

**A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON MEANING LEVELS
IN HILLARY DIANE RODHAM CLINTON’S SPEECH ABOUT WOMEN**

THESIS

Presented to

Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, Malang
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S)

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2014

STATEMENT OF THE AUTHENTICITY

This is to certify that this thesis is truly my original work. It does not contain any materials previously written or published by another person, except indicated in quotation and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if any objection or claim from others.

Malang, June 03, 2014

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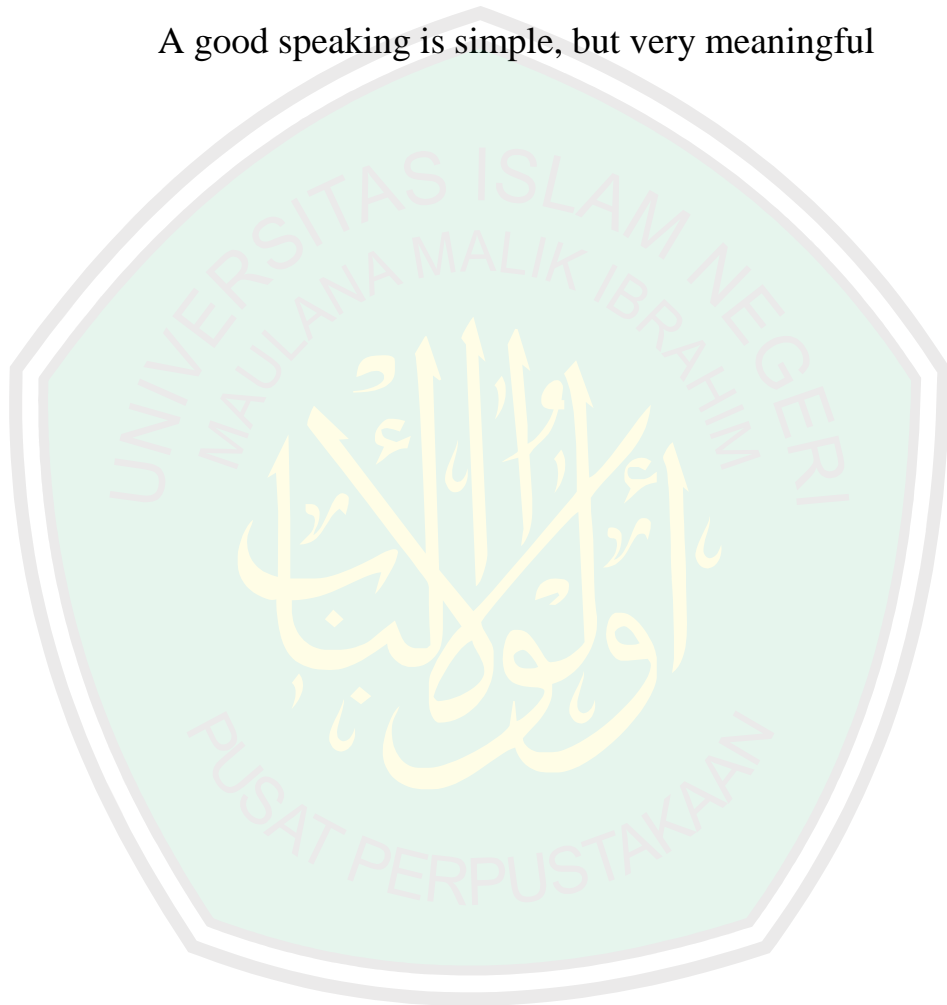
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MOTTO

خير الكلام ما قلّ ودلّ

A good speaking is simple, but very meaningful



DEDICATION

This thesis is especially dedicated to

My beloved parents who support throughout my life, my father, Mohammad

Busthomi and my mother, Siti Suhana

My teacher, RKH. Moh. Mudatstsir Badruddin

My advisor, Drs. H. Djoko Susanto, M.Ed, Ph.D.

My two beloved brothers, Mohammad Yahya and Khoirun Nas

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Finally, I really realize that this thesis still needs suggestions and critics from the readers in order to make it more perfect and hopefully it will be useful for the readers, especially the students of English Department.

Malang, June 03, 2014

Achmad Komaruddin

ABSTRACT

Komaruddin, Achmad. 2014. *A Critical Discourse Analysis on Meaning Levels in Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton's Speech about Women*. Thesis, English Language and Letters Department, Faculty of Humanities, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, Malang. Advisor: Drs. H. Djoko Susanto, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Key words: Semantic Macrostructures, Propositions, Local Meanings, Formal

Structures

This thesis examines the levels of meaning in Critical Discourse Analysis in the speech of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton about women in the conference of World Summit in New York, the United State of America. This study aims at (1) finding the hidden ideology of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton macrostructurally (global level of meanings), (2) meaning of words and propositions emphasized and controlled (local level of meanings), (3) and subtle of formal structures explicitly conveyed by her (pragmatic level of meanings).

The descriptive qualitative design was used to analyze the data. Meanwhile, the theory used is Teun A. van Dijk's Critical Discourse Analysis focused on the levels of meanings to help in analyzing the data. The data were taken from Hillary's speech about women in the conference of World Summit in New York, the United State of America.

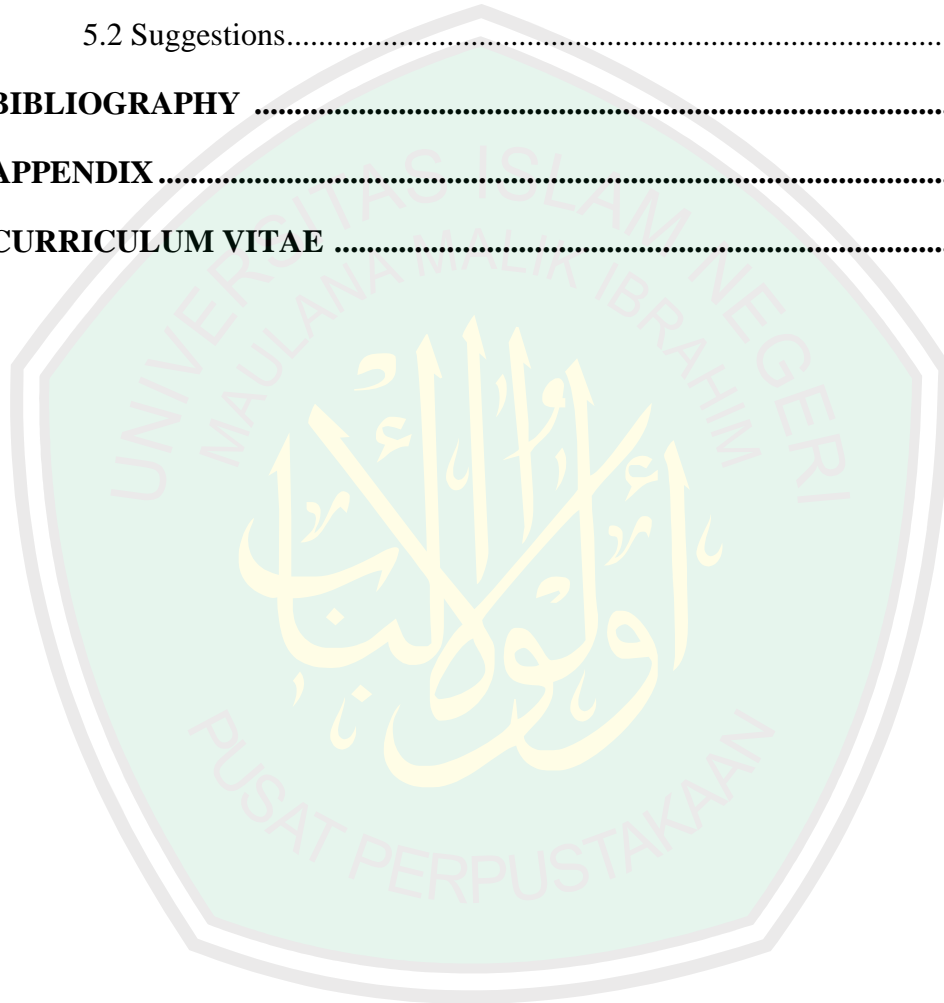
The findings show that the hidden ideology of Hillary, in influencing the audiences, was expressed and delivered by emphasizing the importance of liberal or even radical feminism for increasing a better life of human beings. This can be known by using semantic macrostructural analysis. Then, the local meanings which focus on the words and proposition representing the ideology were used by her. Instead, the formal structures were intentionally emphasized for controlling the speech. Thus, those three levels of Critical Discourse Analysis in investigating the meanings were eventually found in this research.

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ABSTRAK

Komaruddin, Achmad. 2014. *A Critical Discourse Analysis on Meaning Levels in Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton's Speech about Women*. Skripsi, Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Drs. H. Djoko Susanto, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Kata Kunci: Semantic Macrostructures, Propositions, Local Meanings, Formal Structures

Skripsi ini meneliti tentang level makna dalam analisis wacana kritis dalam pidato Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton tentang perempuan pada konferensi puncak dunia di New York, Amerika Serikat. Penelitian ini bertujuan (1) menemukan ideology Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton yang tersimpan dengan analisis macrostructure (level global dalam makna), (2) makna kata dan proposisi yang ditekankan dan dikontrol (level local dalam makna), (3) dan struktur-struktur resmi yang secara eksplisit disampaikan dalam pidato (level pragmatik dalam makna).

Penelitian ini menggunakan desain kualitatif deskriptif untuk menganalisa data-data. Sementara teori yang digunakan adalah analisis wacana kritis yang dikemukakan oleh van Dijk yang fokus pada level makna untuk membantu dalam menganalisis data. Data-data tersebut diambil dari pidato Hillary tentang perempuan pada konferensi puncak dunia di New York Amerika Serikat.

