

MACRO STRUCTURES IN TWO SOCIAL MEDIA REPORTS ON CAPITAL RELOCATION

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ABSTRACT

The relocation of Indonesia's Capital City has caused public debate and conflicting narratives in media. This research is motivated by the massive coverage of the capital relocation and the assumption that the program is driven by a dominant group with political interests. This research aims to analyze how two online news platforms, such as *tirto.id* and *viva.news*, construct discourse on the capital relocation using Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis model. Employing a qualitative descriptive method, the research focuses on analyzing propositions in selected news texts as well as interpreting their macrostructure through macrorules, such as generalization, deletion, selection, interpretation, and construction. The findings reveal that *tirto.id* constructs the discourse to support the relocation by highlighting expert involvement and logical reasoning, while *viva.news* emphasizes political criticism and legal controversies. The research concludes that media framing significantly influences public perception, with each outlet building its own version of reality through discourse strategies along with underlines the role of media in shaping national narratives, especially political issues like capital relocation.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis, Macro Structure, Van Dijk's Approach, Social Media, Meaning*

INTRODUCTION

The discussion about relocating of Indonesia's Capital City has become an interesting issue at the end of 2019 to the present. Specifically, on August 26, 2019, the government was officially announced plans to move the capital from Jakarta to Kalimantan; namely in Penajem Paser Utara and Kutai Kartanegara. The primarily assumptions of minimal disasters and economic equality was used by the government

as strong reasons to run the program. However, like others initiatives in the past, this program has considerable met with significant public debate and criticism by communities, particularly from the opposing groups. Moving the capital city to East Kalimantan has become a concern for locals (Widadio & Budhi, 2024). They are worried that the condition of their forests will be likely disturbed. Sarwo Edi, a social observer, warned that the relocation program has the potential to cause social rifts among indigenous communities in Kalimantan. Moreover, many civil servants are expected to relocate and restart their lives in the new capital. Without adequate planning, it is possible that the new capital city could face classic and similar problems to those experienced by other major cities.

A major concern that related with the relocation is the potential for urban problems that usually afflict rapidly in growing cities. Without sustainable planning, the new capital city would experience traffic congestion, air and water pollution, overcrowded housing, and the development of informal settlements. Inadequate infrastructure and limited public services could further aggravate social inequality and create new environmental pressures. These are not speculative concerns; cities like Jakarta and Surabaya have experienced similar challenges due to rapid urbanization without proportional infrastructure development (UN-Habitat, 2020). Furthermore, the influx of civil servants and their families could strain the local economy and disrupt the social dynamic of indigenous communities. If these issues are not addressed from the outset, there is a risk that the new capital may face huge problems. Hence, comprehensive urban planning, inclusive social policies, and environmental safeguards must be prioritized to prevent the emergence of systemic urban crises in the future.

In contrast with people who agree with relocation program, one of them is Rudy Prawiradinata, as Deputy of the National Planning Agency (Bappenas). He assumes that the current capital city of Jakarta is no longer possible to be the capital city which with the problems caused by Jakarta: starting from flooding, traffic jams, air pollution, and population density. So, with these considerations, the capital city relocation program must be carried out. In addition, the island of Kalimantan is considered as an

area with minimal disasters, so that consideration of becoming the center of government is becoming the right steps. Then the consideration of relocation is discrepancy of the current of Capital City (Sukmajati & Amrurobbi, 2023). Jakarta has become the center of all government activities. So that, it has negatives impact, including causing a very large and unstoppable population, air pollution that is getting higher every day, flooding in various areas, or even a very high crime rate. These reasons are used as the main factors. Moreover, economic equality for each province is also considered as a reason. Furthermore, the context of economic equality is a major task for the government; it is related to the creation of new economic activities. Therefore, to tackle this issue, the government must consider the infrastructure which requires a lot of money and the connectivity of business centers between the island of Kalimantan and other islands such as Sulawesi, Java, Sumatra, and Papua. In this case, the government must provide the resources that are possible, but must be accompanied by a lot of funds. One way is to encourage investors, both from within the country and abroad.

