

How Are Woman Portrayed in Kompas Daily Opinion's Based on Sara Mils' Critical Discourse Analysis?

Iswadi Bahardur^{1*}, Putri Dian Afrinda², Delpa²

¹Universitas PGRI Sumatera Barat, Padang, Indonesia

²Universitas Perintis Indonesia, Padang, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This research is motivated by the problem of gender inequality issues in women's lives that are still often reported by the mass media. Among the mass media that reported this was the daily newspaper *Kompas*, especially in an opinion piece entitled *Perempuan dan Mimpinya* published on June 6, 2024. Based on the background of the problem depicted in the *Women and Their Dreams* (*Perempuan dan Mimpinya*) opinion, the purpose of writing this article is to describe how women are viewed by the mass media and their relationship to the current social reality of society. The collection of research data was carried out using reading techniques, including the steps of reading carefully and repeatedly the opinions that were the source of research data, marking vocabulary, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs that were in accordance with the criteria of the research problem, recording and inventorying them in an inventory table. The data was analyzed using an interactive method to reveal the position of women behind the text *Women and Their Dreams* (*Perempuan dan Mimpinya*) and its relationship to the current social reality of society. Analysis of the research data shows three things. First, the position of the subject in the discourse of the *Perempuan dan Mimpinya* opinion is occupied by the author who acts as the storyteller, while the position of the object is occupied by women. Second, the author tries to direct the reader to become the actor of the story by presenting a pseudo reality and cultural code in the text that seems to be the reality in the reader's real life. Third, the meaning of the entire discourse of opinion on *Women and Their Dreams* shows that in the domestic and public spaces women are still not fully able to become a gender group that is equal to the masculine gender group.

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1. Introduction

Can the language in mass media direct readers' opinions to form a recognition that one gender group is more powerful than another group? This question is very interesting to discuss because currently, many

¹Corresponding author:

Email addresses: iswadi70bahardur70@gmail.com (Iswadi Bahardur)

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mass media publish news that contains gender-biased information (Rahmatillah et al., 2023:83). The tendency for gender-biased journalistic content can be exemplified by reporting in the mass media which more often exploits reporting on women as victims of harassment cases, but this is not the case with reporting on men (Purbaningrum et al., 2023:167). Reporting on the exploitation of women like this indirectly causes the emergence of stereotypes that the feminine gender group is a gender group that is easily victimized, while the masculine gender is not. The manifestation of these stereotypes is the giving of certain labels that demean the feminine gender and place it under the superiority of the masculine gender. Examples of mass media language that is very gender-biased include the use of diction, phrases, or sentences that exploit women as objects of female sexuality and associate them as a gender group that has limited public access (Adinda et al., 2024). This fact seems to confirm that information content in mass media, both print and electronic, is currently a means used by various parties to show significant differences in terms of ability or strength between men and women.

An example that is relevant to this explanation is a criminal case involving women. In reporting on the case of a female police officer who burned her husband in Mojokerto district, for example, various reports in newspapers massively framed the information about the female perpetrator of the arson using negative sentences. The sentences in the news in the mass media seem to want to lead public opinion into assumptions about women as emotional humans and more cruel than men (Tempo.co 11 June 2024). The choice of vocabulary such as emotional, crazy, mental disorder, and irrational used in news texts indirectly benefits the masculine gender position – implying that the masculine gender involved in this case is completely a victim of the illogical mindset of the feminine gender.

It cannot be denied that mass media is a means of conveying various information that society needs (Abhiyasa et al., 2024). With its diverse journalistic content, mass media is currently the largest source of information and can reach various regions en masse in disseminating various information (Prayogi et al., 2023). Currently, the delivery of information by the media to the public is getting easier because it is supported by high-speed internet networks (Santoso, 2021). However, without realizing it, the mass media also plays a big role in perpetuating the domination of certain powers. There are many methods used by the mass media to maintain certain powers, for example, news framing, information control, and the formation of political identities. Support for a particular power ideology will be formed through news framing carried out by journalists by highlighting certain aspects according to reality to influence public opinion, depending on existing political interests (Rahman, 2023). Through framing, for example, readers' opinions will automatically be formed to support or reject an ideology of power (Rafiee et al., 2023). How readers' opinions are formed is also influenced by the success of the media in directing readers to choose certain news and directing how readers react to it (Abiodun & Nwaoboli, 2023). Defense against the ideology of power can also be realized through presenting news that is in line with the existing ideology of power so that the mass media can form strong and supportive political views from the public. Likewise, if the goal of a media is to maintain the power of one dominant gender group, then the language used in that media often has a gender bias.