Penemuannya menunjukkan bahwa ideology tersimpan Hillary, dalam mempengaruhi audien, telah terungkap dan tersampaikan dengan menekankan pentingnya feminisme liberal atau bahkan radikan untuk meningkatkan kehidupan manusia yang lebih baik. Ini dapat diketahui dengan menggunakan analisis semantik macrostruktur. Kemudian, makna lokal yang fokus pada kata dan proposisi yang merepresentasi ideologinya juga dipakai. Begitu juga struktur formal juga ditekankan untuk mengontrol pidatonya. Tiga level analisi wacana kritis dalam menginvestigasi makna pada akhirnya ditemukan dalam penelitian ini.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the introduction of the research. It discusses the basic things of the research. The basic things cover the background of the study, research problems, objectives of the study, scope and limitation, significances of the study, and definition of the key terms.

1.1 Background of the Study

Language is a tool of communication. It is used by humans to send receivers a certain message and information. Besides, it is regularly applied to have a more communicative social life. Therefore, it is also used to interact, with each other, socially or emotionally (Yule, 1985:6). Yet, when language is shaped in a political discourse, it might be tended to be manipulated. It is because the contents of the discourse are mostly strided for interest. Furthermore, nobody who has an interest in relationships of power in modern society, can afford to ignore language (Fairclough, 1989:3). In this case, CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) plays important role to criticize the issue-oriented in society.

The use of language, for several purposes, relates to the concept of critical discourse analysis introduced by van Dijk (2001), namely levels in CDA. It is because CDA-studies pay attention to all levels and dimensions of discourse (Dijk, 1995:18). As a plea of diversity in CDA, van Dijk suggested three levels of CDA in finding the ideology in a text. These contain semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and formal structures. In relation to ideology, Mannheim (1929)

attempts to relate ideology with certain ways of thinking. Hence, a thinking process can be included in ideological ways inserted in a discourse (as cited in Wodak, 2007:2).

At the first level (semantic macrostructures), the analysis is to find the global meaning of a discourse. It is because a discourse is not limited to the meaning of its words, phrases, and sentences. Thus, van Dijk (2003) argued that discourse also has more global meanings, such as topics or themes (as cited in Rosidi, 2007:11). To have a global meaning, as suggested by van Dijk, the overall texts must be summarized. It is because summary is typically found at the very end of the text and functions as a recapitulation of the main viewpoints expressed by the writer (Gylling, 2013:145). In this summarization, there are three ways proposed by van Dijk, these are deletion, generalization, and construction. The first attempts to delete the unimportant expression or proposition in the discourse. The second aims at generalizing the similar statements of Hillary. Meanwhile, the third attempts to formulate a new construction shortening the text without omitting the essence of its information.

At the global level of discourse, the meaning of discourse themes or topics is more emphasized. Thus, its power establishes the discourse to develop and spread publicly, including the media institution itself (Nugroho, 2009:31). In addition, van Dijk (2001) argued that topics may influence audiences, and then may have most obvious social consequences (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001:103). Therefore, when the gist of the a text is found, the interest of the authors can be easily predicted and captured then. It is because the use of

language might be often politisized and manipulated, due to the existance of ideologies that are primarily located in the unsaid (implicit) propositions (Fairclough, 1996:24).

At the second level (Local Meanings), the analysis is to find the meaning of selected words, propositions, relation between propositions used to enhance and provoke the ideology. This implies the importance of context dependency of such meanings, because certain arguments, discourse fragments, and topic are understood very differently in different historical periods and socio-political context (Wodak, 2007:2). Besides, local meanings are used to de-emphasize “our” bad things and “their” good things (Dijk, 2001 as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001:104). This is a strong emphasis that the speaker’s group or community is better than others. Consequently, van Dijk (2001) argued that people may need models featuring beliefs that remain implicit (presupposed) in discourse to understand its meaning and coherence.

At the final level (Formal structures), the analysis is to find the formal styles, passive constructs, and so forth (Wodak & Meyer, 2001:106). Formal styles are used prior to the statements, and these are usually repeated to emphatically state the ideas and argumentation. Meanwhile, passive constructs are used to hide the doers and keep the their bad image. It is done to de-emphasize “our” agency of negative acts through passive sentences or nominalizations (Dijk, 2001 as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001:108). This is also related to the interactional concerns such as positive self-representation included in the subtle formal structures of the discourse.

The analysis of meaning levels is important to deeply know the essential purposes of the discourse authors. Besides, in CDA context, the interest of them can be interpreted. Thus, it is easy for the readers or hearers to capture the main idea or gist of the text. Furthermore, they are not able to be manipulated or even deceived with a certain interest and goal.

In international speech, for instance, the analysis of those three levels can be used to find a certain interest and ideological provocation. It is because demonstrations, parliaments, presidential campaigns and political debates are all the fields of ideological battles (Rashidi & Soundanzehfah, 2010:56). Therefore, the analysis of meaning levels investigating the hidden and controlled ideology of the speakers is important to know the essence and interest of their speech. Moreover, the speech of Hillary is not short, thus it must be shortened and summarized. In this case, the semantic macrostructure plays important role in analyzing the speech.

In elaboration, CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) contains many discourse structures introduced by Teun A. van Dijk, such relevant units, levels, dimensions, moves, strategies, types of acts, devices and other structures of discourse (Dijk, 2001:98). Yet, this research is focused on the levels of CDA examining the hidden ideology of the discourse makers. It is because ideologies inform and shape political decisions, but formal planned language policies do not always or even often achieve their objectives, be they liberatory or oppressive (Ricento, 2001:7). In so doing, language can be deliberately conveyed as the representation of the authors.

In Hillary's speech about women, the analysis of meaning levels as one of the parts of Critical Discourse Analysis might be fit to the subject focused on the analysis of senator's speech. It is because her speech was in international forum delivered for specific purposes. Hence, this is in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis.

Hillary Clinton is a former secretary of the United States who became a public speaker to accommodate the aspiration of people of the United States, especially in the women's affairs. Her speeches were delivered either national or international speeches. Yet, in this research, it is about the speech concerning with the issues of women conveyed in the conference of World Summit. Therefore, it is interesting to find the hidden interest and ideology through analysis of semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and formal structures in her speech. It is because she is one of important persons in the US, moreover the speech was delivered in the World Summit, a historic moment of the nations. Therefore, her speech was totally taken into account by the audiences.

It is important to analyze the speech of Hillary Clinton, due to her position as a senator of one of great nations in the world. Meanwhile, the tasks and policies of the states are also under her consideration. Furthermore, her speech was about women, on the one hand, has a special interest for equalizing and balancing the rights of men and women.

It is known that the topics, themes, and global purposes of the discourse are terribly significant to be captured in discourse analysis, especially in the speech. Furthermore, topics area also related to thematic structure. The main goal

of a thematic analysis is to determine the themes in each news discourse and to establish their conditional (linear) and hierarchical relationships and their semantic specification in the text (Dijk, 1988:73). Then, the local meanings are kinds of information that most directly influence the mental models, and hence the opinions and attitudes of recipients. Together with the topics, these meanings are mostly reproduced by them.

Some studies on discourse structures were conducted, especially in academic purposes. Chun-yin, Louisa, and Wong (1995) conducted a research entitled *The Development of the Macrostructure of Oral Narratives*. This study elaborated the oral narratives of four groups of sixteen children in seven categories; those are Setting, Initiating Event, Internal Response, Plan, Attempt, Consequence and Reaction. Then, Santoso (2001) analyzed the variances of political language entitled *Political Discourse and Choice of Words of Politicians*. This research discovered that all politicians use three kinds of linguistic features: experience, relation, and expression feature (Rahardjo, 2007:56). Sakban Rosidi (2004) analyzed *The Public Discourse on the Accident in Jagorawi Street* by using van Dijk's discourse structure. In so doing, Siddik (2008) conducted a research on *A Micro Structural Level of Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's Political Speeches*. His analysis was taken from van Dijk's theory of discourse structure as a part of critical discourse analysis fields. He found the tactics, oral, phrasal, and sentential structures used by Barack Obama in his three speeches of presidential candidate of democratic party. Then, Morris (2008) analyzed on *The*

Selected Discourse Features of Lahu Si Folk Narrative. He focused on discourse frameworks in narrative lahu si folk.

Many researchers also have done the research of macrostructure. Nugroho (2009) analyzed the word choice entitled *Word-Choice of Headline News on Muslim Issues Used in Jakarta Post*. He found that lexicon used in the Jakarta Post on Muslim issues were to grow the image, such creating classification used to make gap between the members of Palestine. Besides, he also found the types of word-choice and the hidden ideology of the Jakarta Post Journalist. In so doing, Christopher S.G, Jin-Cheon, and Kokil (2010) conducted the research of macrostructure entitled *Analysis of the Macro-level Discourse Structure of Literature Reviews*. This research is about literature structure by charting it into some segments to find either chronological and structural event of the story.

To demonstrate the importance of the analysis, it should be noted that the analysis of meaning levels of Hillary Clinton's speech is seen as doable and applicable research in finding the ideology of her by charting the text to find the semantic macrostructure, local meanings, formal structures. It is because her position as a politician maintaining the interest of individual or groups.

The analysis of macrostructure, as the first analysis in this study, is seen as replication of Luan van's research focused on finding power and ideology of Marthin Luther King in his speech entitled "beyond Vietnam; a time to break silent" at a meeting of Clergy and and Laity in New York, April 4, 1967. Meanwhile, the second and third analysis in the area of diplomatic speech have not been conducted yet by previous researchers.

Thus, this research is worthy to do. Charting and mapping the text, in finding the hidden ideology, is seen as a remarkable linguistic contribution. It looks important to do, due to the linguistic phenomenon of global structure of a discourse. Hence, the goal intended by the discourse authors can be known through the semantic mapping process, selected words and propositions, and formal structures as the levels of meaning in Critical Discourse Analysis.

In conclusion, based on the significance and background mentioned above, the researcher analyzes “Critical Discourse Analysis on Meaning Levels in Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton’s Speech about Women”.

