

Palangka Raya the Capital City of Indonesia: Critical Discourse Analysis on News about Moving the Capital City from Jakarta

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Abstract—Palangka Raya was planned as the capital city of Indonesia long time ago by the first president of Indonesia, Soekarno. Since Jokowi became the President, he brings back again the issue about moving the capital city of Indonesia from Jakarta. He hasn't mentioned any specific place as the new capital city, and he only said that moving the capital city from Jakarta is still in the study stages. This statement automatically gains vast attention from the media, especially online media. Hundreds of news, comments from experts, government, and from local people about this issue spread in media. The media then construct the news about Palangka Raya as the new capital city of Indonesia. The purpose of this paper is to analyze news text published by national media online about the issue on moving the capital city to Palangka Raya. The analysis is grounded in Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis approach as a major theory. The analysis uses the text description, discourse practice (interpretation), and social practice (explanation). The description of the text will show the news text structure, the title of the news, the orientation, the sequence of even, and the closing part. The main theme in the news text is moving the capital city to Palangka Raya as the response from journalists on Jokowi statement about the study in moving the capital city from Jakarta. The grammatical analysis will focus on the words chosen by the journalists in the news text that represents their ideology. The interpretation analysis will show what the issue was, who was involved in that issue, what the relationship is and what the role of the language in the news text. The explanation analysis shows the situation when the issue about moving the capital city to Palangka Raya become the headline in the media online and the influence of the institution (government, experts, local people) to the production of the text.

Keywords— *Palangka Raya; new capital city; online news; critical discourse analysis; news text*

I. INTRODUCTION

Wijanarka in Hidayat (2017) said that Sukarno raised the idea of moving the capital from Jakarta to Palangka Raya (PR) in the period 1957-1958. This area was regarded as an ideal place for a capital city because it has a huge and safe place located in the center of Indonesian territory. Soekarno wanted to make Kalimantan region as capital and model from Indonesia's development in the future (Toun, 2018).

This old plan reappears lately by the statement of Jokowi that the government has started the study on moving the capital city from Jakarta (Ihsanuddin, 2017a). This statement automatically gains vast attention from the media, especially online media. Hundreds of news, comments from experts, government, and from local people about this issue spread in media. PR is considered as an option that continues to emerge considering its historical aspect. Moreover, its land area is broad enough to build the new infrastructures for the existence of new capital city.

However, this issue raises some problems. There are some worries from local people in PR that they might be marginalized, there also statements from the experts that said, PR is not the only ideal place, and there are other places better than it (Aziza, 2017a), but some said that it is an excellent place to be the capital city (Ariyanti, 2017).

This study analyzes news texts about moving the capital city to PR with critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA views language as a powerful means through which specific ideologies, identities, and culture become dominant in a society. It identifies and studies specific areas of injustice, inequality, racism, danger, suffering, prejudice, assumptions and the like (Rahimi and

Riasati, 2011). According to Fairclough and Wodak (in Badara, 2012, pg. 29) CDA investigates the language used of the social group that purpose and fight each other for their own opinions.

Many studies are using CDA in analyzing text media. Pulungan and Sumarlam (2017) analyzed two texts from online news about legitimization zero point kilometer of Islamic entrance in the Indonesian archipelago. Both of the news had the same theme, but a different point of view. They tried to give solutions from historical data about differences of point of view on the online news. Furthermore, Sumarlam (2016) analyzed internal conflicts in Keraton Yogyakarta and he (2017) also analyzed eight texts report on the internal conflict of Keraton Surakarta. Both articles using critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach of Norman Fairclough. His studies include text analysis (description), discourse practice (interpretation), and social practice (explanation).

This study aims to analyze news texts about moving the capital city to PR using critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach of Norman Fairclough. The news texts analyzed in this study were from online news, *Kompas.com* (KC) which tend to have the contrary point of view on PR as an ideal capital city, and *Detik.com* (DC) which tends to agree on it. It is an interesting study to see what is the next process after Jokowi made the statement on moving the capital city and is PR qualified enough to become the next capital city because there were two different points of view on it? These questions are essential concerning the social realities and assumptions that occur in a community. Therefore in this study, the writer tries to analyze text (description) from KC and DC, analyze practice discourse (interpretation) text and context form KC and DC, and analyze practical socio-cultural between discourse practice and social context (explanation) from KC and DC.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

CDA is a special approach to study the text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics, and in general from socio-politically conscious and oppositional ways of investigating language, discourse, and communication (Van Dijk, 1995). It regards language as a social practice and takes consideration of the context of language use to be crucial (Fairclough and Wodak in Wodak, 2001, pg. 1). The context here means that language is used for specific purposes and practices (Badara, 2012, pg. 26; Eriyanto, 2001, pg 7).

According to Fairclough (in Sumarlam, 2016), language is inseparable with the social life and interconnected with other elements in the social life, so that discourse analysis have to pay attention to the issue outside the linguistic. Discourse is an essential part of social practice. It has several implications; discourse is inseparable from society; it is a social practice, and discourse processes following what is conditioned in society. Social conditions influence discourse, and conversely, social conditions are also influenced by discourse (Fairclough in Jorgensen and Phillips, 2010, pg. 122-123; Sumarlam, 2016).

