INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIETY, CULTURE & LANGUAGE

Appraisal and Ideology Realization in Indonesia State Capital Relocation News Texts

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Abstract This study analyzes the language employed by Kompas, Republika, Media Indonesia, and Jawa Pos regarding the relocation of Indonesia's capital city, focusing on attitude, graduation, and engagement. Eight online texts were analyzed using discourse analysis. This paper used systemic functional linguistics as a tool to analyze the texts. The findings revealed a predominance of positive attitude data (67.2% positive, 32.8% negative), predominantly heterogloss in engagement (91.8% heterogloss, 8.2% monogloss), and a majority of raising/sharpening graduation data (75.1% raising/sharpening, 24.9% lowering/softening). This disparity between positive and negative appraisal data signifies significant and contentious issues the government, community leaders, and the general public face concerning the capital city's relocation. The results of news outlets analysis demonstrated how ideological orientations shape the construction of social and political values, influencing public beliefs and perceptions of the capital relocation project in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Appraisal, News text, Systemic functional linguistics, Social values, Political values*

1. Introduction

Online newspapers are internet-based newspapers, which open up many opportunities to compete with other types of journalism, such as television and radio, in providing news services expected to bring about positive changes in the reader's community. One of the impacts of this positive change in the reading community is the news broadcast online by the National Published Newspaper. Among the national news, one quite interesting is what is happening in Jakarta. Jakarta is an urban area with complex socio-economic problems that indirectly contribute to triggering floods and traffic jams. However, the President underlined that if the national capital is relocated from Jakarta, the problem will be easier to resolve. With these considerations in mind, on Monday, August 26th, 2019, President Jokowi announced the government's decision to move the nation's capital to East Kalimantan. It was broadcast through the online media Kompas.com that President Joko Widodo and the Indonesian government were asked to openly

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Received: December 2023
Revised: February 2024
Accepted: February 2024
Published: March 2024

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https://doi.org/10.22034/ijscl.2024.2022445.3381

explain the urgency and reasons for moving the capital city from Jakarta to East Kalimantan to the public. The National Survey Media Research Institute survey results concluded the discourse, which showed that most people disagreed with the plan to move to the capital city (Wulandari, 2019).

Meanwhile, it seemed crucial to study the media's use of language and its function in communicating ideas and beliefs (Aljanadbah & Alramamneh, 2023). The communication of ideas and beliefs produces controversies that should be analyzed along with appraisal theory. This theory was developed by James R. Martin, who studied interpersonal aspects (Martin & Rose, 2007). The concepts of word choice in political media discourse are reflected in political beliefs or ideological values and interpersonal connections (Sadirova et al., 2023). Especially in news texts, the underlying concepts of "power" and "politics" are essential in manipulating readers' linguistic consciousness. Language shapes ideological perspectives on events (Alyahya, 2023). Some perspectives conveyed through news text may be accepted as the official version of certain events in the real world.

Although a considerable number of studies have examined appraisal, they are mostly focused on novels (Kareem & Farhan, 2022; Wijaya, 2022), state political speeches (Alvionita, 2018; Ghafil, 2022; Naghia & Cahyono, 2021; Rohmawati, 2016; Sukma, 2018), advertising texts (Li, 2021; Nugraheni, 2011; Oyekola & Halim, 2021; Tiani, 2017; Vasiloaia, 2020; Yunus, 2018), and information media about tourism (Istianah & Suhandano, 2022; Suryaningtyas, 2018). Research on appraisal language, especially in online media, has also been carried out by several researchers (Ellyawati, 2016; Panggabean & Lestari, 2018; Pusparini et al., 2017; Sadirova et al., 2023). These studies have discussed appraisals from various newspapers and online topics. However, there were no papers discussing the controversial news of moving the capital city of the Republic of Indonesia from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. Therefore, the current study addresses four points: (1) How is *attitude* realized in Indonesia state capital relocation news texts? (2) How is *engagement* realized in state capital relocation news texts? (3) How is graduation realized in Indonesia's state capital relocation news texts? (4) How is ideology constructed in Indonesia's state capital relocation news texts?

2. Theoretical Framework

The research on the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) of Appraisal Framework significantly affects language analysis in media studies, especially in the appraisal of newspapers' reportage. As one of the big lenses in understanding the ideological basis of news media, the analytic tool developed by Martin and White (2005) gives a very subtle way to bring forth attitudes, feelings, evaluations, and their resultant meanings in texts. Its applicability extends to the different aspects of media discourse, clarifying how newspapers use language to embed and spread ideologies.

There are four theoretical assumptions underpinning this framework. First, *Language as a Social Semiotics* centers on the SFL. In this regard, the principle places language as a medium that constructs meanings and relationships within contexts. Therefore, the language of newspapers constructs reality by reflecting an ideological stance. The second one is *the appraisal system, which* includes attitude, engagement, and graduation. In doing so, newspapers could lay the ground for fine adjustments in the perceptions by choosing appraisal resources.