Gender bias through language in mass media will become more apparent if there is the use of certain keywords related to one gender group (Van Der Pas & Aaldering, 2020). For example, the use of the words baby sitter and nurse indirectly associates activities or job characteristics that are identical to the feminine gender group only. Gender bias in reporting will also become increasingly visible in news in the mass media that contains stories about women but prioritizes their status. For example, news that displays news about women, but places more emphasis on their weak figure, their physical appearance which is considered weak, their marital status, or their status as mothers of children, not on their achievements in the public sphere (Robaeti & Hamdani, 2023:68 ; Furqany & Kholil, 2023). News framing can also show how gender bias occurs in the mass media – reporting on sexual violence often focuses on the victim's behavior or questions the authenticity of the reporting, rather than focusing reporting on the perpetrator's motives and the systemic factors that caused the violence.

Efforts to dismantle the practices of power that are exercised through language in the mass media can primarily be done through critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis aims to analyze the relationship between language and certain ideologies and power hidden behind the text (Ahmadi F & Mahardika, 2019 ; Silaswati, 2019:16). Through critical discourse analysis, it is hoped that the ideological practices of power hidden behind the text can be revealed. In the context of everyday life, critical discourse

analysis is also often used to build power, disseminate new knowledge, and even for the benefit of normalizing power hegemony (Ghofur, 2016:180). Apart from dismantling the practice of social ideologies of power, critical discourse analysis can also be applied to dismantling the practice of unequal gender relations between the masculine gender and the feminine gender through language in texts. One expert who focuses on this problem is Sara Mills. Sara Mills analyzes discourse from a feminist perspective which focuses on the depiction of women in a text. The depiction of women through text is expressed by Sara Mills through two methods. First, analyze the subject-object position, how the event is seen from the perspective of who the event is seen, who is positioned as the storyteller (subject) and who is the object being told. Second, analyze the position of writer-reader or writer-audience; how the position of the reader or viewer is displayed in the text, and how the reader or viewer determines their position in the text displayed (Lubis, 2023:56). Thus, it can be concluded that critical discourse analysis is an effort to reveal what the author wants to convey to the reader.

Among the mass media journalistic content that is worthy of study using critical discourse analysis from Sara Mills' perspective are the opinions published in the Kompas newspaper. In the June 6 2024 edition of the *Kompas* newspaper, an article was published on page 6 with the title *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)*. Overall, this article examines the role of women in public spaces. This article is very interesting to study using critical discourse analysis because the author tries to lead readers' views about the inability of women to compete with men in terms of work and leadership in the public sphere. This gender bias discourse is illustrated through the choice of (Mills, 1995) vocabulary and sentences that convey the meaning that women are very weak and do not have superior abilities to men. The gender bias ideas conveyed by the author in this opinion are very relevant to research using critical discourse studies with a gender perspective. Among the critical discourse theories that can be used in researching the text *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)* is the feminist stylistic theory put forward by Sara Mills. Critical discourse analysis using Sara Mills' approach focuses its study on the issue of gender inequality presented in the media. In his book entitled *Feminist Stylistics* (Mills, 1995). Mills has suggested that there is a relationship between language in the media and the position of women. Through language in the mass media, actors who control ideas in the text are displayed through the choice of subject-object positions and active-passive sentences. By choosing this position, you can see who the subject of the story is (Mills, 1995:9). According to Mills, the reader's position in the text can be known from two things that the author expresses in the text. Firstly through the hierarchy of truth raised in a discourse and secondly through cultural codes. The truth contained in the text allows readers to place themselves in the characters and the situations the characters face. Furthermore, cultural codes direct readers' moral values when interpreting a text (Mills, 1995:8-10).

Before this research was conducted, critical discourse analysis with the perspective of Sara Mills' thinking had been applied by other researchers. These researchers, including (Asheva & Tasyarasita, 2022), studied the case of a female criminal in a news text entitled *Perempuan Indonesia Mengirim Sate Beracun ke Mantan Pacarnya Malah Berakhir Membunuh Anak Laki-laki Pengantar Sate (Indonesian Woman Sends Poisoned Satay to Her Ex-Boyfriend but Ends Up Killing the Boy Delivering the Sate)*. The news was published on *asiaone.com* media on May 4, 2021. Data analysis shows that the subject position in the news text mostly uses noun phrases to refer to the perpetrator, while for the object position, the criminal perpetrator in the news named Nani is positioned by the news writer as an object. Furthermore, the results of the ideological analysis contained in the news show that the author does not tend to marginalize or defend women.