There are five characteristics of CDA according to Van Dijk, Fairclough, and Wodak, that have been summarized by Badara (2012, pg. 29-35); Eriyanto (2001, pg. 8-14); and Sumarlam (2017), (2016), that are, (1) Action, discourse is an action. It is regarded as something that has a goal to influence, argue, persuade, refute, reacts, and so forth. It is also understood as something that consciously expressed and controlled. (2) Context, CDA considering discourse contexts, such as setting, situation, event, and condition. Discourse is produced, understood, and analyzed in a specific context. Van Dijk (2008 in Sumarlam, 2017) divides context into three major groups: settings, participants, and communication events. Settings are the context that useful to understand a discourse, and they are time, place of events, and its relation to past and future events, the position of speaker and listener or physical environment. Participants are the context that shows who are involved in the event and its identity, its role in society, the relation of power they have, the ideology adopted, the purpose of discourse, and the knowledge they possess. (3) History, discourse is produced in a specific context, it cannot be understood without taking a context indeed. CDA does not only find out when the event happened but also wants to know more about why the event occurred. The socio-political situation, the atmosphere at the time of the incident, and other things surrounding the event is an essential aspect of the historical context. (4) Power, power context is the main differentiator between discourse analysis and CDA. Any discourse that appears in the form of text, conversation or whatever, is not seen as something natural, rational, and neutral but it is a form of power struggle. (5) Ideology, It forms the basis of the social representations and practices of group members, including their discourse, which at the same time serves as the means of ideological production, reproduction, and challenge (Van Dijk, 2001). CDA is targeting hidden ideology in verbal communication that uses language as the medium (Sumarlam, 2017). According to Badara (2012, pg. 33) ideology has two contradictory concepts, positive and negative. Positively, ideology is perceived as a worldview that states the value of certain social groups to defend and advance their interests. Negatively, ideology is a false consciousness, a need in doing a deception with twisting people's understanding of social reality.

Base on the characteristics of CDA above, it can be understood that CDA does not rely on a single approach, but it is multidisciplinary. CDA strives to expose ideology based on a positive imaging strategy for itself and negative imaging of others. Furthermore, CDA in this paper focused on three analysis, (1) text analysis (description). Fairclough (in Jorgensen and Phillips, 2010, pg. 152) suggests some devices for analyzing text for linguists; they are, interactional or the relation between speakers, reviewing theme as the ideology of the text, and language use such as words, sentence structure, and metaphors which are produced in the text. (2) Discourse practice (interpretation), the analysis of discourse practice centered on the production and the consumption of the text (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2010, pg.149). Its purpose to find the relation of text interpretation and context interpretation. Analysis of text Interpretation conducted in four levels, there were surface utterance, utterance meaning, local coherence, and schemata. Surface utterance analyze words and sentences by using phonology and grammatical background

knowledge, local coherence analyzes the relationship between each word and sentence using cohesion, and schemata were used to identify the text unity on a comprehensive text (Sumarlam, 2017, 2016). (3) Socio-cultural practice (explanation), in Jorgensen and Phillips (2010, pg. 157) there are two dimensions in socio-cultural practice, explore the relationship between discourse practice and discourse, mapping the relationship between culture, social and not-discourse with the structure that builds the context. In brief, it analyzes the relationship between discourse practice and social context to find the result of the interpretation of text analysis or description and discourse practice or interpretation.

III. METHOD

CDA is a method or a theoretical perspective on language (including visual language, body language, and so on) as one element or 'moment' of the material social process (Williams, 1977 in Fairclough, 2001, 2003). It gives rise to ways of analyzing language within broader analyses of the social process (Fairclough, 2001, 2003).

Fairclough built a method on how language being analyzed in CDA that have been summarized in Sumarlam (2017, 2016). The method developed includes, (1) linguistic descriptions of texts in terms of language, (2) interpretation of the relationship between the production process and the consumption of text and the text (interpretation of intertextual relationships), and (3) explanation of the relationship between discursive processes (production and consumption of the texts) and socio-cultural processes. Therefore this Fairclough's analysis according to Sumarlam (2017, 2016) is based on how to relate the text on a micro level to the community context at a macro level.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of news texts about moving the capital city to PR start with the description of news text structure, theme, grammatical news text, vocabulary used, and then the interpretation, and the explanation of the news text.

A. Text Analysis (Description)

News text here described through analyzing the structure of the text, the theme, and the grammatical used in the text.

1) Description of news text structure.

News text structure analysis related to a rhetoric structure of communication event, which started with the orientation or introduction, sequences of event or content, and closing or conclusion, as well as indicating the purpose and objectives of the text production (Sumarlam, 2013, 2017). So the text structure here, divided into the title of the news texts, the orientation of the text, the sequence of event, and the conclusion of the news texts. There is four news text analyzed here, two text form KC and two from DC.

TABLE I. DESCRIPTION OF NEWS TEXT STRUCTURE

No	Description		
	News text	Discourse unit	Rhetoric functions
1.	<i>Kepala Bappenas: Siapa Bilang Ibu Kota Pindah ke Palangka Raya?</i>	Title of the text	Indicate an event
	<i>Kepala Bappenas mengatakan kajian pemindahan ibu kota masih bejalan</i>	Orientation	Show the core event (the study on moving the capital city is still on progress)
	<i>Sebelumnya beredar kabar ibu kota Indonesia akan dipindah ke Palangka Raya</i>	Sequences of event	The main even (outstanding issue on moving the capital city to PR)
	<i>Kepala Bappenas, Bambang Brodjonegoro memastikan belum menetapkan kota untuk menggantikan Jakarta</i>		Participant (Head of National Development Planning Agency who was interviewed by the journalist of KC, Kurnia Sari Aziza)
	<i>Kata Bambang kepada KC di kantor Bappenas, Menteng, Jakarta Pusat, Rabu 10/5/2107</i>		Setting (National Development Planning Agency office, Jakarta) Time (Wednesday, Mei 10 th , 2017)
	<i>Rencananya kajian Bappenas baru akan selesai pada tahun 2019. Jika hasil kajian menunjukkan ibukota dipindahkan dari Jakarta ke Palangka Raya, maka kantor pemerintahan akan dipindahkan ke sana</i>	Closing	Concluding the news with the information about the government planning on moving the capital city to PR

