

# WOMEN'S LANGUAGE POLITENESS IN FACEBOOK STATUS UPDATES: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GENDERED DISCURSIVE PRACTICES

**Elita Modesta Br. Sembiring<sup>1</sup>**

Universitas Methodist Indonesia, Medan, Indonesia

e-mail: [elitamodesta@gmail.com](mailto:elitamodesta@gmail.com)

**Rahmah Fithriani<sup>2</sup>**

Universitas Islam Sumatera Utara, Medan, Indonesia

e-mail: [rahmahfithriani@uisu.ac](mailto:rahmahfithriani@uisu.ac)

**Pardi<sup>3</sup>**

Universitas Islam Sumatera Utara, Medan, Indonesia

e-mail: [pardi@sastra.uisu.ac.id](mailto:pardi@sastra.uisu.ac.id)

## **Abstract**

This study uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine women's language politeness in Facebook status updates. Fewer studies have looked at how politeness functions as a gendered discursive practice in digital communication, despite the fact that it has historically been studied as a pragmatic strategy for reducing face-threatening acts. Drawing on Brown and Levinson's politeness theory and Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA, this qualitative study analyzes 50 Facebook status updates posted by female users. The findings reveal that women predominantly employ positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record strategies to maintain social harmony, manage face, and negotiate public self-presentation. At the discursive level, politeness functions as a normative expectation shaping women's online identities, while at the socio culture level, it operates as an ideological resource that reproduces gendered norms of emotional labor, relational responsibility, and self-regulation. This study contributes to pragmatic and critical discourse studies by reconceptualizing politeness not merely as an interpersonal strategy but as a socially embedded and ideologically loaded practice in digital discourse.

**Keywords:** *Critical Discourse Analysis, Digital Discourse, Facebook Status Updates, Gender, Politeness*

## **1. Introduction**

The widespread use of social media has fundamentally transformed how people communicate, construct identities, and negotiate social relationships. Online platforms reshape interactional norms, especially regarding audience awareness, self-presentation, and discourse persistence, according to general studies on digital communication (Boyd, 2014; Androutsopoulos, 2015). Facebook continues to be one of the most

important platforms for public self-expression and interpersonal contact. Facebook status updates serve as semi-permanent public texts that are accessible to a variety of audiences for interpretation, assessment, and engagement. They are an important location for studying language use in digital discourse because of their hybrid nature, which is both private and public.

In these kinds of settings, communication patterns are significantly shaped by gender. Women's online

discourse is shaped by gendered expectations about emotional expressiveness, civility, and maintaining relationships. According to foundational research, women typically utilize language to communicate empathy, foster unity, and preserve social harmony (Holmes, 1995; Mills, 2003). Lakoff's (1975) similarly emphasizes aspects of women's language that are frequently linked to societal norms of femininity, such as hedging, indirectness, and politeness techniques. Due to the prominence and permanence of online communication, where language choices are subject to social critique and public scrutiny, these tendencies are further amplified in digital contexts.

Politeness, traditionally conceptualized within pragmatics as a strategy to mitigate face-threatening acts (Brown & Levinson, 1987), acquires new meanings in online environments. In Facebook status updates, politeness is often realized through indirect expressions, hedging, emotive language, and inclusive forms that reflect careful audience design and self-monitoring. However, politeness in this context cannot be understood merely as an individual linguistic choice. Rather, it represents a socially embedded practice shaped by broader ideological constructs, including norms of gender, power relations, and expectations of emotional labor associated with femininity.

Despite the large amount of research on gender and politeness, as well as the increasing interest in digital discourse, most of the studies that are now available are descriptive in nature. Without critically analyzing the ideological implications of these behaviors, they primarily concentrate on detecting language traits. Although

identity creation and social media interaction have been examined in studies on online discourse (Herring, 2013; Page, 2012), a critical view of gendered politeness is rarely included. Additionally, there is still a dearth of studies that explicitly examine women's politeness in Facebook status updates, especially those that integrate pragmatics and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This reveals a major vacuum in literature, where macro-level social and ideological frameworks have not been adequately linked to micro-level linguistic study.

