

Jurnal Scientia

Volume 13, Number 03, 2024, DOI 10.58471/ scientia.v13i03 ESSN 2723-7486 (Online)

https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

Critical Discourse Analysis On Women Politician During 2024 Election

Riduansyah¹, Nur'annafi Farni Syam Maella², Iwan Joko Prasetyo³

^{1,2,3}Universitas dr Soetomo

Article Info	ABSTRACT
Keywords:	This study conducts a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on the portrayal
data mining,	of women politicians during the 2024 election, examining how they are
ordering,	represented and the influence of these discourses on their political
a priori	participation and public perception. Through the literature review, it
	becomes evident that female politicians frequently encounter gender
	stereotypes and biases in media and public discourse. Using the CDA
	methodology, this study examines articles, interviews, and comments
	from prominent news outlets and social media platforms that discuss
	women politicians. The findings suggest a tendency to place greater
	emphasis on women's physical appearance, personality traits, and
	domestic responsibilities in comparison to men. Discussions of this nature
	have the potential to undermine the political prowess of women and
	hinder their participation in the political sphere. The study emphasizes the
	significance of fostering equitable and impartial conversations on female
	politicians. It advocates for the media and society to transcend gender
	stereotypes and promote more political participation of women.
This is an open access article	Corresponding Author:
under the CC BY-NC license	Nur'annafi Farni Syam Maella
	Universitas dr Soetomo
	nurannafi@unitomo.ac.id

INTRODUCTION

Globally, women's involvement in politics still raises major issues; Indonesia is not an exception[1], [2], [3], [4], [5]. Though effort of analyzing gender equality abound, men still predominate in Indonesia's political scene [2], [5], [6], [7]. The significant low presence of women in the 2024 election highlights the continuous gender inequality in Indonesian politics. The underrepresentation of women in political roles emphasizes the institutional challenges and social prejudices that stop women from entirely engaging in the political arena. Many times, different kinds of communication—including media coverage and public narratives—helps to reinforce and sustain these obstacles [8], [9], [10].

The current body of literature provides insight into the intricate obstacles faced by female politicians in Indonesia. Studies have uncovered that women frequently encounter gender-based prejudices and biases that raise uncertainty about their competence and leadership aptitude [4]. The media frequently prioritizes the physical appearance, personal affairs, and household responsibilities of individuals, rather than emphasizing their political accomplishments and abilities [11], [12], [13]. This erroneous depiction not only influences the public's perception, but also affects the political prospects available to women. Thoroughly analyzing these discourses is essential for understanding the underlying



https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

mechanisms that contribute to gender inequality in politics and for devising solutions to create a more inclusive political environment [14], [15].

The depiction of women politicians as vulnerable and susceptible to the influence of their male counterparts is a widespread narrative that undermines their ability to lead and make decisions. This stereotype implies that women may not possess the necessary strength and resilience to successfully navigate the intricate and sometimes challenging world of politics [16], [17]. These portrayals not only undermine the perceived competence of women politicians but also perpetuate the idea that political power is inherently masculine [18]. This bias is ingrained in societal norms that associate leadership with characteristics typically associated with men, like assertiveness, toughness, and emotional detachment. As a result, women who don't fit these expectations are often marginalized [19].

These portrayals are especially harmful in the context of Indonesian politics, considering the already limited representation of women in political positions. Media portrayals that depict women politicians as subordinate or dependent on their male colleagues perpetuate the perception that women are less capable leaders. This may result in a decrease in support from voters and political parties, which could further solidify the gender gap in political representation. In addition, these narratives have the potential to discourage women from pursuing political careers. They might internalize these stereotypes and question their own abilities to succeed in a field that is predominantly male.

