

HASIL CEK_Santoso, Aji_Critical Discourse, Joko Widodo, Thomas N. Huckin's Theory

by Dwi Santoso, Ahmad Satria Aji Critical Discourse Analysis

Submission date: 06-Jul-2022 01:29PM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 1867210618

File name: 125962368.pdf (693.53K)

Word count: 5089

Character count: 27655

Critical Discourse Analysis on Joko Widodo's Speech Using Thomas N. Huckin's Theory

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ABSTRACT. From the title of this thesis: *Critical Discourse Analysis of Joko Widodo's Speech Using Thomas N. Huckin's Theory*, it could be understood that the data used was the speech of Joko Widodo regarding the importance of human resources quality and the plan of the relocation of the capital city. This study focused on explaining the language power, and ideology used by Jokowi in his speech. This thesis about critical discourse analysis was based on the CDA theory and model by Thomas N. Huckin. Meanwhile, the research method used was descriptive qualitative, which focused on elaborating paragraphs, sentences, and words. Using descriptive qualitative data was a useful way for researchers to know about cases, who participated, what was involved, and when they happened. The elaboration started by analyzing the text as a whole, continued by analyzing sentence-level and word-level, and then analyzed the text in contextual interpretation to determine the correlation between language, power, and ideology. The results showed that the relationships between language, power, and ideology were broadly defined through CDA. From the use of language, the researcher knew the purpose of Jokowi's speech was the importance of human resources quality and the relocation of the capital city. The power was strongly felt through uttered advices. The ideology was seen from the points conveyed by him that affected the audiences. It could be summarized that the language use involved a specific power and ideology. This implied that the power and the speaker's intent could be understood from the language used.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse, Joko Widodo, Thomas N. Huckin's Theory.*

1. INTRODUCTION

A new trend in analyzing an expression, particularly within a political context, has established critical discourse analysis. The CDA primarily discusses the opposition analysis of elite discourse systems and methods, their cognitive and social circumstances and effects, and the discourse of resistance against these dominant people. Teun A. van Dijk [1] also believes critical discourse analysis (CDA) represents a kind of discourse analysis that primarily studies the abuse of social power, dominance, and difference. Meanwhile, Janks defines critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a critical language theory, which sees the application of language as a form of social practice. All social practices are tied to particular historical contexts and can reproduce or challenge existing social relations, serving different interests. When discussing social practices, illustrate, identify, and influence ideas in the speech style, mainly once they speak about ideas.

Speech is usually conducted in a formal speech by the speakers to express their thoughts or summarize a need factor or case. It implies that this activity involves two or more people to whom the participants are each hearer and speakers react to,

no matter what they hear and contribute. There are plenty of things to be sent in a speech. One of the instances is to announce a massive event like the seventh president of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, within the Senayan town, Jakarta, on August 16, 2019. Joko Widodo delivered a state address in the Regional Representatives Council and the House of Representatives joint session (uploaded by KOMPAS TV on their YouTube channel). In his speech, Joko Widodo conveyed the importance of Indonesia's quality of human resources also the proposal to relocate the capital town to Kalimantan island.

Joko Widodo, the country's number one, a president, a dad. The Indonesian people choose him in two terms known as the limit of presidential elections under current legislation or after the reform era. Joko Widodo is chosen as a figure in this study because I respect Joko Widodo and spoke about setting up the relocation of the Capital to Kalimantan Island. The researcher believes that his speech needs to be critically analyzed through a critical discussion to learn more about the value of Joko Widodo's speech in Senayan city.

In the context of Joko Widodo's speech to the Regional Representatives Council and the

House of Representatives on August 16, 2019, using the Thomas N. Huckin theory. This research mainly focuses on examining the language, power, and ideology. Thus, the topic here is that President Joko Widodo's speech regarding the importance of the quality of human resources in Indonesia and, therefore, the set-up of the relocation of the capital town to Kalimantan island. The speech is uttered using Bahasa Indonesia and video, but since the data must be in English form, the researcher decides to translate his speech into English.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Discourse and Discourse Analysis

The term of discourse analysis is very ambiguous [2], the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected spoken or written discourse. To study the organization of language above the sentence or above the clause, study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written texts concerned with language in social contexts and interaction or dialogue between speakers.