In the digital era, social media has become a major platform where various narratives, debates, and discourses about the relocation program are formed, shared, and contested. Thus, this research also focuses on how two different social media-based news outlets present and shape public perception regarding the relocation of the Capital City. Mass media in general is a place for people to obtain and to know information quickly and easily. Information has been considered as a primary need for every individual in the world, since people can find out about existing phenomena. Moreover, in today's digital era, people can access the information easily that they need: through their smartphone to access social networking media. Social networking media is an online media with users can participate, share information with each other, and create a virtual world with other users. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) define social networking media as a group of applications based on cyberspace, ideology, and technology that allows people to create and exchange information. Starting from this theory, the exchange of information is certainly inseparable from the language used by its users,

especially through language construction.

From the explanation above, an initial assumption emerges that the government's plan to relocate the Capital City has polarized public opinion. Those who oppose the plan concern about the fate of the locals and the condition and environmental impact of the prospective new Capital City: particularly regarding to deforestation and the potential rise of social tensions. In contrast to agree to the program, they mention that the current Capital City is no longer feasible due to the current conditions and the assumption to equalize economic growth in each province. Therefore, this research aims to address humanitarian issue, particularly the discursive of “war of opinion” among societies: both from the proponents and opponents that related with government’s plan to relocate the Capital City.

To examine this issue critically, it is necessarily to examine how discourses are constructed and conveyed through various media narratives. A critical discourse analysis (CDA) offers a powerful framework to explore deeply about the hidden power relations, ideologies, and social inequalities that embedded in a language. Critical discourse analysis begins with the assumptions that language use is always related with social and political practice (Paltridge, 2012). Moreover, it also explores issues that are always related to social problems, such as gender, ethnicity, cultural differences, inequality, degrading power, and ideologies that are manifested in discourse (Van Dijk, 1993). Therefore, CDA becomes the main alternative to examine the use of discourse that is connected to different views of experience, beliefs, and the real world (Clark, 1995). Then the experts, such as Fairclough and Wodak (1997) describe the principles of CDA itself, starting from social and political issues, power relations, ideology that negotiated through discourse. Therefore, the role of discourse is often played role for the distribution of important information and the general public as the main target. This is related to the discourse used by the media to report on the government's program to move the location of the Capital City. Surely, the general public assesses it critically, both those who agree and who disagree with the government's program.

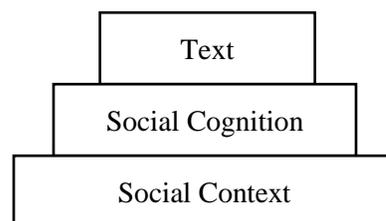
Building on this theoretical foundation, this research aims to critically analyze

how social media, based on news platforms, construct and represent discourses about the relocation of Indonesia's Capital City. By implementing the theory of Van Dijk's macrostructure, this research seeks to uncover the ideological patterns and power dynamics that embedded in the narratives of media texts. The purposes are to reveal how language and discourse shape public perceptions and contribute to either support or resistance toward the government's policy. Hence, this study addresses the following research question: *How do media discourses on social media construct macrostructures that reflect ideological positions regarding the relocation of Indonesia's Capital City?* Through this analysis, the research exposes to provide insights into the role of media discourse in shaping social opinion and influencing public understanding of state policies.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Among CDA approaches, the model proposed by van Dijk is particularly relevant for this study. So that, the researchers adopt Teun A. Van Dijk which emphasizes the important of analysis discourse at multiple levels, notably macro, micro, and superstructure. In his literature, he mentioned CDA as perspective study with other disciplines, such as psychology, history, social, and linguistics. Those disciplines would help analyze discourse critically. As multidiscipline, CDA can analyze ideology and other intention that hidden in the text (Van Dijk, 1995). Not only that, for van Dijk, a text is not merely a neutral medium of communication; rather, it is shaped by underlying discourse practices that reflect specific purposes, ideologies, and power relations. Here is a critical discourse analysis model by Van Dijk, (Eriyanto, 2003).