Portraying women politicians as weak and easily influenced only reinforces the existing male dominance in politics. The portrayal of women in the media and other discourse platforms perpetuates a power dynamic that favors men and relegates women to peripheral roles. This has a significant impact on women politicians as well as broader implications for gender equality in governance. In order to combat these negative depictions, it is crucial to encourage stories that emphasize the strengths, accomplishments, and distinct viewpoints that women contribute to politics. This requires a collaborative approach from the media, civil society, and political institutions to question and transform the narrative surrounding women in politics, guaranteeing that women are depicted as competent, self-reliant, and successful leaders.

Literature Review

Indonesian Women Politician on News

Academic researchers have extensively studied the representation of Indonesian women politicians in the news, highlighting the larger issue of gender representation in media. Research consistently indicates that female politicians in Indonesia are frequently portrayed in a manner that reinforces traditional gender roles and stereotypes. A study conducted by Susilo et all reveals that media coverage often prioritizes women's personal lives, appearances, and familial roles over their political agendas, accomplishments, and professional capabilities [7]. This biased portrayal not only undermines their professional identity but also perpetuates societal perceptions that women are less suited for political leadership.

Additional research conducted by Bernarth reveals that news coverage often portrays women politicians in a manner that raises doubts about their legitimacy and competence. Headlines and articles frequently imply that women politicians are either overly emotional or



https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

lack the necessary decisiveness for effective governance. In stark contrast, the way their male counterparts are usually portrayed is as powerful, resolute, and competent leaders. Media depictions like these perpetuate a harmful narrative that undermines women in politics and reinforces the idea that political power is reserved for men. Bernarth study emphasizes the significance of media literacy and gender-sensitive reporting in addressing these deep-rooted biases[11].

In addition, studies conducted by Setiawan have revealed that the representation of women politicians in Indonesian media aligns with global patterns[20]. Unfortunately, women in politics are frequently subjected to gender-based scrutiny. Nevertheless, the cultural context of Indonesia amplifies these portrayals due to its distinct socio-political dynamics and patriarchal structures. Setiawan assert that the combination of gender and cultural expectations in Indonesia presents extra challenges for women politicians. They emphasize the importance of gaining a deeper understanding of how media portrayals and cultural expectations influence public opinions of women in politics. This body of literature highlights the urgent necessity for media reforms and advocacy to guarantee fairer and more respectful coverage of women politicians in Indonesia.

Women and Representation on Politics

Scholars have devoted a lot of their work to looking at women's political presence. There is a lot of research available that explores the several challenges and elements influencing women's political engagement on a worldwide level either in favor of or against. This literature pays great attention to how institutional and structural obstacles affect women's political careers. literature claim that major elements influencing women's political involvement in politics are socioeconomic elements, political party structures, and electoral systems [2], [21], [22]. For example, proportional representation systems have been demonstrated to be more favorable of women's political participation than majoritarian systems. Long-standing patriarchal rules that limit women's possibilities and hence support gender inequality in political representation aggravate these structural obstacles in the framework of Indonesia.

Furthermore crucial to take into account is how political culture and society perceptions affect women's political representation. Parawansa research clarifies how women's political involvement is affected by cultural beliefs toward gender roles [2]. Conventional wisdom regarding gender roles in many countries, including Indonesia, sometimes supports the idea that men are naturally leaders while women are expected to be caregivers. Sadly, this can set obstacles for women hoping for political professions. Furthermore as was already said, media representations of women politicians often mirror and support these cultural standards. In this cultural setting, women's leadership is sometimes underappreciated and their ambitions for political roles are routinely greeted with uncertainty or hostility.

The research also explores the vital influence of media on popular opinions of female politicians. Scheneider research emphasizes how greatly media coverage shapes either questioning or supporting gender stereotypes [23]. Normalizing women's participation in politics and confronting current gender stereotypes depend much on media portrayal. In this sense, a good and balanced representation might be really important. Conversely, showing women in a negative or biassed manner could reinforce preconceptions and weaken their political credibility. Studies on Indonesia, including those by Dewi and Siregar, have shown



https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

that the media regularly supports conventional gender roles, therefore reducing women's political representation. These results underline the need of using media reforms and embracing gender-sensitive journalistic approaches in order to create a political environment more inclusive and fair.