A different view of the discourse by Jean-Bernard Leon Foucault has also been integrated into the theoretical framework of discourse analysis, particularly one developed by Fairclough. It offers valuable theoretical insights into organizations as sites of discourse. Foucault considers a speech not a bit of a letter, but "practices that regularly compose stuff about which they speak" [3]. Through a voice, Foucault offered that the subject should be spoken in a cluster of statements which, at some point, represent the data in question at a chosen historical period. Discourse, Foucault argues, constructs the subject. It controls how a subject is dealt with meaningfully. Moreover, it demonstrates that values are valued, and other people's actions are regulated.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is based on the understanding that text and talk play a key role in maintaining and legitimizing inequalities, injustices, and oppression in society. Critical discourse analysis is used to demonstrate how this is achieved and aims to spread awareness of this dimension of language use in culture and expressly advocate for reform based on its results [4]. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a democratic approach that is compassionate context and takes an ethical position on social problems to improve society [5]. The critical discourse analysis focuses on 'discourse, power, domination, and social inequality and how discourse (re)produces and maintains these dominances and inequalities' [6]. The CDA, therefore, deals with broader social issues and takes care of external aspects, as well as politics, power, and injustice. It attracts research

into and analysis of written and spoken texts on social and philosophical matters.

Critical discourse analysis draws on the work carried out within the space referred to as a critical theory, which considers "the social, cultural, economic and political ways in which people are inequitably positioned" [7]. Even "how political power relationships represent the assembly and interpretation of document" [7]. A critical view of discourse analysis then explores the connection between language use and the social and political context in which it takes place. CDA is done to critically address the norms and expectations of specific discourses' cultures, raising social, economic, and political issues. However, it aims to give students the resources to be successful.

2.3 Thomas N. Huckin's Model of CDA

Since text analysis is the primary activity of the CDA, it may be useful to examine the types of tools used at this point. Huckin in Miller [5] describes two general strategies for analyzing critical discourses in two stages. Firstly, he plays the role of a typical reader who only tries to understand the text uncritically. Secondly, "step back" is taken by him from the text and critically looks at it. The text is updated at various levels; questions are raised, the way it could have done things differently is imagined, mentally contrasted with similar texts. The second stage typically ranges from large (text-level) to small (word-level) elements, although the exact sequence might vary from case to case. It is essential to avoid losing sight of the first phase during this second phase; i.e., one must always note that the ordinary reader criticizes it. This enables the analyst to concentrate on those features which seem to mislead the unwary reader. The final step to be taken is to establish a socio-cultural understanding of the knowledge. These steps are as follows : a). reading the text as a whole (genre, framing, foregrounding/backgrounding, presupposition, discursive differentials), b). reading sentence by sentence (topicalization, agency, deletion/omission, presupposition, insinuation), c). reading words and phrases (connotation, register, modality, contextualized interpretation).

2.4 Language, power, and ideology, Language

Weiss and Wodak [8] identify the language as a broken theory and a broken perception of the meaning. Just as a part of a world-wide totality—humanity embedded in cultures and the rest of nature—it is more important than ever to consider one another in a critical, historically based way of doing that. The CDA aims to show how ostensibly objective, merely factual discourses in journal studies, policy articles, and social science reports. Express political views, as well as speeches that edit or spread in more explicit terms. This study

demonstrates how language is used in contemporary social interaction to express power and status. The most important work carried out in CDA concentrated on oral or multi-modal texts [9].

2.5 Power

Power is not one of someone or a social group's continuous and unavoidable characteristics; instead, people with authority will continually be compelled to accept their power at one level, while others without power are ultimately vulnerable to the offer of power. This could happen whether one speaks in the sense of the particular situation or of a social system or a whole society: power is gained, exerted, maintained, and lost in the process of a collective struggle to the smallest extent possible [10]. Weiss and Wodak [8] agree that power is not only defined by grammar forms in a text, but by the regulation of a person's social event through the genre of a text. Therefore, the CDA can be described as fundamentally concerned with examining opaque and transparent systemic relations of domination, inequality, power, and control, as expressed in language.