Furthermore, there are some insights from analyzing the appraisal framework in news reporting. First, the paper shows how newspapers use appraisal resources to shape the public's view concerning social persons or groups with ideological inclinations that correspond to the ideology of the outlet (White, 1998). Second, some studies point out that newspapers use the appraisal framework to align readers with advanced political ideologies and marginalize dissenting views through strategic engagement resources (Bednarek, 2006). Third, the strategic use of graduation resources in newspapers leads to public opinion by modulating the intensity of language and the influence of the perceived importance of issues (Caple & Bednarek, 2013). Fourth, comparative studies indicate that evaluative language in newspapers reveals more significant cultural and ideological orientations, suggesting different ideological differences lie under other media outlets in different contexts (Iedema et al., 1994; Martin & White, 2005). The nature of the SFL Appraisal Framework—one that analyzes language—reveals subtle ways newspapers make and communicate ideological constructions. This evaluative framework

is usually applied to the encoded language that is ideologically stanced and reflected within media discourse, and it is quite easily breakable using this framework.

2.1. Systemic Functional Linguistics

This discourse analysis uses systemic functional linguistics (SFL) as a tool to analyze texts and discourses. SFL is a theory of language that focuses on the study of language based on social context and social semiotics (Eggins, 2004). SFL believes language is divided into three levels: phonology/ graphology, lexicogrammar, and discourse semantics. These levels are systematically related to each other; hence, it is called systemic. Functionally, language serves a social purpose influenced by situational and cultural contexts. The cultural context represents a value system that determines right or wrong.

Halliday and Matthiessen (1985), as quoted in Martin and White (2005), identify three metafunctions of language in social processes within a society. The language metafunction consists of ideational, interpersonal, and textual aspects. Ideational meaning is related to the situation in which language is used, including when, where, why, and how. Interpersonal meaning has a broader scope, namely related to social relationships, which include personal interactions, things, and feelings they want to share with others. Meanwhile, textual meaning pertains to the media and channels used to convey information.

2.2. Appraisal Framework

Appraisal is defined as an assessment of something. The "something" in question can be an evaluation of a person, an object, a situation, or a behavior. Generally, appraisal can also be divided into good or positive and bad or negative. The evaluation of a person or object is generally relative. A good thing for one person may not be suitable for another person. In the systemic configuration, appraisal is at the semantic level of discourse. Martin and White (2005) argue that appraisal violates grammatical rules when used in discourse, primarily when used repeatedly. Functionally, appraisal is related to interpersonal meaning because it relates to social relations involving interpersonal interactions in sharing feelings and other activities. Thus, it can be affirmed that appraisal is an interpersonal system at the semantic level of discourse.

Martin and White (2005) categorize appraisal into three domains: attitude, graduation, and engagement. Attitudes are related to feelings, which include an evaluation of a person's emotions and behavior and an evaluation of an object. Graduation measures a person's emotional level, while engagement determines where and from whom the attitude originates. Attitude is a system of meaning that includes three semantic features: emotions, ethics, and aesthetics. Emotions refer to a person's feelings that have been naturally formed since birth. This emotional dimension of Attitude is called affect. Ethics talks about a person's behavior, which is realized in judgment. At the same time, aesthetics is a person's evaluation of something, which is realized in appreciation.

Martin and Rose (2007) stated that one of the characteristics of attitudes is that they can be grouped based on strong and weak evaluations. In other words, the grading element can measure a person's evaluation of another person (physical condition, nature, character, or intelligence) or an object (shape, size). Graduation is divided into two categories: *force* and *focus*. Force is a type of graduation that adds a degree of intensity to the quality. Meanwhile, the evaluation in focus graduation does not use a scale system. This type of grading is related to sharpening and softening the value of an attitude. Engagement discusses the origins of attitudes, whether from the author's point of view (monogloss) or other sources or people (heterogloss). Regarding heterogloss, three ways can be used to identify the source of attitude acquisition: projection source, modality, and concession.

Concerning the purpose of this paper, the appraisal system can be applied to justify the interpretation of the interpersonal meanings that accompany the media ideology that accompanies hard news stories related to the issue of capital relocation. As a result, this analysis will be useful in determining how the text interpersonally positions the ideology of both the media and the reader to align with the values of capital relocation that a particular media wants to construct.

3. Methodology

3.1. Materials

The total number of data was 1.412 Indonesian clauses, which consisted of 57 data on attitude, 417 data on graduation, and 638 data on engagement. The data were taken from May 9th, 2021, until March 26th, 2022. The eight news texts from four Indonesian national online newspapers were taken from the *Twitter.com* platform of "Twitter Advanced Search", considered the most frequently shared and commented on by netizens.

This study uncovered and discussed eight texts related to the text of the relocation of the state capital of the Republic of Indonesia from Jakarta to East Kalimantan. The texts on the relocation of the capital of the Republic of Indonesia have raised pros and cons in society. There are many texts on the relocation of the capital of the Republic of Indonesia in the National Online Published Newspapers. These reveal the problem of moving the Indonesia State City capital, taking eight texts from four Indonesian online Newspapers.