At last, the research also explores the techniques and treatments meant to raise women's political participation. Two often discussed tools are affirmative action rules and quotas. By establishing a fair and more egalitarian environment, Claims that gender quotas might significantly improve the representation of women in political posts. A gender quota has been implemented in Indonesia in an attempt to increase women's representation, however various elements have hampered its success including political party opposition and poor execution. Giving women capacity-building programs and leadership development will help them to negotiate the political field with effectiveness. These programs are absolutely essential for arming children with the confidence and abilities required. These techniques stress the need of approaching the complex issue of women's political representation holistically. Policy initiatives are then carried out with institutional and cultural changes.

Critical Discourse Analysis van Dijk and Methodology

The methodological section of this research employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as developed by renowned discourse studies expert Teun van Dijk. Van Dijk's method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is well-suited for analyzing the complex interplay between language, power, and ideology in media portrayals of female politicians [24], [25], [26], [27]. The framework emphasizes the need of looking at the textual and contextual elements of communication so that one may fully understand how media stories are created and their wider social effects are shaped. The usage of van Dijk's methodology is investigated in this paper to investigate women political representation in the Indonesian 2024 election. It particularly examines how these representations could either support or subvert gender roles and power relationships.

Three primary elements make up Van Dijk's CDA framework: social activities, discursive practices, and text analysis. Text analysis is a close study of media text language including word choice, metaphorical devices, and rhetorical devices. This study examines a collection of news articles, television interviews, and social media posts in order to identify patterns and similarities in the portrayal of female politicians. Special emphasis is placed on how these works depict women's physical attributes, emotions, abilities, and approach to leadership. Through a systematic examination of these elements, the research aims to uncover the underlying signals, both implicit and explicit, regarding women's involvement in politics.

Discursive practices encompass the various steps involved in the creation, dissemination, and consumption of media texts. Van Dijk highlights the significant influence that media institutions and reporters have on shaping public opinion. This research examines the editorial rules, journalistic practices, and institutional biases that shape the portrayal of women politicians in the Indonesian media. Media experts and journalists' interviews contribute to offering perceptive analysis of the decision-making processes that influence the portrayal of female politicians. This section of the study provides a perceptive analysis of how textual results are placed in context and the understanding of power dynamics inside media companies.



https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

In the end, the more general society and cultural settings in which discourses are ingrained shapes social activities. Van Dijk's method highlights how closely social systems including gender relations and political power interact with media discourses. The study considers cultural standards, historical background, and present political dynamics to sit its conclusions in the larger framework of Indonesian society. By means of micro-level textual analysis and macro-level knowledge of social practices, this study aims to present a whole picture of the influence of media representations of women politicians in forming public opinions and so addressing gender inequalities in Indonesian politics. This exhaustive methodological approach ensures that the study not only reveals biassed representations but also looks at their consequences and viable routes for transformation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Women and Domestic Worker Right's Issue

Some of the urgent issue among women in the election are about Domestic Worker Right' issue. The author choose article from Antaranews, official Indonesian governmental news agency at link: https://en.antaranews.com/news/305865/komnas-perempuan-urges-candidates-to-champion-domestic-worker-rights.

In van Dijk's concept, text analysis is a comprehensive study of the language and structure of the work. Reflecting the seriousness of the topic under discussion, the formal and authoritative language used in this article Key words that underline the seriousness and relevance of the problem—giving domestic workers' difficulties top priority, therefore supporting the deliberations and approval of the Domestic Workers' Protection Bill—as well as conveying hope and motivating legislators. Consistent with a strong feeling of advocacy and a call to action, the essay regularly uses verbs like "urges," "calls on," and "expressed hope." Including straight quotes from Komnas Perempuan emphasizes their authoritative viewpoint and strengthens the validity of their remarks. Furthermore included are certain dates and statistics, such as "February 15," "2024 General Elections," and "204.8 million voters," which underlines the relevance of the problem inside the political chronology and helps to set a distinct background.