2.6 Ideology

In van Dijk's perspective, ideology is based on social group representation and suggests an interface between socio-cognitive systems and discourse structures [1], [2]. For instance, "the socio-cognitive interface of socially shared representations that govern political action, processes, and structures can only be properly described and clarified in the political discussion"

[4]. Critical linguists of the ideology do not mean collecting mistaken ideas that betray a "distorted consciousness" and are therefore unwanted politically. More fitting is a straightforward definition of how people order and explain their lives: "the mixture of ways in which both human beings live and reflect their relationship to themselves with the circumstances of their life" [11].

2.7 Biography of Joko Widodo

He was born on June 21, 1961, in Surakarta. Joko Widodo has served as the Governor of Jakarta (2012-2014) and President of Indonesia (2014-2024), both as an Indonesian businessman, politician, and government official. Jokowi studied and received his degree (1985) in forestry engineering from Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta. In 2005 as a member of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia-Perjuangan; PDI-P), Jokowi won the mayor of Surakarta, the first person directly elected mayor in 2005. Earlier, the International City Mayors Foundation ranked him as the third-best mayor in the world. Jokowi started to be linked to the U.S. in the media during his gubernatorial campaign in Jakarta in 2012. In 2014, Jokowi was selected by the PDI-P as its nominee for the Indonesian presidential election, which took place on July 09. More than 53 percent of the popular vote swept him into victory, beating former General Prabowo Subianto. He was elected as President again in Indonesia's presidential election in 2019.

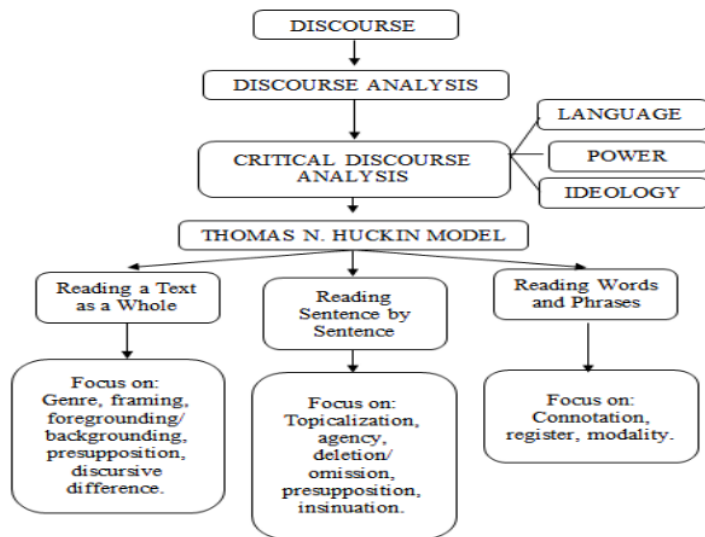


Fig. 1. Conceptual framework

3. RESEARCH METHOD

The researcher selected descriptive qualitative analysis as "the purpose of qualitative descriptive studies is a detailed description of the daily experiences of certain incidents in persons or groups of persons" [12]. According to Lambert [12], qualitative descriptive studies are the least "theoretical" of all qualitative research approaches. Also, qualitative descriptive studies are the least encumbered studies, compared to other qualitative approaches, by a pre-existing theoretical or philosophical commitment. For example, phenomenology, grounded theory, and ethnography are based on specific methodological frameworks that emerged from specific disciplinary traditions.

Qualitative descriptive data collection is based on discovering the features of the particular events being examined. Therefore, data collection requires a minimum to be moderate, organized, open-ended, individual, or focus group interviews. The data collection may also include observations and reviews of records, papers, photographs, and documents. Compared with other qualitative methods, the qualitative descriptive study's data analysis does not use a set of existing rules derived from a discipline's theory or epistemology, which has established a particular qualitative method.

