

## Examining Gender Mandates as Representation of Women in Political Speech

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### Abstract

*The Discourse Analysis of Teun A. Van Dijk tries to examine the gender mandate of the heads of political parties led by women in showing the representation of women in fighting for gender. Speech text is basically not just a string of words that is only linguistic, but social. Van Dijk's model is divided into three levels: a) macro structure, b) superstructure, and c) micro structure, which is used to analyze discourse critically. The data source uses You Tube through the text of political party speeches. Qualitative research methodology used to examine messages as gender mandates in speechwomen-led politics. Based on the research on political speeches, it can be concluded: There is a significant difference in the thematic structure between MSP and GN, the dominant theme of MSP's political speech is about the political, economic, and historical role of the party, and cadres are considered as party officials. The thematics of GN's speech criticized social realities, the struggle for gender, emancipation, women's wages, and polygamy. The micro structure in the schematic is compiled and assembled on economic studies, state politics, and political messages, commemorating the Asia-Africa Conference, while GN's speech emphasized women such as: Emancipation of gender equality, feelings of party leaders or the mission of the Party which are both attached to one. Stylistics in the choice of diction are used as expressions that have the power to inspire those who hear, using a stylistic style for PDI-P cadres, of course, it can be lively. Meanwhile, the diction used to highlight the stylistics used by GN is more about gender messages and mandates that attract millennials. The use of rhetorical language style in the micro structure was used by the two political party leaders as the party's mandate and mission.*

### Keywords

Van Dijk; gender mandate; political speech



## I. Introduction

The movement of women's emancipation is an interesting phenomenon to be investigated, considering that there is no longer a gap between men and women in various job opportunities, holding strategic positions and others, as well as positions in political parties starting to stand out and being strengthened over every political party must provide as much as 30% of the opportunity is held by women, thus the opportunity is increasingly wide open. However, what needs to be investigated is the role played by political party leaders in representing women in various activities and opportunities.

The ideal woman is in opposition to the memsahib. The ideal woman is drawn by brahminical notions of female self-sacrifice and devotion. When an ideal gentlewoman is constructed, this woman is separated from their lower-class sisters, who are servants or sources of folk or popular music and tales, dramas and wit. In this condition, many forms of women's popular culture are marginalized. These forms expressed difficulty of women "in male-dominated society or sexual desire using powerful humour, sharp" (ibid). Women are half the population of any nation. (Birgani, S. et al. 2019)

The first step to observe this is by outlining the political speeches he delivered to see the gaps that women experience and experience in terms of their nature and rights as women. Because in general, political parties will only carry out political goals under the pretext of true goals for the people, but the reality that appears is only on the political goals of their parties, so that the people who should be fighting for are ignored. Because political parties will only stand out at the time of a Democratic Party, after the Democratic Party is over, political parties will either remain silent or suspended animation. Because at the time of the Democratic Party and political campaign activities, every major political party carried out social activities and community service, but during the Covid-19 outbreak, even more conflicts heated up in the DPR building.

The phenomenon of the emergence of various political parties has certainly been in the spotlight of various social media, mass media, both print and electronic. Thus, it is necessary to study political parties led by women to justify being able to voice gender voices as a form of caring for women. To explore this, it is necessary to conduct an analysis through political speeches delivered by the heads of political parties in the mass media, if analyzed from the point of view of critical discourse analysis will produce a "conclusion" that the substance of the speech should have high hopes for carrying out the vital elan of political parties that lead to the interests of the people and defend the women's community as the color of political parties or vice versa not having concern for women

According to Sumarto (2002:227-229) the cause of violence against women is due to weak legal protection for women victims in Indonesia, or due to the weak patriarchal cultural system in society, unequal social institutions in the strong-weak category, social culture that marginalizes the position of women in general. Remain in society, where it seems to legitimize various kinds of injustice, deprivation and oppression by perpetrators of the human rights of women victims.

According to Amri and Erna (2021:21) it is found that positive attitudes in the text of political speeches of female political party leaders are attitudes that are expressed implicitly or explicitly which become identity: a) attitude disclosure is greater than engagement and graduation, it can be concluded on the ideology and attitudes of the PSI political parties, such as: 1. The ideology of the political parties, divided into: a) the ideology of positive attitudes of the PSI party, b) the ideology of gender equality, c) the ideology of the women's wage struggle, d) the ideology of the struggle for women's fate. 2. The attitude of being proud of women, a) a positive attitude, fighting for wages, b) an attitude against hoaxes, c) a slang attitude.

