RESEARCH ARTICLE

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SPEECH INCREASING SUBSIDIZED FUEL PRICE IN 2022 BY JOKO WIDODO

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http://jurnal.unmer.ac.id/ index.php/n

Abstract: *This research aims to uncover the meaning and ideology in the text of the speech as well as uncover the motives of certain interests related to President Joko Widodo's policy of increasing subsidized fuel prices. The method used is explanatory qualitative, the research object used is a transcript of the text of the speech on the increase in subsidized fuel prices on September 3 2022 by President Joko Widodo through triangulation. The results of the research show that in the text of the speech President Joko Widodo mentioned the word protect, but this diction was not in line with the data also conveyed in the text that the increase in subsidized fuel prices was caused by an increase in the APBN and inappropriate targets for subsidized fuel consumption enjoyed by the well-off. These two reasons for the increase in subsidized fuel prices actually illustrate the government's powerlessness in prioritizing the welfare of the people who should be prioritized in obtaining subsidized fuel.*

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Power, Subsidized Fuel, Speech.*

Abstrak: Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk membongkar makna serta ideologi dalam teks pidato serta membongkar motif kepentingan tertentu terkait kebijakan kenaikan harga BBM Subsidi oleh Presiden Joko Widodo. Metode yang digunakan ialah kualitatif eksplanatif, objek penelitian yang digunakan transkrip teks pidato kenaikan harga BBM subsidi tanggal 03 September 2022 oleh Presiden Joko Widodo melalui triangulasi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa dalam teks pidato disebutkan oleh Presiden Joko Widodo kata melindungi namun diksi tersebut tidak selaras dengan data yang juga disampaikan di dalam teks bahwa kenaikan harga BBM subsidi diakibatkan oleh kenaikan APBN dan ketidaktepat sasaran konsumsi BBM subsidi yang dinikmati kalangan masyarakat mampu. Kedua alasan kenaikan harga BBM subsidi tersebut justru menggambarkan ketidakberdayaan pemerintah dalam mengutamakan kesejahteraan masyarakat yang seharusnya diprioritaskan untuk memperoleh BBM subsidi.

Kata Kunci: Analisis Wacana Kritis, Ideologi, Kekuasaan, BBM subsidi, Pidato

1 | INTRODUCTION

Speech is explained as a skill in communicating in public with certain aims and objectives (Ramadhan & Assidik, 2022). The definition of speech as part of the ability to speak in public was also expressed by Budiyanti (2015) who stated that speech is the verbal expression of ideas or concepts to other people so that the delivery can be understood. Meanwhile, according to Budimansyah and Syam in Natadirja et.al (2020), speech is a person's skill in choosing the words or language used to influence their audience. There are four methods for making speeches, including impromptu, script, extemporaneous and memorizing (Puspita, 2017). In the speech on increasing subsidized fuel prices in 2022 delivered by President Joko Widodo, it used the script method, namely reading the text of the speech that had been previously formulated. Hamidin (2016:24) mentioned that script method is also referred to as manuscript method which is generally used by the leaders or state officials.

Speech is one type of the Rhetoric, namely monologic rhetoric. Hedrikus (1993:16) in Sulistyarini et al (2020:85) mentioned that monologic is the art of speaking using a monologue method or speaking alone in front of an audience. Speech can also be conveyed into lectures, sermons or orations (Hamidin, 2016:12). The important role of speech is mentioned by Hamidin, that speech is used to convey ideas to the public. In politics, rhetoric is used for political agendas such as propaganda tools and campaigns ahead of general elections in countries that adhere to democratic systems of government. Meanwhile, a country uses rhetoric as a tool to socialize the political program it's implementing (Ardiansyah, 2017; Setiyaningsih, 2024). The ability to speak in public is needed for the President. In addition to establishing good relationships with the public, it is also a means of conveying information related to the policies and regulations that have been set by the government. One of these communication skills is speech. The speech delivered by the head of government is part of the power through mass media channels using characteristics in linguistics (Yustianto, 2020; Setiyaningsih et al., 2023). In fact, Joko Widodo is a President of the Republic of Indonesia, the position of president is regulated by law where the president holds the highest power in the country as described in article 4 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution. In order to achieve effective communication with the audience, in a study of rhetoric by Aristotle, it is stated that speech activities must fulfill persuasive methods consisting of logos, pathos and ethos (Hendrikus in Rifandi, 2021). These persuasive methods can be explained

namely the use of logic that can be accepted by other parties which is also supported by strong references such as statistical data, laws or articles, which is called logos, while the credibility of the speaker that can influence the listener is called ethos, and term of emotional appeal is being able to change the audience's decision as known as pathos (Sutrisno, 2015).

In this study, the researcher focuses on the discourse in the speech on increasing subsidized fuel prices delivered by President Joko Widodo. The policy of increasing subsidized fuel prices in 2022 is the focus of research based on the condition experienced by the Indonesian people as a result of being hit by the Covid-19 pandemic which has been going on since the beginning of 2020. The impacts not only disrupt health and mental safety but also Covid-19 capable of paralyzing the economy both domestically and overseas. As in the study conducted by Junaedi and Salista (2020), the Covid-19 pandemic has affected the economy in a number of affected countries and the Asian continent is the region hardest hit by economic growth due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Furthermore, research conducted by Yamali and Putri (2020) showed that the Covid-19 Pandemic gave rise to domestic economic problems such as an increase in the percentage of Job Terminations (PHK), a decrease in the Indonesian Manufacturing Purchasing Manger's Index (PMI) of up to 45.3 percent in March 2020 then inflation at 2.96 percent year-on-year, resulting in a decline in imports reaching 3.7 percent. It is recorded that until September 2022, the Indonesian people have not been free from the trap of Covid-19 pandemic, this can be seen from the government's unfinished revocation of the implementation of Community Activity (PPKM), but the Indonesian people must be confronted with the policy of changing the prize of subsidized fuel for the Pertalite and Diesel types.