Techniques for analysing data : a). reading Joko Widodo's speech about the importance of the quality of Indonesia's human resources, which has been transcribed, b). classifying the data indicating three CDA methods of Huckin: reading the text as a whole, and reading sentences by sentences as well as words and phrases.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 The findings of Joko Widodo's Speech

Joko Widodo's analysis results were divided into three separate phases, including sub-schemes between the first two. Analyzing the whole text level was the first step. It was divided into genres, framing, backgrounds and foregrounds, presupposition, and discursive differences. Genre illustrated the social aims and the use of the text of the speeches. Consequently, social function and structure could be seen to have been or not been adequately used. Framing illustrated how the speaker receives the contents of the sentence. The speech's real substance could be received effectively from the study, or it can cause the receiver to become obscure. The picture accompanying a speech text was represented in the visual aid. The relationship between the picture and the things delivered in the speech could be understood based on the definition. In other words, it could be said if the picture is equally important to the topic of the expression. Foregrounding and backgrounding identified certain concepts or

critical ideas found in the entire expression. It was therefore understood that ideas reach or do not reach people. Meanwhile, the presupposition explained how the speaker's actions were generally taken.

Whereas the second step was analyzing the text at the sentence level and word level, which was divided into topicalization, agency, deletion or omission, insinuation, connotation, register, and modality. Topicalization figured at once the topic or the key concept in each paragraph or paragraphs with the same subject. Finally, the speaker's view in each paragraph was understood in detail. Agency explained the speakers, told who the main speakers and what role they had in the talk. Deletion or omission represented the details used in the phrases and sentences spoken. It is also intended to enhance its purpose. It could also be shown if the speaker is accurate in using the language. Insinuation described objects that include reasoning elements as it is said. It was possible to know how the language and ideology are included. Connotation Reflected the phrases that appear or sounds odd in the context of a speech. In its definition, language, power, and ideology could also be more or less identified. The last was modality; it defined the power of language usage.

The third step was analyzing the text in contextual interpretation. It was a description of the entire speech of Joko Widodo on using language, power, and ideologies. The observation-based on the analysis of the preceding two studies as well.

4.2 The discussion of the findings

The researcher used Thomas N. Huckin's, critical discourse analysis method [3]–[5]. In this chapter, the researcher also retyped the original phrase from the data to provide proof in any discussion. It was quoted in italic and a sign [...], indicating the number of paragraphs where the phrases were placed. This was a summary to analyze; as described above, the following discussion started by examining the speech's whole text level.

4.3 Analyzing the text at the whole text-level


TABLE 1. Genre classification

No.	Genre Classification: Argumentative	Joko Widodo's Speech on the Joint Conference
1	Social function:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The importance of human resources in Indonesia - The plan of relocating the capital city to Kalimantan island.
2	Schematic structure:	The vital role of human resources in the progress of Indonesia and the plan to relocate the capital.
	2.1 Statement of position	
	2.2 Argument	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Joko Widodo stated that Indonesia is all over the country. - Joko Widodo believed that Indonesia could become an onward country is not only the President and vice president's role. - As the President, Joko Widodo invited all of us to be optimistic and work hard - Joko Widodo believed that capital city relocation would reach economic equality.
	2.3 Summing up	Jokowi was convinced that Indonesia would make leap progress by working together on developing the quality of the human resources
3	Linguistics feature:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I <i>invite</i> all of us to be optimistic and work hard. - We <i>will</i> be able to leap progress, a leap to precede the progress of other nations.
	3.1 The argument is written in the timeless present tense or future tense	
	3.2 Verbs are used when expressing opinions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Simple present - Simple future
	3.3 Use of rhetorical Questions	<i>Why do comparative studies go all the way overseas even though the information we need can be obtained from our smartphones?</i>
	3.4 Use of passive verbs	Globalization continues to experience deepening, which <i>was made</i> easier by the 4th industrial revolution volume.
	3.5 Use of pronouns I, we, us	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>On this happy occasion, I would like to invite all of us to affirm the founders of our Nation's spirit, that Indonesia is not only Jakarta, not only Java.</i> - <i>That is why the development that we do must continue to be Indonesian centric that can be enjoyed by all society levels in all corners of the archipelago.</i> - <i>I am sure if we agree with one vision of onward Indonesia, we will be able to leap progress, a leap to precede other nations' progress.</i> - <i>At present, we are in a new world that is far different from the previous era.</i>