3.2. Procedure

Political discourse analysis based on the SFL approach was used to investigate the ideological interpersonal processes built into news texts about the relocation of the Indonesian capital. In this study, the researchers used direct quotations, which were realized using language with clauses from Kompas, Republika, Media Indonesia, and Jawa Pos. Moreover, this research was concerned with quoting directly from the sources and explaining the causal aspect (Yusuf, 2017). This study examined four Indonesian national newspapers' Indonesian state capital relocation (ISC Relocation) text. The topic of discussion in this paper is related to the relocation of Indonesia's state capital relocation, which is collected and then analyzed for language evaluation. It included three aspects of appraisal: Attitude, graduation, and engagement based on the SFL study. Data analysis techniques in this study were carried out using a data analysis model, which was divided into several stages (Miles et al., 2014).

The study used a structured data analysis model by conducting a detailed data analysis using the SFL appraisal framework in news reporting. According to Miles et al. (2014), this model is a methodological framework in six stages aimed at systematically dissecting and understanding the deployment of resources to appraise news text. The methods of data analysis used were as follows: The first is data collection, which consists of the choice of sources and criteria for sampling. However, news articles are to be picked among many media outlets, allowing for a great, evident pluralism of genres, topics, and points of view. Following these are criteria for the articles, such as the period of publication, relevance to certain events, or the thematic focus. The second one is preliminary data preparation, which is called textual Segmentation. It refers to the preparation of the news article collected; it involves breaking them down into smaller and manageable text segments so they can be effectively analyzed. The third one is the coding using the SFL appraisal framework. It involves identifying the appraisal resources and systematically identifying both attitudinal and engagement and graduation instances within the attitudinal engagement and graduation instances.

Fourth is data display and reduction. It involves data matrices. It helps in the systematic way of the coded data to recognize patterns for analysis. Then comes the reduction: Making synthesis and summary of data focusing on the dominant appraisal patterns and meanings in news reporting. The fifth is the analysis and interpretation: this is composed of thematic analysis, where themes that will emanate will aim at exposing those related to the use of appraisal resources in news reporting, such as bias, subjectivity, or ideological positioning. The fifth part is the conclusion and reporting, which includes findings synthesis: a summary of key findings about SFL appraisal resources deployment in news reporting and highlights of trends, contradictions, and areas warranting further research. Then there is the implication. It provides implications of the findings for practice, media studies, and discourse analysis. The final part is the limitations and future research. This section also reflects the limitations of the present research. It outlines the possible areas in which the present study can be extended.

4. Results

This section provides findings concerning the study examining the appraisal system realization in Indonesian news texts concerning the relocation of the state capital and the construction of ideology within these texts. Analysis of three aspects of the appraisal system, namely attitude, graduation, and engagement, was carried out on the state capital, government, and government critics in the news text on the pros and cons of moving the state capital published through Kompas, Republika, Media Indonesia, and Jawa Pos. Additionally, it examined the construction of ideology within these texts. This section is divided into four subsections: evaluation language in the media, amplification language in the media, engagement in the media, appraisal, and ideology implication.

4.1. Evaluation of Language in the Media to Shape News Alignment and Narrative

The analysis demonstrates a significant prevalence of positive attitudes towards relocating the state capital. With 67.2% of the 357 attitude data points analyzed being identified as positive, it is evident that most of the news text aligns with the government's narrative promoting the relocation project. However, it is essential to note that the remaining 32.8% of negative attitudes indicate the presence of dissenting voices within the discourse.

4.1.1. Kompas

Kompas exhibited a balanced portrayal of positive and negative attitudes toward the relocation project. The appraisal of the country's capital city found three data sets of *+valuation*, so ISC was constructed as something valuable.

Pemindahan IKN ***Bukan Proyek Mercusuar,*** *Bukan Gagah-gagahan*. [Jokowi: The relocation of ISC is not a lighthouse project or a bravado] [Kompas; *positive valuation*]

Journalists and Jokowi evaluate ISC as "not a lighthouse project". This appraisal item is expressed through attributes. The lexicon "lighthouse" describes something tall and striking. It indicates that Jokowi does not intend to move the country's capital to be looked up to by the public because of his achievements; instead, he sees its usefulness. Therefore, this assessment item is included in the positive valuation category.

The government was depicted as confident and capable, using *positive judgment: tenacity*. At the same time, concerns and critiques regarding the project and its impact were also highlighted using *negative judgment: capacity*. It suggests a nuanced approach to reporting, emphasizing presenting multiple viewpoints.

> *"... kita harus menjadi* ***negara ekonomi kuat dan mandiri****," tegas dia*. ["... we must become **a strong and independent economic country,"** he stressed] [Kompas: *positive judgment: tenacity*]

As shown above, the positive evaluation in Kompas is realized through attributes with the lexicon "independent country". Independence refers to being able to stand alone and not depend on other people. It means that he (Jokowi) considers Indonesia a country that is not dependent on other countries, so this language evaluation includes social esteem, which is *positive tenacity*.

Positively, the government is constructed as a party willing to postpone and is confident in the sustainability of the relocation of the ISC project. It can move ISC quickly, does not depend on foreign debt, and cares about the people. Negatively, the government is constructed as the party that suffers if the state capital relocation project continues, is afraid of continuing the ISC project, is incompetent in dealing with unemployment; it is immoral to force the ISC's Project, it wants to change the Constitution and spends state money on the ISC Project.