No	Description		
	News text	Discourse unit	Rhetoric functions
2.	<p><i>Palangka Raya Dinilai Tak Cocok Dijadikan Ibu Kota karena Hal Ini ...</i></p> <p><i>Pengamat Tata Kota berpendapat, ada sejumlah syarat penting yang sebaiknya diperhatikan sebelum menetapkan suatu wilayah sebagai calon ibu kota negara</i></p> <p><i>Syarat utama Ibu Kota tidak terdampak bencana. Kalau muncul kabar condong ke Palangka Raya, ini yang dikhawatirkan ...</i></p> <p><i>Kata Joga saat dihubungi KC, Selasa 4/7/2017. Ia menanggapi rencana pemindahan Ibu Kota oleh Bappenas yang akan dilaksanakan pada tahun 2018. Beredar informasi bahwa Ibu Kota akan dipindahkan ke Palangkaraya, Kalimantan Tengah. Menurut Joga, terkait kondisi alamnya, Palangkaraya beberapa kali mengalami masalah yang sama dengan Jakarta seperti banjir...</i></p> <p><i>Pelaksanaan rencana pemindahan ibu kota, Kepala Bappenas, Bambang Brodjonegoro, belum memastikan wilayah mana yang akan dijadikan Ibu Kota pengganti Jakarta</i></p>	Title of the text Orientation Sequences of event Closing	Indicate an event Show the core event (expert opinion on the requirement for a new capital city) The main event (an expert worries if PR become the capital city) Participant (1. Nirwono Joga, Urban Planning Analyst from Trisakti University, who was interviewed by the journalist of KC, Andri Donnal Putera, 2. Bambang Brodjonegoro, Head of National Development Planning Agency) Setting (Jakarta) Time (Tuesday, July 4 th , 2017) Concluding the news with the information about government has not determined the place as the new capital city
3.	<p><i>300.000 Ha Lahan di Palangka Raya disiapkan untuk Ibu Kota Baru</i></p> <p><i>Kota Palangka Raya masuk dalam daftar calon ibu kota baru pengganti Jakarta. Ibu kota Provinsi Kalimantan Tengah (Kalteng) sedang dikaji kesiapannya oleh Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Bappenas)</i></p> <p><i>Sugianto telah menyiapkan lahan seluas 300.000 hektar untuk lokasi ibu kota baru</i></p> <p><i>Saya sebagai Gubernur tidak akan ikut polemik wacana tersebut karena itu seutuhnya kewenangan Pemerintah Pusat.</i></p> <p><i>Saya hanya ingin menjalankan amanat Presiden untuk menyiapkan lahan negara, agar tidak ada calo tanah</i></p> <p><i>Selebihnya terkait kajian dan perencanaan saya serahkan ke Pemerintah Pusat, ujar Sugianto dalam keterangan tertulis kepada Detik, Sabtu (8/7/2017)</i></p> <p><i>Saya tunduk atas perintah Presiden. Jika diperintah untuk persiapan lain, prinsipnya saya siapkan 100 persen siap. Harus siap</i></p>	Title of the text Orientation Sequences of event Closing	Indicate an event Show the core event (PR as one of the candidates for capital city) The main event (Central Kalimantan Governor prepared 300.000 hectares land in Palangka Raya for a new place of the capital city) Participant (1. Sugianto Sabran, Central Kalimantan Governor made a written statement to DC Journalist, Sylke Febrina Laucereno. 2. Government. 3. President. 4. Land brokers. Setting (Palangka Raya, Jakarta) Time (Saturday, July 8 th 2017) Concluding the news with Sugianto's statement about his readiness in preparing PR as a new capital city
4.	<p><i>Cerita Jokowi Tanya Kesiapan Palangka Raya Jadi Ibu Kota</i></p> <p><i>Presiden Jokowi ternyata sempat menanyakan kesiapan Palangka Raya menjadi Ibu Kota baru menggantikan Jakarta.</i></p> <p><i>Presiden Jokowi melakukan kunjungan kerja ke Kalimantan Tengah akhir tahun lalu. Saat itu Presiden Jokowi menanyakan langsung kepadanya perihal kesiapan Palangka Raya untuk jadi pusat pemerintahan yang baru..</i></p>	Title of the text Orientation Sequence of event	Indicate an event Show the core event (Jokowi visited PR, while met the Governor he asked about the PR preparedness for the new Capital city.) The main event (The Presindet asked The Governor about PR preparedness become the central of Indonesian Government)

No	Description		
	News text	Discourse unit	Rhetoric functions
	<p>"Beliau cerita-cerita sekilas dengan saya, mengenai bagaimana Palangka Raya. Pak Gubernur, bagaimana kota Palangka Raya, masih fleksibel tidak untuk menjadi pusat pemerintahan kita?" ujar Sugianto kepada detik.</p> <p>Pertanyaan mengenai kesiapan Palangka Raya menjadi ibu kota baru terjadi dua kali. Pertama terjadi di ruangan VIP Bandara Tjilik Riwut. Lalu kedua terjadi saat makan siang di salah satu restoran di tepi Sungai Kahayan.</p> <p>"Nah waktu pulangnya juga, Pak Presiden bicara ini. Pak Gubernur, memang masih ada lahan untuk menjadi pusat pemerintahan Republik ini? Saya jawab, Pak Presiden, kita mungkin bisa katakan di tiga tempat ada, yaitu Kota Palangka Raya sendiri, setelah itu Kabupaten Katingan dan Kabupaten Gunung Mas. Jadi kalau diambil di peta, itu seperti Piramida," ucapnya.</p>		Participant (1. Jokowi, Indonesian President. 2. Sugianto, Central Kalimantan Governor who was interviewed by DC journalist, Edward Simorangkir.) Setting (Palangka Raya, VIP Room in Tjilik Riwut Airport, Restaurant by the Khayan River) Time (Wednesday, July 12 th , 2017)
	<p>Namun demikian, ia mengaku, bukan berarti Presiden Jokowi memilih Palangka Raya langsung menjadi ibu kota. Yang pasti, ia sebagai perwakilan dari pemerintah pusat daerah senantiasa menyiapkan lahan yang diminta jika benar-benar dibutuhkan</p>	Closing	Concluding the news with the governor statement on their preparation if PR become the new capital city

From the table above we can see the description of four news texts structures in reporting the news about moving the capital city to PR. The description started from the news titles. The first and second news text was from KC, with the title *Kepala Bappenas: Siapa Bilang Ibu Kota Pindah ke Palangka Raya?* and *Palangka Raya Dinilai Tak Cocok Dijadikan Ibu Kota karena Hal Ini*. This two title from KC using the interrogative and negative sentence that is mean that KC seems doubtful on the issue about moving the capital city. The third and fourth news text was from DC, with the title *300.000 Ha Lahan di Palangka Raya disiapkan untuk Ibu Kota Baru* and *Mewujudkan Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara*. This two title using actual sentences.