Through speeches by political parties trying to fight for various inequality issues, speech is not only seen as a language structure, but as a social practice. Eriyanto (2001) said that critical discourse analysis is an alternative to content analysis and qualitative analysis. Through discourse analysis, we not only know how the content of the speech text is, but also how the message is conveyed by looking at how the linguistic structure is built, critical discourse analysis is more able to see the hidden meaning of a text.

Van Dijk's approach in analyzing text divides it into three levels which include: macro structure, superstructure, and micro structure. This study will take these three dimensions to

see the overall results of speeches from political parties entitled "Constructing reality" which was stated in the speech of the head of a political party led by a woman. Based on the above background, this research team tries to reveal the representation of gender in the text of political speeches, with the title, 'Investigating Gender Mandates as Representation of Women in Political Speeches.

## II. Review of Literature

### 2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis on speech texts finds domination of power and injustice from certain parties. These powerful parties use the discourse media that exist in society, especially news texts to hegemony and influence people's mental awareness. Discourse analysis not only analyzes the truth of a text in terms of its sentence structure according to syntactic and semantic rules, not only placing the subject or speaker as the party who most determines meaning in a neutral manner without the influence of social power around it, but also analyzes a statement in the text through context. social (Eriyanto 2001:224).

Speech is always involved in power relations, especially in the formation of the subject, and various representational actions contained in society. In the end, critical discourse analysis analyzes linguistic aspects related to context, which is interpreted as language is used for certain purposes and practices, including the practice of power.

### 2.1. Analysis Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse

According to Van Dijk, the structure of the text is divided into three levels. First, the macro structure. This is the global or general meaning of a text that can be observed by looking at the themes that are put forward in a story. Second, superstructure. This is a discourse structure related to the framework or schema of a text, how the parts of the text are arranged into the whole story. Third, microstructure is the meaning of discourse that can be observed from a small part of a text, namely words, sentences, paraphrases and others. According to Eriyanto (2002:275) the analytical framework aims to analyze the speeches of political parties that represent gender uploaded from You Tube. Many experts argue about the discourse model that each introduces. But the Teun A. Van Dijk model is often used by researchers. Due to collaborating elements of discourse so that it is fairly practical. Van Dijk's model divides it into three levels which include:

- a) Macro structure: Is the general meaning of a text that can be understood by looking at the topic of a text. The theme of this discourse is not only the content but also of an event
- b) Superstructure: The framework of a text, how the structure and elements of the discourse are arranged in the text as a whole.
- c) Micro structure: meaning of discourse that can be observed by analyzing the words, sentences, propositions, and clauses used

The term discourse refers to a complete language unit, generally larger than a sentence, either delivered orally or in writing. Discourse is a series of harmonious sentences that connect one sentence to another so as to form a unit.

### III. Research Methods

Qualitative research methodology begins with collecting data, analyzing data, and concluding research results, this is in accordance with the ethnographic method carried out by evaluating the language used to understand the speaker's paradigm from the point of view. The method of data collection according to Sudaryanto's opinion (1993) uses structured techniques, content analysis, and text analysis, and political speech text analysis techniques. This research data collection step is expected to be able to represent the gender thinking paradigm, with the following steps: a) transcription of data from recorded data, b) data classification and data analysis. Likewise, Saidel's opinion in Moleong (2007:248), with the stages of analysis, namely: a) Recording data and coding, b) Collecting, sorting data, c) Classifying data, d) synthesizing, e) Categorize data and find patterns and relationships to make findings. The data selected are data from the political speeches of the chairperson of the women's political party Megawati Sukarno Putri (MSP) the Chairperson of the PDI-P Party and Grace Natalie (GN) as the Chairperson of the Indonesian Solidarity Party. The research methodology aims to analyze the object of research using qualitative methods according to Spradley (2007:4) ethnography not only studies society but more than that ethnography learns from society.

### IV. Results and Discussion

In general, the political speeches of MSP and GN have significant differences and similarities. Based on data from political speeches in the political speech of the chairman of Solidaritas Indonesia', Grace Natalie alludes to fake nationalists and social justice in the text. The results of data analysis based on van Dijk's analysis obtained an analysis of the study, namely: Macro structure, Superstructure, Structure obtained the results:

#### 4.1 Discourse Structure

##### a. Macro Structure

Is the general meaning of a text that can be understood by looking at the topic of a text. The theme of this discourse is not only content but also from an event. The macro structure of the text can be seen in the topic of the speech text in the sentences: a) Mega mentions many things about politics, economy and the state, Mega also conveys political messages to President Jokowi (SMA/MSP/K1) as well as in the sentences: b) Alludes to the spirit of revolution Mentally, Preparation for the commemoration of the Asian-African Conference which was initiated by his father. (SMA/MSP/D1/K2) c) Preparation for the commemoration of the Asian-African Conference which was initiated by his father. (SMA/D1/MSP/K9)