Wibawani & Anwar (2023) have also conducted critical discourse analysis research on the issue of women's representation in the short film entitled *Demi Nama Baik Kampus (For the Good Name of the Campus)*. The research results show that the subject position in the film is occupied by a female character named Sinta, the object position is the Chancellor and Mr. Arie, while the reader's position is directed to position themselves from Sinta's point of view as a victim of sexual harassment. Another critical discourse analysis research using Sara Mills' perspective was conducted by (Midle Line Krismonsari & Prihadi, 2024). The research was conducted to see the representation of women in news about sexual violence in the digital newspaper *Kompas.com*. The research results show that the subjects are journalists and the objects in the news are women. Women who experience sexual violence are positioned as objects. Other researchers, namely (Sariasih et al., 2023) have examined the short story entitled *Sepasang Mata Dinaya yang Terpenjara (A Pair of Dinaya's Imprisoned Eyes)* with the perspective of critical discourse analysis by Sara Mills. The object of this research is Diyana's position as a girl as told by the author. The results of this research show that story

characters who are positioned as objects by the author are more likely to take their conditions for granted. Meanwhile, the subject position held by the author guides the reader as the party who accepts the author's ideas and sympathizes with the object.

Rafiq's latest research (2019) has also conducted critical discourse analysis research using the Sara Mills model regarding the figure of Minister Susi in reporting on the sinking of a ship in Indonesian waters. Data sources were obtained from the five most popular online news portals, namely *Detik.com*, *Kompas.com*, *Okezone.com*, *Tribunnews.com*, and *Republika.co.id*. The results of this research show that the subject position is the news writer and the object is Minister Susi, while the reader position is the insertion of cultural codes. Based on a critical analysis of news about Minister Susi in the five media, it is also known that online news sites that provide a positive picture are *Detik.com*, *Kompas.com*, and *Okezone.com*. In contrast, online news sites that report neutrally are *Tribunnews.com* and *Republika.co.id* (Rafiq, 2019)

Compared with the five previous studies, this research is different in terms of data sources and aspects of the problems analyzed. In general, the six previous studies only focused on the subject-object position and the writer-reader or audience-writer position. In contrast to this, this research not only examines news texts from the subject-object position and writer-reader position but also analyzes the relationship of the text to the social context and reconstructs the meaning of the text based on the research results. analysis that has been carried out. Based on these reasons, the article resulting from this research aims to examine two things, namely, a) the reality of the text or pseudo-reality through analysis of the subject-object position and the author-reader position in the text; and b) cultural codes about gender ideology hidden behind the language of the text *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)*.

2. Method

This study uses a descriptive qualitative method with a critical paradigm to reveal how women are depicted in the opinions of the daily newspaper Kompas. The source of the research data is an opinion piece entitled *Perempuan dan Mimpinya* published in the Kompas daily newspaper column on Thursday, June 6, 2024, on page 6. The opinion piece entitled *Perempuan dan Mimpinya* consists of 10 paragraphs, 21 sentences, and 345 words. The depiction of women in the opinion piece entitled *Perempuan dan Mimpinya* is studied using Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis theory. Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis has two basic concepts, namely the subject-object position and the audience/reader position in the text (Erantika & Asnawi, 2021). The subject-object position attempts to see who is the subject of the story and who is the object of the story. Furthermore, a critical analysis of the reader's position in the text is carried out to see how the reader positions himself in the story of the text. This research was carried out with a library nature, conducted in a room, not field research. The research data are words, phrases, and sentences in the opinion piece entitled *Women and Their Dreams* which describe how women are viewed from the perspective of gender equality issues which are the theme of the opinion piece. The meaning of the depiction of women is obtained by first analyzing the subject-object position and the writer-reader position contained in the text.