1.2 Research Problems

Based on the background of the study above, it comes to the research problems as follows:

1. How did Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton’s ideology influence the audiences macro structurally in her speech about women?
2. What are the local meanings used by Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton in her speech about women?
3. What are the formal structures used by Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton in her speech about women?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study, on the whole, are divided into three purposes, those are:

1. To know the way how Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton's ideology macrostructurally influenced the audiences in her speech about women.
2. To find the local meanings representing the ideology of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton in her speech about women.
3. To find the formal structures representing the ideology of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton about women.

1.4 Significances of the Study

The results of the study are expected to give contributions to the related study either theoretical or practical. Theoretically, this study is expected to be one of sources for further language development in the meaning levels of Critical Discourse Analysis analysis, especially in the level of semantic macrostructures.

Practically, this study is expected that the students who learn language to be more critical in interpreting the discourse, especially in international discourse. Besides, the audiences and readers are expected to deeply capture the points of the discourse texts.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

In this research, the researcher only elaborates the levels of meaning in proposed by van Dijk as a plea of diversity in Critical Discourse Analysis , these are semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and formal structures. Then, the researcher merely attempts analyze the Hillary's speech about women in the World Summit, New York in April 5, 2013.

1.5 Definition of the Key Terms

To avoid misunderstanding among the readers, the words or terms written in this study are defined as follows:

1. **Semantic Macrostructure** are the topics of discourse derived from the local (micro) structures of meaning, topics represent what a discourse is about globally speaking, embody most important information of a discourse, and explain overall coherence of text and talk (Dijk, 1980 as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001:102).
2. **Local Meanings** are the meaning of words (a study that also may be called lexical, depending on one's perspective), the structures of propositions, coherences, and other relations between propositions.
3. **Formal Structures** are structures of text or talk that are much less consciously controlled or controllable by the speakers, such as intonation, syntactic structures, propositional structures, rhetorical figures, and so forth.
4. **Propositions** are sentences or utterances. Within these smallest units of discourse it is possible to convey about the same content in a number of different ways.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter discusses about related literature of discourse, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis of Teun A. van Dijk, Teun A. van Dijk model analysis, critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough, feminism theories, and previous studies.

2.1 Discourse

The term “discourse” has broad meanings. To make it specific, each of the senses need to be defined. Lexically, the word “discourse” comes from Latin “discursus” which denoted conversation, speech (Gee, 1999:10). In doing so, discourse is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that people’s utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life, familiar examples being ‘medical discourse’ and political discourse (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002:2). Bloor and Bloor (as cited in Tenorim and Hidalgo, n.d:184-185), it is possible to make the following kinds of distinction:

- (1) Discourse is the highest unit of linguistic description; phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases, clauses, sentences and texts;
- (2) Discourse is a sample of language usage, generally written to bespoken, that is, a speech;
- (3) Discourse refers to the communication expected in one situation context, alongside one field and register, such as the discourse of law or medicine;

- (4) Discourse is human interaction through any means, verbal and non-verbal;
- (5) Discourse is spoken interaction only;
- (6) Discourse stands for the whole communicative event.

The definition above are classified based on their relation to the social context in which those happen.

According to Leech in Yuwono (as cited in Siddik, 2008) discourse is classified into five kinds as follows:

a. Expressive discourse

It comes from the speaker's or writer's opinion as a medium to express his or her ideas like speeches and some writing texts.

b. Opening discourse

It is used for succeeding the communication in order the communication runs smoothly such as the discourse of introduction in the party.

c. Informational discourse

It is related to message or information that is delivered to the hearer or reader such as news discourse in mass media.

d. Aesthetic discourse

It is concerning with message with stressing on the beauty of the arrangement of the words like poems and songs.

e. Directive discourse

It intends to change hearers or reader's action and reaction such as speeches and advertisement.

2.2 Discourse Analysis

The term discourse analysis was the first introduced by Zellig Harris (1952) as a way of analyzing connected speech and writing. It focused on knowledge about beyond the word, clause, phrase, and sentence that is needed for successful communication (Paltridge, 2006:2). The focus of discourse analysis is on the speech and written texts. Discourse analysis, then is interested in “what happens when people draw on the knowledge they have about knowledge to do things in the world” (Johnstone 2002:3 as cited in Paltridge, 2006:3).

Discourse analysis looks at patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used (Paltridge, 2006:2). Then, it also involves asking questions about how language, at a given time and place, is used to engage in the seven building tasks we have discussed earlier. The tools of inquiry we have introduced are meant to constitute six areas where the analyst can ask such questions. These tools are: situated meanings, social languages, figured worlds, intertextuality, Discourses, and Conversations (Gee, 1999:121).

According to A.S. Hikam in Eriyanto (2009) argued that there are three paradigms in discourse analysis (Eriyanto, 2009:4 as cited in Nugroho, 2009:24-26). The first is positivism-empiric paradigm. In this paradigm, language is viewed as relation between human being with the object outside. The idea and reality are separated in this paradigm. Furthermore, the logical consequence from this understanding is that the human being does not need to know subjective meaning or the value underlines its statement, due to the important statement based on the syntax and semantic. The second is constructivism paradigm. This view is

influenced by phenomenology thought. The subject and object are separated in this paradigm. In this paradigm, language is understood as the arrangement of the utterance which has special proposes. The third is critical paradigm. This paradigm attempts to correct the constructivism paradigm in the context of sensitivity to the production process and meaning reproduction which happen historically or institutionally. Thus, discourse analysis in this paradigm is to deconstruct the power relation which happens in language production.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The explanation of CDA can be related to the macro vs. micro level of analysis. According to van Dijk, language use, discourse, verbal interaction, and communication belong to the microlevel of the social order. Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macrolevel of analysis. This means that the theoretical framework of CDA, especially macro level analysis, is focused on the social issues and phenomenon. Thus, it is important to be analyzed for further language development.

Most of the critical analysis in discourse is that of power, and more specifically the *social power* of groups or institutions. Thus, groups have power if they are able to control the acts and minds of other groups. This ability presupposes a *power base* of privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, culture, or indeed various forms of public discourse and communication. This shows that the critical analysis of power in language and social phenomenon might be more interested rather than other fields of analysis.

CDA also relates to the concept of positive-self presentation and negative –self presentation, in which emphasize our good things and their bad things. It refers to the elaboration of “us” and “them”, and emphasizes the group of the authors are better than the out groups. In so doing, our bad things and their good things are de-emphasized. In addition, van Dijk argued that groups may more or less control other groups, or only control them in specific situations or social domains. Moreover, dominated groups may more or less resist, accept, condone, comply with, or legitimate such power, and even find it natural.

According to van Dijk’s perspective, CDA also focuses on how *discourse structures* influence mental representations. At the *global level* of discourse, *topics* may influence what people see as the most important information of text or talk, and thus correspond to the top levels of their mental models. For example, expressing such a topic in a headline in news may powerfully influence how an event is defined in terms of a “preferred” mental model. The global level, in this case, can be named as semantic macrostructures that summarize the overall text to find the hidden interest of the authors.

Similarly relevant, argumentation may be persuasive because of the social opinions that are hidden in its implicit premises and thus taken for granted by the recipients, e.g. immigration may thus be restricted if it is presupposed in a parliamentary debate that all refugees are illegal (see the contributions in Wodak & Dijk, 2000). Meanwhile, at the *local level*, in order to understand discourse meaning and coherence, people may need models featuring beliefs that remain implicit (presupposed) in discourse. Thus, a typical feature of manipulation is to

communicate beliefs implicitly, that is, without actually asserting them, and with less chance that they will be challenged. Thus, this local level can be named as local meanings in which the meanings of a words and propositions are emphasized by the authors to influence the recipients.

As can be known, these examples may influence the mental models and social representations. It is proved by emphasizing the meanings intended globally and locally in a discourse. In addition, the meanings are also supported by the signal of pragmatic which also has a contribution in controlling the meaning levels of critical discourse analysis. It tends to the presupposed meaning, which is not focused on the lexical representation, but the things outside the expression, based on the intention of the authors. Therefore, the controllable meaning of text and talk could be well-contributed by pragmatic levels, namely formal structures.

Another thought of van Dijk is limitation of control in discourse. If dominant groups, and especially their elites, largely control public discourse and its structures, they thus also have more control over the minds of the public at large. However, such control has its limits. The complexity of comprehension, and the formation and change of beliefs, are such that one cannot always predict which features of a specific text or talk will have which effects on the minds of specific recipients.

2.3.1 Teun van Dijk Model Analysis

There are another versions of critical discourse analysis proposed by van Dijk that are more applicable, these are called discourse structures. He classified the levels of discourse into three levels; these are microstructure, macrostructure, and superstructure (Dijk, 2004: vol.2). These structures can be seen as following table:

Structures	Investigation	Units of Analysis
Macrostructure	THEMATIC (What is produced or said?) Elements: topics or themes	Text
Superstructure	SCHEMATIC (How is elements arranged in sequence?)	Text
Microstructure	SEMANTIC (What does opinion which is delivered mean?) Elements: surface, detail, aim, assumption, and reasoning.	Paragraph
	SYNTACTIC (How is opinion produced?) Elements: coherence, nominalization, sentence, abstract, and pronoun	Sentence and proposition
	LEXICON	Word

	(what are words choice used?)	
	RETHORIC (In what way opinion is delivered?) Elements: visual image, expression, interaction, metaphor, and style	Sentence and proposition

Source: Eriyanto in (Rahardjo, 2002:192)

2.3.1.1 Macrostructure

This structure focused on the global meaning and emphasized the meaning of themes or topics. It may more or less directly appears in “surface structure” of the respective sentences of the discourse (Dijk, 1980:27). It is used to know the hidden ideology of the discourse maker, due to the gist or core of the discourse maintained by its authors.

For having macrostructure, the text must be reduced or summarized by three steps proposed by van Dijk; deletion, generalization, and construction (Dijk, 1980:79). In deletion process, he argued that one or more propositions from a sequence of propositions in a discourse are deleted. The example is as follows:

(KH saw a blonde. She was wearing a white summer frock...)

DEL

————→ KH saw a blonde

The example above shows that KH as a name of somebody saw a blonde. The core of the example above is “see” or “look” activity. Meanwhile, the next

sentence merely supports the sentence “KH saw a blonde”. Thus, the unimportant propositions or expression is deleted. Finally, it becomes KH saw a blonde. This summarization is called deletion process in macrostructure.