In his speech, President Joko Widodo explained that the increase in subsidized fuel prices was the result of a spike in the cost of subsidized and aid in 2022 to 300 percent, reaching 502.4 trillion, as well as the high percentage of subsidized fuel consumption which was actually consumed by the upper middle class people. The inappropriate dominations users of fuel was also expressed by the Minister of Finance, Sri Mulyani in the DPR RI Plenary Meeting regarding the 2023 APBN Bill on August stated that there was a gap in subsidized fuel consumption where energy consumption was more in demand by rich families than poor families which only consume 1 per 20 of the Solar subsidy and 1 per 5 of the Pertalite subsidy (Uly, 2022). This is also in line with the data from Central Statistical Agency (BPS) in 2021 showing that the percentage of fuel consumption in Indonesia is dominated by the upper middle class people. Based on BPS data, it is found that 10 percent of rich Indonesians use subsidized fuel more than 10 percent of poor

people or only consume 93.3 liters of fuel per month compared to 61.7 liters per month for rich people (dataindonesia.id).

In the speech regarding the increase in subsidized fuel prices delivered by President Joko Widodo, there was an implied meaning in the choice of word used. As well as containing ideologies structured in a language to legitimize his power as President who has highest power in the Republic of Indonesia. Ida (2014) stated that discourse is an effort to deconstruct views on an issue or text related to social politics which focuses on the interpretation of reality where the reality in question is the text that is being observed. Meanwhile, according to Rohana and Syamsuddin (2015), discourse focuses on the content, usefulness and social meaning of language use and the form of discourse can be in the form of speech or writing. While discourse analysis is a method for examining the language and language use which aims to get a clearer and more structured description of what is being communicated, apart from that, discourse analysis also looks at the context of the discourse that is formed (Susilo, 2021:6-7). Furthermore, the function of discourse analysis is to analyze language use, discussing meaning based on the language used in a particular context (Mandarani, 2018). Discourse analysis aims to uncover hidden motivations (Ida, 2014).

Critical discourse analysis studies emphasize inequality and power relations in language and aim to explore the ideologies implicit in discourse so as to reveal injustice, discrimination and prejudice in discourse (Wang, 2021). In line with the statement of Schiffrin et.al (2001), critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analysis research that focuses on studying how the abuse of social power, domination and inequality, in this analysis, emphasizes understanding in exposing and denying the existence of social inequality.

This study, the author uses Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model to examine the speech on subsidized fuel price increases delivered by President Joko Widodo in September 2022. Van Dijk's approach is a critical discourse analysis model that is considered a social cognition model that has three dimensions in the structure of discourse analysis, including text dimension, the social dimension and the social context dimension (Ramadan & Assidiq, 2022). Based on the explanation above, the purpose of this study is to uncover the meaning and ideology contained in the President Joko Widodo's speech on the increase in subsidized fuel prices through Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis and dismantle certain motives of interest related to President Joko Widodo's policy in increasing subsidized fuel price.

2 | METHOD

This research uses an explanatory qualitative research method, namely explaining the relationship between two variables in a situation and the phenomenon that occurred (Darwin et. al, 2019:9). Meanwhile, Sugiyono (2017:6) mentioned that research method of explanatory research explaining condition and level between variables as well as relations built from a variable to other variables. Then, a researcher used Van Dijk's model of Critical Discourse Analysis approach. In critical discourse analysis by Van Dijk, discourse has three dimensions including the text dimension, the social cognition dimension and also the social context dimension.

Table 1. Data Collection Technique

Text Analysis	Macrostructure	In this structure, data was obtained through transcript of President Joko Widodo's speech regarding to the increase in subsidized fuel prices in 2022, both collected from the official Youtube of the Presidential Secretariat and transcript from the official website of the Cabinet Secretariat, then analyzed to obtain global topics
	Superstructure	The superstructure stage is to see the text framework starting from the opening, content, conclusion obtained through Joko Widodo's 2022 subsidized fuel price increase speech
	Microstructure	This structure analysis of vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and coherence was obtained through the speech delivered by Joko Widodo regarding subsidized fuel prices in 2022
Social Cognition		Data obtained can be done by observing and understanding the transcript of Joko Widodo's fuel price increase speech so that we can analyze individual social thoughts.
Social Context		In this stage, data was obtained from news reports related to the public's response to the 2022 subsidized fuel price increase policy speech, such as news of demonstrations in a number of regions and in front of the legislative building.

Source: Author's processing result, 2023

Data was obtained through videos and transcripts of Joko Widodo's speech regarding the announcement of the increase in subsidized fuel prices dated 03rd September 2022. The video was obtained from the official Youtube of the Presidential Secretariat and transcript was obtained from the official

website of the Cabinet Secretariat.The speech on increasing subsidized fuel prices in 2022 delivered by the President of Joko Widodo on 03rd September 2022 is the object of this research.

In order to obtain valid data, several tests of the validity of the data obtained are required. The method used is data triangulation. In the data collection technique, data triangulation is carried out, according to Wijaya (2018:120-121) explaining that kind of technique is a technique of re-examining data from various sources with various methods and times used. In this technique, all data obtained is tested for wetness from various resources such as online news, website, journal, books and Youtube videos. According to Samsu (2017), data analysis is a stage that aims to describe that data obtained and conclusions made in the data analysis stage can be used as conclusions in research. All data obtained will not be used immediately, but will go through a reduction process, presented and concluded.

