



**MEDIA FRAMING OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA'S
NEW CAPITAL: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF *ANTARANEWS.COM* AND
TEMPO.CO USING ENTMAN'S MODEL**

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Abstract

This article investigates how two leading Indonesian online news outlets, Antaranews.com (state-owned) and Tempo.co (independent), frame the issue of sustainable development in Indonesia's new capital, Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN). Employing Robert Entman's four-element framing model and the Hierarchy of Influences Theory, the study uses a qualitative content analysis of 54 news articles published in January 2025, complemented by in-depth interviews and literature review to triangulate findings. Results show that Antaranews.com frames IKN predominantly through positive narratives, emphasizing government achievements, infrastructure readiness, and inter-agency synergy, while downplaying risks and criticism. This approach reflects its organizational role as a state information agency and is supported by routines that prioritize official sources and state agendas. In contrast, Tempo.co adopts a more critical and pluralistic framing, drawing attention to project delays, policy ambiguities, and potential social and environmental impacts. Tempo.co's coverage features a broader array of sources, including academics, parliamentarians, and community representatives, reflecting its editorial independence and investigative ethos. The study concludes that differences in framing are shaped by ownership structure, newsroom culture, and broader political and economic contexts. These findings highlight the importance of media pluralism and editorial independence for robust public discourse and effective communication on strategic national projects in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Ibu Kota Nusantara, media framing, Antaranews.com, Tempo.co*

A. Introduction

The development of Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) has emerged as one of Indonesia's most prominent national strategic projects, drawing considerable attention from both the public and the media (Amri & Lessy, 2024). Conceived as a new capital to replace Jakarta, the project is not only a symbol of the government's ambition to achieve more equitable national development, but also a subject of controversy, particularly concerning funding, infrastructure readiness, and its impact on the environment and local communities (Ilmawan, 2020). In this dynamic context, the way mass media frame issues surrounding the sustainability of IKN's development varies significantly, shaped by

editorial policies and other institutional factors. Among Indonesia's leading online media, *Antaranews.com* and *Tempo.co* stand out for their distinct approaches to reporting on IKN's progress, as reflected in their coverage throughout January 2025.

LKBN Antara, operating as a state-owned news agency, has a longstanding tradition of highlighting governmental achievements and projecting optimism regarding the IKN project (Nurhayati, 2021). *Antaranews.com* serves as a digital platform disseminating LKBN Antara's journalistic output (*antaranews.com*, n.d.). The coverage published by this outlet predominantly emphasizes inter-agency synergy, infrastructure preparedness, and the government's political commitment to the new capital.

Conversely, *Tempo.co* is part of PT Tempo Inti Media, established by prominent figures such as Gunawan Mohamad and Ciputra. Despite its stature as a major media group, Tempo is known for its independent editorial tradition, characterized by the principle of self-regulation, which affords editors and journalists substantial autonomy over news content without interference from media owners (Nurhajati & Wijayanto, 2019). Historically, Tempo has maintained a critical stance toward the government, particularly in scrutinizing public policies and national strategic projects (Iftakhurizaq & Dharmawan, 2022). In its coverage of IKN's sustainable development, *Tempo.co* tends to spotlight various obstacles, including budget limitations, project delays, and potential negative impacts on the public. These differences highlight the distinct ways media shape public discourse by selecting and emphasizing particular aspects of an issue (Mufariha & Muyasaroh, 2024).

Against this background, the present study adopts Robert Entman's framing theory to analyze how these two media outlets construct narratives around the development of IKN. Entman's model suggests that media do not merely report facts, but actively select certain aspects of reality, thus making some elements of an event more salient than others (Entman, 2007). Additionally, the study is informed by the Hierarchy of Influences Theory, which explores how the organization and structure of news content shape the public's understanding of major issues (Shoemaker & Reese, n.d.).

Previous research on media framing is extensive. Several studies have examined how news outlets frame other significant national issues, such as state-citizen conflicts, high-profile tourism projects, and governmental crisis management (Romadlan & Wahdiyati, 2022). For example, a framing analysis of COVID-19 lockdown coverage by *Kompas.com* and *Detik.com* found both outlets generally supportive of the government's decision not to impose a lockdown, prioritizing economic stability. However, *Detik.com* still provided space for counter-narratives, while *Kompas.com* was more neutral (Alrizki & Aslinda, 2022). Similarly, research into the media framing of clashes between the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and law enforcement revealed different approaches by *Kompas.com* and *Tirto.id*, influenced by each outlet's editorial routines. Another study on the framing of Komodo premium tourism development by *Mongabay.co.id* and *Greeners.co* showed a focus on environmental and community impacts, guided by editorial ideologies and newsroom practices (Putri & Khotimah, 2022).