If the deleted propositions, as specified, do not affect the truth of the other propositions of the sequence, the resulting macroproposition is entailed by microstructural sequence. This means that the collection of propositions (macroproposition), or topic formed by deletion rule.

In generalization process, the proposition is derived with the concept of “pet” from a sequence of propositions with concepts like “cat”, “dog”, or “canary”. It also involves slight modifications, such as making collective groups from individuals or making plurals. The example can be seen as follows:

(John saw a tall slim blonde...)
 GEN
 —————→ John saw a pretty girl

The example above is a process of generalizing a proposition. The phrase “tall slim blonde” can be generalized to be “pretty girl”. This is one of processes to have macrostructure.

The last is construction process. This relates to the several propositions constructed, due to their similar information that can be reconstructed to a new sentence. The example can be seen as follows:

(John went to the station. He bought a ticket. He walked to the platform and boarded the waiting train. After a few minutes the train departed.....)

CONS

————→ John made a trip with the train to....

The example above is basically shortened or summarized by the process of construction to be macroproposition, but the essential meaning is not omitted.

In elaboration, the collection of macroproposition are then summarized with the higher level, namely macrostructure. Furthermore, the summarization still uses the three macrorules process proposed by van Dijk.

2.3.1.2 Superstructure

It focused on the arrangement of the discourse or schematic. It is not directly controlled by ideological variation. The same as common conversation or writing text which is usually started by the background, it is followed by the content, and it is closed by conclusion. Which one come first, and the next that will be arranged based on the interest of the discourse maker (Dijk, 2003:3 as cited in Nugroho, 2009:31).

2.3.1.3 Microstructure

It is related to the local meaning of the discourse. It can be known by finding the semantics, rethoric aspect, and so forth. It is actually and directly expressed structure of the discourse. Besides, it is also found through the words, phrases, sentences, and relation between sentences in a discourse text (Dijk, 1980:29). According to van Dijk (as cited in Nugroho, 2009:32-39).

Microstructure is analyzed one by one; from semantics, detail, surface or background, lexicon, presupposition, syntactic, and so forth.

Microstructure is an effective way to identify the power maintained by the discourse maker, through the micro-elements of the text, such the words, propositions, phrase, and sentence. Besides, it is intentionally used by the authors to persuade and influence the hearers and readers to believe what they convey or write.

2.4 Critical Discourse Analysis of Norman Fairclough

Critical discourse analysis subsumes a variety of approaches towards the social analysis of discourse which differ in theory, methodology, and the type of research issues to which they tend to give prominence (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Pecheux, 1982; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The work in this area has also changed to some extent in these respects between the publication of *Language and Power* (Longman, 1989) and the publication of *Analyzing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (2003).

Theoretically, this approach is characterized by a realist social ontology, a dialectical view of the relationship between structure and agency, and of the relationship between discourse and other elements or “moments” of social practices and social events.

Methodologically, the approach of Fairclough’s research entails working in a transdisciplinary way through dialogue with other disciplines and theories which are addressing contemporary processes of social change. Transdisciplinary implies that the theoretical and methodological development of CDA and the

disciplines/theories it is in dialogue with is informed through that dialogue, a matter of working with the “logic” and categories of the other in developing one’s own theory and methodology.

2.5 Feminism Theories

Feminism is a theory in which men and women should be equal politically, economically and socially. This is the core of all feminism theories. Thus, the equality of men and women is a must in this theory. Furthermore, feminist is one who believes in that men and women should be equal politically, economically and socially as defined above. Then, the kinds of feminism, based on the source downloaded from www.sascwr.org, can be seen below:

2.5.1 Cultural Feminism

In this theory, there are fundamental personality differences between men and women. Women have specialization and thus it must be celebrated. This theory of feminism supports the notion that there are biological differences between men and women.

Cultural feminism is the theory that wants to overcome sexism by celebrating women’s special qualities, women’s ways, and women’s experiences, often believing that the “woman’s way” is the better way.

2.5.2 Ecofeminism

Ecofeminism is a theory that rests on the basic principal that patriarchal philosophies are harmful to women, children, and other living things. Parallels are drawn between society’s treatment of the environment, animals, or resources and

its treatment of women. In resisting patriarchal culture, eco-feminists believe they are also resisting plundering and destroying of the Earth.

2.5.3 Individualist, or Libertarian Feminism

Individualist feminism is related to the individualism or libertarian philosophies. The main focus is individual autonomy, rights, liberty, independence and diversity. Individualist Feminism tends to widely encompass men and focuses on barriers that both men and women face due to their gender.

2.5.4 Material Feminism

This movement began in the late 19th century focused on liberating by improving the women's material condition. This movement revolved around taking the "burden" off women in regards to housework, cooking, and other traditional female domestic jobs.

2.5.5 Moderate Feminism

This movement tends to be mostly populated by younger women or women perceiving that they have not directly experienced discrimination. They often believe that the ideals of the feminism movement are no longer viable, and therefore question the need for further efforts. They often view feminism as overbearing and too overt.

2.5.6 National Organization for Women (N.O.W.) Feminism a.k.a. Gender Feminism

This theory of feminism is based on the notion that women must be granted some special privileges, and men should not be the central issue or “barrier” in feminism. N.O.W for the equality between men and women. Besides, this encompasses only women and fights to offer special privileges to women with the intent of making women equal to men.

2.5.7 Radical Feminism

Radical feminism is the breeding ground for many of the ideas arising from feminism. Radical feminism was the cutting edge of feminist theory from approximately 1967-1975. It is no longer as universally accepted as it was then, and no longer serves to solely define the term, “feminism”. This group views the oppression of women as the most fundamental form of oppression, one that cuts across boundaries of race, culture, and economic class. This is a movement intent on social change, change of rather revolutionary proportions.

Radical feminism questions why women must adopt certain roles based on their biology, just as it questions why men adopt certain other roles based on gender. This also attempts to draw lines between biologically-determined behavior and culturally-determined behavior in order to free both men and women as much as possible from their previous narrow gender roles.

2.5.8 Amazon Feminism

Amazon feminism focuses on physical equality. This rejects the idea that certain characteristics or interests are inherently masculine (or feminine), and upholds and explores a vision of heroic womanhood. Amazon feminists tend to view that all women are as physically capable as all men.

2.5.9 Separatists

Separatists are often wrongly depicted as lesbians. These are the feminists who advocate separation from men; sometimes total, sometimes partial.

Many feminists, whether or not separatist, think this is a necessary first step, for personal growth. However, they do not necessarily endorse permanent separation.

2.6 Previous Studies

Some researchers have conducted many studies about discourse structures in critical discourse analysis. Chun-yin, Louisa, and Wong (1995) conducted a research entitled *The Development of the Macrostructure of Oral Narratives*. This study elaborated the oral narratives of four groups of sixteen children in seven categories; those are Setting, Initiating Event, Internal Response, Plan, Attempt, Consequence and Reaction. Then, Santoso (2001) analyzed the variances of political language entitled *Political Discourse and Choice of Words of Politicians*. This research discovered that all politicians use three kinds of linguistic features: experience, relation, and expression feature (Rahardjo, 2007:56). Sakban Rosidi (2004) analyzed the public discourse on the accident in Jagorawi Street by using

van Dijk's discourse structure. The next researcher was Siddik (2008) conducted a research on *A Micro Structural Level of Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama's Political Speeches*. His analysis was taken from van Dijk's theory of discourse structure as a part of critical discourse analysis fields. He found the tactics, oral, phrasal, and sentential structures used by Barack Obama in his speeches of presidential candidate of democratic party. In so doing, Nugroho (2009) analyzed the word choice entitled *Word-Choice of Headline News on Muslim Issues Used in Jakarta Post*. He found that lexicon used in the Jakarta Post on Muslim issues were to grow the image, such creating classification used to make gap between the members of Palestine. Besides, he analyzed the types of word-choice and the hidden ideology of the Jakarta Post Journalist.

The differences between the researcher and previous researchers are the object of the research and the theory of discourse structures used. Despite the previous researchers used CDA of van Dijk theory, they merely analyzed macrostructure or global meanings of the text. Meanwhile, the analysis of present researcher is not stopped in macrostructure, but it was continued to local meanings and formal structures. Moreover, the researcher analyzes the issues of women and their nowadays movement and development. In this present research, it can be named as meaning levels analysis in Critical Discourse Analysis, these are semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and formal structures. Therefore, it is hoped that the researcher will provide a scientific contribution about how to analyze levels of meanings in a speech text.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents and discusses methodology of the research. This covers research design, data and data source, research instrument, data collection, and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

A research design is a general plan helping the researcher to conduct the study in reference to the objectives, the method of data gathering and analysis and the strategy to present the findings and conclusion. It should be noted that this research deals with the social science. It is because the language phenomena is directly related to the social circumstances. Thus, the qualitative methodology is primarily used and applied to explore the problems. It is noted that this method tends to describe and investigate thoroughly certain phenomena of language in the society, especially in the context of discourse analysis.

This research is also descriptively elaborated in its explanation especially in the chapter of finding and discussion. Therefore, the research design of this study is descriptive qualitative. It is because the analysis is focused on the levels of CDA, these are semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and formal structures of Hillary Clinton's speech about women in the conference of the World Summit.

3.2 Data and Data Source

This research focused on the analysis of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton's speech about women in the conference of World Summit in New York. The researcher solely took one speech of her mainly analyzed in this research. The related data was directly taken from her personal website, Hillaryclinton.com. Then, the analysis of the data was focused on the levels of critical discourse analysis, these are semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and the relevance subtle of formal structures.

3.3 Research Instrument

The data, in this case, was gathered with reading process. In the other words, the data and aspects of discourse were collected by applying a relevant technique of skimming reading process. This technique helped the researcher to collect the data in detail. In qualitative research, the main instrument is the researcher himself as the collector and analyst of the data. It is known that the researcher as a human being plays an important role in conducting a qualitative research based on the situational relevance of the social phenomena. It is because the speech was possibly taken from the human production. Furthermore, it is related to the production of utterances, talks, and so forth.