Data collection was carried out using a note-taking technique through the following procedures: (1) the researcher read all the words, sentences, and paragraphs in the opinion piece titled *Women and Their Dreams* published in the Kompas daily newspaper on June 6, 2024; (2) the researcher marked each part of the word, phrase, sentence, or paragraph in the opinion piece that shows the depiction of the subject-object position, the reader-writer position, and the meaning it produces about the position of women in the issue of gender equality issues; (3) the researcher conducted an inventory and selection of data in accordance with the problems studied in the research; (4) the researcher classified the data; and (5) the researcher analyzed the data and drew conclusions about the depiction of the position of women in the discourse on *Women and Their Dreams*. The validity of the research data was carried out using the theory triangulation technique, namely checking the degree of validity of the data using theories that are relevant to the problems studied by the researcher. After the data was collected, an analysis of the positions of the subject, object, writer, and reader was carried out to see how women are positioned in discourse in the mass media. Furthermore, the results of the analysis were connected to the position of women in the midst of the social reality of society through the interpretation of pseudo-reality and cultural codes presented by the author in vocabulary, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs. Finally, the results of the analysis of these points were reinterpreted according to Sara Mills' critical discourse theory in order to see how women are positioned in gender relations with the masculine gender. By using Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis theory, research on the depiction

of women in the opinions of *Perempuan dan Mimpinya* can reveal and analyze how these opinions reflect, influence, and encourage changes in the views and perceptions of women in society.

3. Result

3.1. Research Results

On June 6 2024, the opinion section of the daily *Kompas* newspaper published an editorial entitled *Perempuan dan Mimpinya* (*Women and Her Dreams*). Based on the title, diction and sentences in each paragraph, it can be seen what the author's attitudes and thoughts are towards women. In terms of structure, the discourse on *Perempuan dan Mimpinya* (*Women and Her Dreams*) consists of ten paragraphs. To uncover the ideology hidden behind the discourse, it will be done by first analyzing a) the subject-object position; b) writer-reader position. Analysis of these two things will then be connected to a) reality in the text or pseudo reality; and b) cultural codes. The effort to connect these things aims to uncover the ideology of power that is hidden behind the discourse on *Perempuan dan Mimpinya* (*Women and Her Dreams*).

Subject-object position

The subject-object position referred to in this case is who is the storyteller (subject) and who is being told (object). Based on the sentence structure contained in the discourse on *Women and their Dreams*, it can be seen that the party who acts as the subject or story teller is the author. From the first paragraph to the last paragraph the author is always in control as a storyteller. As a subject, the author shows his impartiality towards women. This is proven by the use of pronouns in each sentence. Based on the sentence structure in each paragraph, the author conveys his ideas about women without using the pronouns "*she*" or *they*, but directly uses the word "*perempuan*" (women). This can be seen in the quote, "*Di era kesetaraan gender, ternyata tidak banyak pemimpin perempuan*" (*In the era of gender equality, it turns out there are not many female leaders*).

This sentence contains the author's thoughts about the existence of women in the era he calls the era of gender equality. In this sentence the author acts as the party who tells about the lack of quantity and contribution of women as leaders. In this sentence it is also illustrated that the author deliberately shows an attitude as if he is evaluating women neutrally. This neutral attitude can be seen from the use of the expression "*di era kesetaraan gender*" (*in the era of gender equality*). This sentence shows the meaning that when the editorial was written, the author emphasized a period of equality in terms of treatment between the masculine gender and the feminine gender. This also means that the author seems to want to emphasize that in the era of gender equality, treatment of women and men is the same. Equal treatment includes the opportunity and right to become a leader. However, in the continuation of this sentence, the author as the subject of the story actually displays negative facts about women. The author states that when the era of gender equality was implemented, in fact there were still not many female leaders. The phrase "*pemimpin perempuan tidak banyak*" (*there are not many female leaders*) is contradictory and not equivalent to the phrase "*di era kesetaraan gender*" (*in the era of gender equality*). The resulting meaning is that women are a gender group that still cannot equal their abilities with men, even though they are in an era where women's rights are equal to men's.

The position of women which shows the subjective objectification of language by the author is more clearly found in the second sentence of the first paragraph. In the second sentence, the author uses the diction "*terbelenggu*" (*shackled*) and "*bias gender*" (*gender bias*), as well as the phrase "*kurangnya dukungan*" (*lack of support*) to express his ideas about women in the era of gender equality. The second sentence is "*perempuan terbelenggu oleh bias gender dan kurangnya dukungan*" (*women are shackled by gender bias and lack of support*). Viewed from the subject-object position, this second sentence still positions women as objects that are told, reported and imaged, not the other way around like the author who positions himself as a storyteller who conceptualizes other people's self-images through his ideas. as a writer. This placement causes the meaning produced in the second sentence to be negative. The phrase "*perempuan yang terbelenggu*" (*shackled women*) means that women are still bound by gender stereotypes on an ongoing basis and have not been able to free themselves from the bad stigma they cause.