To address this gap, the present study adopts an integrative approach by combining politeness theory and Critical Discourse Analysis. It focuses specifically on Facebook status updates as a distinct and underexplored genre of digital discourse. This data source is selected for several reasons. First, Facebook status updates provide authentic and naturally occurring language data produced in everyday contexts. Second, their semi-public and interactive nature allows for the examination of how users negotiate identity and relationships before diverse audiences. Third, Facebook remains widely used across different demographic groups, making it a relevant platform for analyzing contemporary gendered communication practices.

This study is novel in that it moves beyond a purely descriptive account of politeness by offering a critical and interpretative analysis of how politeness functions as a gendered discursive practice. It seeks to connect linguistic strategies with broader social ideologies, particularly those related to gender, power, and social relations. Accordingly, this study has three main objectives: to provide a descriptive

analysis of politeness strategies in women's Facebook status updates based on politeness theory, to offer an interpretative explanation of how these strategies function as gendered practices within digital discourse, and to conduct a critical examination of the ideologies reproduced through these practices using a CDA framework (Fairclough, 1995).

In line with these objectives, this study addresses the following research questions: (1) How are politeness strategies realized in women's Facebook status updates? (2) How do these strategies function as gendered discursive practices in digital communication? and (3) What ideologies of gender, power, and social relations are reproduced through women's politeness on Facebook?.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1 Politeness Theory and Its Functions

Politeness has been widely conceptualized in pragmatics as a set of strategies used by speakers to manage interpersonal relationships and maintain social harmony. Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson (1987) define politeness as the strategies employed to save both the speaker's and the hearer's "face," a concept originally developed by Erving Goffman (1967). Face refers to the public self-image that individuals seek to maintain in social interaction.

Brown and Levinson distinguish between two aspects of face. Positive face refers to the desire to be liked, appreciated, and approved of by others, while negative face refers to the desire for autonomy and freedom from imposition. Language use, therefore, reflects continuous efforts to maintain

these face wants across different social contexts.

In communication, certain acts inherently threaten face, known as Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs). These include requests, criticisms, disagreements, and directives. The level of threat depends on three sociological variables: social distance, relative power, and the degree of imposition (Brown & Levinson, 1987). For example, a request such as "*Close the door*" may be perceived differently depending on whether it is directed at a close friend or a superior.

To mitigate FTAs, Brown and Levinson propose a hierarchy of politeness strategies:

1. **Bald On-Record:** direct and unmitigated (e.g., "Give me the book.")
2. **Positive Politeness:** emphasizes solidarity and closeness (e.g., "Hey, could you help me with this?")
3. **Negative Politeness:** minimizes imposition through indirectness (e.g., "Could you possibly...?")
4. **Off-Record:** highly indirect, leaving interpretation open (e.g., "It's quite noisy here...")

Beyond their forms, politeness strategies also serve important functions. According to Miriam A. Locher and Richard J. Watts (2005), politeness should be understood as relational work, meaning that it functions to negotiate social relationships rather than merely soften speech. In this sense, politeness can:

- maintain social harmony
- construct identity
- manage power relations
- signal group membership and solidarity

In digital contexts, these functions become even more significant. The absence of nonverbal cues and the presence of large, invisible audiences increase the need for careful linguistic choices (Zappavigna, 2018). As a result, politeness strategies in social media are not only communicative tools but also mechanisms of self-presentation and audience design.

## 2.2 Gender and Politeness in Digital Discourse

Research on gender and language has consistently associated women's speech with politeness, indirectness, and emotional expressiveness. Robin Lakoff (1975) argues that women's language is characterized by features such as hedges, tag questions, and polite forms, which reflect societal expectations of femininity. Similarly, Janet Holmes (1995) suggests that women tend to use language to build solidarity and maintain social relationships.

However, feminist linguists emphasize that these patterns are not biologically determined but socially constructed. Sara Mills (2003) argues that politeness is a discursive practice shaped by gender ideologies, while Jane Sunderland (2004) highlights how language reflects and reproduces gendered power relations.

In digital discourse, these gendered practices are further intensified. Recent studies indicate that women in social media environments frequently employ positive politeness and mitigation strategies to maintain relational harmony and manage public self-presentation (Ambarwati et al., 2019; Sholikhatin & Indah, 2019). For instance, a Facebook status such as "*Feeling a bit tired today, hope everything goes well*" demonstrates hedging and emotive

expression, which soften the message and invite empathy.