3.4 Data Collection

The data of this research were collected through reading the transcript and watching the video of Hillary's speech about women. Then, the researcher focused on the most important ideas of each paragraph that finally became collection of propositions or statements. Furthermore, the local meanings and

formal structures were attempted to be found. This was done regularly because it needs to classify the whole paragraphs. Furthermore, the long utterances of each paragraph were identified by giving codes in the scripts.

3.5 Data Analysis

In analyzing the data, the first step was grouping the speech text into six tables. In each table, there are the same statements or propositions of Hillary Clinton. Then, from each table, the propositions were shortened by summarizing with macro propositions becoming the collection of propositions. Finally, these macro propositions were summarized with the higher level, macrostructure of the speech text. The second step was finding the words and propositions in which their meaning can influence the recipients and these are best recalled by them. Meanwhile, the third step was finding the formal structures that support and control the Hillary's speech conveyed. Therefore, by finding these structures, the influential speech of Hillary could be known through the strong emphasis of her words repetition, controllable expression, and ideological insertion in the speech.

In this thesis, the explanation was achieved through intensive reading with a technique in which it must be relevant to the technique of data gathering. Barry in Rosidi (2008) provides that the technique of intensive reading is well known as the technique of SQ3R (Survey, Questions, Read, Recall, and Review). Thus, the regular reading, in this research, was strongly done due to the need of finding the gist, themes, topics of the speech conveyed.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents findings and discussion to find the ideology behind the speech text of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton about women in the conference of World Summit. It was analyzed by using three levels of critical discourse analysis; these are semantic macrostructures (topics), local meanings, and formal structures as suggested by van Dijk as one of fields in critical discourse analysis.

4.1 Research Findings

The findings were divided into three parts. Then, these were classified based on the research problems.

4.1.1 Macrostructural Analysis (semantic macrostructures)

In general, there were six macropropositions found in Hillary's speech to influence her audiences when speaking about women. The analysis can be seen as follows:

1. Macroproposition (M1)

No	Macrostructural Statements	Line
1	Focused attention on the global challenges facing women from equal rights and education The campaign for women's rights and opportunities	4-5
2	Advancing rights and opportunities for women and girls	13-14
3	Creating opportunities for women and girls advances security	33-34

	and prosperity for everyone	
4	The campaign for women's rights and opportunities	47

In table 1, she spoke about the importance of campaign for women. This was proven by their participation in economy, politic, and other aspects in society. Not only participation, but also improvement of social aspects can be achieved by their real contribution. Therefore, giving their rights must be prioritized.

It is known that most of the statements contain emphasis to give the women opportunities and rights. The similar statements were collected from the paragraph, in which these were conveyed by Hillary to defeat the social inequality in the context of women issues. Thus, those statements can be summarized by the operation of generalization. It can be generalized as ***creating women's opportunities and rights must be prioritized.***

2. Macroproposition 2 (M2)

No	Macrostructural Statements	Line
1	Too many women are still treated at best as second-class citizens	15-16
2	The fortunes of women and girls as somehow separate from society at large	39-40
4	Where women and girls are deprived of dignity and opportunity	50-51

5	Where women and girls cannot participate as full and equal	57-58
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	citizens.	
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In table 2, most of the statements show that women, in common, cannot play role in society. They were still dehumanized and assumed as second-class citizens. Instead, they were discriminated and marginalized. Thus, those can be summarized by the operation of construction. It can be reconstructed as *a number of women are still dehumanized.*

3. Macroproposition 3 (M3)

No	Macrostructural Statements	Line
1	There is a powerful new current of grassroots activism stirring	70
2	Now many of us have been working and advocating and fighting for women and girls	75-76
3	Technological changes are helping inspire, organize, and empower grassroots action	87-88

In table 3, the statements show that there was a movement of grassroots advocating the inequality and imbalance between the rights of women and men. Thus, the statements above (table 3) can be summarized by the operation of generalization, due to similar claim of data 1,2, and 3. Therefore, the generalization is *the advocacy for women's rights should be increased.*

4. Macroproposition 4 (M4)

No	Pakistani Internal Problems	Line	Solution for Pakistani	Line
1	More than 5 million children do not attend school – and two-thirds of them are girls.	100-101	People marched in the streets and signed petitions	115
2	Extremism thrives amid ignorance	108	“If this new generation is not given pens, they will be given guns.”	109-110
3	But the Taliban miscalculated	111	They inspired millions of Pakistanis to finally say, “Enough is enough.”	112-113
4	Improving life for Pakistan’s women is not a panacea.	118	The grassroots response to Malala’s shooting gives us hope for the future.	124-125

In table 4, it shows the problems and solution offered by Hillary to Pakistanis. Interestingly, the issue of women’s dehumanization was exemplified in Pakistan internally, and the problem solution was also given from Pakistan internally. This shows that she attempted to influence the audiences to believe that not all of Pakistan’s women were dehumanized, but they were still supported by the activists in their country.

It should be noted that Hillary’s solution for Pakistanis was also supported by quoting Malala’s expression to provoke the recipients that Pakistan’s women are really in threat. Therefore, the choice is on the Pakistanis whether they want to have a better country or not. This how a speaker’s power let them think about the

best choice. Her explanation did not provoke the audiences, but stimulate them through analogical examples. Thus, this was how her ideology influenced the audiences. Therefore, the statements above (table 4) can be summarized by the operation of construction. It can be reconstructed as *the extremism on women should be fought*.

5. Macroproposition 5 (M5)

No	Macrostructural Statements	Line
1	But no country can achieve its full economic potential when women are left out or left behind	159-160
2	she wanted to climb that economic ladder.	164
3	Any country that wants to rise economically and improve productivity needs to open the doors.	185-186
4	Extreme poverty in the region has decreased by 30 percent as a result.	189-190
5	Fast-growing Asian economies could boost their per capita incomesif they brought more women into the workforce.	194-196
6	Opening the doors to one's economy for woman will make a difference.	201-202

In table 5, most of the statements show that the quality of economy increased because of women's participation. As Hillary explained, when women are included in the workplace, the economy is automatically developed. Her statements were mostly about economical advances. Thus, these can be summarized by the operation of generalization. It is because most of her

statements were similar in the context of women's influences to economy. It can be generalized as *no women, no economical advance*.

6. Macroproposition 6 (M6)

No	American Women	Line	No	American Tasks	Line
1	We now have American women at high levels of business	212	7	America must face this too if we want to continue leading the world.	205-206
2	women live shorter lives in America	219	8	Our global leadership for peace and prosperity, for freedom and equality	210-211
3	There is no limit on how big she can dream	260	9	Renewing America's vitality at home and strengthening our leadership abroad.	236-237
4	For too many American women, opportunity and the dream of upward mobility – the American Dream– remains elusive	228-229	10	we need to learn from the women of the world who have blazed new paths	239-240
5	My mother made to survive her own difficult childhood,	230-231	11	we need to stand by the women of Afghanistan	245
6	women's rights are human rights	266	12	we need to empower women here at home	251-252

In table 6, Hillary spook about American women and the tasks of America. It should be noted that from this table, the the point of Hillary's ideology was easily got by the audiences, that is importance of women to the better country. In so doing, her statements above (table 6) were ended in the next point of her statement *that's how America will lead in the world* (line 258). Therefore, the macrostructural statements in table 6 are operated by construction. It can be reconstructed as *American power depends on women's contribution*.

From the overall macro structural statements, it can be summarized with six macropropositions (overall propositions) as follows:

M1:Creating women's opportunities and rights must be prioritized

M2: Many women are still dehumanized

M3:The advocacy for women's rights should be increased

M4:The action of Extremist on women should be fought

M5: No women, no economical advance

M6: The powerful America depends on women's contribution

Those macropropositions above can be summarized with the higher level, overall macroproposition (macrostructure) as follows:

---- The women's rights should be struggled by the goverment of the United State of America -----

or it can be as following macrostructure:

--- The dehumanization for women should be stopped by the goverment of the United State of America -----

Those two macrostructures above have the same essential meaning in summarizing the overall macropropositions. They merely have a different terms, but have one substantial explanation. It is because the emphasis of Hillary's speech about women can be viewed from either dehumanization and rights for women in all aspects of life.

It can be supposed that macrostructure of the speech is to show attitude towards women and their descrimination, and influence the audiences that theUS government should not stop fighting for women's rights, epecially the dehumanization for women that happened in the Middle East. Finally, by analyzing the speech text macro structurally, it is known that Hillary's ideology is liberal feminism in which women have the same right with men in all aspects of life. Besides, her ideology can be called as "radical feminism", due to the oppression tragedy for women in Pakistan as clearly informed by her. This is a way how her hidden-ideology influenced the audiences that the violent extremism has made a mistake. In consequence, the women must be liberated.

4.1.2 Local Meanings

The analysis, in finding Hillary's ideology, is then continued to local meanings. These are related to the meaning of words, propositions, and relation between propositions. In relation to this, van Dijk suggested that local meanings

are the result of the selection made by speakers or writers in their mental models of events or their more general, socially shared beliefs (Wodak, Ruth., Meyer, Michael, 2001:103). The analysis of local meanings of Hillary's speech can be seen as follows:

At this local semantic level, the word **right** will be examined. This word was repeated by Hillary, due to its relation to the limited-women's participation in society at large. This word was also addressed to the Extremists in the Middle East that controlled and dehumanized them. This community, as assumed by Hillary, limited the women in the workplace, family, and society. This issue was also supported by many conflicts happen in the Middle East, such as violent extremism, sectarian conflict, poverty, energy shortages, corruption, weak democratic institutions as conveyed by her in the conference. In order to qualify the negative action of the Extremists, it should be noted that the rights of women as part of humans were violated by them. The word **right** also has other functions. One of them was a pride for being American that was indicated by their liberation and freedom of act. This was how Hillary emphasized the good things of the US and the bad things of the Extremists in the Middle East. Hence, the equalization and balance are the right of human beings in the world including women as part of them.