Discursive practices are the several phases needed in producing, distributing, and reading written works. Renowned Indonesian news agency ANTARA is author of this piece, which shows its institutional power and extensive coverage. Komnas Perempuan's selection as the main source shows the editorial team's aim to stress domestic workers' rights and gender problems. By use of a mainstream news medium, this story guarantees a broad audience including legislators, voters, and advocacy groups, therefore ensuring its reach. The choice to publish the paper before the General Elections 2024 and the National Domestic Workers' Day shows a deliberate attempt to guarantee its highest impact. Presenting the quotes using a webinar implies a conscious endeavor to interact with internet platforms and increase the reach to a larger, maybe more interested audience.

Larger society and cultural settings in which social practices occur shapes them. In this sense, the paper covers and analyzes current social concerns including political activism in



https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

Indonesia, labor rights, and gender inequality. The focus paid to domestic workers—a sometimes disregarded and at-risk group—highlights the link between gender and labor rights. Komnas Perempuan's support of the Domestic Workers' Protection Bill (PPRT Bill) is in line with more general campaigns to solve the systematic issues of exploitation and insufficient legal protection for domestic workers. The paper positions this lobbying in relation to the approaching general elections, suggesting a pivotal moment for prospective legislative change. This shows the deliberate use of political cycles to support programs aiming at social fairness. Furthermore underlined by the emphasis on the need of legislative action and the likely consequences of inaction ("beginning anew to propose the PPRT Bill") are the challenges in applying policy changes in a complex political environment.

Using van Dijk's CDA framework, one finds the complex interactions among language, structure, production, distribution, and the larger social context that help to define the meaning and influence of this piece. Apart from giving readers knowledge about Komnas Perempuan's advocacy activities, the paper puts these initiatives in a significant political framework so as to influence public opinion and motivate government action. This study underlines the great influence of media discourse in forming and reflecting society issues as well as the vital part strategic communication plays in advocacy campaigns.

Opportunity of Women Representation on Election

Some of the urgent issue among women in the election are about representation on the parliament. The author choose article from Antaranews, official Indonesian governmental news agency at link: https://en.antaranews.com/news/304527/general-elections-anopportunity-to-optimize-womens-representation.

Text analysis calls for close study of the text's language and structural devices. The paper uses formal language and quotes and statistics to highlight the problem of women's political representation. Emphasizing the urgent need and relevance of increasing women's participation in politics, phrases like "efforts to support women's representation," "the most obvious example of the lack of women's political empowerment," and "golden opportunity for people, especially women, to accelerate the achievement" stress The debate has a strong basis thanks in great part to statistics from the Global Gender Gap Index and particular numbers like "20.5 percent" and "30 percent," therefore giving the case credibility and importance. Direct quotes from reputable sources, including Titi Anggraini and lip Ilham Firman, give the article's message more authority. Furthermore, the debate of digital campaigns and the value of social media and information technology points to a modern way of campaigning.

Discursive practices encompass the various processes involved in creating, disseminating, and interpreting written materials. The study, which is published by the respectable Indonesian news agency ANTARA, highlights the significant level of institutional power and legitimacy. The selection of sources, namely the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem), demonstrates the agency's deliberate choice to prioritize gender issues and political representation in its editorial decision-making. The dissemination of this item by the mainstream news outlet guarantees its visibility among legislators, voters, advocacy groups, and other individuals. Prior to the 2024 General Elections, the timing of the article implies a



https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

deliberate effort to sway public sentiment and motivate engagement during a crucial political phase. The essay provides readers with a comprehensive study of the challenges and opportunities for women's political participation, aiming to enhance their understanding and motivation. The analysis is conducted in a fair and unbiased manner.