The orientation of two news text from KC was the study on moving the capital city is still on progress, and PR is not a suitable place as the new capital city. The orientation of two news text from DC showed the opposite view, PR as one of the candidates for the capital city, the Governor has prepared 300.000, and a researcher said that PR is the most suitable place as the new capital city. These two media have a different point of view on the issue of moving the capital city to PR.

The sequence of event from KC are (1)The event, moving the capital city from Jakarta to PR and experts opinion about PR. (2) The participant, Bambang Brodjonegoro Head of National Development Planning Agency who was interviewed by the journalist of KC, Kurnia Sari Aziza, and Nirwono Joga, Urban Planning Analyst from Trisakti University, who was interviewed by the journalist of KC, Andri Donnal Putera. (3) The setting, the National Development Planning Agency office, Jakarta. (4) The time, Wednesday, Mei 10th, 2017 and Tuesday, July 4th, 2017. The sequence of event from DC are (1) The event, Central Kalimantan Governor prepared 300.000 hectares land in Palangka Raya for a new place of the capital city. (2) The participant, Sugianto Sabran, Central Kalimantan Governor who made a written statement to DC Journalist, Sylke Febrina Laucereno, Jokowi, Indonesian President, Sugianto, Central Kalimantan Governor who was interviewed by DC journalist, Edward Simorangkir. (3) The setting, Jakarta, Palangka Raya, VIP Room in Tjilik Riwut Airport, Restaurant by the Khayan River . (4) The time, Time (Saturday, July 8th, 2017 and Wednesday, July 12th, 2017).

The closing of KC was concluding the news with the information about the government planning on moving the capital city and government has not determined the place as the new capital city yet. The closing of DC was concluding the news with Sugianto's statement about his readiness in preparing PR as a new capital city and the expert expectation of moving the capital city from Jakarta to PR.

2) Description of the theme

The theme of the news text described through two media online KC and DC. two news text from KC and two from DC. Those themes are

(1) Jokowi asking the Central Kalimantan Governor about the PR preparedness as the new Capital city.

Jokowi visited Central Kalimantan last year, and while met the Governor he asked about the PR preparedness for the new Capital city, this is the excerpt of the news text "Pak Gubernur, bagaimana kota Palangka Raya, masih fleksibel tidak untuk menjadi pusat pemerintahan kita?". "Nah waktu pulangnya juga, Pak Presiden bicara ini. Pak Gubernur, memang masih ada lahan untuk menjadi pusat pemerintahan Republik ini? Saya jawab, Pak Presiden, kita mungkin bisa katakan di tiga tempat ada, yaitu Kota Palangka Raya sendiri, setelah itu Kabupaten Katingan dan Kabupaten Gunung Mas. Jadi kalau diambil di peta, itu seperti Piramida," (Simorangkir, Detik.com, Rabu, 19 Juli 2017)

- (2) The President asked the Central Kalimantan Governor to prepared 300.000 hectares land for the new place of the capital city.

PR as the candidate for a new capital city and Central Kalimantan Governor prepared 300.000 hectares land in PR for a new place of the capital city, and this is the excerpt of the news text "Saya sebagai Gubernur tidak akan ikut polemik wacana tersebut karena itu seutuhnya kewenangan pusat. Saya hanya ingin menjalankan amanat Presiden untuk menyiapkan lahan 300.000 hektar di Palangka Raya dan itu lahan negara, agar tidak ada calo tanah. Selebihnya terkait kajian dan perencanaan saya serahkan ke Pemerintah Pusat," ujar Sugianto (Laucereno, Detik.com, 8 Juli 2017)

- (3) PR is not a suitable place as the new Capital city.

Nirwono Joga, Urban Planning Analyst from Trisakti University, said that according to its natural conditions, PR has the same problem with Jakarta, flooding, and this is the excerpt of the news text Beredar informasi bahwa Ibu Kota akan dipindahkan ke Palangkaraya, Kalimantan Tengah. Menurut Joga, terkait kondisi alamnya, Palangkaraya beberapa kali mengalami masalah yang sama dengan Jakarta seperti banjir. Selain itu, jika ada wilayah di sekitar sana yang mengalami kebakaran hutan, kawasan Palangkaraya juga bisa terkena imbas berupa asap (Putera, Kompas.com, 4 Juli 2017)

- (4) The statement of The Head of National Development Planning Agency.

Bambang Brodjonegoro said that moving the capital city from Jakarta still in the study stage, and the Government has not mentioned any specific place yet, this is the excerpt of the news text Bambang Brodjonegoro mengatakan kajian pemindahan ibu kota masih berjalan. Dia memastikan pemerintah belum menetapkan kota untuk menggantikan Jakarta sebagai ibu kota Indonesia (Aziza, Kompas.com, 10 Juli 2017b)

3) Description of Gramatical news text

The analysis of news text grammatical is focused on modality and metaphor.

a) Modality

Sumarlam (2017, 2016) said that modalities are speakers assessment, like or dislike, agree or disagree (or maybe neutral), which contain the speaker's ideology (idea, opinion, belief). These showed the position of the speaker. He also said that Modalities also showed the position of text producers, their attitudes, opinions, or belief, and it called modalisation and modulation, modalisation connected with probability and usuality of some events dan modulation with obligation and inclination. According to Alwi in Sumarlam (2017, 2016), there are four categories of modalities that showed the position of text producers, they are, intentional modalities, epistemic modalities, deontic modalities, and dynamic modalities. Description of modalities here was analyzed through ten news texts, five news from KC and five from DC.

Intentional modalities, related to desires, hopes, invitations, and requests meanings. Here are the intentional modalities in the news text from DC sentences (1) and (2). Text from KC sentences (3) until (7).