Similarly relevant, the word **repression** was intentionally addressed to Pakistan's women. Lexically, this word means oppression or suppression. This word might be selected by her for the purpose of informing the hearers or

recipients that women in the of Middle East are descriminated. In doing so, this word was closely related to her word expression *second-class citizens* and *subhuman species* (line 16). The word *repression* represented a negative term of the Extremists dehumanizing women. Her statement was also about Thaliban insurgency that made the situation worse. Therefore, the word *repression* was intentionally adressed to the world that the Extremist's (Thaliban) confrontation should be stopped for the purpose of advancing the great unfinished business of the US in humanizing women.

The next word was *fight*. This word was regularly repeated many times by Hillary for provocation. In so doing, it was done to convince the audiences, American people and government, to continuously struggle for the women's opportunities and rights. In consequence, the overall ideas of the speech text might be supported and represented by this word in the context of instruction. Besides, the word *fight* was a strong emphasis for American government to really struggle for women's freedom of acts.

Hillary also chose the word *dehumanize* to exaggerate and attempt to show the mistakes of Extremists. This word, in the context of oppression for women, was an allegory for the extremists that they do not care about the self-respect of women as part of human beings. Besides, this word was an attempt to provoke the audiences that women are really in a threat. Hence, her speech was totally expressive till the chosen-word was very deep and allusive.

The last influential word used by Hillary was *equality*. This word was delivered for the purpose of informing the audiences that the equalization of

human beings between men and women should be struggled for. Besides, this word was conveyed to support the word ***right*** in which equality is a right of them in common.

In local meaning, there were also some propositions used by Hillary to insert her ideology. It can be seen as follows:

In her speech, there were also some propositions presupposed. The first proposition was ***in advancing the great unfinished business of the 21st century***. This proposition means fighting chance for women, especially in America. It is a incompleted-project in the US (United State). In doing so, this proposition also evoked the American to continue struggling for equalizing women in common.

Note in the next paragraph, the proposition above was supported by proposition ***all we need is a fighting chance***. This proposition has an implication that the thing what should the US do is advancing the rights of women.

The next propositions found were as follows:

- ***That firm faith has been at the heart of my work my entire life***
- ***Other abuses that dehumanize women***
- ***Needs to open the doors***

The first proposition has an implied-meaning of full exertion of Hillary's life. The phrase ***my entire life*** was intentionally delivered to the world that creating opportunities for women is a part of her life struggle. That proposition was internally and externally addressed and intended for a remarkable speech. Internally, as a senator of the US, she evoked that never ending struggle for

women must be totally handled by the government. The US government was asked to pay attention more on the fate of women and continue advocating the rights of them. Meanwhile, externally, that proposition was addressed to the world that the women's campaign becomes a serious work of the United State of America.

In the next explanation, many examples of inequality of women were conveyed by Hillary to make government notethat the great business of the United State of America must be finished. The notion of fighting chance for women was strongly evoked by her. It is proved by the proposition ***this is a core imperative for every human being in every society***. This shows that the struggle for women is not only for American, but for all human beings in variety of society in the world. This proposition convinced the audiences that women must be equalized and liberated. It can be noted that there was a polarization between liberal ideology (the US) and Extremism (Thaliban of Pakistan) in viewing the fate of women. This was how Hillary de-emphasized the bad things of the US and the good things of the Extremists. Thus, the polarization between “us” (US) and “them” (Extremists) was well-constructed by Hillary to provoke the audiences that the US action for women is better than the violent extremism. In this context, an attempt done by Hillary to influence the world that the extremism should not be supported and kept. The liberation and freedom of women should be supported by all of countries. Indirectly, the ideology of gender balance was evoked in this proposition.

Similarly relevant, the third proposition has an ideological presupposition that the world should have a new concept of advancing economy by bringing women in the workplace, family, and so on. This is also an implication that old ideology in controlling women and making them as the subhuman species should be deleted. As Hillary exemplified, the growth of economy in China and India are caused by women participation, no matter in education, industry, and so forth. Before she mentioned these two countries, the explanation was about the poverty, corruption, etc happen in Pakistan and most of the countries in the Middle East. Interestingly, that proposition was intended to open the Pakistan's mind in overcoming the poverty in their country. In so doing, this proposition influenced the social cognition in how great the women decreased the economical crisis.

4.1.3 Relevance Subtle of Formal Structures

This analysis focuses on the intention, emotions of the speakers, impression formation, properties of communicative event, and so forth. Besides, the repetition of passive constructs and formal styles of expression are elaborated in this part of findings.

Now, it comes to the analysis of formal structures. In this level, the analysis is about the use of passive constructs in the speech. The agents or doers were usually hidden by the authors to manipulate the receivers.

The first passive construct is *where too many women are still treated at*

best as second-class citizens. The function may be vague in its threat of the women discrimination. Besides, it was used to emphasize the negative acts of “them” (extremists) as assumed by Hillary.

The second is *whose schools have been destroyed*. This shows that the school destruction was still unclear. The doer of the negative action cannot be predicted. She controlled the speech well by hiding the negative terms of the destroyers because they might not be known by her.

The third is *how can we be deprived from education*. This passive sentence was an expression of Malala who became a victim of women violation in Pakistan. However, this implies that the doers or agents of the deprivation was the community of extremism. For delivering formal information, it is better to hide them although they were stated in part of the paragraphs.

The forth is *concerning the young 23-year-old woman, brutally beaten and raped*. This indicates that the doers of the rape may be vague, and then they were omitted. In so doing, the doers might be teenagers or students. Thus, in Hillary’s perspective, it is not formal to directly convey the doers in front of public, due to the bad effect for other teenagers in the US.

In the same way, the formal styles were inserted by Hillary for the purpose of signalling many things. It should be noted that the declaration of women’s inequality has been stated before. Yet, as in repeated *we need to...’,* can be seen as follows:

- *We need to.....’,* ‘in our economy and our society’.
- *We need to.....’,* ‘make equal pay a reality’.

- ***We need to.....***, 'more workers and make them paid'.
- ***We need to.....***, 'pursue careers in math and science'.
- ***We need to***, 'live up to their own God-given potential'.

The expressions ***we need to*** above are formal styles used by Hillary to signal the declaration of women liberation and equality. It was addressed to the government of the United State to increase its power and domination through women's participation in all aspects of society.

Similarly relevant, the next formal styles were formal repetition of ***lets keep fighting for***, as follows:

- ***Lets keep fighting for*** opportunity and dignity,
- ***Let's keep fighting for*** freedom and equality,
- ***Let's keep fighting for*** full participation.

In the repetition above, the freedom of women was signalled by Hillary. It should be noted that the word ***full*** in the last repetition shows that the action of women in society should not be limited. Thus, whatever and whoever controlled and delimited them must be fought. In addition, there was a repetition in the next sentence, such ***and let's keep telling the world over and over again***. This shows that after fighting the chance of women, the conclusion was telling the world that women are the part of human beings. Interestingly, after addressing to the government of the United State, Hillary eventually addressed the rights of women to the world. This was a way how Hillary signalled the liberation, freedom, and equality to the whole world.

The next formal styles were the repetition of *it is no coincidence that* as follows:

- *It is no coincidence that.....*”, “girls are deprived of dignity and opportunity”.
- *It is no coincidence that.....*”, “girls cannot participate as full and equal citizens”.
- *It is no coincidence that.....*”, “grappling with how to empower women”.

This shows that Hillary used formal styles and repeated these three times to convince the audiences that the inequality of women was intentionally done by the extremist community, and it is not a predistination of God. Thus, in the last repetition, the explanation was about the way in how empower women in order to be equal as men in society, such as China and India with their economical growth after bringing them in the workplace.

4.2 Discussion

This discussion presents the identification of the findings. This elaborates the ideology of Hillary Clinton through macro structural analysis of the text. In addition, the discussion is about the finding of local meanings and formal structures of the speech text.

The first is semantic macrostructures representing the hidden ideology of her in viewing nowday’s women. The intention of Hillary in the speech is found that she totally fought anything for their rights, including the extremism ideology

that limit their opportunities. It can be shown through the macropropositions below:

- Creating women's opportunities and rights is a priority
- Many women are still dehumanized
- The advocacy for women's rights should be increased
- The action of Extremist should be against
- No women, no economical advance
- American power depends on women's contribution

From the overall macropropositions above, the macrostructure can be shortened and generalized with ***the women's dehumanization should be stopped by the Extremists***. This shows that Hillary's ideology influenced the audiences to believe that the women's right should be continuously fought and advocated by the US. It was done by provoking the US government in the conference to care to them at home (US) and abroad, and it can be termed as internal and external improvement. It should be noted that the audiences are not merely limited to those who attended the agenda, but to the world at once. It is because the Summit was also broadcasted to all over the world.

The emphasizing statements of Hillary about women were not solely about the opportunities of them in the workplace but the provocation and movement of the world, especially the US government to continuously struggle for their rights in the Middle East mostly. This also means that most of the Middle East regions are as if under the control of the United State of America.

The second is local meanings of the speech. These are related to the words, propositions, relation between propositions used and chosen by Hillary.

The local meanings can be seen below:

Table 1

No	Words	Propositions
1	Right	In advancing the great unfinished business of the 21st century
2	Repression	All we need is a fighting chance
3	Fight	That firm faith has been at the heart of my work my entire life
4	Dehumanize	Other abuses that dehumanize women
5	Equality	Needs to open the doors

Table 1 shows that most of the words in local meanings show the dehumanization of women. In doing so, the chosen-words of Hillary were intended to provoke and invite the whole American to struggle for giving women rights and opportunities in all aspects of life. Meanwhile, the propositions show that the struggle for their rights must be continuously done. Hence, the government of the US was requested to overcome this problem. Besides, the moment of Summit was also utilized by her, due to her position as Senator in the US parliament.