3 | RESULT AND DISCUSSION

RESULT
Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical is understood as an attempt to keep distance from data, pinning data on social, taking political stances explicitly and focus on self-reflection as a researcher (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:9).
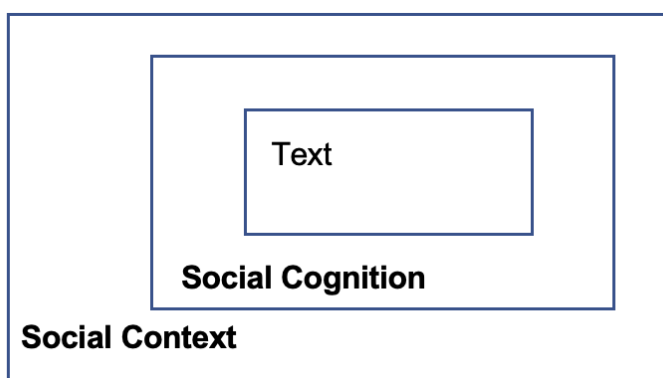
The aim of discourse analysis is to dismantle motives and structures contained in the text, the purpose and message conveyed, reasons that must be made up to how the message is conveyed (Rohana and Syamsuddin, 2015:10). In line with Mandarani's statement (2018) the function of discourse analysis is to analyze the usage of language and to uncover meaning based on use of language in a particular context.

Critical Discourse Analysis focuses on dimensions of abuse of power, inequity and discourse injustice. Understanding of social issues such as domination and inequality does not mean ignoring theoretical problems but rather complex and sophisticated theoretical contributions as part of theoretical endeavours to analyze the complex relationship between domination and discourse. Meanwhile, the target in critical discourse analysis is the elite enforce, maintain and legitimize to neglect inequality and social injustice (Van Dijk, 1993).

Critical Discourse Analysis by Van Dijk

According to Van Dijk, discourse studies are not just analysis text but also

analysis how the text is produced in order to obtain a cognition of why the text can be in such a way form, so that the production process is considered important and is a characteristic of critical discourse analysis of Van Dijk's model where this approach contains a process known as social cognition (Eriyanto, 2001). The discourse described by Van Dijk consists of three dimensions: text dimensions, social cognition and context (Ratnaningsih, 2019).

Gambar 1. Critical Discourse Analysis Van Dijk (Eriyanto, 2001)

a) Text Dimensions

Ratnaningsih (2019) mentions that in Van Dijk's model, text consists of three levels of dimensions including macro structure, super structure and microstructure. The macro level is the first structure on the text dimensions relating to observations on a topic or the theme contained in the text. Then is the supra structure, this level related to the framework in the text. Whereas micro level is the observation on the smallest part of text including words, proportions, phrases and sentences and pictures.

a. Macro structure

According to the Haryatmoko (2022:85) macro structure in critical discourse analysis is a search for meaning, topic or themes determined by the author. The topic contains a mental model of how events are presented so that the content can be easily understood and remembered by readers.

b. Supra structure

Based on Ramadhan and Assidik (2002) said that supra structure is observation on schematic containing a series of opinions arranged including introduction, content and conclusion

c. Micro structure

Micro structures regarding the use of certain words can be used to

emphasize choices and attitudes and to create awareness and understanding of politics (Eriyanto, 2001). In line with the statement of Haryatmoko (2022) states that micro structure focuses on the search for meaning which includes grammar, semantics, phonetics or conversation.

b) Social Cognition

Social Cognition is a system of mental structure and operations acquired, used or transformed in social contexts and social actors and owned by members of social, organizational and cultural groups. System consists of several subsystems such as knowledge, attitudes, ideology, norms and values (Weiss and Wodak, 2003:89). In the news text, Mandarani (2018:75) said that social cognition focuses on the process of making news by journalist or communicator. It also explains that a journalist represents the values of beliefs or prejudices as well as knowledge as tip for the formation of texts on events which is then reflected through the news. In line with Ratnaningsih (2019) that social cognition is a process of producing news texts where they are found individual cognition of discourse markers. In addition to Eriyanto's view (2001), social cognition is one of the dimensions which describes the process of a text produced by individuals or groups. Cognition can be a way of looking at a social reality from the text makers both by individuals and groups creating the certain text. Wodak and Mayer (2001:7) state that the development of cognitive models in understanding discourse in individuals gradually develops into a cognitive model that functions to explain the construction of meaning at the societal level. Meanwhile, Van Dijk (1989a) mentioned discourse, communication and other forms of action and interaction are monitored by social cognitions. He added that cognition is used to bridge between communities at both the micro and macro levels, between discourse and action or between individuals and groups (Van Dijk, 1993).

c) Social Context

Social context is one of the dimensions in the critical discourse analysis model by Van Dijk that role is to explain that discourse can be observed, produced, understood through a particular context (Ratnaningsih, 2019). Then, Ratnaningsih add that there are two important contexts that can affect production of discourse. First, the background behind the discourse production such as gender, age, education level, social class and religion. Second, the social setting such as location, time and other physical environment. Meanwhile, Eriyanto (2001) revealed that social analysis is a dimension that represents the meaning that is understood together, the

power that is created through the practice of discourse and legitimacy.

Theory of Power by Foucault

There are three things that underlie the Foucault's thinking about phenomena that occur in a social context including power, knowledge and truth as well as discourse.

a. Power

Power is an important aspect in determining formed realities. This aspect has the importance of the most dominant power (Ida, 2014:112). Foucault in Ida (2014) states that power can tell someone to do his role in his society including language, speech, conversation, writing until the text is produced. On the book entitled of Power/Knowledge Selected Interview & Other Writing 1972-1977, Foucault mentioned that power must be able to gain access to a person's body, to the individual's action, attitudes and the individual's behaviour (Foucault, 1980:125)

b. Knowledge

According to Ida (2014:114) knowledge and truth that exist in society depends on how the knowledge and truth is conveyed. In discourse studies, truth can be seen from several elements including: First, who is conveying it. Second, the language used. Third, how individuals assess the truth.

