

Gender Ideology in Seno Gumira Ajidarma's *Clara*: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Abstract - This paper aims at finding gender ideology issues in Seno Gumira Ajidarma's Clara from the critical discourse analysis perspective. The concept of gender in this paper refers to Sara Mills' (1995) who used the term to explain different relation between women and men which cannot be separated from race and class. Whereas, ideology is defined as the service of power and is created in societies in which relations and domination are based on social structures such as class and gender (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). The writer will apply Sara Mills' model (in Darma, 2009) by identifying the subject of narration and object of narration in the short story. The analysis will be done in the framework of Fairclough's critical discourse methods, i.e linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and social processes (1995). Thus, the analysis will link the micro-context and macro context of the discourse by considering both the textual production and reception (Mills, 1995).

Keywords - gender, ideology, critical discourse analysis

I. INTRODUCTION

The discussion on gender issue in all aspects of life is still interesting to do until now. The issue on gender is not limited to the debate based on the sexual difference between man and woman but it extends/broadens to race and ethnic differences. In literary works analysis, gender ideology has been one of many aspects that is worth to analyze. It can give an insight perspective on how male and female characters are portrayed and how those characters interact one another to show the dynamic of their power relations. The object of this study is "Clara atawa Wanita yang Diperkosa" or "Clara", a short story written by Seno Gumira Ajidarma. The setting of the story took place in Jakarta in which the tragedy of May 1998 occurred. It has been 20 years, but it is not easy to overlook the traumatic effect of the incident. "Clara" tells about a Chinese-descent woman who is raped by the crowd, native Indonesian men, in that tragedy. As a matter of fact, this short story has been analyzed from various perspectives. Two of them were done by Rakhman (2014) about the ambivalence of nasionalism from postcolonial analysis and Arifin (2017) about hegemony in the short story. This paper focuses the study on the description, interpretation and explanation of gender ideology, especially patriarchy, found in the short story by analyzing the focalization of the story, the focalizer and the focalized object.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Discourse Analysis

In discourse analytical research, according to Phillips & Jørgensen (2002: 21) "the primary exercise is not to sort out which of the statements about the world in the research material are right and which are wrong (although a critical evaluation can be carried out at a later stage in the analysis). On the contrary, the analyst has to work with what has actually been said or written, exploring patterns in and across the statements and identifying the social consequences of different discursive representations of reality."

Fairclough (1992:73) introduces three dimensional conception of discourse, i.e. text, discursive practice, and social practice. The central concern of this model according to him is "to trace explanatory connections between ways (normative, innovative, etc.) in which texts are put together and interpreted, how texts are produced, distributed and consumed in a wider sense, and the nature of the social practice in terms of its relation to social structures and struggles". According to Fairclough (in Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002: 83) in analyzing text, there are a number of tools, especially in relation to linguistics that can be used,

such as: 1) interactional control – the relationship between speakers, including the question of who sets the conversational agenda; 2) ethos – how identities are constructed through language and aspects of the body; 3) metaphors; 4) wording; and 5) grammar.

B. Ideology and Gender

Althusser (in Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002:15) defines ideology as a system of representations that masks our true relations to one another in society by constructing imaginary relations between people and between them and the social formation. He also said that all aspects of the social are controlled by ideology, which functions through ‘the repressive state apparatus’ (e.g. the police) and ‘the ideological state apparatus’ (e.g. the mass media). Whereas by following Gramsci, Fairclough (1995:25) limits the conceptions of ideology upon the effects of ideologies rather than questions of truth, and features of texts are seen as ideological in so far as they affect (sustain, undermine) power relations. Therefore, ideology is seen as ‘located’ in both structures (discourse conventions) and events.

In relation with language ideology, Johnstone (2002: 55-56) thinks that language ideology has to do with the ways in which language is conceived of and thought to articulate with other aspects of social life. Beliefs about how language corresponds to reality, about how communication works, and about linguistic correctness, goodness and badness, and articulateness and inarticulateness are all aspects of language ideology, as are beliefs about the role of language in a person’s identity, beliefs about how languages are learned, and beliefs about what the functions of language should be, who the authorities on language are, whether and how usage should be legislated, and so on. Johnstone also suggests that language/ideology issues ought to figure in the wider framework of theories and analyses of power, for which the Gramscian concept of hegemony is fruitful. This implies a focus in studies of language/ideology upon change in discursive practice and structures, seen as a dimension of change in the balance of social forces.

In literature, Saptari & Holzner (1997:221-222) do realize that actually literature has a great effect to conserve and shape ideologies on femininity and masculinity. Nevertheless, the study of literary critic which focus on gender issue is relative low in number. That is why, doing a critical analysis on gender in literary works should be continuously encouraged.