By knowing local meanings, it is possible to know the powerful influence of Hillary's speech in the Summit. This means that her ideology shown in the level of macrostructure can be reinforced by using simple words and propositions namely local meanings. It can be exemplified such proposition *in advancing the great unfinished business of the 21st century* was intentionally conveyed for the purpose of convincing the audiences that the women's affairs were still unfinished, thus it must be seriously paid attention by the US government.

The third is subtle formal structures. This relates to the repetition of formal styles, passive structures, and so forth. The table can be seen below:

Table 2

No	Passive Constructs	Formal Styles
1	too many women are still treated at best as second-class citizens	We need to (5 times)
2	whose schools have been destroyed.	Let's keep fighting for (3 times)
3	How can we be deprived from education	It is no coincidence that (3 times)

In table 2, there are three sentences of passive constructs. The function of passive sentences was used to hide the vague doers in the action. Thus, Hillary kept the possible mistake done if she mentions the doers. Meanwhile, the

repetition of formal styles indicates that Hillary was really serious in describing the statement after the repetition.

The first repetition of Hillary's formal styles enhanced the prosperity of economy. Thus, the statements were intentionally established by Hillary for convincing the audiences that women really play important role in economical advance. Those repeated-expression also means that the participation of women in the workplace is a must and necessity for a better world's economy.

The second is related to the freedom and liberation of women. It should be noted that the expression *let's keep fighting* was an allurement for the audiences, especially American people to continuously struggle in creating a liberty for them. Besides, the word *keep* was also an encouragement for the government to be strongly energetic in equalizing them in all aspects of life.

The third is the explanation of countries in which the women's repression happened. By repeating the formal style *it is no coincidence*, Hillary attempted to convince the audiences that the women's dehumanization is not a destiny, thus it must be started by the government of the United State of America to pay attention more about women's role in daily life. Yet, in the last formal styles, the countries which care to women were mentioned, those are India and China. It was intended to compare to the previous statements in how a country's prosperity achieved through their participation and contribution. This was one of ways in how Hillary's ideology of women liberation delivered to the audiences.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter discusses conclusion and suggestion. The conclusion is drawn from the results of analysis in chapter IV. Meanwhile, the suggestion was made for recommendation and future research.

5.1 Conclusion

This thesis analyzes the hidden ideology of Hillary Clinton in her speech about women in the conference of world summit in New York, the United State of America through three levels of CDA on meanings.

Hillary's ideology macro structurally can be identified by six macro propositions found through summarizing her speech by the operation of macro rules; deletion, generalization, and construction. These were used to have the gist and main idea of the text. In the level of global semantic (semantic macrostructures), Hillary influenced the audiences by regularly investigating the meanings of her speech about women. This was represented by emphasizing the rights of women in each paragraph. Then, the overall paragraphs of her speech were clustered in six important statements which might be termed as macropropositions. The hidden ideology of liberal feminism was finally found by mapping her speech text macro structurally, or might be said in semantic macrostructures.

Hillary intentionally selected words and propositions to enhance the topics that her ideology could influence the audiences. In this second analysis, she emphasized the meanings of the words and propositions. It is because it could imply and control the topics through controllable meanings of the speech.

Hillary used formal styles and structures of language that topicalize the positive-self presentation of the United State, in which emphasized the good things of the US and bad things of the Extremists in the Middle East. She explicitly stated that the ideology of liberal feminism is urgent to be practically used by all countries in the whole world. In addition, she argued that most of the developed-countries are supported by women's contribution and participation in all aspects of life.

5.2 Suggestion

Based on the conclusion, the result of this study hopefully gives some useful suggestions for readers, students, and researchers. The first, it is suggested for readers to deeply analyze and catch the intention of a discourse authors whether they are evoked, influenced, or manipulated. Then, they should be well-aware about the speech texts or discourses, especially political discourse texts. The second suggestion is for students, especially in English Language and Letters Department. Through this study, they are expected to further view the multidisciplinary of critical discouse analysis in other side, especially the analysis of meanings (semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and formal structures) due to the development of language phenomenon.

The third, may the result of this study be useful reference for the next researchers who want to analyze the levels of critical discourse analysis on discourse meanings, especially in semantic macrostructures and local meanings in different objects of research.



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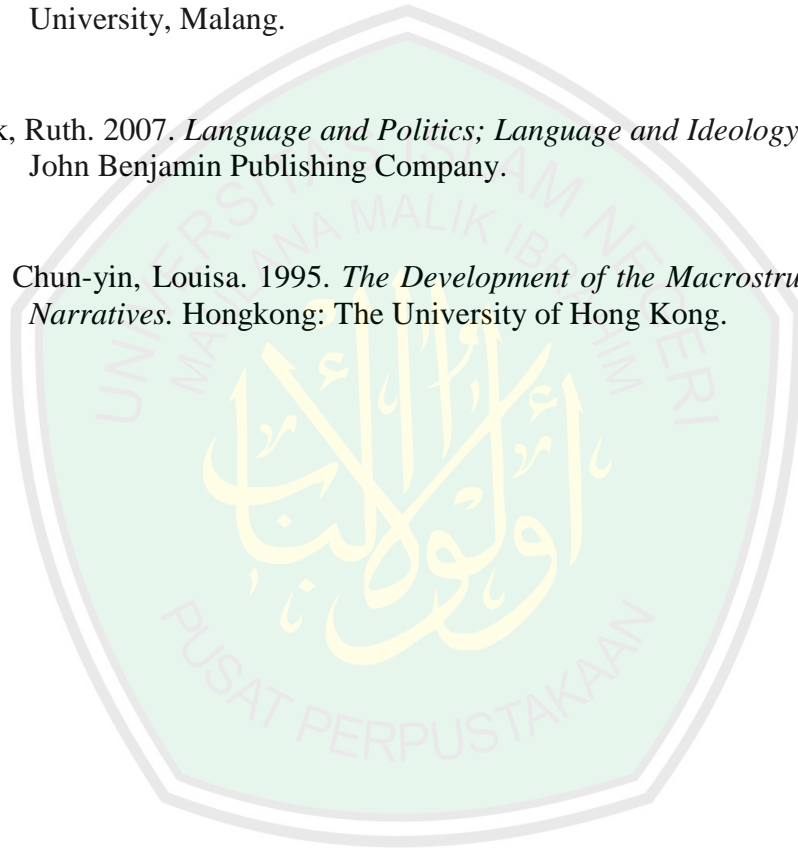
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APPENDIX

(Transcript of Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton's Speech about Women)

**Delivered by Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton in the Conference of World
Summit in New York, United State of America**

April 5, 2013



Remarks at Women in the World Summit

April 5, 2013

Thank you so much. Oh, what a wonderful occasion for me to be back here, the fourth Women in the World conference I've been privileged to attend, introduced by the founder, creator, and my friend, Tina Brown. When one thinks about this annual conference it really is intended to, and I believe has, focused attention on the global challenges facing women from equal rights and education, to human slavery, literacy, the power of the media and technology to affect change in women's futures and so much else. And for that I thank Tina and the great team that she has worked with in order to produce this conference and the effects it has created. It's been such an honor to work with all of you over the years though it's hard to see from up here out into the audience, I did see some faces and I know that this is an occasion as well as for so many friends and colleagues to come together and take stock for where we stand and what more needs to be done in advancing the great unfinished business of the 21st century – advancing rights and opportunities for women and girls.

Now this is unfinished around the world, where too many women are still treated at best as second-class citizens, at worst as some kind of subhuman species. Those of you who were there last night saw that remarkable film that interviewed men primarily in Pakistan, talking very honestly about their intention to continue to control the women in their lives and their reach. But the business is still

unfinished here at home in the United States, we have come so far together but there's still work to be done.

Now, I have always believed that women are not victims, we are agents of change, we are drivers of progress, we are makers of peace – all we need is a fighting chance.

And that firm faith in the untapped potential of women at home and around the world has been at the heart of my work my entire life, from college and law school, from Arkansas to the White House to the Senate. And when I became Secretary of State, I was determined to weave this perspective even deeper into the fabric of American foreign policy.

But I knew to do that, I couldn't just preach to the usual choir. We had to reach out, not only to men, in solidarity and recruitment, but to religious communities, to every partner we could find. We had to make the case to the whole world that creating opportunities for women and girls advances security and prosperity for everyone. So we relied on the empirical research that shows that when women participate in the economy, everyone benefits. When women participate in peace-making and peace-keeping, we are all safer and more secure. And when women participate in politics of their nations they can make a difference.

But as strong a case as we've made, too many otherwise thoughtful people continue to see the fortunes of women and girls as somehow separate from society at large. They nod, they smile and then they relegate these issues once again to the

sidelines. I have seen it over and over again, I have been kidded about it I have been ribbed, I have been challenged in board rooms and official offices across the world.

But fighting to give women and girls a fighting chance isn't a nice thing to-do. It isn't some luxury that we get to when we have time on our hands to spend doing that . This is a core imperative for every human being in every society. If we do not continue the campaign for women's rights and opportunities, the world we want to live, the country we all love and cherish, will not be what it should be.

It is no coincidence that so many of the countries that threaten regional and global peace are the very places where women and girls are deprived of dignity and opportunity. Think of the young women from northern Mali to Afghanistan whose schools have been destroyed. Or the girls across Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia who have been condemned to child marriage. Or the refugees of the conflicts from eastern Congo to Syria who endure rape and deprivation as a weapon of war.

It is no coincidence that so many of the countries where the rule of law and democracy are struggling to take root are the same places where women and girls cannot participate as full and equal citizens. Like in Egypt, where women stood on the front lines of the revolution but are now being denied their seats at the table and face a rising tide of sexual violence.

It is no coincidence that so many of the countries making the leap from poverty to prosperity are places now grappling with how to empower women. I think it is one of the unanswered questions of the rest of this century to whether countries, like China and India, can sustain their growth and emerge as true global economic powers. Much of that depends on what happens to women and girls.

None of these are coincidences. Instead, they demonstrate – and your presence here confirms – that we are meeting at a remarkable moment of confluence.