Picture 1 Analysis Model of Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (Eriyanto, 2003)



First, in analyzing text, it focuses on text which is pointing at linguistic features, such as vocabularies, sentences, propositions, and paragraphs. Second, social cognition is the dimension that explaining how text is produced by writer. Last, social context helps text as media which related with social structure and knowledge around societies (Eriyanto, 2003). Moreover, Van Dijk argued that text have several fundamental; this foundation will build each other. First, macro structure, which has global meaning from the text that can be seen from sequel topics that appeared in the discourse. Next, superstructure which is a structure that related with all existing text. Last, micro structure is discourse meaning that can be observed based on linguistic features, such as words, sentences, propositions, phrases, and pictures (Van Dijk, 1980).

Analyzing macro is consisted into five steps; they are deletion, selection, generalization, construction, and interpretation/evaluation (Van Dijk, 1980). First is deletion, this macrorule would delete all proposition that contain in the discourse which is not relevant with other propositions. For example:

Example 1

The topic is *John is ill*, then:

P1. Today is Saturday. It is sunny outside.

P2. That day, John was visited by his friends. One of them is Lisa

As the example P1 and P2 above, we can observe that the topics are not relevant with *John is ill*. So that, both P1 and P2 are deleted or *deletion*. Second is selection. It refers to choosing topic from proposition which the condition is interpreted based on the truth of other propositions. For Example:

Example 2

The topic is *John is not coming the meeting today*, then:

P3. The meeting has ended. It is rain outside.

P4. The meeting was concluded. The chairperson brought the meeting to a close.

The examples above are related with why *John is not coming*, then P3, since there is a reason that outside is raining right now. Therefore, it can be concluded that

John did not join the meeting since he was caught by the rain. Third, it is *generalization*. It is a macrorule that construct particular topic between existing propositions. For instance;

P5. John is playing marbles. Lina is playing rope. Isaac is playing mobile phone. Lara is playing with her pet.

As the example from P5, it concludes one main topic; it is *the children are playing*. In other word, *generalization* builds one argument among group of sentences. Next is *construction*; it is macrorule that takes propositions from sequence of propositions to combine each other, so it will be formulized into normal component or it has consequences. For example:

P6. I went to Paris by plane.

As a proposition that mentioned by P6, it can be seen that the topic is *I went to Paris*. Then any propositions that caused me took the plane is becoming major cause which is constructed in P6, such *I went to the airport, I arrived around 7 a.m, I checked-in*. Last, it is *interpretation*; it refers to macrorule that connect specific global feature or behavior feature that indicated to any activities or conditions. *Interpretation*, is often tied to emotional state.

P7. He did not go to party because he was not invited.

From the proposition above, it is clear that mental argumentation of word *he* reflects a sense of *sadness*. In example sP7, *he* can be associated with sad mental state due to not invited to the party.

Then several previous studies have applied Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework to explore how discourse is constructed in media texts, particularly in the context of social media and political communication. Sengul (2025) conducted research to critically examine the discursive about how individuals apply and share strategies to spread their tough ideas along with collecting identity and intersubjectivity (Sengul, 2025). Similarly, Sameela, et all (2025) explored about the transgression and genuine are represented in Finnish online discussion in any online platform. They helped people's discussion on environmental

topic by expressing more than just two opposing poles (Salmela et al., 2025). Next, Syafuddin (2025), he analyzed the discourse that built by influencer in social media, such as TikTok. In his analyzed, he used Van Dijk's approach to identify language function that could shape people's thoughts and behavior (Syafuddin, 2025). Then, Sujoko (2023), used Van Dijk's approach, examined Indonesia government's response to the thrive of COVID-19 in the early stage. However, the government seemed to be careless in handling of Covid issue as well as the warning from the media. They failed, especially gave respond to public debate through mass media (Sujoko, 2023).