- (1) "Saya hanya **ingin menjalankan amanat Presiden** untuk menyiapkan lahan ...," ujar Sugianto (Detik.com, 8/7/2017)
- (2) *Kalaupun ke Palangka Raya, itu adalah amanah dan semoga bermanfaat* untuk ... (Detik.com, 8/7/2017)
- (3) *Pemerintah Kolonial Hindia Belanda pernah "gatal" ingin* memindahkan ibu kota dari Batavia (Kompas.com, 5/7/2017)
- (4) *keliru bila Presiden Soekarno disebut ingin* memindahkan ibu kota dari Jakarta ke Palangkaraya (Kompas.com, 5/7/2017)
- (5) *Yang diunginkan Soekarno adalah membagi beban Jakarta* (Kompas.com, 5/7/2017)
- (6) *Kalaupun benar pernah ada keinginan memindahkan ibu kota, lanjut dia, pada akhirnya Soekarno berketetapan hati menjadikan Jakarta sebagai ibu kota* (Kompas.com, 5/7/2017)
- (7) *Soekarno memang ingin memindahkan Ibu Kota dari Jakarta ke Palangkaraya, rencana itu pun dinilai sudah tidak pas untuk kondisi sekarang* (Kompas.com, 5/7/2017)

Epistemic modalities, related to knowledge and beliefs, that are possibility or reliability, necessity, and certainty. Here are the Epistemic modalities in the news text from DC and KC.

- (1) *Saya sebagai Gubernur tidak akan ikut polemik* wacana tersebut karena itu seutuhnya kewenangan pusat
- (2) *Jika diperintah untuk persiapan lain, prinsipnya saya bisa siapkan 100 persen siap. Harus siap,* kata Sugianto.
- (3) *Saya jawab, Pak Presiden, mungkin di tiga tempat ada, yaitu Kota Palangka Raya sendiri, setelah itu Kabupaten Katingan dan Kabupaten Gunung Mas*
- (4) *Tata kelola kota dan pembangunan infrastruktur pendukung sudah tentu akan bisa dilakukan* tanpa hambatan yang berarti
- (5) *pembangunan di wilayah Indonesia timur pun akan bisa diakomodasi dengan baik oleh pemerintah mengingat lokasi Palangkaraya yang berada tepat*
- (6) *selain ke depan akan mempunyai* ibu kota negara baru yang lebih acceptable, terjadinya "kecelakaan" di Jakarta
- (7) *imbang dari kompleksitas persoalannya pun akan dapat dihindarkan*
- (8) *pemindahan ibu kota negara ke depan akan membawa dampak yang positif*

- (9) *mustahil pemerintah akan bisa memegang penuh seluruh pembangunan di Tanah Air*
- (10) *perpindahan ibu kota ini akan membuat Jakarta sebagai pusat bisnis, sedangkan ibu kota baru akan jadi pusat administrasi pemerintahan*
- (11) *Jakarta akan terpisah jauh oleh laut untuk sampai ke ibu kota barunya nanti yang akan berada di luar pulau Jawa atau mungkin Palangka Raya*
- (12) *Beredar informasi bahwa Ibu Kota akan dipindahkan ke Palangkaraya, Kalimantan Tengah*
- (13) *Bambang memastikan kota yang akan dipilih untuk menjadi ibu kota nantinya di luar Pulau Jawa.*
- (14) *Pertimbangan lainnya, kota yang direncanakan akan menjadi ibu kota merupakan kota yang tingkat kerawanan bencananya paling rendah.*
- (15) *Rencananya, kajian Bappenas baru akan selesai pada tahun 2019.*
- (16) *Jika hasil kajian menunjukkan ibu kota dipindahkan dari Jakarta ke Palangkaraya, maka kantor pemerintahan akan dipindahkan ke sana.*
- (17) *Jakarta akan menjadi pusat bisnis serta keuangan.*
- (18) *Di Kota Palangkaraya, akan dibangun Kantor Presiden serta kantor kementerian.*
- (19) *Kepala Bappenas Bambang Brodjonegoro, belum memastikan wilayah mana yang akan dijadikan Ibu Kota pengganti Jakarta kelak*
- (20) *Kata Joga saat dihubungi Kompas.com, Selasa (4/7/2017). Ia menanggapi rencana pemindahan Ibu Kota oleh Bappenas yang akan dilaksanakan pada tahun 2018*
- (21) *Sofyan belum mau mengungkapkan kota mana saja yang akan dipertimbangkan untuk menjadi ibu kota*
- (22) *Pemindahan ibu kota akan memiliki implikasi yang panjang*
- (23) *"Nanti akan saya sampaikan pada waktunya," ujar Presiden*
- (24) *Indonesia juga tak akan pernah punya cukup sumber daya tentara untuk menjaga*
- (25) *Jawa tak akan cukup memenuhi lonjakan kebutuhan beras*
- (26) *pemindahan ibu kota akan makan waktu sekitar 10 tahun*

Deontic modalities, related to obligations, permits, orders, restrictions, or warnings. Here are the deontic modalities found in the news text from DC, KC did not use these modalities category.

- (1) *Tapi Pak Presiden, kalau berkenan, kalau untuk mencari lahan 300 ribu sampai 500 ribu hektar, saya sebagai Gubernur Kalteng siap.*
- (2) *Sekali lagi, saya diperintah Presiden untuk menyiapkan lahan dan sudah saya siapkan dan serahkan ke Presiden.*
- (3) *Saya tunduk atas perintah Presiden*

Dynamic modality, related to ability. Here are the Dynamic modalities in the news text from KC, (1) and (2), text from DC, (3) until (7)

- (1) *Jika ada wilayah di sekitar sana yang mengalami kebakaran hutan, kawasan Palangkaraya juga bisa terkena imbas berupa asap.*
- (2) *Kalau sekarang ditambah 500.000 saja penduduk Palangkaraya, daya dukung ekosistemnya sudah tidak bisa*
- (3) *sampai saat ini belum bisa disebutkan apakah wacana pemindahan ini adalah untuk pusat pemerintahan saja*
- (4) *Jika diperintah untuk persiapan lain, prinsipnya saya bisa siapkan 100 persen siap*
- (5) *roda pemerintahan masih tetap bisa berjalan lancar*
- (6) *anggaran negara yang bisa digunakan untuk mewujudkan pemindahan ibu kota negara.*
- (7) *masih ada banyak opsi yang bisa dilakukan*