The social practices are influenced by the broader societal and cultural contexts in which they take place. The article addresses current socioeconomic issues, such as political empowerment, gender inequality, and the patriarchal nature of Indonesian society. As part of broader initiatives to address gender inequalities in political representation, there is a specific focus on the inadequate representation of women in parliament, with a goal of achieving a thirty percent target. The study emphasizes the importance of societal assistance in addressing structural barriers that hinder women's political empowerment, such as gender inequity and a patriarchal society, and sheds light on these barriers themselves. Political parties and society should align themselves with the cause of women's representation as it aligns with global movements advocating for political empowerment and gender equality. The discussion surrounding digital campaigns and the use of technology emphasizes the changing methods of political engagement and advocacy in the digital age.

By employing van Dijk's CDA framework, one may observe the intricate interplay between language, structure, production, dissemination, and the social context, which collectively shape its meaning and impact. The article provides an overview of the current state of women's political engagement in Indonesia and highlights the significance of the upcoming general elections as a potential catalyst for change. This study emphasizes the significant role that media discourse has in both reflecting and shaping societal concerns, therefore emphasizing the necessity of strategic communication in campaigns. The paper seeks to generate support for women's political representation by providing factual information, authoritative viewpoints, and a call to action. This aligns with the broader objective of achieving gender equality in politics.

A view from Executive Branch Government

Published by ANTARA, the article titled "Ministry supports women's representation in parliament" emphasizes the proactive steps taken by Indonesia's Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection to improve women's representation in parliament before the 2024 General Elections. Examining many elements such the social context, discourse structure, themes, discourse strategies, social cognition, and power relations may help one to do a thorough investigation of this article utilizing Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) paradigm.

The paper is set in the framework of a global campaign for women's empowerment and gender equality. Particularly considering the approaching General Elections in 2024, this endeavor is quite important for Indonesia. Leading initiatives to raise women's representation in parliament, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection is in line with a larger society movement for inclusivity and gender equality in political representation. This background highlights the continuous difficulty of reaching gender equality in political institutions, an issue the paper seeks to address by stressing the efforts of the Ministry.

The article's organization is deliberately designed to transmit its point of view. The headline, "Ministry supports women's representation in parliament," succinctly expresses the



https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

main point of emphasis of the story and so tells readers of the government's supporting attitude. The introduction builds on this by noting the growing dissemination of knowledge to support women's representation and so establishing the groundwork for the later thorough analysis of the programs.

The paper goes into great length on several facets, including the digital campaign, cooperation with other ministries, and statistics targets for women's representation. Citations to well-known people like Minister Bintang Puspayoga and lip Ilham Firman provide the projects under discussion legitimacy and power. The ending offers relevant information about the voting process and voter involvement, therefore positioning these initiatives in the wider framework of the next elections.

The paper emphasizes the need of women's participation in politics as a major turning point in the road toward female equality. Sub-themes include the use of digital campaigns, cooperation across ministries, and establishing particular objectives for raising women's House of Representative (DPR) representation. The paper underlines the need of acting right away and keeping continuous efforts to reach these objectives, therefore stressing the still existing challenges in increasing women's political engagement.

The paper supports its point of view by means of several discourse techniques. The emphasis is on the notable efforts being undertaken and the vital part digital campaigns play in advancing women's representation. While the use of exact figures (for example, the climb from 20% in 2019 to a goal of 22.5% by 2024) offers tangible benchmarks that illustrate advancements and define different objectives, quotes from esteemed people such as lip Ilham Firman give credibility to the narrative.

Seeking to bring public support for the project, the campaign slogan #2024dukungketerwakilanperempuandiparlemen

(#2024supportwomensrepresentationinparliament) is a potent rallying cry. It is important to note that the paper ignores any possible resistance or particular difficulties, so offering a more skewed view of the work and difficulties involved.