These patterns suggest that politeness functions as a gendered communicative strategy, shaped by expectations that women should be caring, emotionally expressive, and socially attentive. At the same time, such practices may also reflect underlying power dynamics in which women are expected to regulate their language more carefully than men.

## 2.3 Politeness, Ideology, and Critical Discourse Analysis

From the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), language is not neutral but constitutes a form of social practice that both reflects and reproduces power relations. Norman Fairclough (1995) argues that discourse operates within ideological structures and contributes to the maintenance of social inequalities.

In this framework, politeness can be understood as an ideological practice. It does not merely function to maintain harmony but can also serve as a regulatory mechanism that reinforces social norms. Feminist CDA scholars such as Michelle M. Lazar (2007) argue that women's language practices often reproduce dominant ideologies of femininity, including expectations of care, restraint, and emotional responsibility.

Thus, politeness strategies in women's Facebook status updates may:

- reproduce gender norms (e.g., women as nurturing and polite)
- reinforce power relations (e.g., indirectness as a form of constraint)

- normalize social expectations (e.g., emotional labor in communication)

This perspective allows the analysis to move beyond linguistic description toward a critical understanding of how discourse shapes and is shaped by society.

## **2.4 Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of CDA**

To analyze these processes, this study adopts Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional model, which integrates micro and macro levels of analysis:

### **1. Text (Description)**

This dimension focuses on the linguistic features of the text, such as vocabulary, grammar, and discourse structures. In this study, it involves identifying politeness strategies (e.g., hedging, indirectness, emotive expressions) in Facebook status updates.

### **2. Discursive Practice (Interpretation)**

This level examines how texts are produced, distributed, and interpreted. It considers how users construct meanings, negotiate identities, and interact with audiences in digital environments

### **3. Social Practice (Explanation)**

This dimension situates discourse within broader social and ideological contexts. It explores how politeness practices relate to gender norms, power relations, and societal expectations.

Together, these three dimensions enable a comprehensive analysis of how politeness operates not only as a linguistic strategy but also as a socially and ideologically embedded practice.

## **3. Research Method**

### **3.1 Research Design**

This study adopts a qualitative research design to explore the use of politeness as a gendered discursive practice in digital communication. Qualitative research is appropriate because it allows for an in-depth understanding of meaning, context, and social processes embedded in language use (Creswell, 2014).

Specifically, this study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its main analytical approach. CDA views language as a form of social practice that reflects and reproduces power relations and ideologies (Fairclough, 1995). In addition, Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory is used as an analytical tool to identify and categorize linguistic strategies at the micro level, while Fairclough's three-dimensional framework is used to interpret discursive and sociocultural meanings at the macro level.

### **3.2 Data Source**

The data of this study consist of 50 Facebook status updates produced by female users aged 18–40 over a six-month period. The participants were selected based on their active engagement in posting status updates that reflect everyday communication practices.

Facebook was chosen as the data source for several reasons. First, it provides authentic and naturally occurring language data in digital contexts. Second, status updates function as semi-public texts, allowing users to express thoughts, emotions, and interpersonal messages to a broad audience. Third, Facebook remains

widely used across diverse demographic groups, making it a relevant platform for examining gendered communication practices.

To ensure ethical considerations, all data were anonymized, and identifying information was removed in accordance with research ethics in digital discourse studies (Markham & Buchanan, 2012).

### 3.3 Procedure of Data Collection

This study uses purposive sampling as the data collection method. According to Palinkas et al. (2015), purposive sampling allows researchers to select data that are most relevant to the research objectives.

Technique and Steps:

1. Selection of participants based on gender (female) and age range (18–40).
2. Identification of Facebook accounts that actively post status updates.
3. Screening status updates based on specific criteria:
  - expressing emotions (e.g., happiness, sadness)
  - sharing opinions or reflections
  - conveying interpersonal messages
4. Collection of 50 relevant status updates within a six-month timeframe.
5. Documentation and coding of data for analysis.
6. Anonymization of all personal information to maintain confidentiality.

### 3.4 Technique of Data Analysis

Data analysis in this study follows Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional

CDA model, combined with Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness framework.