Meanwhile, Foucault (1980: 131) states that truth is not outside power or lacking of power, on the contrary, truth does not just exist. Truth is something that exists in the world, while truth is formed based on various existing constraints, giving rise to orderly power effects.

c. Discourse

Discourses for Foucault do not only look at the language aspect which includes the production of language and language rules, but also the context in which language is used and the rules for using language and how it is created (Ida, 2014:116).

Theory Rhetoric of Aristotles

There are two rhetorical assumptions by Aristotle, including that a successful speaker must take his audience into account and a successful speaker is able to use and show evidence in the speech he delivers (West and Turner, 2010).

Principles that can be used in creating messages in speeches that can be persuasive:

Table 2. Canon of Rhetoric by Aristotles

Canon	Definition	Explanation
Invention	Unification in viewpoints and statements contained in the speech	Applying elements of logical thinking and evidence in the speech so that the speech produced is more persuasive
Disposition / Arrangement	Formation of speech	Maintaining the construction of the speech starting from introductory elements, the body frame, until reaching a conclusion that supports the integrity of the speaker in order to increase attractiveness and reduce feelings of agitation such as frustration that can be captured from a speech
Style	Utilization of language in speech	The use and implementation of style to ensure that what is conveyed in the speech can be remembered by listener
Delivery	The delivery of speech	The correct delivery can reduce the tension of the speaker
Memory	Storage of information in the speaker's mind	Understand the context of what is being conveyed and understand right time for delivery so as to reduce the speaker's tension as well as an effort to respond to things that arise suddenly

Source: West dan Turner (2010)

DISCUSSION

Text analysis

The text analysis consists of three elements involving Semantic, Syntax and Stylistic. The first is Semantic, Local meaning or as known as Semantic is the part of text analysis that is easiest for readers to remember and has the most real social impact. Local meaning is based on a mental event model which is represented by the contents of the context model (Haryatmoko, 2022:96). There are three elements of local meaning in the text analysis including background, detail and intent. The background element in the text of President Joko Widodo's speech on 03 September 2022 is located in the initial paragraph, the text states that".

> *"Pemerintah telah berupaya sekuat tenaga untuk melindungi rakyat dari gejolak harga minyak dunia. Saya sebetulnya ingin harga BBM di dalam negeri tetap terjangkau dengan memberikan subsidi dari APBN"*

President Joko Widodo claimed that the government has made every effort in order to ensure that domestic fuel prices remain affordable even though world oil prices as stated in the text of the speech have increased.

Detail element in the text of President Joko Widodo's speech is located in the text excerpt below which is in this text there are sentences that form a local meaning that contained a desire from President Joko Widodo for subsidized fuel prices to remain affordable for the public but then President Joko Widodo explained the increase in the fuel subsidy budget and fuel utilization. Mistargeted subsidies trigger an increase in subsidized fuel prices, as quoted in the text below:

> *"Saya sebetulnya ingin harga BBM di dalam negeri tetap terjangkau dengan memberikan subsidi dari APBN. Tetapi anggaran subsidi dan kompensasi BBM Tahun 2022 telah meningkat tiga kali lipat dari Rp 152, 5 triliun menjadi Rp 502, 4 triliun rupiah, dan itu akan meningkat terus. Dan lagi lebih dari 70 persen subsidi justru dinikmati oleh kelompok yang mampu yaitu pemilik mobil-mobil pribadi."*

That quote above means that President Joko Widodo hopes that fuel prices will remain affordable for indonesian people but it cannot be done due to the swelling in the fuel subsidy budget in 2022 which has exceeded the target, namely from 152.5 trillion to 502.4 trillion. Apart from that, the reason for distributing the benefits of subsidized fuel which is actually used by the upper middleclass citizens has resulted in an increase in the price of subsidized fuel. This shapes the meaning of the message that the increase in subsidized fuel prices on 03 September 2022 is based on two reasons, namely the increasing subsidy budget and the use of subsidized fuel that is not on target where subsidized fuel should be prioritized for the destitute citizens. Furthermore, the following speech text below contains elements of intent:

> *"Saat ini pemerintah harus membuat keputusan dalam situasi yang sulit, ini adalah pilihan terakhir pemerintah yaitu mengalihkan subsidi BBM sehingga harga beberapa jenis BBM yang selama ini mendapat subsidi akan mengalami penyesuaian."*

The intent element aims to find out information that benefits the communicator in the text which is described clearly or explicitly. On the other hand, things that tend to be detrimental are conveyed implicitly or disguised (Eriyanto, 2001). The quote above, it can be seen that meaning tried to convey is in two ways, namely implicit and explicit. Here is the facts described implicity are:

"Saat ini pemerintah harus membuat keputusan dalam situasi yang sulit, ini adalah pilihan terakhir pemerintah."

The elements of the intention to be conveyed are not clear about what the government means by a difficult situation and why the option to increase fuel prices is the last resort. The phrase the government must make decisions is difficult to explain implicit so that it can give rise to various meanings, as according to Eriyanto (2001) that meaning obtained by the readers can be different. Meanwhile, quote the text below:

"….mengalihkan subsidi BBM sehingga harga beberapa jenis BBM yang selama ini mendapat subsidi akan mengalami penyesuaian."

The quote above was explained explicitly by President Joko Widodo, where the intended element in the sentence fragment was a form of announcement to its readers, namely the Indonesian people, that there was a policy of increasing subsidized fuel prices.