The phrase "*bias gender*" (*gender bias*) in the second sentence also has a negative meaning, referring to the meaning of unequal gender construction; has a negative impact and does not benefit women. Furthermore, the phrase "*kurangnya dukungan*" (*lack of support*) further strengthens the author's idea of

not showing support for women. Finally, as a whole, this sentence shows that the author is a subject who indirectly voices the dominant power of masculine gender ideology to position the feminine gender in a weak subject position.

The position of women as narrative subjects who do not receive sympathy from the author becomes increasingly widespread in the fourth paragraph. In the first sentence of the fourth paragraph there are the dictions “*ketidakseimbangan*” (*imbalance*) and “*gender*” (*gender*). The diction “*ketidakseimbangan*” (*imbalance*) means a state or condition that is less than balanced; asymmetry; and gaps. Furthermore, the diction “*gender*” (*gender*) means visible differences between men and women in terms of their character and behavior. Combining these two dictions into the phrase “*ketidakseimbangan gender*” (*gender imbalance*) produces the meaning of unequal treatment between the masculine gender and the feminine gender. The full sentence is “*Meskipun demikian, masih terdapat ketidakseimbangan gender di eselon tertinggi dunia bisnis, dalam peran eksekutif, dan bahkan di ruang rapat*” (*Despite this, there is still a gender imbalance at the highest echelons of the business world, in executive roles, and even in the boardroom*). In this sentence the author still positions himself as the storyteller and the woman as the object of the story. With this passive sentence, the controlling actor in the story is the writer who describes the position of women as suffering objects. The position of the idea shown in this sentence shows the author as someone who controls his ideas, while the woman being told is someone whose movements are controlled and whose position is passive. Through the choice of words, it can also be understood that the text events presented by the subject are about women who experience unequal treatment in their roles and positions in the business world, in the highest echelon positions, in executive roles. and in official situations.

Discourse analysis according to Sara Mills explores the position of actors in the text. The actor's position can be shown through the choice of subject-object position and passive-active sentences. The choice of position can show who is the subject of the story and who is the object of the story. This can also be seen from the quote in the second sentence of the fourth paragraph. The sentence is “*Standar gaji pimpinan perusahaan perempuan juga lebih rendah dibandingkan laki-laki*” (*The salary standards for female company leaders are also lower than for men*). In this sentence, the author's position as a subject telling women as the object of his impartiality is found in the phrases “*standar gaji*” (*salary standards*), “*pemimpin perusahaan perempuan*” (*female company leaders*), and diction “*dibandingkan*” (*compared*). These phrases and diction refer to the lack of equal treatment received by women compared to the treatment given to men who occupy leadership positions in companies. The events shown in the text are an attempt to illustrate the comparison of the salary system for women leading companies with the same men holding company leadership positions.

The author as a subject who positions women as objects who receive no sympathy is also developed further in the following paragraphs. For example, in the fifth paragraph, the author puts forward the idea of the small participation of women in government. In this paragraph the author strengthens his ideas with the support of research data from special institutions. The complete sentence that contains this idea is, “*Di bidang pemerintahan, data Pew Research Center tahun 2023 menunjukkan hanya 13 negara dari 193 negara anggota PBB yang memiliki pemimpin perempuan*” (*In the field of government, data from the Pew Research Center for 2023 shows that only 13 countries out of 193 UN member countries have female leaders*). The diction and phrases that describe the impartiality of the subject towards the object in this sentence are “*pemerintah*” (*government*), “*data*” (*data*), and the phrase “*hanya ada 13 negara dari 193 negara anggota PBB*” (*there are only 13 countries out of 193 UN member countries*). Linked to the author's thoughts in the previous paragraph, this diction and phrase again refers to the lack of involvement of women, especially in the government sector, even though we are in an era of gender equality.