The use of modalities in news text could build an ideology because it showed the attitude or subjective judgment of the text producers. According to the modalities categories that have been described before, the use of epistemic modalities was the most widely. This modality represents the text producers' attitude related to their knowledge and belief in proposition and unfactual event like probability or reliability, and obligatory. That is mean, the issue of moving the capital city from Jakarta to PR has attracted several parties so that they could predict the possibilities that might occur or should have occurred after Jokowi made the statement on government's planning about moving the capital city. According to ten news text that has been described before, the text producers in this issue are the journalists, the experts or researcher on city planning, the president, the central government from National Development Planning Agency, and the governor as the regional government. The ideology that has been built through the use of modalities form those parties are as follows

The first party are the central government, The president, Jokowi, the Head of National Developing Planning Agency, Bambang Brodjonegoro, and the Minister of Agraria or Head of National Land Agency, Sofyan Djalil, The governor of Central Kalimantan Province, Sugianto Sabran.

- (1) *Palangka Raya, masih fleksibel tidak untuk menjadi pusat pemerintahan kita?*
- (2) *Pak Gubernur, memang masih ada lahan untuk menjadi pusat pemerintahan Republik ini?*

- (3) *Perpindahan ibu kota ini akan membuat Jakarta sebagai pusat bisnis, sedangkan ibu kota baru akan jadi pusat administrasi pemerintahan.*
- (4) *Kajian pemindahan ibu kota, termasuk skema pendanaan, akan rampung tahun ini.*
- (5) *Tahun 2018 atau 2019 sudah mulai ada kegiatan terkait dengan pemindahan pusat administrasi pemerintahan*
- (6) *Pemerintah belum menetapkan kota untuk menggantikan Jakarta sebagai ibu kota Indonesia*
- (7) *Kota yang akan dipilih untuk menjadi ibu kota nantinya di luar Pulau Jawa.*
- (8) *Kota yang direncanakan akan menjadi ibu kota merupakan kota yang tingkat kerawanan bencana paling rendah*
- (9) *Sudah ada areal yang luas dan dikuasai oleh pemerintah.*
- (10) *Jika hasil kajian menunjukkan ibu kota dipindahkan dari Jakarta ke Palangkaraya, maka kantor pemerintahan akan dipindahkan ke sana*
- (11) *Kita sedang cari alternatif tempat di samping Palangkaraya*
- (12) *Sofyan belum mau mengungkapkan kota mana saja yang akan dipertimbangkan untuk menjadi ibu kota*
- (13) *Pak Presiden, kalau berkenan, kalau untuk mencari lahan 300 ribu sampai 500 ribu hektar, saya sebagai Gubernur Kalteng siap menyiapkan.*
- (14) *Pak Presiden, mungkin saya katakan di tiga tempat ada, yaitu Kota Palangka Raya sendiri, setelah itu Kabupaten Katingan dan Kabupaten Gunung Mas.*
- (15) *Saya hanya ingin menjalankan amanat Presiden untuk menyiapkan lahan 300.000 hektar di Palangka Raya.*
- (16) *Terkait kajian dan perencanaan saya serahkan ke Pemerintah Pusat*
- (17) *Kalaupun ke Palangka Raya, itu adalah amanah dan semoga bermanfaat untuk kemajuan Palangkaraya dan menghasilkan Pemerataan Ekonomi dan Kesejahteraan di Indonesia*

The second party is the Journalist and interviewed experts from DC. This media tent to interviewed experts that support government plan and PR as the new capital city..

- (1) *Palangkaraya berada di luar zona lingkaran cincin api. Sehingga, potensi terjadinya pelbagai bencana alam, terutama seperti gempa bumi, letusan gunung berapi maupun tsunami menjadi sangat kecil.*
- (2) *Palangkaraya mempunyai luas wilayah yang masih sangat memadai untuk menunjang pelbagai bentuk pembangunan infrastruktur baru*
- (3) *Jakarta sudah pasti tidak laik lagi untuk dijadikan sebagai ibu kota negara.*
- (4) *Pemindahan ibu kota negara ke depan akan membawa dampak yang positif, baik bagi Jakarta maupun bangsa ini.*
- (5) *300.000 Ha Lahan di Palangka Raya Disiapkan untuk Ibu Kota Baru*
- (6) *Palangka Raya disebut-sebut menjadi kota yang paling santer diberitakan menggantikan peran Jakarta*
- (7) *Kota Palangka Raya menjadi sebuah kota yang penuh keistimewaan*
- (8) *Jakarta yang sudah semakin ramai dan padat lantaran juga menjadi pusat bisnis menjadi alasan kuat ibu kota harus segera dipindahkan*
- (9) *Jika berkaca dari negara-negara maju di luar negeri, pusat pemerintahan memang sebaiknya dipisahkan dengan daerah bisnis*
- (10) *roda pemerintahan masih tetap bisa berjalan lancar*
- (11) *anggaran negara yang bisa digunakan untuk mewujudkan pemindahan ibu kota negara.*
- (12) *masih ada banyak opsi yang bisa dilakukan*

The Journalist and interviewed experts from KC as the third party. This media has a different opinion. KC tent to deliver negative news