If viewed from text analysis through microstructure which includes background, details and purpose, the statement of President Joko Widodo regarding to the APBN swelled to 502.4 trillion in his speech text 03rd September as a trigger for an increase in fuel subsidy prices supported by statement from the Minister of Finance at DPR Budgeting Committee Working Meeting with the government, Sri Mulyani revealed that 2022 APBN would increase by up to triple of 152.5 trillion to 502.4 trillion (kemenkeu.go.id). In various ways, Sri Mulyani conveyed several triggers for the increasing of APBN in many times as much as the increase in global crude oil prices, weakening the value of rupiah and fuel consumption exceeding the APBN target.

First, the increase in world crude oil prices. According to the Minister of Finance, Sri Mulyani, who was quoted in an Antara News report, he stated that the difference in prices was widening Retail Sales (HEC) due to an increase in the ICP assumption which reached 105 US dollars per barrel. where the price follows global oil prices. The influence of world crude oil price is also supported by Sri Mulyani's statement at a press conference regarding the follow-up to the Coordinating Ministry for the Economy's Coordinations Meeting regarding fuel subsidy policy. Sri Mulyani said that the world crude oil prices until the end of 2022 will be 105 US dollars per barrel, thus exceeding the macro assumptions in Presidential Decree (Perpres) 98/2022 is 100 US dollars per barrel (voi.id).

The researcher finds that world crude prices have actually fallen due to the strengthening of the US dollar and the threat to the global economy if fuel

demand reductions are implemented, which will ultimately burden the market. Apart from that, China's policy of implementing strict quarantine to prevent transmission of the Corona virus has resulted in production in the Asian region declining (katadata.co.id). Meanwhile, a number of reports in online media also explained the condition of world oil prices which actually weakened following the announcement of an increase in subsidized fuel by the Indonesian government. As quoted from the kontan.com page on September 03, 2022 or the same day as President Joko Widodo's announcement regarding the increase in subsidized fuel prices. In the report entitled "Oil prices weaken this week, WTI remains below US$ 90 per barrel" stated that oil prices weakened or experienced a decline of 3 percent to their lowest position in two weeks. In addition, on 8th September2022 or five days after the official increase in fuel prices, world crude oil prices actually fell as quoted from CNN Indonesia "World oil prices drop to lowest level in the last 7 months", the fall in world oil prices cannot be separated from the influence of the European Union's policy in limiting supply gas from Russia, causing risks to safeguards.

Second, the volume quota for the distribution of subsidized fuel, both Pertalite and Diesel, has exceeded the APBN target. The distribution of subsidized diesel fuel is 17.44 million KL or 115 percent of the actual APBN quota of 15.10 million KL. Meanwhile, subsidized fuel for the Pertalite type reached 126 percent or 29.07 million KL of the APBN quota of 23.05 million KL. The issue of subsidized fuel volume quotas that exceed the APBN is supported by data on subsidized fuel consumption which continues to increase compared to non-subsidized fuel. As per data released by the Directorate general of Oil and Natural Gas, Ministry of Energy and Mineral resources in oil and natural gas Statistics for Semester I year 2021. In its reporting, sales of RON 90 or Pertalite gasoline have increased very significantly over the past five years, in 2016 it only amounted to 5.805.228, in year 2017 it was 14.487.098, then in 2018 it was about 17.706.790, next year 2019 and 2020 it was 19.410.819 and 18.143.189. In 2021 it was 11.089.437. In contrast to Pertalite type fuel, RON 92 or Pertamax gasoline actually experiences a decline in sales every year, in 2016 Pertamax sales was 4.780.926, 2017 was 6.188.300, then 2018 it started to decline to 5.643.055, in 2019 was 4.254.343 and 2020 it sold 4.056.945. while in 2021 there was a sharp decline of only 2.455.063. The above can show that people tend to choose Pertalite subsidized fuel compared to Pertamax which is a non-subsidized fuel product. There are various triggers for choosing Pertalite, where this type of subsidized fuel has a much lower price than Pertamax. Before President Joko Widodo's speech on increasing subsidized fuel prices, the price of Pertalite was priced at IDR 7.650 per liter, while the price of Pertamax gasoline was IDR 12.500 per liter (cnnindonesia.com).

Apart from the reason for the large price difference, the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources (ESDM) stated that the misuse of subsidized fuel was widely used by industry and individuals with luxury private vehicles. Arifin Tasrif also mentioned that irregularities in the use of subsidized fuel had an impact on the state's financial burden (migas.esdm.go.id). Third, the assumed increase in the Rupiah exchange rate. The assumed increase in the rupiah exchange rate is IDR 14.700 US dollars (suarasurabaya.net).

Meanwhile, based on the microstructure, the distribution of subsidized fuel that is not on target, it must be understood that the difference between subsidized fuel and non-subsidized fuel. The subsidized fuel is a type of fuel oil that is assisted by the government using a number of state revenue and expenditure budget (APBN) funds so that in terms of price it is much cheaper than the market price (indonesiabaik.id).

In the text of President Joko Widodo speech on September 3, 2022, Joko Widodo claimed that the increase in subsidized fuel prices was the result of the distribution of subsidy benefits that was not on target. President Joko Widodo stated that more than 70 percent of subsidized fuel consumption is enjoyed by the upper middle class. This fact was also expressed by the Minister of Finance that distribution of the use of energy subsidies and compensation is mostly enjoyed by the well-off. Sri Mulyani stated that subsidized diesel fuel is only 5 percent consumed by the poor and only 20 percent of the Pertalite type fuel subsidy is enjoyed by the poor (kemenkeu.go.id). This gap in subsided fuel consumption is reinforced by data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2021 showing that 10 percent of rich Indonesians use more subsidized fuel more that 10 percent of poor people or only consume 9.3 liters of fuel per month compared to rich people 61.7 liters per month (dataindonesia.id). This is certainly not in line with the Presidential Decree No. 191 of 2014 concerning the Supply, Distribution and Retail Selling Prices of Fuel, where the presidential regulation states that the categories of consumers using diesel fuel include: motorized vehicles for micro businesses, fisheries businesses, namely fishermen who use fish transport vessels with a maximum capacity of 30 GT and small scale fish cultivators, agricultural businesses are intended for farmers and groups of farmers and farm workers with a maximum land of 2 Ha. Meanwhile, transportation has been regulated that subsidized diesel fuel is for public transportation vehicles which function as public services in the community and individual motorized vehicles on the road, both for transporting people and goods with black and white or yellow vehicle plate numbers and black writing, but the exception is not intended for cars. Goods for transporting products from plantation activities with a number of wheels exceeding six. Thus, the types of

private cars or cars transporting goods for the manufacturing industry are not listed in the provisions in the Presidential Decree above.