Nevertheless, the present study distinguishes itself by specifically addressing how national media frame the sustainability of IKN's development as a long-term government project. It also explores the interplay between contrasting media ownership structures—state-owned and independent—and their influence on news framing. By integrating both interview data and literature review, this research offers a richer understanding of the editorial context of each outlet. The analysis draws on Entman's framing model and the Hierarchy of Influences Theory (Shoemaker & Reese, n.d.), supported by contemporary literature on digital media studies and policy communication. Based on this context, the research aims to identify how *Antaranews.com* and *Tempo.co* frame the issue of IKN's sustainable development during January 2025 and to analyze the factors shaping the construction of these media narratives. By doing so, this study contributes to the field of development communication and media framing studies, and provides a reference for enhancing media literacy among the public as they engage with government policy as constructed through news reporting.

B. Method

This study adopts a qualitative approach grounded in Robert Entman's framing analysis model to explore how national online media in Indonesia construct narratives about the sustainability of Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) development. Entman's framework emphasizes that media outlets do not simply relay information, but rather, they selectively highlight particular aspects of reality to shape public interpretation. The model consists of four essential elements: defining the problem, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and providing treatment recommendations (Entman, 2007b). These elements guided the systematic comparison of news framing practices between *Antaranews.com* and *Tempo.co*, two media organizations with distinct ownership structures and editorial traditions.

The research objects—*Antaranews.com* and *Tempo.co*—were purposively selected to represent contrasting models of Indonesian journalism: state-owned and independent. *Antaranews.com*, as an official state news agency, is widely recognized for its supportive stance towards government programs, while *Tempo.co* has established a reputation for critical, investigative journalism and editorial independence (Nurhajati & Wijayanto, 2019). This contrast offers a meaningful basis for understanding how media ownership and editorial routines shape framing, as described in the Hierarchy of Influences Theory (Shoemaker & Reese, n.d.).

Data collection combined content analysis and in-depth interviews to ensure a comprehensive and triangulated understanding of the media narratives. The primary dataset comprised 54 news articles published between 1 and 31 January 2025, including 35 articles from *Antaranews.com* and 19 from *Tempo.co*. Articles were retrieved by searching the national, political, and economic news sections of each platform using relevant keywords such as "IKN," "Ibu Kota Nusantara," and "pembangunan IKN." The inclusion criteria encompassed hard news, opinion pieces, features, editorials, and press releases, provided that the content was directly related to IKN development and exceeded

one paragraph in length. Duplicates, news roundups, irrelevant stories, and short briefs were excluded from analysis.

Each article was systematically analyzed using a coding sheet based on Entman's four framing elements. This manual coding process was carried out in Microsoft Excel, focusing on the headlines, leads, main body content, and cited sources. The comparative framing analysis enabled the researchers to identify both the overt messages and the underlying patterns in each outlet's coverage. To strengthen the validity of the findings, the study employed source and technique triangulation. For Antaranews.com, an in-depth interview was conducted with Imam Budilaksono, the Head of Politics, Law, and Security Desk, to clarify editorial routines and institutional agendas influencing news construction. The interview questions were designed based on initial content analysis, allowing deeper insights into the factors guiding editorial decisions and confirming analytic interpretations. For Tempo.co, additional validation was sought through a literature review, particularly the study "Media Ownership and News Content in Koran Tempo" (Iftakhurizaq & Dharmawan, 2022), which helped contextualize the newsroom culture and editorial independence underpinning the outlet's coverage.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Framing of Sustainable Development Issues for IKN: A Comparative Analysis

Media play a crucial role in constructing public reality, especially for large-scale national projects such as Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN). Using Entman's four-element model—defining the problem, diagnosing the cause, making moral judgments, and treatment recommendations—this section reveals, with rich detail and evidence, how Antaranews.com and Tempo.co adopt contrasting approaches in framing the issue of IKN's sustainable development. All the following analysis, news headlines, and quotations are strictly based on your original article, with official English translations added for each headline and key quotation.

1) Defining the Problem

Antaranews.com consistently defines the problem around IKN as a question of how to maintain and accelerate progress. Their reports are characterized by optimism, with a constant emphasis on completed milestones, readiness of supporting facilities, and seamless government planning. The news items center on the government's ability to guarantee the success of ASN (Aparatur Sipil Negara/civil servant) relocation, investment realization, and infrastructure provision.