Asmara and Arimi (2024) conducted a CDA research by using Van Dijk's theory to analyze euphemisms in the news of the Dago Elos. They found that there were 16 evidences of euphemisms that contained in four online news reports (Asmara et al., 2024). Last, Pendri, Andayani, Wardani, and Suhita (2024) critically examined online media concerning issue about education sector in Indonesia as COVID-19 pandemic. They used macrostructure and superstructure from Van Dijk to uncover coherent and intentional pattern of arrangements text about difficulties to delivering message (Pendri et al., 2024).

Although numerous studies have applied Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis to various issues, such as identity construction, environmental discourse, governmental communication, euphemisms in news, and educational challenges during the COVID-19 pandemic: most of these researches focus on thematic areas like political conflict, public health, or environmental debates. Moreover, many of them combine macrostructure analysis with micro and superstructure, or examine media discourse in general as well as on social media platforms specifically. Few studies have investigated how specifically macrostructures are used to construct discourse in the context of Indonesia's capital relocation, especially within the informal yet influential space of social media reporting. So that, it gives a research gap in understanding how global meanings (themes, topics, coherence) are structured to influence public opinion about capital relocation in social media narratives. Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap by analyzing the macrostructures in two selected social media reports about Indonesia's

capital relocation, using Van Dijk's CDA framework.

RESEARCH METHOD

To begin with, this research applies a qualitative research design with a critical discourse analysis approach based on the model proposed by Teun A. van Dijk. Specifically, the analysis is limited to the macrostructure level, which focuses on global meanings such as topics, themes, and overall coherence of the texts. Then, the data were obtained from the official social media accounts of two Indonesian online media platforms: Tirta.id and Viva.news. These platforms actively post news content on website, Instagram, and Twitter, including reports related to the relocation of Indonesia's capital city from Jakarta to Nusantara (East Kalimantan). Two selected posts that one from each media outlet which were analyzed for their thematic structure and global meaning. Both news articles were selected based on the consideration that they represent a generalization of the news coverage regarding the planned relocation of the capital city. The data on the titles of these news articles can be found in the table below:

Table 1. The Data

No	Title	Published	Mass Media
1	<i>Bappenas Undang Pakar Tata Kota Dunia Bahas Pemindahan Ibu Kota</i>	10 September 2019	<i>Tirta.id</i>
2	<i>Kritik Buat Jokowi: Pindah Ibu Kota Bukan Seperti Kisa Roro Jonggrang.</i>	10 Maret 2020	<i>Viva.news</i>

Moreover, the data were collected through purposive sampling, focusing on posts that explicitly address the topic of capital relocation. The criteria for selection included the clarity of discourse, level of engagement (likes, comments, shares), and the presence of complete caption texts that could be analyzed. Screenshots and transcriptions were archived in April 2025 to ensure contextual consistency. Last, The analysis employed Van Dijk's macrostructure theory, which includes the following procedures:

- Identifying the global topic or main theme of the news post.
- Analyzing how supporting details and sub-topics are organized to form a coherent whole.
- Examining how the thematic structure reflects ideological positioning.
- Investigating the coherence and flow of meaning within each post using macrostructure rules (e.g., deletion, selection, generalization, construction, and interpretation/evaluation).

This framework allows the researchers to uncover how information is selected and structured to guide audience interpretation, emphasizing the role of media in shaping public understanding of policy issues.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

FINDINGS

The data source in this study consists of news articles published on social media platforms. The data analyzed includes two news articles; each published by a different social media: based news outlet, namely *tirto.id* and *viva.news*. The collected data are classified according to Van Dijk’s analytical framework of macrostructure (Eriyanto, 2003).

Table 2. Findings of *tirto.id*

Discourse Structure	Observed Aspect	Element
Macrostructure	<i>Pembeberan alasan pemindahan lokasi Ibu Kota yang dilakukan oleh Deputi Pengembang Regional Bappenas Rudy Prawiradinata.</i>	Topic

The table above presents the data findings from the first news article published by *tirto.id*. The data in Table 2 will be analyzed using Van Dijk’s model of Critical Discourse Analysis. This CDA approach will focus on describing the textual dimension of macrostructure. The table is divided into three parts: discourse structure, observed aspects, and element. The "observed aspects" section refers to components that guide the subsequent analysis, as each structure includes specific elements to be observed.