One of the causes of the high realization of subsidized fuel consumption, especially the Pertalite type, was revealed by the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources, Arifin Tasrif, who said that Pertalite consumption exceeding the subsidy quota was due to the increase in private vehicle production every year (bisnis.com). The increase in private vehicle production is directly proportional to the increase in fuel consumption, particularly subsidized fuel. As stated by the Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources, Indonesian people's fuel consumption reaches 800.000 barrels everyday or the equivalent of 1.2 trillion if one liter of motorcycle fuel is calculated. The amount of subsidized fuel consumption was confirmed by the Downstream of Oil and Gas Regulatory Agency (BPH Migas), Pertalite is the type of subsidized fuel most consumed by the public with a consumption value reaching 26.90 kilo liters (cnbcindonesia.com). On the other hand, domestic oil consumption. which is increasing every year, can not be fulfilled from the national productions, citing data from Oil and Gas Statistics for Semester I year 2021 which has been published by the Directorate General of Oil and Natural Gas, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Resources, it was revealed that crude oil production was decreasing.

In 2018 it was 831.066 bph, in 2017 was 801.02 bph, then year 2018 was 772.013 bph, next year 2019 was 745.14 bph while in 2020 it was 708.32 bph and at the first semester of 2021 it decreased to 669.36 bph. The decline in oil production was triggered by the main oil production wells being old while oil production in view wells was still limited (simebtke.esdm.go.id). Since 2008, Indonesia has become a fuel importing country (esdm.go.id). Import policy should be one of the alternative steps to meet the needs of domestic energy supply, where fuel consumption continues to increase every year. Based on the results of research conducted by Mustika et.al (2015), petroleum imports have a significant effect on the Indonesian economy by 51.62 percent. However, this policy also triggered a number of negative impacts on the Indonesian nation, one of which was the weakening of the Rupiah exchange rate. As the result of research conducted by Chomas et.al (2014) revealed that the exchange rate over the last three years has experienced a decline due to the value of imports in oil and gas in order to meet domestic fuel consumption. In addition, the impact on crude oil importing countries is also expressed by Panigoro (2015) in his book entitled Energy Revolution: Crisis Solutions and Poverty Alleviation. Panigoro stated that the effect of oil imports actually caused a deficit in Indonesia's oil trade balance, eroded the country's foreign exchange reserves, weakened the value of the rupiah and swelling the state budget (APBN).

The second element of text analysis is Syntax. It explains the form and sentence structure of speech text. There are two components of syntax like coherence and pronouns. In the text below including coherence elements:

> *"Saya sebetulnya ingin harga BBM di dalam negeri tetap terjangkau dengan memberikan subsidi dari APBN. Tetapi anggaran subsidi dan kompensasi BBM tahun 2022 telah meningkat tiga kali lipat dari Rp 152, 5 triliun menjadi Rp 502, 4 triliun rupiah, dan itu akan meningkat terus."*

That quotation is connected with the conjunction of opposition, which is marked with the word "but". The text above has a message meaning that there is a desire of President Joko Widodo to keep fuel prices affordable, but the increase in the state budget (APBN) and subsidized fuel consumption data are more widely used by the upper middle class people.

Furthermore, the researcher found that in the text of the speech on 03 September 2022 where pronouns are varieties of words that replace the position of nouns or noun phrases. Badudu (1993) in Mukhlis (2020) mentioned there are three pronouns, namely first person, second person and third person. The pronouns used in the text are dominated by using the pronoun " **I** ", as the following excerpt of the speech text below:

> *"Saya sebetulnya ingin harga BBM di dalam negeri tetap terjangkau dengan memberikan subsidi dari APBN."*

The use of pronouns above refers to figure "president" as the reader of the speech text and make position himself as a person who hopes.

> *"Saya juga telah memerintahkan kepada pemerintah daerah untuk menggunakan 2 persen dana transfer umum sebesar Rp 2,17 triliun untuk bantuan angkutan umum, bantuan ojek online…"*

The pronoun "**I"** used by President Joko Widodo refers to his personal position as the highest leader to give mandates and orders to his government's officers at the local level to distribute aid.

Whereas the third element of text analysis is Stylistic. This element focuses on the choice of the words used. Based on the speech text by President Joko Widodo, researchers found several word choices that used to explain the increase in subsidized fuel prices. First, the use of words of protection.

> *"Pemerintah telah berupaya sekuat tenaga untuk melindungi rakyat dari gejolak harga minyak dunia."*

The use of the word "protect" above by President Joko Widodo refers to the world oil fluctuation. According to data collection by researchers obtained from various sources showed that on the day of the announcement of the increase in the price of subsidized fuel namely Pertalite and Solar, world oil prices precisely down, it was in line with the strengthening US dollar currency as well as threats to the global economy if reductions are implemented fuel demand which ultimately burden on the market (katadata.co.id).