“OIKN sebut sarana prasarana untuk ASN Kota Nusantara siap digunakan” (Purwaniawan, 2025). “Otorita Ibu Kota Nusantara (OIKN) menyebutkan sarana prasarana bagi ASN Kota Nusantara... sudah siap digunakan. 'Kami pastikan sarana prasarana ASN Kota Nusantara siap digunakan pada tahun ini,' kata Kepala OIKN Basuki Hadimuljono di Sepaku, Penajam Paser Utara, Selasa. 'Hunian ASN Kota Nusantara serta fasilitas pendukung lainnya siap digunakan,' tambahnya.” (“*OIKN Says Facilities for Nusantara City Civil Servants Ready for Use*”). “*The Nusantara Capital Authority (OIKN) stated that the facilities for civil servants (ASN) in Nusantara City, Indonesia's new capital, are ready for use. 'We ensure*

that the facilities for ASN in Nusantara City are ready to be used this year,’ said OIKN Head Basuki Hadimuljono in Sepaku, Penajam Paser Utara, on Tuesday. ‘Housing for ASN in Nusantara City and other supporting facilities are ready for use,’ he added.”)

“OIKN: Investor di IKN terus membangun sesuai kesepakatan jadwal” (Yunianto, 2025). “Agung menjelaskan bahwa setiap investor yang melakukan groundbreaking telah menandatangani Perjanjian Kerja Sama (PKS) Pemanfaatan Lahan dengan Otorita IKN... Antusiasme investor sangat besar. Beberapa sudah memulai groundbreaking di Wilayah Perencanaan (WP) 1B dan 1C. Kepastian anggaran APBN untuk Otorita IKN hingga 2028 sebesar Rp 48,8 triliun memberikan jaminan infrastruktur yang memadai...” (“*OIKN: Investors in IKN Continue Construction as Scheduled*”). “*Agung explained that every investor who has conducted groundbreaking has signed a Land Use Cooperation Agreement with the OIKN... Investor enthusiasm is very high. Some have already started groundbreaking in Planning Areas 1B and 1C. The certainty of state budget allocation for OIKN until 2028, amounting to IDR 48.8 trillion, provides assurance for adequate infrastructure...*”)

Such coverage implicitly tells the audience that the project’s primary challenge is simply to keep up this positive momentum, while potential risks, delays, or opposition are rendered invisible or trivial. In contrast, Tempo.co positions the main problem as the ongoing gap between the government’s ambitious plans and their implementation on the ground. The reporting frequently draws attention to missed investment targets, unfinished construction, changes in policy, and legal ambiguities that generate uncertainty and public debate.

“Tak Tercapai pada 2024, Pemerintah Lanjutkan Target Investasi Rp 100 Triliun di IKN” (Rahayuningsih, 2025). “Otorita Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) menargetkan investasi yang terealisasi pada 2024 senilai Rp 100 triliun. Namun hingga groundbreaking proyek tahap 8, investasi yang dibukukan baru mencapai Rp 58 triliun.” (“*Target Unmet in 2024, Government Continues Pursuit of IDR 100 Trillion Investment Target in IKN*”). “*The Nusantara Capital Authority (OIKN) targeted realized investment of IDR 100 trillion in 2024. However, by the eighth phase of project groundbreaking, only IDR 58 trillion in investment had been recorded.*”)

“IKN Belum Rampung Tapi UU DKJ Sudah Diteken, di Mana Ibu Kota Indonesia?” (Gabriela, 2025). “Sebelumnya, Kepala Otorita IKN Basuki Hadimuljono sempat menyatakan siap melaksanakan groundbreaking tahap 9 pada Januari. Namun hingga kini, agenda tersebut masih menunggu kepastian jadwal Presiden Prabowo Subianto.” (“*IKN Not Yet Completed, but the Jakarta Law Has Been Signed—Where Is Indonesia’s Capital?*”). “*Previously, OIKN Head Basuki Hadimuljono stated readiness to carry out the ninth phase of groundbreaking in January. However, until now, the agenda is still awaiting confirmation of President Prabowo Subianto’s schedule.*”)

Tempo.co’s framing turns attention to unresolved problems, raising questions about feasibility, pace, and consistency of the IKN project as a whole.

2) *Diagnosing the Cause*

Antaraneews.com attributes the project's achievements to political commitment from the central government, the leadership of the OIKN, and well-coordinated teamwork among public institutions. News items repeatedly highlight the unwavering support from key officials and emphasize continuity between administrations.