The theme of the text of the GN's speech was about events, which involved the nationalists as a macro structure, which was the thematic in the speech of the women's party between GN's 'The Main Enemy of the Indonesian Unity' which touched on fake nationalists. Positive attitudes are biased through the characteristics of party figures in the text of political speeches expressed positive idealism, with the aim of being able to criticize political parties that are not in line, described in the following text: a) "When they play LOWER POLITICS, PSI cadres have to raise QUALITY, improve quality, learn more, improve your argument, get down to the basics and continue the work of change, while still daring to speak the truth!" (SMA/GN/D2/K4). b) We don't want men to be inferior to women. NO! (SMA/GN/D2/K11). c) We just want all humans to be treated equally. (SMA/GN/D2/K13).

In general, the themes that were carried between MSP and GN differed in that. The themes of MSP's political speeches as party leader were more dominant in talking about politics, economics, and party history, as well as the greatness of the party. as a party official who becomes an extension of the party. Meanwhile, the PSI chairman's speech, GN's political speech, criticized the social reality of the gender struggle, using suggestive sentence

### **b. Superstructure**

Based on the schematic data, the speech is arranged deductively, namely general things about the party, then inserted into the role of the winning party after struggling first, besides that it is reinforced with Bung Karno's political messages which are reinforced with MSP language with a serious and serious tone MSP tries to mobilize cadres including the president as party officials in managing the country. In the sentence: a) Elections are dedicated to the nation's best leaders. (SuSk/MSP/D1/K19) b) Rise up and move back to national goals. Get up and move towards awareness of social ideals (SuSk/MSP/D1/K27), c) Mega reads the speech of the first Indonesian President Soekarno entitled 'I See Indonesia' which is also the theme of the PDIP congress (SuSk/MSP/D1/K3)

The general meaning of the text is understood by looking at the schematic of the text, the schematic macro structure in the sentences: a) Mega mentions many things about politics, economy and the state, Mega also conveys political messages to President Jokowi (SMA/MSP/K1) as well as in the sentence: b) Alluding to the spirit of mental revolution, preparation for the commemoration of the Asian-African Conference which was initiated by his father. (SMA/MSP/D1/K2) c) Preparation for the commemoration of the Asian-African Conference which was initiated by his father. (SMA/D1/MSP/K9)

The schematic of the text of GN's speech about the event, which concerns the nationalists as a macro structure, 'The Main Enemy of the Unity of Indonesia' which alludes to bogus nationalists. The attitude of the party is biased through the characteristics of party figures in the schematic of political speech texts expressed idealism with the aim of being able to criticize political parties that are not in line, described in the following text: a) "When they play LOWER POLITICS, PSI cadres actually have to raise QUALITY Improve quality, learn more, improve the way of argument, get down to the basics continue the work of change, while continuing to dare to speak the truth!" (SMA/GN/D2/K4). GN also promotes gender equality which is expressed in the following sentence: b) We are not demanding that women be treated more. (SMA/GN/D2/K9). b) We don't want men to be inferior to women. NO! (SMA/GN/D2/K11). c) We just want all humans to be treated equally. (SMA/GN/D2/K13).

In general, the schematic that was carried out between MSP and GN, there were differences in the schematic of political speeches. MSP as party leader was more dominant in talking about politics, economics, and party history, as well as the greatness of the party. party officers who become party extensions. While the speech of the chairman of PSI GN, many political speeches criticized the social reality of the gender struggle, using sentences that tried to invite people to follow it. The ideology of gender equality or emancipation or gender equality as the attitude of the party.

### **c. Micro Structure**

#### **• Semantics**

Microstructural analysis on semantic emphasis on critical discourse analysis Van Dijk has meaning as interest, described data as well as discussions related to the semantic realm in MSP's political speech containing an emphasis on a) Mega touched on many things about politics, economics and the state, Mega also conveyed political messages to President

Jokowi. (SMiSe/MSP/D1/K1). b). Alluding to the spirit of mental revolution, the preparation for the commemoration of the Asian-African Conference which was initiated by his father. (SMiSe/MSP/D1/K2), c) Mega read the speech of the first President of the Republic of Indonesia Soekarno entitled 'I See Indonesia' which was also the theme of the PDIP congress (SMiSe/MSP/D1/K5)

Meanwhile, GN's speech emphasized on women's voices that were carried in his political speeches, such as: Emancipation, ideology or the Party's mission, both of which were attached to one. The party's attitude to fight for gender is expressed in the following gender equality clause: a) We are not demanding that women be treated more. (SMiSe/GN/D2/K1), b) We don't want men to be inferior to women. NO! (SMiSe/GN/D2/K3), c) We just want all human beings to be treated equally. (SMiSe/GN/D2/K4)

There is a difference in the message of meaning between the two top leaderships of political parties between MSP which emphasizes the existence of the party as the party that wins the election, all cadres are party officials. Meanwhile, GN emphasizes the message of gender equality and the struggle for women's emancipation.