No.	Genre Classification: Argumentative	Joko Widodo's Speech on the Joint Conference
		- <i>I hereby request permission to relocate our national capital to Kalimantan island.</i>

4.4 Analyzing the text in sentence-level and word-level

TABLE 2. Field of discourse

Experiential meaning		Field of discourse
<p>Process types</p> <p>Material process – <i>continuing the development, ...</i> Mental process – <i>believe</i> Verbal process – <i>request, ...</i> Existential process – <i>There are...</i> Relational process – <i>is,</i></p>	<p>The study and understanding of the context were defined in a summary</p> 	<p>Experiential domain</p> <p>The speech of Jokowi was about his invitation to be optimistic and work hard, his belief that the leap progress would be achieved by focusing on the human resources quality</p>
<p>Participants</p> <p>The Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, the Regional Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia, the State Institutions, the Third President of Republic of Indonesia, the Fifth President of Republic of Indonesia, the Sixth President of Republic of Indonesia, Vice President Elected for a term of office 2019-2024, Mr. Try Sutrisno, Mr. Hamzah Haz, Mr. Boediono, Mrs. Herawati Boediono, Mrs. Shinta Nuriyah Abdurrahman Wahid, Mr. Prabowo Subianto, Mr. Sandiaga Uno, the Ambassadors of Friendly Countries and Leaders of Representatives of International Agencies and Organizations, audiences, and all</p>		<p>improvement, adding a downstream streaming industry, and the relocation of the capital city.</p>

Experiential meaning	Field of discourse
Indonesian.	
Circumstances On this happy occasion, on this historic occasion, at present, at the same time, ...	Short-term goal By improving the human quality resources, it could make our human resources counted in the global eyes.
Time and Modality Mostly used the present tense, but some also used the future tense	Long-term goal To leap progress, a leap to precede the progress of other nations, to increase the natural resources four times, to make significant leaps in progress, and for the realization of equality and economic justice

TABLE 3. Tenor of discourse

Interpersonal meaning		Tenor of discourse
Mood selection Declarative	➔	Agentive or societal roles Between the speaker and all Indonesian
Person selections I, my, we, us, their		Status Inequal
Appraisal motif The invitation, advice, and proposal of Jokowi		Social distance Maximal

TABLE 4. Mode of discourse

Textual meaning		Mode of discourse
Thematic choices Marked topical themes – My fellow countrymen and people that I am proud of,	➔	Role of language Formal language
Cohesion It discussed the importance of human resources' quality and the proposal of relocating the capital city.		Type of interaction Monologue
		Medium and channel Originally was spoken, but since it published in Liputan6 in the form of Bahasa Indonesia and cabinet secretary in the form of English, the speech turned into

Structural patterns Imperative speech	written text. Rhetorical thrust Imperative
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TABLE 5. The findings of modality

No.	Types of Modal	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1	Would	1	0,80
2	Must	72	58,06
3	Can	22	17,74
4	Will	5	4,03
5	Have to	3	2,41
6	Need	16	12,90
7	Used to	1	0,80
8	Be able to	4	3,22
Total		124	100

4.5 Analysing the text in contextual interpretation

The researcher acquired an overview of President Joko Widodo's speech on the value of the standard of human resources and of the proposal to remove the capital, which was related to the main study, carried out both in the analysis of texts at the whole text level and in interpreting text at the sentence and word level. This summary became the study's focal point, rather than the researcher's understanding at this point. The method performed here to address how Jokowi's speech contained language, power, and ideology. The following paragraphs show any detail. It implicitly generated power concerning the use of words. The researcher clarified this in order to find the answer to power within Jokowi's speech. In Jokowi's, power could influence other people's thoughts and behavior.

Therefore, based on the evidence and theory, the researcher concluded that ideology was the relationship of thinking with social reality. In short, ideology clarified the value of human resources and planned to relocate the capital; in this case, the reader or listener. The president was a figure who was considered a respected leader and representative of society. Jokowi's speech emphasized the importance of human resources quality and the plan to relocate the capital. As president, Jokowi certainly wanted his people to prosper by advancing the economy. This might be balanced with superior human resources who competed and advanced. Jokowi also had a proposal to move the capital city to achieve justice and economic equality.