“Jubir PCO tegaskan komitmen Prabowo terhadap IKN tidak berkurang” (Prayudhia, 2025). “Juru Bicara (Jubir) Kantor Komunikasi Kepresidenan (PCO) Dedek Prayudi menegaskan Presiden Prabowo Subianto tetap berkomitmen melanjutkan pembangunan Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN)... 'Saya tegaskan komitmen Presiden Prabowo terhadap IKN itu tidak lebih rendah daripada komitmen Presiden Jokowi...'” (*“Presidential Communication Office Spokesperson Affirms Prabowo's Commitment to IKN Remains Strong”*. *“Presidential Communication Office spokesperson Dedek Prayudi affirmed that President Prabowo Subianto remains committed to continuing the development of Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN)... 'I assure you that President Prabowo's commitment to IKN is no less than that of President Jokowi...'”*)

“OIKN sebut sarana prasarana untuk ASN Kota Nusantara siap digunakan” (Purwaniawan, 2025). “Pencapaian penting yang menjadi acuan OIKN dalam pembangunan Kota Nusantara saat ini, ia menimpali lagi, infrastruktur sektor legislatif dan yudikatif, termasuk kantor, hunian pejabat dan fasilitas pendukung lainnya ditarget rampung pada 2028.” (*“OIKN Says Facilities for Nusantara City Civil Servants Ready for Use”*. *“A key achievement serving as OIKN's benchmark in developing Nusantara City is the targeted completion by 2028 of legislative and judicial infrastructure, including offices, official residences, and other supporting facilities.”*)

These stories suggest that the path to success is clear as long as political support and agency synergy remain intact. On the other hand, Tempo.co identifies obstacles as stemming from policy inconsistency, shifting national priorities under the new administration, and a lack of market and investor confidence. These problems are not described as mere technical issues, but as deep-rooted, systemic, and sometimes political.

“Outlook 2025: Ada Warisan IKN dan PSN, Bagaimana Arah Pembangunan Infrastruktur Pemerintahan Prabowo Subianto?” (Rahayuningsih, 2025). “Tren investasi di IKN menjadi sorotan pada 2024. Pasalnya, investasi untuk proyek ibu kota baru itu dinilai seret. Bahkan, persoalan ini mendorong Komisi VI DPR periode 2019-2024 mencecar Menteri Investasi era Presiden Jokowi, Bahlil Lahadalia... Anggota Komisi V DPR RI 2019-2024 Suryadi Jaya Purnama pernah meminta pemerintah mengevaluasi proyek IKN... investor ogah masuk IKN karena terdapat sejumlah permasalahan dalam megaprojek tersebut. Ia menyinggung persoalan 2.086 hektare lahan yang sempat disampaikan pemerintah.” (*“Outlook 2025: The Legacy of IKN and National Strategic Projects—What Is the Direction of Infrastructure Development under the Prabowo Administration?”*. *“Investment trends in IKN drew attention in 2024, as investment in the new capital project was considered sluggish. This even led Commission VI of the House of Representatives (DPR) for the 2019-2024 period to grill the Investment Minister from Jokowi's administration, Bahlil Lahadalia...*

Commission V member Suryadi Jaya Purnama has called for a government evaluation of the IKN project, stating that investors are reluctant to enter due to several problems, including 2,086 hectares of unresolved land issues.”)

Tempo.co thus diagnoses the project’s difficulties as emerging from the interplay of political shifts, economic realities, and unresolved structural issues.

3) Making Moral Judgments

For Antaranews.com, the moral stance is clear: IKN is depicted as an emblem of national progress, modernization, and collective pride. News is constructed to build support, presenting the project as a patriotic duty and as something that should unite rather than divide the nation.

“Ketua MPR: Perkembangan IKN ‘on the track’” (Mulya, 2025) “Ketua Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (MPR) Republik Indonesia Ahmad Muzani menilai perkembangan pembangunan Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) di Kalimantan Timur berjalan baik di jalur yang semestinya atau on the track... 'Perkembangannya IKN bagus. IKN perkembangannya on the track...'” (*“MPR Chairman: IKN Development ‘On Track’”*). *“The Chairman of the Indonesian People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR), Ahmad Muzani, considers the development of Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN) in East Kalimantan to be proceeding well and on track... ‘IKN’s progress is good. The development of IKN is on the right track...’”*)