> "*... Apalagi (Jokowi) memperlihatkan berbagai indikasi gejala* ***semakin banyaknya negative legacy (warisan buruk***)" ujar Azyumardi Azra, Senin (7/2/2022). ["... Moreover, (Jokowi) shows various indications of **the increasing number of negative legacies.**" Azyumardi Azra said on Monday (7/2/2022)] [Kompas: *negative judgement: capacity*]

The negative assessment items in the data are expressed through items with the lexicon *thing* with the phrase "*semakin banyaknya negative legacy (warisan buruk)*" or "the increasing number of negative legacies". *Warisan* or inheritance refers to something inherited, whereas '*buruk'* or uneven refers to something not beautiful and ugly. It shows Jokowi's image as being able to pass on something uneven to the next President, so this assessment item falls into the *social esteem category: negative capacity.*

Positively, government critics are constructed as parties with adequate capacity in their scientific field, are confident in their appraisal of the government and IKN, and care about the government. Negatively, government critics are constructed as those who distrust and are dissatisfied with the government and are unethical because they oppose the transfer of State Capital.

> *Azyumardi Azra Khawatir IKN Nusantara Jadi Warisan Buruk Jokowi Seperti Proyek* ***Mangkrak*** *Era SBY.* [Azyumardi Azra worried that IKN Nusantara would be Jokowi's uneven legacy, like the **stalled** projects of the SBY era.] [Kompas: *negative valuation*]

The data above shows that Azyumardi Azra assesses that IKN Nusantara is "like the stalled project of the SBY era". This assessment is an *attitudinal lexis* expressed through *circumstances: manner: comparison.* This assessment compares the State Capital of Nusantara and the SBY Era Stalled Project. The key word in this assessment is *mangkrak* or *stalled*, which refers to something that is neglected, unused, or wasted. So, compared to the relocation of the Indonesia State Capital, the stalled project had a strong effect.

4.1.2. Republika

Meanwhile, Republika portrayed the relocation project positively, utilizing *positive appreciation and impact*, emphasizing the government's competence and determination. However, Republika's coverage was less critical, indicating a stronger alignment with the government's narrative. The relocation of Indonesia's state capital is constructed as something that has a positive impact and is part of the nation's integration.

> "*Ibu kota baru ini menjadi* ***simbol politik*** *negara kita di kala pandemi seperti sekarang …" ujar* Faldo ["This new capital city has become **a political symbol** of our country during a pandemic like now ..." said Faldo]. [Republika*: positive appreciation: impact*]
>
> *Sebab, proyek pemindahan ibu kota dari DKI Jakarta ke Kalimantan Timur disebut akan* ***menghabiskan Rp 450 triliun*****.** [This is because the project to move the capital from DKI (*Area special capital district*) Jakarta to East Kalimantan costs **IDR 450 trillion**.] [Republika: *negative valuation*]

The less critical statement by Republika is represented through *material process + range*. The lexicon *menghabiskan* or "spend" refers to "wearing" or "using". Then, the funds mentioned are considerable, so questions about the Project's usefulness will arise.

Positively, the government is constructed as a party that is capable and confident, believes in the sustainability of the State Capital project, cares about the country, and is brave in defending the country. Negatively, the government is portrayed as a party afraid of societal inequality. One of the Attitude items of the *in/clination* found in *Republika.co.id* to describe the government is the data of the item *desire*, as in the following example.

> *"Kita* ***tidak mau*** *ketegangan-ketegangan, kesenjangan yang selalu disampaikan terus berlanjut … "ujar Faldo*. ["We **don't want** the tensions and disparities that are always conveyed to continue ..." Faldo said.] [Republika: *negative affect*: *inclination: fear*]

The appraisal data above is "*tidak mau*" or "don't want to". The lexicon *mau* or "wants to" refers to "really like to, like to, willingly". In this case, we (the government) do not want tension and inequality in Indonesian society.

The appraisal of government critics found was *displeasure* as much as 5 data, so government critics were constructed as parties dissatisfied with the government. *Dis/satisfaction,* found in Republika, is

used to describe critics of the government in the form of *displeasure* as many as 5 data, as in the following example.

> *Busyro **Tantang** KPK Awasi Proyek Pemindahan Ibu Kota* [Busyro **Challenges** KPK (Commission for Corruption Eradication) to Supervise State Capital Relocation Project] [Republika: *negative affect: dissatisfaction: displeasure*]

These feelings are expressed through the lexicon "*tantang*" or "challenge" with the *verbal, behavioral process.* The lexicon "*tantang*" or "challenge" refers to inviting a fight (competing, going to war). It means that Busyro invited the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) to compete in a battle of courage to oversee the capital relocation project. Busyro's attitude shows he is dissatisfied and unhappy with the current KPK.

4.1.3. Media Indonesia

Media Indonesia's coverage confidently portrayed the government as proactive and committed to improving the nation's infrastructure and development. Negative attitudes and criticisms were minimally present in Media Indonesia, showcasing the writer's unwavering support towards the government's initiatives. The government is constructed as a party that desires to get support for the ISC project and is confident in the usefulness of ISC and capable, persistent, and correct in planning the relocation of ISC and developing the prosperity of the people of the Republic of Indonesia.