For example, in the macrostructure, the focus is on the main topic of the news coverage.

Table 3. Findings of *viva.news*

Discourse Structure	Observed Aspect	Element
Macrostructure	<i>Kritikan-kritikan terhadap rencana pemindahan ibu kota negara yang baru.</i>	Topic

As previously explained above, the findings data will be analyzed by using Van Dijk’s model of Critical Discourse Analysis. In this analytical process, the researchers will be focused solely on the macrostructure. Each news article will be analyzed based on Van Dijk’s macrostructural framework.

DISCUSSION

MACROSTRUCTURE ON TIRTA.ID

Macrostructure analysis is the first stage in Van Dijk’s model of Critical Discourse Analysis. According to Van Dijk, macrostructure is used to represent various forms of global meaning, such as topics, themes, or the overall gist of a text (Van Dijk, 1980). Based on this fundamental principle, macrostructure follows certain rules to formulate the relationships between meanings at the level of words, sentences, or discourse. Moreover, macrostructure in discourse theory is essential for illustrating the existence of coherence.

The macrostructure analysis is divided into two parts: unit analysis and macro rule analysis. The discussion of each part of the macrostructure can be found below. The initial discussion is presented in the following table.

Table 4. Proposition on *tirto.id*

Proposition	Data	Unit
1	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Bappenas) membeberkan sejumlah alasan terkait rencana pemindahan ibu kota dari DKI Jakarta ke Kalimantan Timur kepada para pakar tata kota dunia.	Intentional and Extensional
	Dalam acara yang digelar di Hotel Borobudur,	

2	tampak hadir sejumlah nama pakar tata kota, di antaranya seperti perencana tata kota untuk Putra Jaya (Malaysia) Norliza Hasyid dan pakar tata kota dari Korea Bum Hyun Lee.	Intentional and Extensional
3	Deputi Pengembang Regional Bappenas Rudy Prawiradinata menjelaskan terdapat sejumlah alasan pemindahan ibu kota tersebut, mulai dari rentan banjir, polusi udara, kemacetan parah hingga populasi yang sangat tinggi	Intentional and Extensional

Table 4 above presents the division of propositions. Based on the data source from the first news post (tirto.id), the researchers identified three propositions. On the right side of the table, these have been classified according to the unit of analysis, namely the sequence of sentence structures or propositional structures. According to Van Dijk (1980), analyzing propositions or sentences no longer requires interpretative analysis or connecting each individual phrase or word. Instead, the analysis tends toward using the terms *Intensional Units* and *Extensional Units*.

The Intensional Unit can be understood as a clause, sentence, or proposition. In contrast, the Extensional Unit is defined as a fact. The fact referred to as an extensional unit is understood as an event, action, statement, or process (Van Dijk, 1980, p. 32)

Thus, we say that the intentional unit, that is, the meaning, of a clause or sentence is the proposition, and the extensional unit is the fact. ... A fact is an event, action, state, or process. (Van Dijk, 1980:32).

Each proposition carries its own topic. However, these topics must remain coherent with the topics of the following sentences. Coherent topics serve to connect one sentence to another (Van Dijk, 1980, p. 41). Thus, the propositions P1 to P4 in the first news report each convey their respective topics. This is where the stages of macrostructure analysis come into play, such as generalization, deletion, selection, interpretation, and construction. Certain propositions are generalized, others are removed (deletion), some are selected to be emphasized (selection), some are linked to individual mental states or actions (interpretation), and others are connected to

preceding propositions due to causal or logical consequences (construction).

As previously explained, in analyzing macrostructure, the researchers followed several stages. According to Van Dijk, these stages are not strictly sequential; rather, each stage is interconnected and contributes to the final outcome—namely, the *macrofact*, *global coherence*, or overall *topic* (Van Dijk, 1980). A clearer representation of this analysis is presented below.