“Wamen PU: 47 tower ASN di IKN ditargetkan rampung 2025” (Harianto, 2025) “Wakil Menteri Pekerjaan Umum (PU) Diana Kusumastuti menyatakan 47 tower rumah susun (rusun) hunian untuk ditempati pemindahan aparatur sipil negara (ASN) di IKN, Kalimantan Timur, ditargetkan rampung di tahun 2025...” (*“Deputy Minister of Public Works: 47 Apartment Towers for ASN in IKN Targeted for Completion by 2025”*). *“Deputy Minister of Public Works (PU) Diana Kusumastuti stated that 47 apartment towers for civil servants (ASN) relocating to IKN, East Kalimantan, are targeted for completion in 2025...”*

This framing instills confidence and conveys the message that public and political support for IKN is not only rational but ethically right. Tempo.co, by contrast, uses a moral framework focused on critical evaluation, transparency, and the protection of public and environmental interests. Reports warn that the pursuit of prestige and political legacy must not come at the expense of responsible governance.

“Outlook 2025: Ada Warisan IKN dan PSN, Bagaimana Arah Pembangunan Infrastruktur Pemerintahan Prabowo Subianto?” (Rahayuningsih, 2025) “Pembangunan infrastruktur kelihatannya diarahkan pada persoalan pengentasan kemiskinan, ketahanan pangan, makan bergizi, atau dalam konteks bagaimana infrastruktur memberi kontribusi besar terkait dengan pertumbuhan ekonomi...” (*“Outlook 2025: The Legacy of IKN and National Strategic Projects—What Is the Direction of Infrastructure Development under the Prabowo Administration?”*). *“Infrastructure development now seems to be focused on issues such as poverty alleviation, food security, nutritional needs, and how infrastructure contributes to overall economic growth...”*)

ESG issues and investor standards are also raised: “Investor dari negara maju memiliki standar environmental, social, and governance (ESG) yang tidak menghendaki deforestasi dan dampak sosial negatif terhadap masyarakat lokal...” (*“Investors from developed countries have environmental, social, and governance (ESG) standards that do not permit deforestation or negative social impacts on local communities...”*)

The ethical legitimacy of IKN, for Tempo.co, depends on evidence, inclusiveness, and protection of collective interests—not just the ambition of state leaders.

4) Treatment Recommendations

Antaranews.com closes its coverage with calls for unwavering political and public support, presenting ongoing and accelerated development as both necessary and desirable. Maintaining unity and confidence is depicted as the path to national success.

“Jubir PCO tegaskan komitmen Prabowo terhadap IKN tidak berkurang” (Prayudhia, 2025), “...Saya tegaskan komitmen Presiden Prabowo terhadap IKN itu tidak lebih rendah daripada komitmen Presiden Jokowi (Joko Widodo)...”

In contrast, Tempo.co calls for continued critical evaluation, greater transparency, and flexible policymaking. Recommendations stress the need for policy adaptation in response to new realities and the importance of putting public welfare above political prestige.

“Outlook 2025: Ada Warisan IKN dan PSN, Bagaimana Arah Pembangunan Infrastruktur Pemerintahan Prabowo Subianto?” (Rahayuningsih, 2025). “Selama ini pun, investasi yang masuk baru sebatas kerja sama pemerintah dengan badan usaha atau KPBU...”. (*“Outlook 2025: The Legacy of IKN and National Strategic Projects—What Is the Direction of Infrastructure Development under the Prabowo Administration?”*). “So far, investments coming in have only been through government cooperation with business entities or Public Private Partnerships (PPP)...”

To synthesize the above findings and enable an accessible comparison for readers, the following table summarizes the key framing patterns from both media using Entman’s model, with both Indonesian and English headlines as examples.

Tabel 1. Summary Table of Media Framing on IKN Sustainable Development

Framing Element	Antaranews.com	Tempo.co
Define Problem	Progress of infrastructure, readiness for ASN relocation, government/investor achievement. e.g. “OIKN sebut sarana prasarana untuk ASN Kota Nusantara siap digunakan” (Purwaniawan, 2025a)	Delays, missed investment targets, policy/legal ambiguity. e.g. “Tak Tercapai pada 2024, Pemerintah Lanjutkan Target Investasi Rp 100 Triliun di IKN” (Rahayuningsih, 2025) <i>“Target Unmet in 2024, Government Continues Pursuit of</i>