> *agar Indonesia **semakin kompetitif.*** [so that Indonesia **becomes more competitive**] [Media Indonesia: *positive judgment: capacity*]

The assessment item in the data is "*semakin kompetitif*" or "more competitive" and is expressed through *attributes*. The lexicon of *kompetitif or* "competitive" relates to the activity or condition of striving to gain or win something by defeating or establishing superiority over others. It means that Indonesia is increasingly competing with other countries. Indonesia's increasingly competitive character shows that Indonesia can become a source of competition itself.

Positively, the government is also constructed as a party that wants to postpone the 2024 elections; competent, persistent, and correct in building ISC Relocation; capable of creating a better Indonesia through democracy. Negatively, the government is portrayed as unethical because it wants to postpone the election and immoral because it drains the budget for ISC Relocation.

> *Pasalnya, **negara menyanggupi** membangun ibu kota negara (IKN) yang biayanya sangat besar*. [The reason is, the state **has agreed** to build the Indonesia State Capital (ISC), which will cost a very large amount of money.] [Media Indonesia: *positive judgement: capacity*]

The data above shows an assessment of the state (government) regarding its ability to fund the development of the nation's capital city. The assessment item in the data is "*menyanggupi*" or "agrees" and is expressed through *mental behavioral processes*. The lexicon *menyanggupi* or "undertakes" comes from the word "*sanggup*" or "capable" which means "able, able". This means that the government can meet the funding needed for the development of the nation's capital even though the costs are enormous.

Lastly, government critics are described positively as those who are confident in their appraisals of the government and competent in their scientific fields. Negatively, government critics are described as dissatisfied with the government.

> *Dia menilai alasan menunda Pemilu 2024 karena biaya mahal **tak bisa diterima***. [He considered that the reason for postponing the 2024 election was because the expensive costs **were unacceptable**.] [Media Indonesia: *negative affect: dissatisfaction: displeasure*]

The data shows an assessment of him (Faisal Basri), who cannot accept the reasons for postponing the 2024 elections. The assessment item in the data is "*tak bisa diterima*" or "unacceptable" and is expressed through a *mental process*. The lexicon *diterima* or "accepted" comes from the word accept, which means "to welcome, get (acquire) something". It indicates that Faisal Basri does not accept the

reasons for postponing the 2024 elections presented by the government. It means that Faisal Basri is not happy about this.

4.1.4. Jawa Pos

Like Kompas, Jawa Pos exhibited a similarly confident and balanced approach to attitude realization. Positive attitudes towards the relocation project were confidently tempered by concerns and critiques, resulting in a nuanced and well-supported portrayal of the issue. Despite criticism and resistance from various sources, the government demonstrated its capability and self-assurance.

> *"**Ada penekanan khusus** dari bapak presiden …*" ["**There is a special emphasis** from Mr. President ..."] [Jawapos: *positive judgement: capacity*]
>
> *Dengan alasan-alasan itu, kata dia, pemindahan **ISC tidak penting.*** [For these reasons, he said, the transfer of ISC **was not important.**] [Jawapos: *negative valuation*]

The evaluation items in the data "*penekanan khusus*" or "special emphasis" are expressed through existence. The lexicon "*penekacnan*" or "emphasis" refers to "the process, manner, act of pressing or emphasizing" and "special" refers to "typical; special; not common". In this case, the President specifically emphasized the TNI-Polri members' debate. The emphasis given by the President to *KSAD* (The Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Army) Dudung shows that he has power and authority over the *TNI- Polri*'s members. Meanwhile, the negative assessment items in the data are "tidak penting" or "not important" and are expressed through *attributes*. The lexicon "tidak penting" or "unimportant" refers to "very valuable (useful)". Faisal Basri, a political critic, considered the ISC Relocation unimportant.

Positively, the government is constructed as a party that is confident, reliable, persistent, and good at handling ISC Relocation projects. Negatively, the government is constructed as incompetent, unreliable, and uneven at handling ISC projects.

> *Dalam petisi itu, Faisal menyebut pemerintahan **sembrono***. [In the petition, Faisal said the government was **reckless**] [Jawapos: *negative judgment: tenacity*]

It shows Faisal Basri's assessment of the government through the lexicon "sembrono" or "reckless". The assessment items are expressed through *attributes*. The lexicon "sembrono" or "reckless" refers to "lack of care; reckless; careless". This means that the government is careless about the ISC Relocation project. It indicates that the government cannot be relied on.

Furthermore, Government critics are considered competent in their scientific field and confident in their negative appraisals regarding ISC Relocation and the government. Negatively, government critics are constructed as those dissatisfied with government policies and evil towards the government.

> *…. maka pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara adalah bentuk tirani kekuasaan yang **harus ditolak***," *tegasnya*. ["... then moving the National Capital is a form of tyranny of power that ***must be rejected***," he stressed.] [Jawapos: *negative affect: dissatisfaction: displeasure*]

The data above shows an assessment of Din Syamsudin's feelings regarding moving the country's capital through the "harus ditolak" or "must be rejected" clause. The lexicon "menolak" or "rejected" or in the active form *menolak* or "rejected" refers to not receiving (giving, passing, granting); refused". This means that Din Syamsudin does not accept the relocation of the state capital. It indicates that Din Syamsudin was unhappy with moving to the country's capital.