4.6 The relations of language, power, and ideology

The relationship between language and power was clarified. As it was known, Jokowi presented the value of human resources' quality and the proposal to relocate capital through the address. In this speech, the use of language represented or expressed a power that could be strong or weak in this case. The influence of the language was seen to be powerful.

Then the relationship between language and ideology was addressed further. Language essentially discussed ideology. It produced a particular implication of people's minds through the language of the speech. This indicated that through the speech, the speaker has a clear objective or actual intent.

The last was the relationship between power and ideology. In the context of the speech, power was the background for the creation of an ideology. In other words, an ideology would be easier to convey and accept by the audience through the speaker's power.

Those were the explanation of language, power, ideology, and their relationships as a whole. It could be concluded that these three items were related.

5. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

5.1 Conclusion

Regarding the language used in delivering his speech, Jokowi used formal language. It is intended that the message conveyed can be directly received by the audience. There are two main points of the speech delivered by Jokowi. The first is about the importance of improving the quality of human resources. In discussing topics related to the importance of increasing resources, Jokowi conveyed this in great detail. The imperative language can be seen from most of the speech's content related. The second point is about the proposal to move the capital to Kalimantan's island, to be precise, in the West Panajem Paser and Kutai Kartanegara areas. In the delivery of his speech, there were not many statements that referred to it. In the first paragraph, Jokowi said, "Indonesia is not only Jakarta, not only Java" this is still a less coherent statement referring to the plan to relocate the capital. The plan was just submitted in the final paragraph. In his closing speech, Jokowi then conveyed his plan to move the capital. This statement can confuse the audience because most of the speeches focused on improving human resources. Then the conclusion was affixed with a statement about the plan to change the capital city.

In terms of strength, it was powerful. In the second paragraph, Jokowi said, "Sebagai Presiden dalam sistem Presidensial yang dimandatkan konstitusi, saya mengajak kita semua untuk optimis dan kerja keras." His words seemed to increase the power he had in the delivery of his speech. Apart from that statement, many things prove the power of Jokowi. The use of modality can also be a milestone in seeing how much power Jokowi has. In his speech, the dominant modality is "must." The modal "must" pronounced 72 times in his speech, which shows that there is something to be done, whether improving

performance, improving regulations, or creating new regulations. The advice is addressed to duty bearers, both in the legislative council and in the defense and security sector. If there was no extraordinary power, it certainly could not happen.

While ideology can be seen and felt from a collection of ideas, basic ideas, beliefs, and beliefs conveyed by Jokowi. he conveyed many ideas. For example, in the first paragraph, Jokowi confidently believes that all corners of the country can enjoy it by developing progress. Jokowi believes that Indonesia is a country rich in natural resources; therefore, he initiated to build a downstream industry. With the downstream industry, he believes that Indonesia does not need to import aviation fuels anymore. He also believes that if this is done thoughtfully, Indonesia will shortly be able to export aviation fuel. Furthermore, Joko Widodo's most significant idea is in paragraph 24, namely regarding the proposal to relocate the capital. With the realization of this, Jokowi believes that equality and economic justice will be realized.

These are every explanation Jokowi uses in his speech about language, power, and ideology. Because in the CDA, particularly in the analysis of public addresses, these three aspects are closely linked to each other. It can be summarized that language used often involves a specific power and ideology. This implies that the power and the speaker's intent can be understood from the language used.

5.2 Suggestion

The researcher finds it appropriate to make recommendations based on the findings obtained in this research to be utilized as a material consideration. There are the following: a). it is necessary to take more care, and we need to realize that critical discourse analysis is usually linked to society's issues, b). as it is well known, this thesis applies to the critique of vulnerability. However, it is not the only critique, but how it can be different is often spoken. The reader of this thesis is proposed as an outstanding reader. In this case, it is impartial as the researcher has no intention of criticizing or satirizing any groups, c). the others who are still confused in the study of critical discourse (CDA) to conduct CDA suggest increasing its potential and innovation, and d). all references related to this study are required to be completed for all English Education departments' collegian of Universitas Ahmad Dahlan because of the researcher's difficulties in performing this work.

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