### Technique and Steps:

1. Textual Analysis (Description)
  - Method: Linguistic analysis using politeness theory
  - Technique: Identification and classification
  - Steps:
    - Identifying politeness strategies (bald on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness, off-record)
    - Analyzing linguistic features such as hedging, indirectness, and emotive expressions
2. Discursive Practice Analysis (Interpretation)
  - Method: Interpretative discourse analysis
  - Technique: Contextual interpretation
  - Steps:
    - Examining how status updates are constructed and interpreted
    - Analyzing how politeness strategies function in interaction and identity construction
    - Exploring audience awareness and self-presentation
3. Sociocultural Analysis (Explanation)
  - Method: Critical interpretation
  - Technique: Ideological analysis
  - Steps:
    - Interpreting how discourse reflects gender norms and power relations
    - Identifying underlying ideologies (e.g., femininity, emotional labor)
    - Linking micro linguistic features to broader social structures

### 3.5 Method of Presenting Research Results

The results of this study are presented using a descriptive-analytical

method. According to Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014), qualitative data presentation involves organizing findings in a clear and systematic way to support interpretation.

Technique:

- Use of data excerpts (Facebook status examples)
- Presentation in tables or categorized themes
- Explanation through interpretative narratives

Steps:

1. Presenting examples of status updates representing each politeness strategy
2. Interpreting the function of each strategy in context
3. Explaining the ideological implications based on CDA
4. Linking findings to existing theories and previous studies

## 4. Result and Discussion

### 4.1 Results

This section presents the findings of the study based on the three research objectives. The results are summarized without displaying raw data and focus on the overall patterns identified in the analysis.

#### 4.1.1 Descriptive Analysis of Politeness Strategies (Objective 1)

The analysis reveals that women predominantly employ positive politeness strategies, followed by negative politeness and off-record strategies, while bald on-record strategies are nearly absent. Positive politeness is mainly realized through expressions of gratitude, empathy, and inclusive language. Negative politeness

appears in the form of hedging, apologies, and disclaimers, whereas off-record strategies are used for indirect criticism and emotional expression.

#### 4.1.2 Interpretative Explanation of Gendered Discursive Practices (Objective 2)

The findings indicate that politeness strategies function as gendered discursive practices. Women's language reflects careful emotional management, audience awareness, and self-monitoring. These strategies contribute to identity construction, where speakers position themselves as supportive, empathetic, and non-confrontational individuals in digital communication.

#### 4.1.3 Critical Examination of Ideological Implications (Objective 3)

At the socio-cultural level, the findings show that politeness practices reproduce ideologies of gender, power, and social relations. Women's frequent use of mitigation and indirectness suggests an internalization of social expectations to maintain harmony and avoid conflict. This pattern indicates that politeness is not merely a communicative strategy but also an ideological mechanism that shapes and constrains women's discursive agency.

## 4.2 Discussion

This section discusses the findings by integrating empirical data with theoretical perspectives. Selected excerpts from Facebook status updates are presented to illustrate the analysis and ensure data authenticity.

#### 4.2.1 Politeness Strategies in Women's Facebook Status Updates

The findings demonstrate that positive politeness is the most dominant

strategy, supporting the argument that women's discourse emphasizes relational work (Holmes, 1995).

For example:

- "So grateful for today and everyone who made it special."
- "Sending love to anyone struggling today."

These examples show the use of emotive expressions and appreciation, which function to build solidarity and emotional connection. This aligns with Brown and Levinson's (1987) concept of positive face, where speakers seek approval and connection with others.

Negative politeness is frequently used to mitigate opinions and reduce potential face threats:

- "Maybe I'm wrong, but kindness still matters."
- "I don't mean to judge, but honesty matters."

The use of hedges ("*maybe*") and disclaimers ("*I don't mean to...*") reflects sensitivity to the audience and an effort to avoid imposing views. This supports the idea that online communication increases face-awareness due to public visibility (Zappavigna, 2018).

Off-record strategies are used for indirect criticism or emotional expression:

- "Funny how people change over time."
- "Sometimes silence says everything, doesn't it?"

These utterances rely on ambiguity and implication, allowing speakers to

express opinions without direct confrontation. The absence of bald on-record strategies indicates a strong tendency to avoid direct imposition, reinforcing Brown and Levinson's (1987) hierarchy of politeness.

#### 4.2.2 Politeness as Gendered Discursive Practice

From a CDA perspective, politeness strategies function as gendered discursive practices rather than neutral linguistic choices. The data show that women consistently engage in emotional calibration and self-regulation, reflecting internalized expectations of femininity.