The author's attempt to position himself as the owner of ideas about the reality of women's weaknesses in the era of gender equality is difficult to refute. Because the reality presented in the text feels very complex and touches various aspects of life. This is proven by the idea in the sentence in the sixth paragraph. The sentence in the sixth paragraph states, “*selain itu, kurangnya role model perempuan, tidak adanya work-life balance, terjebak dalam stereotip dan ekspektasi tertentu, serta terbatasnya akses terhadap networking dan perolehan peluang*” (*apart from that, there is a lack of female role models, no work-life balance, being trapped in certain stereotypes and expectations, as well as limited access to networking and obtaining opportunities*). This sentence states the complexity of the factors that cause the position of women to remain a gender group that has not succeeded in equalizing their position with men even though

they are already in the era of gender equality itself. Indirectly, this idea confirms the reality in the text regarding the position of women as passive actors by the author with the support of various social factors.

Analysis of subject-object positions in a text can also reveal various social factors combined behind a problem. This can also be understood from the results of the analysis of the subject-object position in the opinion *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)* published in the daily newspaper *Kompas*. The author's position as the subject of the narrative provides an answer to the question of why women have not succeeded in equalizing their position with men. The author answers this question in the sentence in the seventh paragraph. In the seventh paragraph the author explains this in the sentence "*bahwa warga dunia masih memandang perempuan mempunyai peran utama sebagai ibu rumah tangga*" (*that citizens of the world still view women as having the main role as housewives*). Through this sentence, the reality of the text can be seen which reveals that the social factors that underlie the impartiality of the subject of the story towards the object of the story are social factors. These social factors are views of society that have very strong roots. The author emphasizes this social factor again in the second sentence of the seventh paragraph, which states that this understanding is deeply rooted, even influencing girls' parenting patterns and interrupting their dreams of developing their potential as fully as possible.

Analysis of the subject-object position is a way to uncover the actor who occupies the highest position in determining the authority of the reality of the structure of the text that will be presented to the public. Likewise, it can be analyzed from the text in the editorial *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)*. The author's position as a subject in the text causes him to become an actor who has a higher position than women who are positioned as objects. With his position as the main actor in the text, the author has the freedom to determine the reality in the text whose substance is very disempowering for women. The reality of the text which greatly weakens the position of women can be found in paragraphs eight and nine. The sentence in paragraph eight that shows this is, "*Sejak mereka mulai mengenali jenis kelaminnya pada usia 2 tahun, anak perempuan cenderung diberikan mainan yang menunjang perannya dalam rumah tangga, seperti boneka dan alat masak*" (*since they begin to recognize their gender at the age of 2 years, girls tend to be given toys that support their role in the household, such as dolls and cooking utensils*).

Furthermore, the sentence in paragraph nine which greatly weakens the position of women reads, "when entering the world of work, stereotypes about the role of motherhood are still attached so that more women fill positions that do not require strategic decision making, such as business support, human resources, finance and administration. In this sentence, the reality of the text that is present is a reality resulting from the power of the subject as the highest actor, while the woman presented in this reality is a passive object of suffering.

Reader-Writer Position

In a news or opinion text, the role of the reader is no less important than the writer. Because news or other journalistic products are not just the product of journalists or writers. News or opinion texts are also seen as the result of indirect negotiations between the writer and the reader. Negotiation is formed through placing a position of truth on a particular character whose thoughts will be referred to for approval by the reader. And reinforced by mutually agreed upon cultural codes. Likewise, in the opinion of *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)*, diction, phrases and sentences from the author are found which aim to equate the reader's thinking concepts with the author. Diction, phrases and sentences are used by writers to form cultural codes that function to direct readers' views and thoughts to be the same as them. These cultural codes are spread across a number of paragraphs.

The first cultural code explained by the author is in the sentence "*perempuan terbelenggu oleh bias gender*" (*women are shackled by gender bias*). This sentence is said to contain a cultural code because the thoughts it conveys are related to general opinion that is deeply rooted in society as a result of gender construction. Based on gender construction, especially in societies with a patriarchal cultural background, men are a superior gender group and a group that has dominant power, while women are a subordinate gender group, a gender group that is considered weak and irrational, and a gender group that is under masculine authority. That is why women are identified as the second gender group that often experiences gender bias treatment. By presenting cultural codes, it shows that the author is trying to provide space for readers to place themselves in a position of truth of thought that is parallel to the culture presented in the text. In this way, the reader agrees with the thoughts conveyed by the author in the text.