Second, the use of phrases of **tough condition**, as the following excerpt of the speech text below:

> *"Saat ini pemerintah harus membuat keputusan dalam situasi yang sulit, ini adalah pilihan terakhir pemerintah."*

Based on the text above, President Joko Widodo, constructing the meaning of discourse about a government position which is in a difficult situation, made a decision to increase the price of subsidized fuel of Pertalite and Solar. Emphasis in the word "difficult" above, to provide an overview to the public as text readers that the increase of subsidized fuel prices by Indonesia government due to there were no other options, whereas increasing the subsidized fuel prices actually triggers inflation, it can be seen from the rising of other commodities. The increase in prices for other commodities due to the rise of fuel prices, namely the changing cost of public transportation. The head of BPS Margo Yuwono (01/09/2022) stated that fuel commodities is one of the main contributors to inflation for the group prices regulated by the government (bisnis.com). Another word option is adjustment as following this quote:

> *"Saat ini pemerintah harus membuat keputusan dalam situasi yang sulit, ini adalah pilihan terakhir pemerintah yaitu mengalihkan subsidi BBM sehingga harga beberapa jenis BBM yang selama ini mendapat subsidi akan mengalami penyesuaian."*

According to KBBI, adjustment has the meaning of matching, harmonizing, aligning or to make appropriate (about situation). President Joko Widodo used word adjustment rather than using the word raise or increase in the context of a policy of increasing subsidized fuel prices.

Furthermore, based on Superstructure analysis of the increasing of subsidized fuel prices speech by President Joko Widodo revealed if the text is in line with the theory expressed by Van Dijk in Ratnaningsih (2019) states that superstructure is related to the framework, preparing speech text including introduction, body and conclusion (Ramadhan and Assidik, 2022).

Meanwhile, the macro structure consists of a theme or topic in a text. The theme of the speech on 3rd September 2022, was revealed explicitly and implicitly the increase in subsidized fuel prices by using the word "adjustment" in the speech text of President Joko Widodo. This is in accordance with Van Dijk's view (1980) regarding macro analysis, topic represent discourse in the form of "what is it" globally, reveal the most important information in discourse and explain the text as whole, the coherence of text and speech (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:101).

Apart from analyzing text, discourse analysis requires observations of social cognition where observations of the text can be produced (Natadirja et al, 2020). Social cognition is a system of mental structure and operations that are acquired, used or changed in a social context and social actors and owned by group members, organizational and cultural. This system consists of several subsystems such as knowledge, attitudes, ideology, norms and value (Weiss and Wodak, 2003:89).

The following text explains the fact that reveal by President Joko Widodo, the data on the amount of subsidies as well as disclose the percentage of subsidized fuel users who are assessed not quite the target, as following text quote:

> *"…….. anggaran subsidi dan kompensasi BBM tahun 2022 telah meningkat tiga kali lipat dari Rp 152, 5 triliun menjadi 502, 4 triliun rupiah, dan itu akan meningkat terus. Dan lagi lebih dari 70 persen subsidi justru dinikmati oleh kelompok yang mampu yaitu pemilik mobil-mobil pribadi."*

The data above express the knowledge of President Joko Widodo. The quote text above emphasizes the meaning and message can persuade the public in accordance with Aristotle's view in Fikry (2020), the message conveyed to the audience must consider rhetorical evidence, one of them namely logos or logic. The text above fulfilled the Rhetorical evidence, namely expressing data in the form of numbers, nominal and percentage by President Joko Widodo to convince the audience regarding the speech text.

Meanwhile, Eriyanto (2001) states that if the cognitive approach is based on the assumption that the text is meaningfulness, but the meaning is given by the language user, further processes of mental awareness occur in the language user, as follows text quote:

> *"Saya sebetulnya ingin harga BBM di dalam negeri tetap terjangkau dengan memberikan subsidi dari APBN."*

The text above shows the personal argument of President Joko Widodo.

It is kind of the opinion conveyed in the text that President Joko Widodo actually does not want to increase fuel prices so that fuel prices remain affordable among the public. Furthermore, President Joko Widodo in his speech gave his attitude on the policies that the government had formulated regarding subsidized fuel prices as quoted in the following text:

> *"Saya juga telah memerintahkan kepada pemerintah daerah untuk menggunakan 2 persen dana transfer umum sebesar Rp 2,17 triliun untuk bantuan angkutan umum, bantuan ojek online dan untuk nelayan."*

This quote shows the attitude of President Joko Widodo as the head of state to order his subordinates, namely the regional government, to distribute aid funds. The attitude shown by President Joko Widodo is in line with Aristotle's theory that the way to persuade the audience should consider three rhetorical evidence (Fikry, 2020), one of them is ethos. Rhetorical evidence of ethos in the text states the credibility of President Joko Widodo.

Then the element of social cognition is ideology. Thompson (1990) in Wodak and Meyer (2001) explained that ideology studies related to meaning were built and expressed through the form of symbols in various types. On the other hand, ideology studies also observe social context where forms of symbols were used and shared. On the speech text, President Joko Widodo argued the reason of creating the policy of increasing subsidized fuel prices, it was caused by the fluctuations of world oil price as quoted in the text below:

> *"Pemerintah telah berupaya sekuat tenaga untuk melindungi rakyat dari gejolak harga minyak dunia."*

The text above contains the phrase "using all the energies (berupaya sekuat tenaga)", it describes the way of President Joko Widodo in convincing his readers by playing with their emotions that the government has used all the energies. The phrase try as hard as possible is include the category of rhetorical evidence of pathos by Aristotles, which means that President Joko Widodo has built emotions with his readers as Krishnan et.al (2020) revealed that Pathos is the art of persuading by appealing to reader's emotions.

The findings from researchers are that the ideology promoted by President Jokowidodo by using the word "protect" shows that President Jokowi Widodo's statement reflects the values in the fourth principle of Pancasila as follows: "A people led by wisdom in deliberation and representation". This principle in Pancasila means that decisions taken must adhere firmly and be morally accountable to God Almighty by upholding human honor and dignity, the values of truth and justice which prioritize unity in order to obtain the common

interest" (bpip.go.id).