(P1) *Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Bappenas) membeberkan sejumlah alasan terkait rencana pemindahan ibu kota dari DKI Jakarta ke Kalimantan Timur kepada para pakar tata kota dunia.*

Proposition 1 (P1) above is the opening sentence reported by *tirto.id* as the introduction to the news concerning the Deputy for Regional Development of Bappenas, who revealed the reasons why the current capital city needs to be relocated. In the initial sentence of the report, *tirto.id* appears to invite readers to open their minds to the idea that the capital relocation is not merely a random government program, but one that is grounded in rationale and justification. These reasons are framed as part of a positive news narrative and are deliberately emphasized. Thus, the discourse being constructed is that the relocation of the capital is based on logical and well-founded arguments. This explanation was delivered in a meeting:

(P2) *Dalam acara yang digelar di Hotel Borobudur, tampak hadir sejumlah nama pakar tata kota, di antaranya seperti perencana tata kota untuk Putra Jaya (Malaysia) Norliza Hasyid dan pakar tata kota dari Korea Bum Hyun Lee.*

As P2 mentioned, the meeting was held at a luxury hotel in Jakarta, the Borobudur Hotel. It was attended by prominent experts in the field of urban planning, including Norliza Rasyid, one of the planners of Putrajaya in Malaysia, and Bum Hyun Lee, a specialist from the Korean Research Institute for Human Settlements who was also involved in designing the ASEAN Smart City Network. Interestingly, the second sentence of the *tirto.id* report aims to enhance the readers' interest by emphasizing that the capital relocation initiative involves professionals and experts in their respective

fields. This implies that the planning of the new capital will be highly structured and well-organized. Indirectly, this constructs a discourse among readers that they should place their trust in the appointed authorities to manage and design the new capital city.

This event can be seen as a stepping stone for individuals who is seeking to take advantage of opportunities in times of uncertainty. The experts were intentionally invited as a form of shield to gain public trust. Moreover, in the long term, when the budget for the capital relocation is eventually disclosed to the public, there seems to be an expectation of public tolerance: justified by the fact that the new capital is being designed by professionals in the field. As a result, to meet the financial needs of the project, the issue of funding inevitably leads to a common and recurring solution: taking on debt. Ultimately, after capturing the readers' attention, *tirto.id* proceeds to present the core discussion of the report:

(P3) *Deputi Pengembang Regional Bappenas Rudy Prawiradinata menjelaskan terdapat sejumlah alasan pemindahan ibu kota tersebut, mulai dari rentan banjir, polusi udara, kemacetan parah hingga populasi yang sangat tinggi.*

The next proposition, P3, represents the core content of the capital relocation news reported by *tirto.id*. The data above shows that Rudy, the Deputy for Regional Development at Bappenas, explained several reasons why the capital should be relocated. Among these reasons are its vulnerability to flooding, severe air pollution, chronic traffic congestion, and increasingly unhealthy environmental conditions. *Tirto.id* once again employs a strategic narrative structure. According to Van Dijk, one of the most crucial strategies in discourse construction or schematic organization is the journalist's decision-making about which topics to highlight first and which to withhold (Eriyanto, 2003). Thus, the discourse being constructed in P3 is to convince readers that Jakarta is no longer suitable to serve as the Indonesia's Capital City.

The schematic structure of *tirto.id*'s report on the capital relocation begins by emphasizing Jakarta's current condition, such as its susceptibility to floods, unmanageable traffic congestion, excessive air pollution due to the overwhelming

number of vehicles, and its highly dense population. From a critical standpoint, however, it is entirely possible that such conditions could also emerge in the proposed new capital. Issues like congestion, flooding, or population density may very well reoccur. However, there is a difference; it is the ecological impact: the targeted island of Kalimantan is at risk of environmental degradation that may surpass Jakarta's. To develop the necessary infrastructure, large expanses of land will be required: land that is currently forested. Consequently, the only way is involving clearing forests, either through illegal logging or, in the most extreme scenario, deliberate forest burning.