4. Discussion

Language is the most important object in analyzing discourse critically. In critical discourse analysis, language is used to see how social inequality occurs due to the power of certain parties. As stated by (Fairclough, 1992), there are three components that form critical discourse analysis, namely social structure consisting of class, status, age, ethnic and gender identity, then culture and discourse. Relevant to this opinion, it appears that language is the main part of a discourse that will be analyzed. So critical discourse analysis becomes a medium for revealing power, domination, and inequality that are practiced, reproduced, or resisted through written texts. Van Dijk also states that one of the characteristics of critical discourse analysis is that it contains ideology, for example gender ideology (Midle Line Krismonsari & Prihadi, 2024:6). Continuing this view, Sara Mills is one of the many scientists who is interested in discourse analysis from the perspective of issues of gender inequality that are reflected through language in texts. Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis model attempts to reveal how women's realities are presented in texts, whether in literary works, images, photos, or in the news.

Based on the analysis of the subject-object position and reader-writer position presented in the opinion piece entitled *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)*, there are the author's ideas that show his efforts to emphasize to readers the feminine gender which is still unable to align itself with the masculine gender position. With this in mind, the author has indirectly shown that the text he wrote contains the idea of gender inequality. The notion of gender inequality can be dismantled by exploring three things, namely, a) the reality in the text; b) cultural codes in the text; and c) the relationship between reality in the text and the cultural code in the text and its relationship with social reality in society.

Reality in Text

Reality in the text is a theory put forward by Sara Mills in her book entitled *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism*. In this theory, Mills states that cultural texts in films, novels, advertisements, and other types of works of art shape and reproduce readers' and viewers' understanding of social reality (Mills, 1991:68-69). Mills also explains the concept of pseudo-reality or false reality that can be found in texts in various works. In connection with Mills' opinion, in an opinion discourse entitled *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)*, the author has explained the reality of the text or pseudo-reality which is indirectly a deception to emphasize that the feminine gender remains in the position of the second gender group. The reality of the text is presented, among other things, in sentences a) "*Di era kesetaraan gender, ternyata tidak banyak pemimpin perempuan* (In the era of gender equality, it turns out that there are not many female leaders); b) "*Saat ini standar gaji pemimpin perempuan di perusahaan masih kecil dan belum sebanding dengan gaji pemimpin laki-laki*" (Currently the standard salary for female leaders in companies is still small and not comparable to the salary of male leaders); and c) "*Di bidang pemerintahan, data Pew Research Center tahun 2023 menunjukkan hanya 13 negara dari 193 negara anggota PBB yang memiliki pemimpin perempuan*" (In the field of government, Pew Research Center data for 2023 shows that only 13 countries out of 193 UN member countries have female leaders).

Judging from Mills' opinion about reality in the text or pseudo-reality, these three sentences construct a reality that is not natural, because it is shaped by the author's cultural representation. These three sentences are presented by the author as a male worldview which is often the result of an interpretation of actual reality, not reality itself. Even so, this reality is important in the context of the author's world because it is intended to influence the way readers understand and respond to social, political and cultural issues in society. In line with this analysis, (Goncing & Syahrul, 2021) also have a similar opinion. In the results of his research on language games in political discourse in the mass media, Goncing concluded that the creation of a false reality by the mass media basically has implications for the defense of political ideology in front of readers. Defense of political ideology by directing the reader's thinking concept through what the media considers true. In the end, readers who are involved as actors in the text will form their own beliefs about the truth in texts containing political ideology.

Culture Code

Another way the author uses to unleash the power of a particular ideology is through cultural codes. In the context of critical discourse analysis, cultural codes relate to the symbolic systems, norms, values and practices used by certain groups of society in certain cultural or traditional contexts. The goal is to form meaning and build shared knowledge. The presence of cultural codes in a text is part of efforts to use language as a tool to reproduce power, hierarchy and identity in a socio-political context (Sara Mills, 1997:8-9). The cultural codes contained in a text are often not only related to narrow linguistic characteristics, but also include various signs and symbols used in verbal and nonverbal communication. The presence of various cultural codes through a series of language features will show how power and domination are reproduced through language and representation in social and political discourse (Judith Butler, 1999:34-36).