- **Syntax**

Microstructure analysis focuses on syntactic order in sentence form and coherence in MSP's political speech using foreign terms. Here are some foreign terms used by MSP. a) With long experience while outside the government, one thing that keeps us going is the ideology of Pancasila on June 1, 1945. He acts as a leidstar or a guiding star when the Party faces various difficulties. ((D1/MSP/SMiSin/2. b) Leaders indeed have to carry out their constitutional obligations without calculating the consequences. Karmane Vadhikaraste Ma Phaleshu Kada Chana 'Do your duty without counting the consequences'. (D1/MSP/SMiSin/3) c) On the basis of the unity of ideology and the people, the Party re-established itself tooling, replacing old tools with new ones. That is nature that cannot be avoided.

Comparison of emphasis on sentence form by using personal pronouns that are specifically used for millennials such as the lexical 'Bro and Sis' so that the term is familiar to the younger generation as party sympathizers. The emphasis of the GN sentence can be seen in: a) "...low politics, ..elevating QUALITY, emphasis on daring to say the truth!" (SMiSint/GN/D2/K3), b) We are not demanding that women be treated more. (p4) b) We don't want men to be inferior to women. no! (SMiSint//GN/D2/K4), c) We just want all humans to be treated equally (SMiSint/GN/D2/K5). The emphasis of the word used by GN has the meaning of elevating the dignity of women. elevating QUALITY Improving quality, Hoax, NO, ENGINEERING OF OFFENSE, IDENTITY POLITICS, COMMUNITY POLITICS. terms Bro and Sis, drowning COMMON REASON, LOWER POLITICS, treated with inferior politics, elevating quality, Improving quality, daring to say the truth, We are not demanding that women be treated more, do not want men to be inferior to women. no!, humans are treated the same, engineer offence, strengthen identity politics, race politics.

- **Stylistic (What word choice is used?) Lexicon**

Diction is a choice of words combined with language style in speech that seeks to find aesthetic value. Diction which is associated with stylistic style is used as an expression that has an uplifting power for those who hear it. It is used in the following sentences: a) People which are manifested in the faces of farmers, teachers, fishermen, urban poor, laborers, or in short the people who are still entangled in a "vicious circle" poverty", namely the underprivileged people. (SMiSti/msp/D1/K6), b) ...The interests of those who become

“strangers” to control the nation's natural resources. (SMiSti/msp/D1/K7, c) The New Life Movement needs a Mental Revolution.. (SMiSti/msp/D1/K8

Diction that is used in a stylistic style as an expression that has the power to inspire those who hear is used, such as: party officers, wong cilik, stowaway passengers, mental revolution, red and white contracts, independence, ideological commitment, trisakti, ornaments of democracy, and deparpolization. The use of the term for PDI-P cadres can certainly be turbulent. However, for other people, it has a different meaning.

When compared with the diction associated with the stylistics used by GN, it can be seen in the sentences: a) “When they play low-level politics, PSI cadres actually have to raise their MUTU. Improve quality, learn more, improve their way of arguing, go down to bases, continue the work of change, while still daring to speak the truth!” (SMiSti/GN/D2/K3), b) We are not demanding that women be treated more. (p4) b) We don't want men to be inferior to women. no! (SMiSti/GN/D2/K4), c) We just want all humans to be treated equally (SMiSti/GN/D2/K5). The choice of words in the sentence used by GN is quite interesting and has a meaning that tries to lift women's dignity. positive party with reinforcing sentences such as the FOLLOWING WORDS: low politics, raising QUALITY Improving quality, Hoax, NO, INSTRUCTION ENGINEERING, IDENTITY POLITICS, COMMUNITY POLITICS. the terms Bro and Sis, drowning COMMON REASON, LOWER POLITICS, being treated Equally, emancipation, gender equality.