Then it proceeds to the next stage of macrostructure analysis. After examining each proposition, the subsequent explanation is presented in Table 5 as macro analysis along with the elaboration that follows below.

Table 5. Macrorule of *tirto.id*

No	Data	Topic	Macrorule
P1	Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Bappenas) membeberkan sejumlah alasan terkait rencana pemindahan ibu kota dari DKI Jakarta ke Kalimantan Timur kepada para pakar tata kota dunia.	The Disclosure of the Reasons for Capital Relocation	<i>Generalization</i>
P2	Dalam acara yang digelar di Hotel Borobudur, tampak hadir sejumlah nama pakar tata kota, di antaranya seperti perencana tata kota untuk Putra Jaya (Malaysia) Norliza Hasyid dan pakar tata kota dari Korea Bum Hyun Lee.	A Meeting with Global Urban Planning Experts	<i>Construction</i>
P3	Deputi Pengembang Regional Bappenas Rudy Prawiradinata menjelaskan terdapat sejumlah alasan pemindahan ibu kota tersebut, mulai dari rentan banjir, polusi udara, kemacetan parah hingga populasi yang sangat tinggi	The Disclosure of the Reasons Why the Capital City Must Be Relocated	<i>Generalization</i>

After analyzing the topics that emerged from each proposition, the researcher

drew a conclusion in the form of a global coherence, namely: “*The disclosure of the reasons for the relocation of the capital city as conveyed by Rudy Prawiradinata, the Deputy for Regional Development of Bappenas.*” Therefore, each proposition topic is analyzed through the stages of macrorule analysis.

P1 falls under the **generalization** macrorule. This is because the topic identified can be generalized or summarized into a core theme, namely, the assumption of the topic in P1 (*the disclosure of reasons*) is a generalization of the main topic: *the disclosure of the reasons for the capital city relocation by Rudy.*

Meanwhile, P2 is categorized under **construction**, since the topic of P2 represents a constructed meaning from the topic “*a meeting with global urban planning experts.*” Given that the main topic is *the disclosure of reasons*, any elements related to fragments that build toward that disclosure are considered a construction. If the disclosure of reasons is the main topic, then meetings, discussions, or expert opinions can be classified as part of a construction. Last, P3 is also generalization; it is because It generalizes as major reason to relocate the capital city. Next the analysis of macro structure of *viva.news* as follow:

Table 6. Proposition of *viva.news*

Proposisi	Data	Unit
1	Pemindahan Ibu Kota baru dari Jakarta ke Kalimantan Timur jadi program yang diseriusi dalam periode kedua pemerintahan Presiden Jokowi. Namun, program ini menuai kritikan karena terkesan dipaksakan dan tanpa pertimbangan yang matang.	Intentional and Extensional
2	Kritikan dari kubu oposisi seperti yang disuarakan Ketua DPP PKS Mardani Ali Sera. Anggota DPR itu heran dengan rencana Kaltim sebagai Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) baru pengganti Jakarta. Alasannya karena sejauh ini tak ada Rancangan Undang-Undang IKN yang disepakati dengan DPR.	Intentional and Extensional

Table 6 above presents the distribution of propositions to be analyzed. Based on the table, the researcher identified two propositions. Each of these propositions contains either an intentional and extensional unit. As previously explained, each proposition carries its own topic. This is based on Van Dijk's theory, which considers that each topic contributes to forming a global coherence that connects one proposition to another (Van Dijk, 1980: 41). The following is an analysis of each proposition to identify its topic.

(P1) *Pemindahan Ibu Kota baru dari Jakarta ke Kalimantan Timur jadi program yang diseriusi dalam periode kedua pemerintahan Presiden Jokowi. Namun, program ini menuai kritikan karena terkesan dipaksakan dan tanpa pertimbangan yang matang.*

Proposition 1 above stands as the opening scheme for the topic of capital relocation as reported by viva.news. In its initial sentence, viva.news aims to suggest the readers that government programs are divided into several categories. The researchers conclude that there are programs that are not given serious attention: meaning they are not a priority and programs that are, in fact, prioritized. In the case of the capital relocation, the government has made this program as priority. However, the program has received a variety of criticisms. Thus, the discourse viva.news seeks to construct in the introduction of its report is that the capital relocation is a government priority but not without significant criticism.