	<i>“OIKN Says Facilities for Nusantara City Civil Servants Ready for Use”</i>	<i>IDR 100 Trillion Investment in IKN”</i>
Diagnose Cause	Success attributed to government leadership, OIKN, and inter-agency coordination. e.g. “Jubir PCO tegaskan komitmen Prabowo terhadap IKN tidak berkurang” (Prayudhia, 2025a) <i>“Presidential Communication Office Spokesperson Affirms Prabowo’s Commitment to IKN Remains Strong”</i>	Problems attributed to shifting priorities, inconsistent policy, lack of investor confidence. e.g. “Outlook 2025: Ada Warisan IKN dan PSN...” (Rahayuningsih, 2025d) <i>“Outlook 2025: The Legacy of IKN and National Strategic Projects—What Is the Direction...”</i>
Moral Judgment	IKN as a national duty, symbol of progress. e.g. “Ketua MPR: Perkembangan IKN ‘on the track’” (Mulya, 2025) <i>“MPR Chairman: IKN Development ‘On Track’”</i>	Need for caution, transparency, and social/environmental responsibility. e.g. “Investor dari negara maju memiliki standar ESG...” (Rahayuningsih, 2025e) <i>“Investors from developed countries have ESG standards...”</i>
Treatment	Call for continued, accelerated, and unified support. e.g. “Jubir PCO tegaskan komitmen Prabowo terhadap IKN tidak berkurang” (Prayudhia, 2025b) <i>“Presidential Communication Office Spokesperson Affirms Prabowo’s Commitment to IKN Remains Strong”</i>	Recommend ongoing evaluation, transparency, and policy adjustment. e.g. “Selama ini pun, investasi yang masuk baru sebatas KPBU...” (Rahayuningsih, 2025e) <i>“So far, investments have only been through PPPs...”</i>

The table clearly encapsulates how both media outlets select, emphasize, and interpret various aspects of IKN development, each constructing a distinctive social reality and guiding public perception in a particular direction. The contrasting framing strategies above are not simply editorial preferences; they are shaped by the deeper organizational cultures and structural alignments of each outlet. Antaranews.com, as a state-owned news agency, is part of a coordinated information network with the government and other state media. This results in message discipline, focus on official sources, and avoidance of controversial or dissenting perspectives, as confirmed by internal interviews:

“Kita mendukung pembangunan IKN, kebijakan IKN apapun, framing kita positif... memang itu dalam satu garis agenda setting yang sudah dirancang antara ANTARA dengan PCO dan KOMDIGI sama RRI dan TVRI.”
“We support the development of IKN and any IKN policy, our framing is positive... indeed, this is part of an agenda-setting strategy jointly designed by

ANTARA, the Presidential Communication Office (PCO), the Ministry of Communication, RRI, and TVRI.” (Interview, May 2025)

Tempo.co, on the other hand, maintains editorial independence and fosters pluralism, enabling its journalists to source stories from academics, legislators, civil society, and affected communities. This allows for a more critical and balanced narrative, and is in line with Tempo’s tradition of investigative and deliberative journalism (Nurhajati & Wijayanto, 2019; Iftakhurizaq & Dharmawan, 2022).

The impact of these framing differences is substantial. Antaranews.com’s positive, unified coverage may enhance government legitimacy and foster social cohesion, but risks suppressing dissent, masking potential problems, and stifling democratic debate. Tempo.co’s more critical, deliberative framing supports public accountability, transparency, and policy responsiveness, but may contribute to skepticism or “policy fatigue” if not balanced by constructive narratives.

This comparative demonstrates that the way media frame strategic development issues like IKN is both a reflection of, and an influence on, Indonesia’s evolving democracy and development policy. A robust, pluralistic media landscape—one that allows both affirmation and critique—is essential for informed public debate, adaptive policymaking, and the realization of truly sustainable development.

2. Factors Influencing Media Framing of IKN Development

The sharply contrasting ways in which Antaranews.com and Tempo.co frame IKN’s sustainable development are not simply stylistic, but are deeply rooted in their organizational characteristics, newsroom routines, professional culture, and contextual pressures. This section explores each factor in detail, followed by a reflective analysis connecting each point to the research objectives and wider impacts.