- (1) *Syarat utama Ibu Kota tidak terdampak bencana gempa bumi, tsunami, kebakaran asap, hingga banjir.*
- (2) *Terkait kondisi alamnya, Palangkaraya beberapa kali mengalami masalah yang sama dengan Jakarta seperti banjir.*
- (3) *Kalaupun benar Soekarno memang ingin memindahkan Ibu Kota dari Jakarta ke Palangkaraya, rencana itu pun dinilai sudah tidak pas untuk kondisi sekarang.*
- (4) *Ungkap Andrinof, rekomendasinya adalah pemindahan ibu kota mengarah ke Kalimantan, tetapi bukan Palangkaraya lokasinya.*
- (5) *Salah kalau dibilang Soekarno mau memindahkan ibu kota dari Jakarta ke Palangkaraya*
- (6) *Palangkaraya Dinilai Tak Cocok Dijadikan Ibu Kota*
- (7) *Timbul Tenggelamnya Wacana Pemindahan Ibu Kota*
- (8) *Bila hanya fungsi pusat pemerintahan yang dipindahkan, bisa jadi tantangannya lebih sederhana*
- (9) *Siapa Bilang Ibu Kota Pindah ke Palangkaraya?*
- (10) *Pemerintah Provinsi Kalimantan Tengah mengklaim telah menyiapkan lahan seluas 300.000 hektar untuk mendukung pelaksanaan rencana ini*

From the statements about government plan on moving the capital city to PR above, the government tent to deliver unexplicit information because the plan is still in the early stages. They want to move the capital city from Jakarta, but they have not had the

new place yet. Jokowi used interrogative sentences to asked the governor about PR, his subordinate in government often used epistemic modalities in their statement, that showed the possibility, such as, *pembangunan infrastruktur pendukung akan bisa dilakukan tanpa hambatan, ke depan akan mempunyai ibu kota negara baru yang lebih acceptable, kajian Bappenas baru akan selesai pada tahun 2019, ibu kota baru akan jadi pusat administrasi pemerintahan, nanti yang akan berada di luar pulau Jawa atau mungkin Palangka Raya, Di Kota Palangkaraya, akan dibangun Kantor Presiden*. The positive signal from the government is from The Governor of Central Kalimantan. He came with the statement using deontic modalities which related to obligations. He had ordered by the president to prepare the land in his territory *saya diperintah Presiden untuk menyiapkan lahan dan sudah saya siapkan, Saya tunduk atas perintah Presiden*. The statement form journalist and interviewed experts in DC also used a lot of epistemic modalities to show their knowledge and opinion positively on PR as the new capital city. They also used several dynamic modalities that showed the ability of the government in moving the capital city to PR, *roda pemerintahan masih tetap bisa berjalan lancar, anggaran negara yang bisa digunakan untuk mewujudkan pemindahan ibu kota negara*. Those statement from the government, expert, and journalist form DC, represents their positive ideology regarding the government plan in moving the capital city.

On the contrary, journalist and interviewed expert from KC tent to see this issue negatively, such as, *bukan Palangkaraya lokasinya, Salah kalau dibilang Soekarno mau memindahkan ibu kota dari Jakarta ke Palangkaraya, Palangkaraya Dinilai Tak Cocok Dijadikan Ibu Kota, Kalaupun benar Soekarno memang ingin memindahkan Ibu Kota dari Jakarta ke Palangkaraya, rencana itu pun dinilai sudah tidak pas untuk kondisi sekarang, Pemerintah Provinsi Kalimantan Tengah mengklaim telah menyiapkan lahan*. They often used the negative sentences, that represent their negative ideology with goverment and DC regarding the government plan in moving the capital city from Jakarta.

b) Metaphor

Finding on the use of metaphor in news text about moving the capital city to PR can be seen through these sentences.

- (1) *Palangkaraya berada di luar zona lingkaran cincin api*
- (2) *Negara ini sudah banyak makan garam soal pemindahan ibu kota negara*
- (3) *Ada banyak opsi yang bisa dilakukan untuk mengakali minimnya keuangan negara di APBN*
- (4) *Keterlibatan pihak swasta jangan sampai menyandera dan merugikan negara ke depannya*
- (5) *Kerja sama yang dibuat mutlak harus mendudukkan negara di atas segalanya*
- (6) *Saya tunduk atas perintah Presiden*
- (7) *Kolonial Hindia Belanda pernah gatal ingin memindahkan ibu kota*

Through the use of the metaphor, parties which involved in the issue about government plan on moving the capital city from Jakarta want to emphasize their intentions and opinions on it, such as, (1) *Palangkaraya berada di luar zona lingkaran cincin api*, dangerous places in Indonesia that have volcanoes, so PR is a safe place to become the capital city. (2) *Negara ini sudah banyak makan garam soal pemindahan ibu Kota Negara*, Indonesia has had many experiences in moving the capital city, so it is not a big deal to do now. (3) *mengakali minimnya keuangan negara di APBN*, moving the capital city needs money, but there also several ways to overcome it. (4) *pihak swasta jangan sampai menyandera dan merugikan negara ke depannya*, do not let private sectors involvement harming the country in the future. (5) *harus mendudukkan negara di atas segalanya*, let the country become the priority. (6) *Saya tunduk atas perintah Presiden*, obey the orders from the president. (7) *pernah gatal ingin memindahkan ibu kota*, impatiently or a strong desire to move the capital city.

B. Discourse Practice (Interpretation)

Interpretation is discourse practice analysis, the analysis of the relation between text and discourse practice by viewing the text as a production process. According to Sumarlam (2017, 2016), the interpretation is conducted using interpretations sources and various interpretations principles so that an accurate interpretation could be produced. Moreover, the analyst can conduct an intertextual study. The interpretation here using ten news text from two online media, five texts from KC and five from DC. The following are the titles from those news texts.

- (1) *Cerita Jokowi Tanya Kesiapan Palangka Raya Jadi Ibu Kota (Detik.com, 19/7/ 2017)*
- (2) *Mewujudkan Pemindahan Ibu Kota Negara (Detik.com, 13/7/2017)*
- (3) *300.000 Ha Lahan Palangka Raya Disiapkan untuk Ibu Kota Baru (Detik.com, 8/7/2017)*
- (4) *Palangka Raya Calon Ibu Kota Baru RI, Ini Kata Gubernur Kalteng (Detik.com, 8/7/2017a)*
- (5) *Jakarta – Palangka Raya vs New York – Washington (Detik.com, 5/7/2017a)*
- (6) *Palangka Dinilai Tak Cocok Dijadikan Ibu Kota Karena Hal Ini ... (Kompas.com, 4/7/2017)*
- (7) *Timbul Tenggelamnya Wacana Pemindahan Ibu Kota (Kompas.com, 5/7/2017)*
- (8) *Benarkan Soekarno Ingin Pindahkan Ibu Kota ke Palangkaraya (Kompas.com, 5/7/2017a)*
- (9) *Pemerintah Cari Alternatif Ibu Kota Selain Palangkaraya (Kompas.com, 4/7/2017b)*

(10) *Kepala Bappenas: Siapa Bilang Ibu Kota Pindah ke Palangkaraya (Kompas.com, 10/5/2017b)*

The titles above show that DC had a positive view on the issue of moving the capital city. They are optimistic about the government would move the capital city to PR. Meanwhile, KC looked pessimistic on that. They have a negative view by using interrogative and negative sentences on the title.