Because in countries and communities across the globe where for generations violence against women has gone unchecked, opportunity and dignity virtually unknown, there is a powerful new current of grassroots activism stirring, galvanized by events too outrageous to ignore and enabled by new technologies that give women and girls voices like never before. That's why we need to seize this moment. But we need to be thoughtful and smart and savvy about what this moment really offers to us.

Now many of us have been working and advocating and fighting for women and girls for more decades than we care to remember. And I think we can be and should proud of all that we've achieved. Conferences like this one have been part of that progress. But let's recognize, much of our advocacy is still rooted in a 20th century, top-down frame. The world is changing beneath our feet and it is past time to embrace a 21st century approach to advancing the rights and opportunities of women and girls at home and across the globe.

Think about it. You know, technology, from satellite television to cell phones from Twitter to Tumblr, is helping bring abuses out of the shadows and into the center of global consciousness, Think of that woman in a blue bra beaten in Tahrir Square, think about that 6-year old girl in Afghanistan about to be sold into marriage to settle a family debt.

Just as importantly, technological changes are helping inspire, organize, and empower grassroots action. I have seen this and that is where progress is coming from and that's where our support is needed. We have a tremendous stake in the outcome of these metrics.

Today, more than ever, we see clearly that the fate of women and girls around the world is tied up with the greatest security and economic challenges of our time.

Consider Pakistan, a proud country with a rich history that recently marked a milestone in its democratic development when a civilian government completed its full term for the very first time. And it is no secret that Pakistan is plagued by many ills: violent extremism, sectarian conflict, poverty, energy shortages, corruption, weak democratic institutions. It is a combustible mix. And more than 30,000 Pakistanis have been killed by terrorists in the last decade.

The repression of women in Pakistan exacerbates all of these problems.

More than 5 million children do not attend school – and two-thirds of them are girls. The Taliban insurgency has made the situation even worse.

As Malala has said and reminded us: “We live in the 21st century. How can we be deprived from education?” She went on to say, “I have the right to play. I have the right to sing. I have the right to talk. I have the right to go to market. I have the right to speak up.”

How many of us here today would have that kind of courage? The Taliban recognized this young girl, 14-year at the time, as a serious threat. You know what? They were right— she was a threat. Extremism thrives amid ignorance and anger, intimidation and cowardice. As Malala said, “If this new generation is not given pens, they will be given guns.”

But the Taliban miscalculated. They thought if they silenced Malala, and thank god they didn't, that not only she, but her cause would die. Instead, they inspired millions of Pakistanis to finally say, “Enough is enough.” You heard it directly from those two brave young Pakistani women yesterday. And they are not alone. People marched in the streets and signed petitions demanding that every Pakistani child – girls as well as boys – have the opportunity to attend school. And that in itself was a rebuke to the extremists and their ideology.

I'm well aware that improving life for Pakistan's women is not a panacea. But it's impossible to imagine making real progress on the country's other problems – especially violent extremism – without tapping the talents and addressing the needs of Pakistan's women, including reducing corruption, ending the culture of impunity, expanding access to education, to credit, to all the tools that give a woman or a man make the most of their life's dreams. None of this will be easy or

quick. But the grassroots response to Malala's shooting gives us hope for the future.

Again and again we have seen women drive peace and progress. In Northern Ireland, Catholic and Protestant women like Inez McCormick came together to demand an end to the Troubles and helped usher in the Good Friday Accords. In Liberia, women marched and protested until the country's warlords agreed to end their civil war, they prayed the devil back to hell, and they twice elected Ellen Johnson Sirleaf as the first woman president in Africa. An organization called Sisters Against Violent Extremism now connects women in more than a dozen countries who have risked their lives to tell terrorists that they are not welcome in their communities.

So the next time you hear someone say that the fate of women and girls is not a core national security issue, it's not one of those hard issues that really smart people deal with, remind them: The extremists understand the stakes of this struggle. They know that when women are liberated, so are entire societies. We must understand this too. And not only understand it, but act on it.

And the struggles do not end. Struggles do not end when countries attempt the transition to democracy. We've seen that very clearly the last few years.

Many millions including many of us were inspired and encouraged by the way women and men worked together during the revolutions in places like Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya. But we know that all over the world when the dust settles, too

often women's gains are lost to better organized, more powerful forces of oppression.

We see seeing women largely shut out of decision-making. We see women activists believe they are being targeted by organized campaigns of violence and intimidation.

But still, many brave activists, women and men alike, continue to advocate for equality and dignity for all Egyptians, Tunisians, and Libyans. They know the only way to realize the promise of the Arab Spring is with and through the full participation of half the population.

Now what is true in politics is also true economics.

In the years ahead, a number of rapidly-developing nations are poised to reshape the global economy, lift many millions out of poverty and into the middle class. This will be good for them and good for us – it will create vast new markets and trading partners.

But no country can achieve its full economic potential when women are left out or left behind... a fact underscored day after day and most recently to me a tragedy in India.

Concerning the young 23-year-old woman, brutally beaten and raped on a Delhi bus last December she was from a poor farming family, but like so many women and men she wanted to climb that economic ladder. She had aspirations for her

life. She studied all day to become a physical therapist, then went to work at call centers in the evening, she sleep two hours a night. President Mukherjeeof described her as a “symbol of all that New India strives to be.”

But if her life embodied the aspirations of a rising nation, her death, her murder, pointed to the many challenges still holding it back. The culture of rape is tied up with a broader set of problems: official corruption, illiteracy, inadequate education, laws and traditions, customs, culture, that prevent women from being seen as equal human beings. And in addition, in many places, India and China being the leaders, in skewed gender balance with many more men than women, which contributes to human trafficking, child marriage, and other abuses that dehumanize women and corrode society.

So millions of Indians took to the streets in 2011, they protested corruption. In 2012, came the Delhi gang rape, and the two causes merged. Demands for stronger measures against rape were joined by calls for better policing and more responsive governance, for an India that could protect all its citizens and deliver the opportunities they deserve. Some have called that the “Indian Spring.”

Because as the protesters understood, India will rise or fall with its women. Its had a tradition of strong women leaders, but those women leaders like women leaders around the world like those who become presidents or prime ministers or foreign ministers or heads of corporations cannot be seen as tokens that give everyone else in society the chance to say we've taken care of our women. So any country that wants to rise economically and improve productivity needs to open the doors.

Latin America and the Caribbean have steadily increased women's participation in the labor market since the 1990s, they now account for more than half of all workers. The World Bank estimates that extreme poverty in the region has decreased by 30 percent as a result.

Here in the United States, American women went from holding 37 percent of all jobs forty years ago to nearly 48 percent today. And the productivity gains attributable to this increase account for more than \$3.5 trillion in GDP growth over those four decades. Similarly, fast-growing Asian economies could boost their per capita incomes by as much as 14 percent by 2020 if they brought more women into the workforce.

Laws and traditions that hold back women hold, hold back entire societies, creating more opportunities for women and girls will grow economies and spread prosperity. When I first began talking about this using rape data from the World Bank and private sector analyses there were doubters who couldn't quite put the pieces together. But that debate is over. Opening the doors to one's economy for woman will make a difference.

Now, I want to conclude where I began, with the unfinished business we face here at home. The challenges and opportunities I've outlined today are not just for the people of the developing world. America must face this too if we want to continue leading the world.

Traveling the globe these last four years reaffirmed and deepened my pride in our country and the ideals we represent. But it also challenged me to think about who we are and the values we are supposed to be living here at home in order to represent abroad. After all, our global leadership for peace and prosperity, for freedom and equality, is not a birthright. It must be earned by every generation.

And yes, we now have American women at high levels of business, academia, and government, you name it. But, as we've seen in recent months, we're still asking age-old questions about how to make women's way in male-dominated fields, how to balance the demands of work and family. The Economist magazine recently published what it called a "glass-ceiling index" ranking countries based on factors like opportunities for women in the workplace and equal pay. The United States was not even in the top 10. Worse, recent studies have found that, on average, women live shorter lives in America than in any other major industrialized country.

Think about it for a minute. We are the richest and most powerful country in the world. Yet many American women today are living shorter lives than their mothers, especially those with the least education. That is a historic reversal that rivals the decline in life expectancy for Russian men after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Now there is no single explanation for why this is happening. Prescription drug overdoses have spiked: obesity, smoking, lack of health insurance, intractable

poverty. But the fact is that for too many American women, opportunity and the dream of upward mobility – the American Dream– remains elusive.

That's not the way it's supposed to be. I think of the extraordinary sacrifices my mother made to survive her own difficult childhood, to give me not only life, but opportunity along with love and inspiration. And I'm very proud of my own daughter and I look at all these young women I'm privileged to work with or know through Chelsea and it's hard to imagine turning the clock back on them. But in places throughout America large and small the clock is turning back.

So, we have work to do. Renewing America's vitality at home and strengthening our leadership abroad will take the energy and talents of all our people, women and men.

If America is going to lead, we need to learn from the women of the world who have blazed new paths and developed new solutions, on everything from economic development to education to environmental protection.

If America is going to lead, we need to catch up with so much of the rest of the world and finally ratify the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Discrimination Against Women.

If America is going to lead, we need to stand by the women of Afghanistan after our combat troops come home, we need to speak up for all the women working to realize the promise of the Arab Spring, and do more to save the lives of the

hundreds of thousands of mothers who die every year during childbirth from preventable causes and so much more.

But that's not all.

Because if America is going to lead we expect ourselves to lead, we need to empower women here at home to participate fully in our economy and our society, we need to make equal pay a reality, we need to extending family and medical leave benefits to more workers and make them paid, we need to encourage more women and girls to pursue careers in math and science.

We need to invest in our people so they can live up to their own God-given potential.

That's how America will lead in the world.

So let's learn from the wisdom of every mother and father all over the world who teaches their daughters that there is no limit on how big she can dream and how much she can achieve.

This truly is the unfinished business of the 21st century. And It is the work we are all called to do. I look forward to being to be your partner in all the days and years ahead. Lets keep fighting for opportunity and dignity, let's keep fighting for freedom and equality, let's keep fighting for full participation. And let's keep telling the world over and over again that yes, women's rights are human rights and human rights are women's rights once and for all.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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