4.2. Amplification of Language in Media to Signify Narrative Importance

The analysis of Amplification or Graduation markers demonstrates a predominance of Raising/ Sharpening markers over Lowering/Softening markers. Specifically, out of 417 data points, 75.1% were categorized as Raising/Sharpening, while 24.9% were classified as Lowering/Softening. This pattern strongly suggests a rhetorical strategy emphasizing the strength and importance of the entities or actions associated with the state capital relocation.

There were clear differences in how news outlets portrayed the strength and significance of entities or actions. Kompas used *lower attitudinal lexis* graduation markers, indicating a relatively moderate stance compared to other news outlets to the government. It suggests a cautious approach to reporting, emphasizing objectivity and impartiality.

> *Pemerintah **berusaha** mengubah jati diri …* [The government **is trying** to change its identity ...] [Kompas: *attitudinal lexis: lower*]

In contrast, Republika employed higher graduation markers using *raised intensifiers*, reflecting a stronger endorsement of the government's initiatives.

> *Jadi kita sudah habiskan segala daya kita, upaya kita, bahkan nyawa **untuk memastikan** republik ini terus berdiri,"ujar politikus Partai Solidaritas Indonesia (PSI) itu.* ["So we have exhausted all our resources, our efforts, even our lives **to ensure** that this republic continues to stand," said the Indonesian Solidarity Party (PSI) politician] [Republika: *intensifier: raise*]

Furthermore, Media Indonesia emphasized the government's authority and competence in implementing the relocation project using *raised attitudinal lexis* markers. The project was depicted as significant and necessary, with the government portrayed as proactive and effective in its implementation.

> *Presiden Joko Widodo **menegaskan** pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara (IKN) tak sekadar membangun gedung-gedung pemerintahan.* [President Joko Widodo **emphasized** that relocation of Indonesia State Capital (ISC) was not just about building government buildings.] [Media Indonesia: *attitudinal lexis: raise*]

Like Kompas, Jawa Pos demonstrated a balanced use of graduation markers, portraying the government as powerful and competent while also acknowledging criticisms and challenges. This nuanced portrayal showcases the newspapers' ability to present a well-supported argument.

4.3. Engagement in Media to Align Public Perspective

The analysis of engagement in the news texts demonstrates a prevalence of heterogloss over monogloss. Specifically, out of 638 engagement data points analyzed, 91.8% were identified as heterogloss, while 8.2% were categorized as monogloss. It suggests diverse perspectives in the news texts, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of the issue.

Additionally, the analysis reveals variations in presenting diverse perspectives and voices within news texts. Kompas and Republika presented different perspectives on the issue. Both sources provided valuable insights for readers to make informed judgments.

While Kompas provided diverse voices and opinions, Republika focused on presenting perspectives aligned with the government's narrative. It is important to note that alternative viewpoints were not absent from Republika's coverage.

> *bukan tak mungkin proyek tersebut **akan** mangkrak.* [It is not impossible that the project **will** stall.] [Kompas: *modalization: low probability*]

> *Presiden Joko Widodo (Jokowi) **diketahui** telah menandatangani Undang-Undang Nomor 3 Tahun 2022 tentang IKN.* [President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) **is known** to have signed Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the relocation of ISC] [Republika: *projecting within clause*]

Besides, while Media Indonesia focused on perspectives supportive of the project, Jawa Pos presented diverse perspectives and opinions. Media Indonesia and Jawa Pos presented different patterns in their coverage of the relocation project. Acknowledging these two media outlets' different approaches and considering all perspectives when evaluating the issue are important.

> *"IKN akan kita jadikan sebagai sebuah showcase transformasi baik di bidang lingkungan, cara kerja, basis ekonomi, teknologi dan lain-lainnya …" **ujar Jokowi**.* ["We will make ISC relocation

> a showcase for transformation in the fields of environment, working methods, economic base, technology and so on," Jokowi said. [Media Indonesia: *projecting clause*]

It contributed to a more balanced and comprehensive understanding of the issue. Moreover, it empowers readers to make informed judgments based on the available evidence while acknowledging the existence of multiple perspectives.

4.4. Appraisal and Ideological Representation in News Text

The findings have significant implications beyond the relocation of Indonesia's state capital. They reveal broader patterns of media representation and ideological framing within political discourse. Readers can confidently evaluate news texts and discern underlying biases and agendas by understanding how language constructs and conveys attitudes. Newspapers are one of the media that contribute to the dissemination of information in society. The information conveyed by the media is often conditional on interests. The interests of the media and parties related to reporting make the media not neutral or take sides. Media interests are closely related to ideology. In short, ideology is a message or information constructed in society that changes the public's perception of the product or participant being reported.