For instance:

- "I am sorry if this sounds dramatic."
- "Just sharing my thoughts, no offense intended."

These expressions demonstrate pre-emptive mitigation, where speakers anticipate possible negative interpretations and adjust their language accordingly. This supports Mills' (2003) argument that politeness is shaped by normative femininity, where women are expected to be careful, polite, and emotionally responsible.

In digital contexts, this pattern becomes more pronounced due to the persistent and public nature of online texts. As noted by Fairclough (1995), discourse is shaped by social structures, and in this case, women's linguistic behavior reflects broader gender norms. Thus, politeness functions as a mechanism for constructing socially acceptable female identities in online spaces.

#### 4.2.3 Ideological Implications of Women's Politeness

At the level of social practice, the findings reveal that politeness reproduces ideologies of gender and power. Women's frequent use of indirectness and mitigation suggests that they bear a disproportionate responsibility for maintaining social harmony.

For example:

- "Please don't take this the wrong way."
- "Sorry for the long post."

These expressions indicate a tendency to minimize imposition and manage audience reactions, even in situations where direct communication might be appropriate. From a feminist CDA perspective, such patterns reflect underlying power relations in which women are expected to regulate their speech more carefully than men (Lazar, 2007; Sunderland, 2004).

Moreover, statements such as:

- "Let's choose kindness today."
- "We all need a little more patience these days."

Demonstrate how politeness also functions as a normative and ideological tool, promoting values of harmony, empathy, and collective responsibility. While these values appear positive, they may also reinforce expectations that women should act as emotional caretakers in social interactions.

Therefore, politeness in this context operates not only as a communicative strategy but also as an ideological resource that both reflects and sustains gendered social structures.

## 5. Conclusion

This study set out to examine women's linguistic politeness in Facebook status updates by integrating

politeness theory and Critical Discourse Analysis. The findings are presented in line with the three research objectives.

First, in terms of the descriptive analysis, the study found that women predominantly employ positive politeness strategies, followed by negative politeness and off-record strategies, while bald on-record strategies are almost absent. Positive politeness is mainly realized through expressions of gratitude, empathy, and inclusive language, indicating a strong orientation toward relational work and social harmony. Negative politeness appears in the form of hedging, apologies, and disclaimers, whereas off-record strategies are used to express indirect criticism and emotional states without direct confrontation.

Second, from the interpretative perspective, the findings reveal that politeness strategies function as gendered discursive practices. Women's Facebook status updates demonstrate careful audience awareness, emotional regulation, and self-monitoring.

These linguistic practices contribute to the construction of identities that align with socially accepted norms of femininity, such as being supportive, empathetic, and non-confrontational in digital communication.

Third, at the level of critical analysis, the study shows that women's politeness reproduces ideologies of gender, power, and social relations. The frequent use of mitigation and indirectness reflects internalized expectations that women should maintain harmony and avoid conflict. As a result, politeness operates not only as a communicative strategy but also as an ideological mechanism that subtly

regulates women's language and reinforces unequal gender relations.

Overall, this study contributes to the fields of pragmatics, gender studies, and digital discourse by demonstrating that politeness in online communication is deeply embedded in social and ideological structures, rather than being a neutral linguistic phenomenon.

### **5.1 Implications and Recommendations**

The findings of this study have several important implications. Theoretically, this study highlights the importance of integrating politeness theory with Critical Discourse Analysis to provide a more comprehensive understanding of language as both a communicative and ideological practice. It suggests that future research in pragmatics should move beyond descriptive analysis toward critical interpretation of social meaning.

Practically, the study provides insights into how language use in social media reflects and reinforces gender norms. This may raise awareness among users, educators, and digital communities about the subtle ways in which communication practices can reproduce inequality. Encouraging more critical and reflective language use may help promote more balanced and inclusive online interactions.

Methodologically, this study demonstrates the value of analyzing authentic digital data, such as Facebook status updates, in understanding real-life language practices. Future researchers are encouraged to expand the dataset by including larger samples or different social media platforms to enhance generalizability.