1) Ownership and Institutional Role

The ownership structure of a media outlet is arguably the most fundamental determinant of its editorial direction, agenda-setting power, and the scope for independence or critical coverage. Antaranews.com is a state-owned agency, functioning as an official channel for public information and policy communication. Its status as a government mouthpiece is clear both in internal policy and in daily editorial practice. The interview with an Antaranews.com editor directly reveals this stance:

“We support IKN development and any IKN-related policy, our framing is positive... This is in line with the agenda-setting strategy designed between ANTARA, the Presidential Communication Office (PCO), the Ministry of Communication, RRI, and TVRI.” (Interview, May 2025)

This model creates a newsroom environment where the line between journalism and public relations is intentionally blurred. As a result, news content is constructed to highlight state achievements, ensure policy legitimacy, and reinforce a unified national narrative. The cost of this model is a tendency to exclude critique, overlook risks, and marginalize non-governmental voices—potentially reducing public debate to a “one-way” flow of information.

This supports the research objective of clarifying why Antaranews.com's framing is consistently affirmative and closely tied to official narratives, often at the expense of diversity and pluralism. In stark contrast, Tempo.co is a private, independently owned media group. The editorial team is institutionally insulated from both direct state intervention and business management influence. Research (Nurhajati & Wijayanto, 2019; Iftakhurizaq & Dharmawan, 2022) confirms that decision-making at Tempo.co is collective and rooted in professional codes, not owner mandates.

This institutional autonomy gives Tempo.co a platform for critical inquiry, pluralism, and the inclusion of voices often omitted from state narratives. Framing in Tempo.co thus becomes more skeptical, balanced, and reflexive, regularly foregrounding not just policy achievements but also controversies, risks, and contestation. This dynamic is crucial for democratic accountability and supports the research aim of explaining how independent media foster public debate and alternative perspectives in Indonesian development communication.

2) Newsroom Routines and Source Selection

The daily routines of news production—from editorial meetings to source selection and news verification—play a decisive role in shaping content and framing. At Antaranews.com, news sources are overwhelmingly drawn from government actors: ministries, OIKN officials, state companies, and political elites. Editorial meetings are held in coordination with the Presidential Communication Office and other arms of government, as reflected in internal interviews:

“Our news sources are mostly government institutions because they are the ones who make the policy. If we refer to outside observers, the issue could broaden and disrupt the framing we have built.” (Interview with Imam Budilaksono, May 2025)

Such routines establish a “closed circle” of information, limiting the diversity of perspectives and producing news that is consistent, predictable, and always in line with state messaging. While this supports agenda-setting and national branding, it also means that media fail to act as a “watchdog,” and that public scrutiny of policy (such as environmental or social risks of IKN) is muted. This answers the research objective by showing the operational mechanism behind Antaranews.com's framing and its consequences for democratic discourse.

At Tempo.co, journalists are required—and professionally incentivized—to broaden their source base. They regularly seek commentary from academics, parliamentarians, NGOs, investor representatives, local residents, and technical experts. Editorial meetings encourage the pursuit of stories that reveal problems or alternative viewpoints, even if these challenge official statements. The result is a richer, more complex framing, in which policy announcements are contextualized, critiqued, and connected to societal consequences. In practice, this means the public receives a more complete and critical picture of national development, as seen in Tempo.co's in-depth IKN coverage. This demonstrates how newsroom routines and professional incentives

enable pluralism and support public engagement, directly answering the study's second objective.

3) *Organizational Culture and Professional Norms*

Organizational culture—shaped by leadership, history, and internal codes of ethics—profoundly impacts how media interpret their social function. Antaranews.com maintains a culture of “positive news”, prioritizing harmony, national pride, and “socializing” government initiatives. The newsroom climate is one of compliance, with critique or contestation often viewed as threats to order or state interests. This orientation is visible in coverage that avoids controversy and positions policy support as a form of national service.

Such a culture may be effective in periods of crisis or when promoting state unity, but it risks alienating audiences seeking transparency, accountability, or acknowledgment of dissent. This culture is directly linked to Antaranews.com's framing choices, and shows how institutional values translate into journalistic routines and, ultimately, public narratives. At Tempo.co, the prevailing culture is investigative, critical, and “watchdog”-oriented. The editorial team values journalistic autonomy, embraces open discussion, and sees news as a means to “speak truth to power.” Tempo.co encourages its staff to report on complex, even uncomfortable realities—an approach that is actively reinforced by editorial leadership and internal training. This culture produces stories that probe beyond official claims, elevate underrepresented perspectives, and foster dialogue rather than consensus. For IKN, this means the public is exposed to both the promise and the challenges of national projects. The linkage to the research objective is clear: organizational culture at Tempo.co provides the foundation for pluralist, deliberative public discourse and a more robust policy debate.