From a social cognition standpoint, the paper offers a point of view emphasizing the rise in women's representation as a beneficial and required first step toward reaching gender equality. Emphasizing the need of digital campaigns and government cooperation, the story seeks to mobilize public support for the project. Clearly, the core philosophy is on advancing female emancipation and equality. By stressing government initiatives to reach gender parity and supporting more women's political involvement, the paper supports feminist values.

Regarding power dynamics, through these initiatives the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, together with other cooperating government agencies, significantly shapes public opinion and policy. By supporting more female participation, the project aims to challenge the conventional male-dominated political structures and thereby change the power relations in the political arena.

Applying Van Dijk's CDA framework helps one to see that the essay seeks to support and validate projects aiming at increasing the presence of women in Indonesian politics. Using several discourse techniques highlights the importance and urgency of these activities by putting them in the broader perspective of the approaching elections and the government's commitment to gender equality. The study exposes a strong conviction in advancing women's



https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

equality and empowering them as well as the intricate power relations needed to reach these goals. This critical dialogue analysis presents a complex view of the article's contribution to the Indonesian story of women's political emancipation.

CONCLUSIONS

At some point the examination of the ANTARA news article using Van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework uncovers the complex methods through which discourse can mold public perception and impact social transformation. Their choices in which stories to emphasizerategies to emphasize the significance of women's representation in parliament, positioning it as a vital milestone in achieving gender equality. Through the Ministry's dedicated efforts and close collaboration with other governmental bodies, the narrative effectively informs and mobilizes public support for this cause. This discussion advocates for a progressive ideology that questions the historically male-dominated political sphere, striving for a more inclusive and representative democratic system. This analysis expands our knowledge of how media discourse can be used to promote social advocacy and drive policy change. Van Dijk's framework provides valuable insights into the way power dynamics and social perceptions shape the interpretation and response to textual information. It showcases how media can not only mirror societal values but also actively influence them by promoting specific ideologies and narratives. This case study emphasizes the significance of critical discourse analysis in studying the impact of media on social and political processes. It highlights the importance of this analysis in the ongoing fight for gender equality in political representation. In addition, it highlights the important role that media outlets and journalists play in shaping public discourse. Their choices in which stories to emphasize and how to present them can have a significant impact on societal change, influencing the collective mindset and driving policy agendas.

REFERENCE

- [1] D. J. Heith, "Reaching women: Soft media in the 2004 presidential election," *J Women Polit Policy*, 2010, doi: 10.1080/15544770903501392.
- [2] K. I. Parawansa, "Enhancing Women's Political Participation in Indonesia," *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*, 2005.
- [3] U. O. Retnaningsih, "Indonesian educated unmarried career women: Gender inequality, discrimination, and prejudices," *Asian Women*, 2013.
- [4] D. Susilo and R. Sugihartati, "Being power and powerless: Dynamics on Indonesian women's minister," *Humanities and Social Sciences Reviews*, 2019, doi: 10.18510/hssr.2019.7564.
- [5] F. Mackay, "'Thick' conceptions of substantive representation: Women, gender and political institutions," *Representation*, 2008, doi: 10.1080/00344890802079607.
- [6] B. Metcalf, "Islam and women. The case of the tablighi jama'at," *SEHR*, vol. 5, no. 1, p. 7, 1996.
- [7] D. Susilo, R. Sugihartati, and D. A. Arimbi, "Indonesian Women in Politics: Critical Analysis of Portrayal in Online News Sites," *Jurnal ILMU KOMUNIKASI*, 2019, doi: 10.24002/jik.v16i2.1477.