In terms of recommendations, future studies may:

1. Conduct comparative analyses between male and female users to further explore gender differences in politeness strategies.
2. Investigate multimodal aspects of politeness, including emojis, images, and hashtags, which also contribute to meaning making in digital discourse.
3. Explore politeness practices across different cultural contexts to examine how sociocultural norms influence digital communication.

By addressing these areas, future research can deepen our understanding of the complex relationship between language, gender, and power in digital environments.

This study demonstrates that women's language politeness in Facebook status updates is not merely a pragmatic strategy, but a gendered discursive practice embedded in ideological structures. By integrating politeness theory with Critical Discourse Analysis, the study reveals how women's online communication reproduces norms of femininity, emotional labor, and self-regulation. These findings contribute to pragmatics, gender studies, and digital discourse research by highlighting the ideological dimensions of everyday online language use.

Future research may expand this analysis to comparative gender studies or explore multimodal aspects of politeness in social media communication.

## References

- Ambarwati, R., Nurkamto, J., & Santosa, R. (2019). Phatic and politeness on women's communication in Facebook. *Indonesian Journal of English Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics*, 3(2), 291–304.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2015). Networked multilingualism: Some language practices on Facebook and their implications. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 19(2), 185–205.
- Baxter, J. (2016). *Positioning language and identity*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge University Press.
- Castro, J. H. C., Duray, S. A., Tanguihan, K. A., & Syting, C. J. O. (2024). A pragmatic analysis of undergraduate male and female students' politeness strategies in initiating and terminating conversations online. *Journal Corner of Education, Linguistics, and Literature*, 4(2), 262–281.  
<https://doi.org/10.54012/jcell.v4i2.345>
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.
- Firayani, F. (2025). Discourse analysis of politeness strategies in social media comments related to gender issues. *Journal of Linguistica*, 2(3), 37–46.  
<https://doi.org/10.62872/jol.v2i3.106>
- Firdaus, M. A., Prayitno, H. J., & Sulistyono, Y. (2025). Moderated politeness in the digital era: A study of digital literacy in the discourse of the 2024 presidential debate. *KEMBARA: Jurnal Keilmuan Bahasa, Sastra, dan Pengajarannya*, 11 (2), 848–868.  
<https://doi.org/10.22219/kembara.v11i2.41016>
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behavior*. Anchor Books.
- Herring, S. C. (2013). Discourse in Web 2.0: Familiar, reconfigured, and emergent. In D. Tannen & A. M. Trester (Eds.), *Discourse 2.0: Language and new media* (pp. 1–25). Georgetown University Press.
- Hinck, R. S., Hinck, E. A., Hinck, S. S., & Dailey, W. O. (2023). Gender, politeness, and the 2020 Democratic presidential primary debates. *Western Journal of Communication*, 88(2), 328–351.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10570314.2023.2222090>
- Holmes, J. (1995). *Women, men and politeness*. Longman.
- Laabidi, A., Laachir, A., & Infi, O. (2025). Digital politeness: A gendered analysis of complimenting behaviour on social media. *International Journal of Language and Literary Studies*, 7(4), 29–38.  
<https://doi.org/10.36892/ijlls.v7i4.2213>

- Lakoff, R. (1975). *Language and woman's place*. Harper & Row.
- Lazar, M. M. (2007). Feminist critical discourse analysis: Articulating a feminist discourse praxis. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 4 (2), 141–164.
- Locher, M. A., & Watts, R. J. (2005). Politeness theory and relational work. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1(1), 9–33.
- Markham, A., & Buchanan, E. (2012). Ethical decision-making and internet research. *Association of Internet Researchers*.
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods sourcebook* (3rd ed.). SAGE.
- Mills, S. (2003). *Gender and politeness*. Cambridge University Press.
- Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2015). Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health*, 42(5), 533–544.
- Putri, F. R. S., & Firmonasari, A. (2024). Are men more polite than women? Deconstructing politeness strategies in disagreement statements. *NOBEL: Journal of Literature and Language Teaching*, 15 (1), 35–49. <https://doi.org/10.15642/NOBEL.2024.15.1.35-49>
- Sholikhatin, A. D., & Indah, R. N. (2019). Gender and politeness on Instagram. *LingTera*, 6(1), 1–10.
- Sunderland, J. (2004). Gendered discourses. *Palgrave Macmillan*.
- Zappavigna, M. (2018). *Searchable talk: The linguistic functions of hashtags*. Bloomsbury.