In connection with the discourse on the relocation of the State's capital, several online newspapers such as Kompas, Republika, Media Indonesia, and Jawa Pos contributed to conveying information related to this issue. However, the issue of relocating the nation's capital is still a matter of pros and cons for some groups. Hence, the newspaper presents the two pieces of information in different texts. However, there is still a gap in newspaper alignment in representing parties related to reporting on the relocation of the nation's capital.

The news outlets' attitudes towards the capital relocation project reflect their ideological leanings. Kompas and Jawa Pos presented positive and negative evaluations, demonstrating a relatively balanced approach. It suggests a commitment to objectivity and provides readers with a comprehensive understanding of the issue. In contrast, Republika and Media Indonesia exhibit a more favorable attitude towards the project, aligning closely with the government's narrative. The news outlets' use of Graduation markers illustrates how they shape public perceptions of the capital relocation project. Kompas and Jawa Pos use Graduation markers moderately, indicating a nuanced portrayal of the government's authority and the project's significance. In contrast, Republika and Media Indonesia use higher Graduation markers, emphasizing the government's power and competence in implementing the relocation. It aligns with their ideological stance of supporting government policies and projects.

Presenting diverse perspectives through engagement realization demonstrates how news outlets engage with their audiences and shape public discourse. Kompas and Jawa Pos provide platforms for various voices and opinions using heterogloss stances, facilitating a more inclusive and balanced debate. It fosters critical thinking and allows readers to form independent judgments. Republika and Media Indonesia, similarly using heterogloss stances, present perspectives that predominantly support the government's narrative, which may limit the diversity of viewpoints. This alignment reflects their ideological stance with the ruling regime and their role in promoting government agendas.

5. Discussion

This research aims to reveal how different media constructed ideologies and social values in texts about the pros and cons of moving the country's capital through the distribution of attitude, graduation, and engagement. The analysis of news outlets demonstrates how ideological orientations shape the construction of social and political values, influencing public beliefs and perceptions of the capital relocation project in Indonesia. By examining the implementation of an appraisal system consisting of attitude, graduation, and engagement, valuable insights can be gained into the various approaches these outlets take in framing the truth about the project and shaping public discourse.

Kompas presents information pro-relocation of the country's capital by representing the good side of the government and the country's capital. Next, Kompas presents information against the relocation of the country's capital by representing the good side of government critics, the uneven side of the

government, and the uneven side of the country's capital. These two texts show that Kompas is neutral regarding the pros and cons of relocating the country's capital through positive and negative depictions of the government and the country's capital. Kompas indirectly invites the public to judge whether the relocation of the nation's capital was carried out well and whether the government handled the relocation of the nation's capital well. It is in line with Asad et al. (2021), who state that positive and negative representations lead readers to choose according to their respective angles. However, there is a slight tendency to take sides with government critics by portraying the positive side. It is supported by Akhiroh (2022), who states that a positive assessment shows the author's partiality and support for the assessed participants.

The power displayed by both of them, namely the power of the government, government critics, and journalists, is in the order of strong to weak. This ideology and power were constructed objectively by Kompas.com journalists through the use of heterogloss. Second, through the text pro-relocating the nation's capital, Republika represents the good side of the government, the good side of the nation's capital, and the uneven side of the government's critics. Then, through the text against relocation of the nation's capital, Republika represents the uneven side of the government's critics, the good side of the government, and the uneven side of the nation's capital. These two texts show Republika's neutrality in presenting information about the nation's capital. Republika simultaneously invites the public to judge whether or not it is necessary to move the capital according to their "individual point of view" (Asad et al., 2021). However, Republika's alignment with the government can be seen through the distribution of positive appraisals of the two texts, as stated by Akhiroh (2022). The power displayed by both of them, namely the power of the government, government critics, and journalists, is in the order of strong to weak. This ideology and power were constructed by Republika journalists objectively through the use of heterogloss. Media Indonesia constructs the good side of the country's capital and the government in texts pro relocation of the country's capital but depicts the uneven side of the country's capital, the good side of the government, and the good side of the government's critics. It indicates that Media Indonesia is neutral regarding the relocation of the country's capital and allows the public to choose whether to support or oppose the move of the country's capital according to their subjective point of view (Asad et al., 2021).

Apart from that, Media Indonesia is also biased towards the government and critics of the government, which can be seen through the distribution of positive appraisals. The power displayed by the two is different. The power built through the text pro-relocation of the nation's capital is that journalists' power is strong. In contrast, the government's power is weak. However, this strong power only applies to a small number of appraisals. The dominance of the use of heterogloss supports this. Then, the power built through the text against the relocation of the country's capital, namely the power of government critics, journalists, and the government, is strong to weak. Finally, ideology and power are constructed objectively by Media Indonesia journalists through the use of heterogloss. Jawa Pos represents the government's good side in the text pro relocation of the nation's capital but depicts the nation's capital's uneven side, the government's positive side, and the negative side of the government's critics. It indicates that Jawa Pos is showing its impartiality towards the nation's capital and simultaneously inviting the public to oppose the relocation of the nation's capital. It follows Pusparini et al. (2017), who state that the distribution of positive evaluations indicates journalists' "hatred" towards what is being assessed.