Stylistics in the choice of diction are used as expressions that have the power to inspire those who hear the following stylistic styles: the vicious circle of poverty, wong cilik, stowaway, Mental Revolution, Red and White Contracts, ideological commitment, ornaments of democracy, deparpolization, historical fire script, red-hot . The use of the term for PDI-P cadres can certainly be turbulent. And, the stylistics used by GN with the choice of diction use the terms Bro and Sis which is an acronym for Brother and sister using slang. Likewise, GN's attitude in trying to build ideological ideals is seen in the diction: low politics, elevating quality, Improving quality, daring to say the truth, We are not demanding that women be treated more, don't want men to be inferior to women.

- **Rhetoric**

Microstructural analysis that describes rhetorical language style as an expression using questions in speech aims to give a deep impression but also does not require answers from the MSP audience using rhetorical patterns, among others: a) ...if he really understands the history of his nation; understand who the people are? and understand where it came from? (SMiRet/MSP/D1/K31), b) ...What's all that for? When it is lazy, and let mental erosion continue to occur. (SMiRet/MSP/D1/K32), and c) ... it is important for every member of the political party to have revolutionary patience.” (SMiRet/MSP/D1/K40)

The form of metaphorical language style in the microstructure used by GN in rhetoric as a language style by using metaphor as an analogy that compares two things directly, in sentences: a) We are not demanding that women be treated more? (SMiRet/GN/D2/K3 (p4) b) We don't want men to be inferior to women. no! (SMiSti/GN/D2/K4), c) We just want all humans to be treated equally? (SMiSti/GN/D2/K5).

The form of metaphorical language style in the microstructure used by MSP is rhetorical in sentences such as: understanding the history of the nation?; understand who the people are, where do they come from? What's all that for? and allow mental gnawing to continue?, and have revolutionary patience? The sentence used by GN in the sentence above uses more of a rhetorical style in the microstructure of the sentence: the following We are not demanding that women be treated more? We don't want men to be inferior to women. no! We just want all humans to be treated the same? Surely we don't want our mother to be hurt? We

definitely don't want our older sister to be harassed. The difference between the two MSP speeches is more about the motivation to rise up, don't forget history, and have a revolutionary spirit and patience.

## V. Conclusion

Political parties led by women in the country certainly bring about various changes in the perspective of women, this is an illustration of women's struggles against gender which have been considered less significant. As an instrument to measure it are the many hopes of women's struggles through the chairmen of political parties, through political speeches as samples. Based on data from political speeches, political parties led by women have confirmed that they are able to voice gender voices as a form of concern for women. Based on the analysis of political speeches, it can be concluded: There are significant differences in the thematic structure between MSP and GN, the dominant theme of MSP's political speech is about the role of politics, economy, and party history, what stands out is that all cadres are considered party officers or party extensions. .

The micro structure in the schematic is compiled and assembled on economic studies, state politics, and political messages, the spirit of mental revolution, preparation for the commemoration of the Asian-African Conference, which was initiated by his father, with a political message about the existence of stowaway "to control the nation's natural resources. And the dark side of power. Meanwhile, GN's speech emphasized women such as: The emancipation of gender equality, the feelings of the party leader or the Party's mission, both of which are attached to one.

Stylistics in the choice of diction are used as expressions that have the power to inspire those who hear the following stylistic styles: the vicious circle of poverty, wong cilik, stowaway, Mental Revolution, Red and White Contracts, ideological commitment, ornaments of democracy, deparpolization, historical fire script, red-hot . The use of the term for PDI-P cadres can certainly be turbulent. However, for other people, it has a different meaning. While the diction used to highlight the stylistics used by GN can be seen in the diction: low politics, raising QUALITY, Improving quality, daring to say the truth, We are not demanding that women be treated more, we don't want men to be inferior to women. no!, humans are treated equally, ENGINEERING offence, Strengthening IDENTITY POLITICS, PERKAUMAN POLITICS, emancipation, gender equality. The form of metaphorical language style in the microstructure used by MSP is rhetorical in sentences such as: understanding the history of the nation?; understand who the people are, where do they come from? What's all that for? and allow mental gnawing to continue?, and have revolutionary patience? The sentence used by GN in the sentence above uses more of a rhetorical style in the microstructure of the sentence: the following We are not demanding that women be treated more? We don't want men to be inferior to women. no! We just want all humans to be treated the same? We definitely don't want our mother to be hurt? We definitely don't want our older sister to be harassed. The difference between the two MSP speeches is more about the motivation to rise up, don't forget history, and has a revolutionary spirit and patience. However, GN is a rhetorical sentence that is more dominant in fighting for the women's community and trying to equalize gender.



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