Analysis of intertextual of the DC and KC text associated with politics and economic factors. Since Jokowi announce that the government has started the study on moving the capital city, the KC then connected it with an old plan of Soekarno that he wanted to move the capital city to PR. Soekarno's daughter Megawati is the leader of the party that brought Jokowi as the president. So he might want to fulfill an old dream of Soekarno. Moreover, politically the issue of moving the capital city from Jakarta connected with the presidential election next year, the government want to attract the attention of the people in Kalimantan, that their territory has been being considered as the new place of the capital city. So if they want it, they can continue the current government to next period. Economically, the DC optimism on their news about PR as the new capital city, have brought the rising price of land in PR.

After analyzing the text intertextually, next is to interpret the discourse built by the text. Fairclough in Sumarlam (2017, 2016) gave four dimensions of interpretation, what is going on, who is involved, what relationships are at issue, and what is the role of language. The following are the interpretation of the news text.

(1) What is going on? Moving the capital city from Jakarta was an interesting issue, that would affect the economic factors in Jakarta and PR

(2) Who was involved? The President, Joko Widodo, The Head of National Development Planning Agency, Bambang Brodjonegoro, The Central Kalimantan Governor, Sugianto Sabran, The expert and journalist in DC and KC

(3) What relationships are at issue? The Media, according to its function, provide information and exciting news. The controversial issue is one of them. The more controversial the news, the more interesting it is. The issue of moving the capital city from Jakarta to PR is one of the news that attracts public attention in PR and some interested parties.

(4) What is the role of language? The language used in news text determined the attitude and opinion of the reader. If someone or something continuously and repeatedly reported in a negative view, so the reader would believe it and judged the same too. On the contrary, if someone or something continuously and repeatedly reported in a positive view, the reader would believe it too and construct the positive image on them. These are the power of language that used by DC in construct the positive image of the government and PR.

C. Socio Cultural Practice (Explanation)

Sociocultural practice or explanation is the analysis of the relationship between discourse practice and social context. In this explanation stage, the interpretation which refers to the sociocultural condition are explained. There is three crucial part in the explanation, the process of situational change, the process of institutional change, and the process of social change.

(1) The process of situational change

The issue of moving the capital city from Jakarta started with Soekarno. He wanted to move the capital city to PR because this town had a broad and strategic land, and quite safe from natural disaster. Unfortunately, that time, Indonesia just a few years after announced their independence, so economically it was impossible. Soeharto also wanted to move the capital city, but the location only 40 km from Jakarta and this plan also could not be realized. After that SBY, in his era, also deliver issue on moving the capital city. He gave three option, and one of them only moved the central government to another place, while Jakarta still the capital city. This issue also unrealized. Last year around July Jokowi made a statement through his social media. He said that the government had started the study on moving the capital city. Up until now, this issue still attracts the attention of PR people, because of their territory mention repeatedly in positive and negative view by the media as the new place of the capital city.

(2) The process of institutional change

DC and the interviewed expert said that moving the capital city to PR is a good plan to overcome the problems in Jakarta nowadays. According to them, PR is a suitable place in the central of Indonesia. Although the government has not mentioned any specific place, they optimist that the plan would be realized. However, KC and interviewed expert in the media said that PR is not a suitable place, because it has the same problems with Jakarta. According to them, the government still studying on it and has not mentioned PR before, so it still in an early stage, the possibility of moving the capital city still has to through several steps and takes much time

(3) The process of social change

The government plan on moving the capital city from Jakarta made the media constructed their opinion that it would or would not be PR. The government has not formally announced the place. However, local media and DC made it would be PR, and the media continuously report it.

Local people in PR are *Dayak* Community. In socio-cultural, they have *Rumah Betang* culture, where they are living together in harmony in one place. The issue of moving the capital city to PR made many people come to PR, and this situation made some of the local people there worried that they might be marginalized and it would destroy their culture.

The land is their pride. When this issues arose, the price of land becomes higher than usual, and it also makes them worries. Some of them might be interested in selling their land at a high price, leave the city and finally live in a rural area, but some of them do not want to do that. This situation might evoke a new conflict.

V. CONCLUSION

This study was conducted to reveal the ideology built by DC and KC in reporting the issue about moving the capital city from Jakarta to PR by analyzing the description of the news text, the interpretation and context, and the explanation. Here are the conclusions of this study.

The description of the news text here described through analyzing the structure, the theme, and the grammatical used in the text. The structure consists of four discourse units; they are the title of the news, the orientation, the sequence of event, and the closing. The theme of the news text is moving the capital city from Jakarta. The analysis of grammatical was focused on the using of modality and metaphor. The using of modalities build an ideology because it showed the attitude or subjective judgment of the text producers. The statement form journalist and interviewed experts in DC and KC used epistemic modalities to show their knowledge and belief, and they also used several dynamic modalities to show the ability of the government in moving the capital city to PR. Those represent their positive and ideology regarding the government plan in moving the capital city. The using of metaphor on the news text about moving the capital city from Jakarta emphasize the intentions and opinions on it.

The news texts that have been described then interpreted intertextually to meet the general conclusions. The interpretation covered what is going on, who is involved, what the relationships are at issue, and what is the rule of the language.

The explanation was conducted to analyze the relationship between discourse practice and social context. The interpretation in the explanation refers to the sociocultural condition, that is, the process of situational change, the process of institutional change, and the process of social change.

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