Furthermore, Akhiroh (2022) confirmed that negative evaluations indicate journalists' impartiality towards the participants being assessed. The power displayed by the two is different. The power built through the text pro-relocation of the nation's capital is that journalists' power is strong. In contrast, the government's power is weak. Then, the power built through the text against the transfer of the country's capital, namely the power of journalists, the government, and government critics, is strong to weak. The distribution of strong power possessed by journalists was only identified in a few appraisals. Hence, the tendency for journalists to possess strong power was not very significant. Finally, ideology and power are constructed objectively by Media Indonesia journalists through the use of heterogloss.

Based on the explanation of the ideological construction built by online national newspapers regarding news supporting and opposing the relocation of the nation's capital, it can be seen that each newspaper

has a different way of representing its ideology. Ideology is formed by distributing each newspaper's positive and negative appraisals to the national capital, the government, and government critics. The distribution of the dominance of positive appraisal over appraised (appraised) indicates partiality, the dominance of negative appraisal indicates impartiality and the combination of positive and negative appraisal indicates the neutrality of the newspaper. However, impartiality towards government critics through negative affect representation seems to show the uneven feelings of government critics and lead the public to feel the same way. This dualism in the representation of government critics cannot be separated from the connection between the objects of good feelings conveyed through affection. It means that to whom the feelings are conveyed influences how opinions are formed about the owner of the feelings and the object of the feelings conveyed. So, if, in this case, government critics are described as those who have uneven feelings towards the government or government policies, then these feelings not only depict government critics as those who have uneven feelings but also lead the public to share uneven feelings, for example, by hating the government or oppose government policy.

It is in line with Wu and Zhao (2018), who state that affect distribution is a way for appraised participants to share feelings with readers. Apart from that, there is a contradiction in the ideological construction built by Republika.co.id and Jawapos.com through texts opposing the relocation of the country's capital, namely that they side with the government but oppose government policy. This contradiction cannot be separated from the appraiser or appraiser. In this case, a negative assessment of the nation's capital was expressed by government critics (appraisers). An uneven attitude represents government criticism, so the appraisal they express regarding the nation's capital also tends to be uneven. So, it can be concluded that who the participant assesses (appraiser) significantly influences how the distribution of appraisal is used to represent that participant (appraised). It follows the research by Soo-Guan Khoo et al. (2012) that shows that who is appraised and the object being appraised can influence the sentiment of the construction of appraisal.

The information presented by newspapers cannot be separated from the newspaper's behavior towards parties related to reporting. Each newspaper has different behavior patterns depending on the relationships and interests involved. The behavior patterns of online newspapers regarding reporting on the pros and cons of moving the nation's capital are as follows. First, Kompas chose to be neutral regarding relocating the country's capital and government. However, it tends to present government critics in a positive light. Second, Republika is neutral about moving the nation's capital and tends to present the government positively. Third, Media Indonesia has the same attitude as Republika: neutral regarding relocating the country's capital. However, it tends to present the government and the government's critics in a positive light. Fourth, Jawa Pos displays impartiality towards the nation's capital but tends to present the government positively. From these four newspapers, there is a positive construction towards the government and government critics, even though they are neutral or do not take sides regarding the relocation of the country's capital. This difference in attitude indicates that the newspaper is biased towards the government or the government's critics.

Furthermore, recognizing the diversity of voices and perspectives presented in news discourse underscores the importance of media plurality and freedom of expression in democratic societies. Journalists and media outlets play a crucial role in promoting informed citizenship and accountability in governance by fostering a more inclusive and balanced public debate and employing balanced negative and positive evaluations. This study highlights the complex relationship between language, ideology, and power in shaping public discourse. Besides, the study's findings affect media representation and public discourse. Critical literacy is essential in analyzing and interpreting news texts, particularly concerning constructing ideology and framing contentious issues such as urban development and governance. It also demonstrates the necessity of media plurality and diversity of voices within the news media, whether using a monogloss or heterogloss stance. Media outlets must also provide space for dissenting and alternative viewpoints to foster a more inclusive and balanced public debate.

Furthermore, the findings unequivocally emphasize the crucial role of journalists and media organizations in shaping public opinion and influencing policy outcomes by amplifying certain parts or attitudes in the news text. Journalists can contribute to a more transparent and accountable democratic

process by examining the language and rhetoric used in news reporting, utilizing appraisal rhetoric devices, and highlighting the complex ways language constructs and conveys ideological stances within political discourse.

Ultimately, the ideological construction built by newspapers can shape people's perceptions and sentiments towards the objects or participants displayed. Then, the use of graduation can indicate strong or weak power and the high or low position of the appraiser. Furthermore, engagement can be used to show the subjectivity and objectivity of newspapers. To thoroughly examine the subjectivity and objectivity of newspapers, conducting a more in-depth study is necessary. A useful tool for this purpose is the engagement classification proposed by Arrese and Perucha (2006).

Acknowledgments

The researchers express their gratitude to the Chancellors of Sebelas Maret University: Prof. Sumarlam, M.S., Prof. Dr. Djatmika, M.A, and Prof. Dr. Tri Wiratno, M.A.

Disclosure Statement

The authors claim no conflict of interest.

Funding

This work was partially supported by Universitas Sebelas Maret.

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