IKN region in a favorable light, underscoring the pivotal role of digitization in land governance and service delivery, thus portraying the project as a forward-looking initiative in consonance with modernization aspirations.

This framing not only accentuates the physical infrastructure aspect but also underscores the enhancements in administrative procedures and service delivery. While the overall framing leans towards a positive outlook, Kompas does not shy away from critiquing the government's perceived lack of transparency in the approval process of the Special Economic Zone (SEZ) IKN Law. Such critique

underscores apprehensions regarding transparency and accountability in governmental decision-making concerning the IKN project, hinting at potential pitfalls or controversies that could shape adverse public perceptions. Furthermore, Kompas addresses land acquisition and compensation issues within the context of escalating land prices and potential repercussions on residents' livelihoods. By amplifying residents' apprehensions regarding probable hikes in essential commodity prices and land values, Kompas sensitizes readers to the social and economic ramifications of the IKN initiative, adding a humanitarian dimension to its coverage and emphasizing the tangible impacts on the local populace.

In essence, Kompas frames its coverage of the IKN development project by accentuating the constructive strides in infrastructure development and digitalization while acknowledging criticisms regarding governmental transparency and concerns regarding social and economic ramifications. Such framing influences readers' perceptions of the project, shaping their comprehension of its significance, benefits, and potential challenges.

3. Socio-Cultural Aspects

Located in the heart of the Sepaku area, which is the focal point of IKN development, the Balik Tribe is one of the indigenous tribes that have inhabited the area for generations. In an article titled "United in Harmony in the Land of Sepaku," published in August 2023, Kompas tries to portray the life of the Balik Tribe, which is far from the hustle and bustle and chooses to enter the forest. The Balik Tribe is known as a community that is open to newcomers and upholds values of kindness and peace, among others. Although they prefer to avoid crowds, they also try to adapt by exchanging ideas with newcomers. Besides the Balik Tribe, there are also the Paser Tribe who also inhabit the area. The low level of conflict and high diversity values have also led the central government to choose the area as the basis for the new capital.

Since the IKN development program was introduced, the Sepaku community has also felt its impact. Still in the same article, Kompas reports on the benefits of development such as road infrastructure improvements and the construction of dams that can support the lives of the Sepaku community better. The renovated roads can increase mobility, which contributes to improving the local community's standard of living. However, this development is also not free from psycho-social issues, especially regarding relations between communities, both from the government and the indigenous community there.

In an article titled "Bersoyong, the Indigenous Ritual of IKN that Disappears as the Forest Shrinks," published in August 2023, Kompas highlights the shrinking forest area which has resulted in various local traditions diminishing. Traditions such as hunting and using herbal medicines from nature, which have been passed down for generations, are being hindered due to the reduction in forest area as the center of activities. This has been happening since the forestry industry arrived during the New Order era. In this new era, the local community expects the government to make serious efforts to carry out development that not only protects the environmental aspects but also the social aspects of the interaction between the community and the government itself.

Conclusion

In the analysis of news related to the development of the National Capital (IKN) presented by Kompas, it can be concluded that Kompas pays significant attention to constructive news about this project, especially in the context of physical development and infrastructure. They highlight the additional funding allocation for basic infrastructure development and the development of roads and bridges. However, there are also critical aspects that emerge, especially regarding the lack of transparency in the enactment of laws related to IKN, which can create negative perceptions among the public. Additionally, the news also emphasizes the environmental impact and conservation, which are important concerns, especially related to the

negative effects on mangrove ecosystems and threats from illegal mining.

Social-cultural aspects are also highlighted in Kompas news, with an emphasis on the Balik Tribe and Paser Tribe communities inhabiting the area. Although infrastructure development has brought benefits in the form of improved roads and increased mobility, it has also created psycho-social issues and impacts on local traditions. Therefore, the government needs to consider the social and cultural impacts on the development of IKN while ensuring environmental sustainability.

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