4) *The Political and Regulatory Environment*

Indonesia's political and regulatory environment is another decisive context for media framing. Antaranews.com, as a state agency, operates in a political climate where press freedom is formally protected but often pragmatically circumscribed, especially regarding strategic national interests like IKN. During political transitions or sensitive policy periods, state media are expected to maintain social order, uphold legitimacy, and avoid “rocking the boat.” Such constraints can lead to self-censorship or over-compliance, especially when political stakes are high. As a result, critical issues or dissenting perspectives may be absent from the mainstream, reducing public scrutiny at critical policy junctures. This highlights how external political dynamics reinforce the framing choices at Antaranews.com, underlining the interconnectedness of state power and public communication.

Meanwhile, Tempo.co benefits from a more flexible environment, but still faces external pressures such as government criticism, legal threats, or market backlash. Despite this, Indonesia's relatively open regulatory framework and the public's expectation of media independence allow Tempo.co to push boundaries—though always

within the limits of law and professional ethics. By taking calculated risks and leveraging the regulatory space available, Tempo.co is able to present stories that challenge dominant discourses and stimulate public debate. This demonstrates how regulatory openness and a supportive public can empower independent media to fulfill a democratic function, thus achieving a central research aim.

5) Economic Pressures and Resource Availability

Economic structure and resourcing also play an important but sometimes overlooked role. Antaranews.com is sustained through state funding and protected from market volatility, allowing a stable focus on policy communication rather than on commercial performance. This financial security facilitates long-term, government-aligned reporting, but can reduce responsiveness to public preferences or new journalistic trends. It also means that content is less likely to shift in response to public demand or emergent issues unless those are reflected in government priorities. Thus, economic stability underpins the consistent, pro-government framing seen in Antaranews.com's IKN reporting. Conversely, Tempo.co must balance editorial ideals with commercial realities. While its brand and loyal readership offer some protection, there remains pressure to sustain quality, audience trust, and financial viability in a competitive market. This balance can be challenging, but it also keeps the newsroom attentive to audience concerns, market trends, and the need for differentiation—thus incentivizing critical, high-quality journalism as a commercial as well as a public good. This explains why Tempo.co maintains both high editorial standards and a critical, adaptive framing on issues like IKN, and why this model is crucial for sustaining an informed, engaged society.

D. Conclusion

This study has provided a comprehensive comparative analysis of how two leading Indonesian online news outlets, Antaranews.com and Tempo.co, frame the issue of sustainable development in Ibu Kota Nusantara (IKN). Utilizing Robert Entman's four-element framing model and informed by the Hierarchy of Influences Theory, the research demonstrates that media coverage of IKN is far from neutral or uniform; rather, it is deeply shaped by each outlet's ownership structure, editorial policies, newsroom routines, and broader political-economic context. Antaranews.com, as a state-owned news agency, consistently frames IKN through a lens of optimism and national achievement. Its coverage emphasizes government success, inter-agency synergy, and the steady progress of infrastructure and investment, often minimizing or omitting critical voices and potential challenges. This framing is reinforced by organizational routines that prioritize official sources and align closely with government agenda-setting, reflecting the agency's institutional role as a channel for public information and policy legitimization.

Conversely, Tempo.co, as an independent media outlet with a tradition of editorial autonomy, approaches the IKN project with greater skepticism and pluralism. Its reporting foregrounds unresolved issues, project delays, budgetary concerns, and the

social or environmental impacts of the new capital. Tempo.co's newsroom culture encourages the inclusion of diverse sources—academics, legislators, civil society, and local communities—and fosters investigative, deliberative journalism. This results in coverage that not only presents alternative perspectives but also holds public policy to greater scrutiny.

The study further shows that these divergent framing strategies are not mere editorial preferences, but are structurally produced by each organization's ownership, professional norms, and interaction with the wider regulatory and economic environment. Antaranews.com's affirmative, unified narrative may strengthen policy legitimacy and foster social cohesion, yet it risks suppressing dissent and narrowing public debate. Tempo.co's critical framing enhances accountability and transparency, but may sometimes contribute to public skepticism if not accompanied by constructive solutions. In conclusion, the way media frame major development projects like IKN is both a reflection of, and a contributor to, Indonesia's evolving democracy and public communication landscape. For policymakers, journalists, and citizens alike, this research highlights the necessity of media pluralism, editorial independence, and critical media literacy in fostering informed, adaptive, and inclusive development. As Indonesia continues to pursue ambitious national projects, robust public debate—enabled by diverse and independent media—remains essential for achieving sustainable, legitimate, and equitable outcomes.

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