Jurnal Scientia

Volume 13, Number 03, 2024, DOI 10.58471/ scientia.v13i03 ESSN 2723-7486 (Online)

https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

- [8] A. Fuadi, "Social media power for protest in Indonesia: The Yogyakarta's #gejayanmemanggil case study," *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi*, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 541, Nov. 2020, doi: 10.25139/jsk.v4i3.2438.
- [9] T. Putranto, B. Suyanto, S. Ariadi, and R. Santos, "The discourse of men's facial care products in Instagram from the Foucauldian perspective," *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 37–57, 2021.
- [10] M. F. S. Ananda, A. R. Nugraha, and S. Sumartias, "Analisis framing pemberitaan korupsi massal di media online detik.com," *Jurnal Studi Komunikasi (Indonesian Journal of Communications Studies)*, vol. 3, no. 2, p. 253, 2019, doi: 10.25139/jsk.v3i2.1464.
- [11] E. Bernath, "Women, Education and the Material Body Politic in Mary Wollstonecraft's 'Vindications'.," *Forum on Public Policy Online*, 2016.
- [12] N. Üstündağ, "Mother, Politician, and Guerilla: The Emergence of a New Political Imagination in Kurdistan through Women's Bodies and Speech," *Differences*, 2019, doi: 10.1215/10407391-7736077.
- [13] I. Clots-Figueras, "Women in politics. Evidence from the Indian States," *J Public Econ*, 2011, doi: 10.1016/j.jpubeco.2010.11.017.
- [14] D. Wilson, "Exploring the working life of a female politician," *Women in Management Review*, 2003, doi: 10.1108/09649420310507479.
- [15] M. Fernando, "Exceptional citizens: Secular muslim women and the politics of difference in france," *Social Anthropology*, 2009, doi: 10.1111/j.1469-8676.2009.00081.x.
- [16] C. O'Leary, "Counteridentification or counterhegemony? Transforming feminist standpoint theory," *Women Polit*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 45–72, 1998.
- [17] G. Tuchman, "The symbolic annihilation of women by the mass media," in *Culture and Politics:* A *Reader*, 2016. doi: 10.1007/978-1-349-62397-6.
- [18] T.-A. Johnson-Myers, "Negative Media Frames and Female Politicians: A Case Study of Jamaica's First Female Prime Minister, Portia Simpson-Miller," *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, 2019, doi: 10.1093/sp/jxz043.
- [19] V. Chikaipa, "Caring Mother or Weak Politician? A Semiotic Analysis of Editorial Cartoon Representations of President Joyce Banda in Malawian Newspapers," *Crit Arts*, 2019, doi: 10.1080/02560046.2019.1655583.
- [20] A. R. Setiawan, "Puan Maharani: A Women's Representative in the Politics of Indonesia," 2019.
- [21] A. Ananta, E. N. Arifin, L. Suryadinata, M. Oey-Gardiner, and P. Gardiner, "Indonesian electoral behaviour: a statistical perspective," *Bull Indones Econ Stud*, 2005.
- [22] R. R. Bhavnani and F. R. Jensenius, "Voting for development? Ruling coalitions and literacy in India," *Elect Stud*, vol. 62, p. 102069, 2019, doi: 10.1016/j.electstud.2019.102069.
- [23] M. C. Schneider and A. L. Bos, "Measuring stereotypes of female politicians," *Polit Psychol*, 2014, doi: 10.1111/pops.12040.
- [24] D. Susilo, *Analisis wacana kritis van dijk: sebuah model dan tinjauan kritis pada media daring.* Surabaya: Unitomo Press, 2021.



Jurnal Scientia

Volume 13, Number 03, 2024, DOI 10.58471/ scientia.v13i03 ESSN 2723-7486 (Online)

https://infor.seaninstitute.org/index.php/pendidikan

- [25] E. Irianti and T. Adesari, "Representasi Perempuan dalam Persfektif Gender (Analisa Wcana Kritis Van Dijk Pada Pemberitaan Kasus Hoaks Ratna S, Paet dalam Media Massa Republik dan Kompas. com," *JOURNAL OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNICATION (JSC)*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2020.
- [26] T. A. van Dijk, "Ideology and discourse analysis," *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 2006, doi: 10.1080/13569310600687908.
- [27] T. Van Dijk, "Principles of critical discourse analysis," *Discourse & Society*, 1993, doi: 10.1177/0957926593004002006.