Social Context

Through the speech text of Joko Widodo regarding the increasing fuel price on 03 September 2022, President Joko Widodo conveyed his form of power by taking policy in increasing the subsidized fuel price. This is supported by Foucault's view (1993:101) in Mau (2019) regarding the position of discourse in power. Foucault explained that the role of discourse in power can transmit and produce power. Furthermore, discourse strengthens and can also reduce power. Then, discourse is able to expose and also inhibit power. Foucault in Eriyanto (2001) also stated that power is not ownership but rather practices that occur where there are many strategic positions and are related to each other. President Joko Widodo's position as a leader of the Republic of Indonesia. He has a strategic position in conveying policies that have been formulated by the government to Indonesian people so that they can be accepted.

Foucault in Ida (2014) stated that power can drive a person to carry out his role in society including language, speech, conversation, writing and the text produced. In the book entitled *Power/Knowledge Selected Interview & Other Writing 1972-1977,* Foucault explained that power must be able to gain access to a person's body, to the individual's action, attitudes and the way he behaves on a daily basis (Foucault, 1980:125).

The existence of power can control the context and the structure of discourse. Control over the context means that power can control who can speak and who can just listen (Haryatmoko, 2022). President Joko Widodo has the highest position in the Indonesian government as regulated by the Constitution 1945 article 4 which states that the position of president holds the highest power. The power of President Joko Widodo has allowed him to directly announce the policy of increasing subsidized fuel prices, as President Joko Widodo did when announcing the subsidized fuel prices on 03 September 2022. Meanwhile, the power of President Joko Widodo is able to determine what good things should and should not be displayed (Haryatmoko, 2022). As quoted from the speech text of President Joko Widodo on 03 September 2022 which stated:

"Pemerintah telah berupaya sekuat tenaga untuk melindugi rakyat dari gejolak harga minyak dunia. Saya sebetulnya ingin harga BBM di dalam negeri tetao terjangkau dengan memberikan subsidi dari APBN. Tetapi anggaran subsidi da kompensasi BBM tahun 2022 telah meningkat tiga kali lipat dari Rp 152, 5 triliun menjadi Rp 502, 4 triliun rupiah, dan itu akan meningkat terus. Dan lagi lebih dari 70 persen subsidi justru dinikmati oleh

kelompok yang mampu yaitu pemilik mobil-mobil pribadi. Mestinya uang negara itu harus diprioritaskan untuk memberikan subsidi kepada masyarakat yang kurang mampu."

The quotation above reveals that power in controlling the structure of discourse by considering what statements are appropriate and inappropriate to display. The quote above shows that President Joko Widodo is trying to describe the state budget which is increasing many times over due to subsidized fuel. Furthermore, President Joko Widodo provided data that more than 70 percent of subsidized fuel consumption is consumed by the middle and upper class people.

In addition, the discourse on increasing subsidized fuel prices on 03 September 2022 received various reactions from the Indonesian people. As quoted from Kompas.com (05/09/2022), fishermen in Linau village, Kaur Bengkulu regency complained about the increase in fuel prices which made operational costs for going to sea swell from initially around IDR 600,000,- but after the increase in fuel prices, fishermen's operation once going to sea can reach at least IDR 800,000,- just for petrol and oil cost (Firmansyah, 2022). Besides that, fishermen on Bangkalan Madura decide to stop fishing after the increase in subsidized fuel prices. Based on the Detik.com report (12/09/2022), a number of fishermen in Arosbaya decided to stop going to sea due to increasing fuel prices. Apart from that, other problems faced by the fishermen are the difficulty to get diesel fuel and the low catch which is considered not commensurate with the expenses involved in fishing (Kamaluddin, 2022).

The impact that occurred as a result of the government policy of increasing subsidized fuel prices on 03 September 2022 was revealed in research conducted by Hesti et al (2023), the research was aimed to determine the impact of the government policy of increasing subsidized fuel prices on online-vehicle drivers. Online motorbike (Ojol) in Bandar Lampung stated that land transportation rates have increased from 5% to 15% depending on the type of transportation due to the increasing subsidized fuel prices.

4 | CONCLUSION AND RECOMMEDATION

CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation in the discussion above, it can be concluded that the use of "protect" as diction in the speech text about the increasing of subsidized fuel price on 3rd September 2022 by President Joko Widodo illustrates the government's attitude regarding fuel prices policy. However, the

word "protect people" is not in line with the revealed fact that the high percentage of untargeted subsidized fuel consumption stated by President Joko Widodo in his speech as a trigger for increasing subsidized fuel prices of 2022. The inequality in subsidized fuel consumption enjoyed by wealthy people, it indicates and illustrates the powerlessness of government in implementing the mandate of laws and government regulations that have been applied, where subsidized fuel should be intended for the poor and not the other way around, that is, all members of society are free to consume.

Research related to critical discourse analysis on state speech text has not been carried out much, particularly to dismantle ideology and interest motives. It is hoped that further research can be carried out quantitatively by conducting a survey to find out more attractive points of view, such as the point of view of people's opinion on the discourse analysis. Furthermore, it is hoped that the results of this research can become material for developing the science of textual analysis, especially critical discourse analysis.

RECOMMEDATION

Referring to the speech text on the increase in subsidized fuel prices on 3rd September 2022 by President Joko Widodo, it takes the involvement of experts in formulating the further state speech text. Experts needed in production of speech texts such as legal experts related to the presentation of laws, and communication experts to obtain the fact finding, where in the speech text on 3rd September 2022 by the President Joko Widodo reveal the increase in subsidized fuel prices on micro figures only. Furthermore, the result of this study can be used by the community, especially the orators, politicians and the public figures in producing texts that can persuade the public based on research results.

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