From a CDA perspective, this is a reasonable occurrence: when a government decision does not align with the country's actual condition, criticism naturally arises. This program is considered a step taken without thorough consideration. In many aspects, it is even viewed as a rushed decision, and thus it invites various forms of critique. These criticisms primarily come from the opposition.

(P2) *Kritikan dari kubu oposisi seperti yang disuarakan Ketua DPP PKS Mardani Ali Sera. Anggota DPR itu heran dengan rencana Kaltim sebagai Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) baru pengganti Jakarta. Alasannya karena sejauh ini tak ada Rancangan Undang-Undang IKN yang disepakati dengan DPR.*

The second proposition above represents *viva.news*'s portrayal of the criticism directed at the government's plan to relocate the capital. The criticism was issued by Mardani Ali Sera, Chairman of the PKS DPP and a member of the House of Representatives. He strongly regretted the government's decision. The absence of an approved IKN Bill with the House suggests that the government's program is seen as too hasty and even forced. The discourse *viva.news* attempts to build here is a linguistic construction portraying the capital relocation decision as illegitimate. This narrative is supported by the fact that there is no formal legislation in place for the new capital city. Then, the analysis proceeds to the next stage of macrostructure analysis, which is the determination of macrorule.

Table 7. Macrorule of *viva.news*

Proposition	Data	Topic	Macrorule
P1	Pemindahan Ibu Kota baru dari Jakarta ke Kalimantan Timur jadi program yang diseriisi dalam periode kedua pemerintahan Presiden Jokowi. Namun, program ini menuai kritikan karena terkesan dipaksakan dan tanpa pertimbangan yang matang.	The capital relocation program has received criticism	<i>Generalization</i>
P2	Kritikan dari kubu oposisi seperti yang disuarakan Ketua DPP PKS Mardani Ali Sera. Anggota DPR itu heran dengan rencana Kaltim sebagai Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) baru pengganti Jakarta. Alasannya karena sejauh ini tak ada Rancangan Undang-Undang IKN yang disepakati dengan DPR.	Mardani criticizes the capital relocation program, citing the lack of a draft IKN law.	<i>Generalization</i>

P1 and P2 are macrorules from the generalization section. This is because the topics found in these four propositions can be generalized with the main topic. Criticisms from various groups are used as keywords, and the topics that emerge later

are generalizations of these keywords. The keyword of P1 is "the capital relocation program has received criticism," which is generalized by criticisms from various groups. Similarly, for P2, the keyword is "Mardani criticizes the capital relocation program," and this keyword is a generalization of the main topic keyword.

CONCLUSION

This study has explored the critical discourse analysis of the news articles regarding the relocation of the Indonesian capital, as reported by **tirto.id** and **viva.news**. By applying Teun A. van Dijk's framework for Critical Discourse Analysis, the researchers identified the construction of meaning through the macrostructure and the processes of generalization, construction, interpretation, and deletion of propositions in the news coverage.

The analysis revealed that both media outlets portrayed the relocation as a highly prioritized government program: **tirto.id** focused on the rational justifications, such as: current conditions in Jakarta, while **viva.news** highlighted the criticisms of the decision, emphasizing the lack of legal grounding due to the absence of an agreed-upon draft law. These findings align with Van Dijk's theory that discourse is a powerful tool in shaping public opinion and reality, where media outlets played a significant role in influencing how the public perceives government decisions. To sum up, the study demonstrates how the media, through their use of language and discourse, construct and frame political events such as the relocation of the capital. It informs the audience but also has the potential to shape the public's understanding and stance on significant national issues. Future studies could further explore micro and superstructure these media discourses on public opinion and policy formation, especially considering the rapid growth of social media and its role in shaping political discourse in Indonesia.

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