Regarding the same thing, Sara Mills also states that cultural codes refer to the system of symbols and behavioral patterns used to communicate in a particular culture or society. These cultural codes can include language, gestures, rituals, social norms, and various other forms of cultural expression that members of a group use to interact and understand each other (Sara Mills, 1997). Similar to this opinion, in the opinion entitled *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)*, it is clear that there are cultural codes in the form of language and social norms conveyed by the author. The author presents these cultural codes as an effort to influence and invite readers to agree with his opinion regarding the position of women as the second gender whose space for movement is domestic. Such a cultural code can be found in the following two sentences, namely a) "*secara umum masyarakat dunia masih memandang perempuan mempunyai peran utama sebagai ibu rumah tangga (in general the world community still views women as having the main role as housewives)*"; and b) "*Sejak mulai mengenali jenis kelaminnya pada usia 2 tahun, anak perempuan cenderung diberikan mainan yang menunjang perannya dalam rumah tangga, seperti boneka dan peralatan memasak*" (*Since they begin to recognize their gender at the age of 2 years, girls tend to be given toys that support their role in the household, such as dolls and cooking utensils*). In Mills' view, through these two sentences the author is trying to convince the reader that the feminine gender role is only limited to the task of being a housewife. This code exists as a representation of social norms that regulate women's expectations in society.

In line with the issue of cultural codes in *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)*, (Sobari & Faridah, 2017) in their research also have the same view. In their research findings, Sobari & Lilis Faridah have explained that cultural codes or cultural code methods are important elements of discourse that readers can use to interpret the meaning of texts. According to Sobari & Lilis Faridah's research findings, the cultural codes presented by journalists in news texts in the *Republika* newspaper are also the key to revealing the position of women in reporting in the mass media. By understanding the cultural codes found in the news in the daily newspaper *Republika*, the two researchers concluded that the reality in the text could be a reference for determining readers' representations of women who were the objects of the news.

5. Conclusion

Based on the analysis and discussion of research data, the following four things can be concluded. First, in the opinion entitled *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)* published in the *Kompas* Daily newspaper on June, 6, 2024, the subject position is occupied by the author as the storyteller of the text, while the object position is occupied by the woman who is the object. story. In this case, the author is an actor in the text who acts as the owner of power over ideas and controls the entire reality of the text relating to women. On the other hand, women are the objects of the story; not the owner of power over reality in the text; The passive party who is used as the object of the story must accept various gender stereotypes from the author. Second, the relationship between the writer and the reader shows that the writer tries to direct the reader to enter the text and become an actor who has attitudes and thoughts that are in line with the writer. The author realizes this effort by presenting a reality in the text that seems to be a reality in the real life of the reader. The reality in the text itself is an engineered reality by the author that imitates the reality of real life, especially the reality regarding the role and position of women in the era that the author calls the era of gender equality. Fourth, to invite and direct readers to believe and agree, the author presents cultural codes originating from various social norms related to the issue of gender inequality. These cultural codes direct readers to enter the text as the main actor and take the same attitude as the author towards the reality of women who are still shackled by the issue of gender inequality. Based

on the author's ideas presented in pseudo-reality texts and cultural codes, it can be understood that the discourse on *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Women and Her Dreams)* published in the daily newspaper *Kompas* contains the idea of the dominance of masculine gender ideology over the feminine gender. This idea automatically influences the reader's thoughts about the reproduction of the idea of women failing to fight for their rights to be equal to men in the era of gender equality. Likewise, through analysis of the subject-object position, writer-reader position, analysis of reality in the text or pseudo-reality, as well as cultural codes, it can be seen that the author of the opinion *Perempuan dan Mimpinya (Woman and Her Dreams)* is a party who supports the practice of dominating the masculine gender over the feminine gender. Based on the conclusions of these findings, it is recommended for researchers in the same field to conduct further research on other discourses published in the mass media with similar problems. The aim is to examine various texts and other discourses that contain women's issues in the practice of dominating gender ideology from a more complex critical discourse analysis perspective.

Declaration of Conflicting Interest

The authors state that there is no conflict of interest concerning the publication of this paper.

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About the author

Iswadi Bahardur is a lecturer in the Indonesian language and literature education department, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universitas PGRI Sumatera Barat. Completed doctoral studies at Sebelas Maret University. His research focus is in the field of Indonesian language and literature. He can be contacted via e-mail iswadi70bahardur70@gmail.com

Putri Dian Afrinda is a lecturer in the Department of Pharmacy, Faculty of Pharmaceutical Sciences, Universitas Perintis Indonesia. His field of research is linguistics and teaches Indonesian language courses. She can be contacted via e-mail putridian_afrinda@yahoo.com

Delpa is a lecturer in the Department of Communication Sciences, Faculty of Business Economics at Universitas Perintis Indonesia. His field of research is social sciences and communication. He can be contacted via e-mail starring342014@gmail.com