In doing her study on gender ideology in critical discourse analysis, Yoce (2005: 215) lists four types of gender ideology, i.e. patriarchy, familism, *ibuism*/motherhood, and general ideology. She also identifies four types of gender inequality, i.e. subordination, marginalisation, discrimination, and repression. This paper aims at exploring gender ideologies found in the short story.

Humm (2002:332) defines patriarchy as a system of male authority to oppress female by means of social, politics, and economic institution. There are many definitions of patriarchy that are approached from different perspectives. Patriarchy is also defined by Mosse (in Utama, 2016: 18) as the concept that men hold power over all important roles in society, government, military, education, industry, business, health care, advertising, religion and that women are basically uprooted from access to that power. Whereas, the ideology of familism is a symptom of female inferiority compared to male. That is about the concept of ideal women in the general view. There is a strong assumption that it is enough for an ideal woman to be a "good mother". As a good wife, she is expected to accompany her husband and encourage her husband's success. For this reason, women are required to be smart and behave well so her husband will always loves her. As a good mother, a woman must not only be able to give offspring, but also must be able to educate and make children successful. *Ibuism*/motherhood ideology according to Yoce (2005) is an ideology that is a combination of the Dutch bourgeoisie and Indonesian *priyayi* values that approve any action taken by a woman in a family, group, social class, or separation without expecting power or prestige in return. General Ideology is an ideology that emphasizes on the value of seclusion of women, the exclusion of women from certain fields, and the prioritization of women's femininity. The hierarchical dichotomy of men and women causes the division of labor sexually, namely placing men in the public sector and women in the domestic sector (Yoce, 2005)

Mills in Walsh (2001:30-31) outlines a feminist model of text that specifies the various production and reception regimes that operate on texts to constrain the choices both text producers and interpreters can make – regimes that are, she suggests, often implicitly gendered. As well as the constraints imposed by the linguistic system itself, these include norms and expectations about rhetorical conventions, the affiliations of the text producer and the assumptions she or he makes about the implied audience. For instance, feminist critical discourse analysts have demonstrated that ‘the reader in a wide range of texts is positioned as predominantly male’ (Mills 1995:67). One aim of a feminist approach to CDA is to encourage listeners/readers to read back into texts elements presupposed at the production stage and to recognize formal and semiotic features that promote preferred, often male-gendered, readings. It is assumed, therefore, that the choices text producers make are not random, but are motivated, often by a desire to position listeners/readers as compliant subjects.

To have ideological effects, textual traces and cues do not need to be conscious; they may be the relatively unconscious products of common-sense assumptions, often based on stereotypical ideas. Fairclough (1989:84) points out that only those common-sense assumptions that help to sustain unequal relations of power are ideological. Mills (1998:237), for instance, notes that feminist ideas have become part of the common-sense knowledge presupposed in texts, especially those aimed at young women readers.

C. Focalization

Focalization derives from the word ‘focus’ that means the point of view or narrative perspective. Focalization in literary works is not limited to the visible/perceptible things, but it may extend to the invisible/imperceptible things, such as cognition, emotion, and ideology.

Therefore, Bal (in Lasmini, 2011) makes a distinction between imperceptible and perceptible focalized object. Bal also differs two types of focalization, i.e. character-bound/internal focalization and external focalization. The focalizer could be in form of first person pronoun “I” in English or “Aku” or “Saya” in Indonesian to show its position as the insider in the story. It may also in form of the third person pronoun by using “He”, “She”, “It”, or “They” in English and “Dia” or “Mereka” in Indonesian to show its position as the outsider in the story. According to Sayuti (in Lasmini, 2011) the choice of certain subject/object pronoun may influence the story and conflict narrated in the story.

III. METHOD

This study applies Sara Mills model that is combined with three-dimensional model from Fairclough. The short story “Clara atawa Wanita yang Diperkosa” that was written by Seno Gumira Ajidarma is chosen as the source of data to analyze gender ideology portrayed in the literary work. By combining Sara Mills and Norman Fairclough’s model, the critical discourse analysis of gender ideology in this short story will be done by referring to steps suggested Yocco (2005:207) as follows:

- Choosing text to be analyzed, i.e. “Clara” short story;
- Determining the focalizer of the story;
- Determining the object of focalization or focalized object;
- Describing the language used in the text;
- Giving an interpretation of the types of ideology;
- Giving explanation about inequality;

The specialty of Sara Mills’ model is she explores not only the context of text production but also the context of text reception. Thus, this paper also first analyzes both production and reception contexts of the text before analyzing the text by describing the focalizer and focalized object, and interpreting as well as explaining gender ideology identified in the short story.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This part discusses two main themes. First, it will explore the context of production and reception of the selected text. Second, gender ideology will be analyzed in terms of its description, interpretation and explanation based on the five parts of the story.

A. Production and Reception of the Text

“Clara atawa Wanita yang Diperkosa” was written by Seno Gumira Ajidarma in 1998. The author even wrote a specified date at the end of the story, i.e. 26th June 1998 to confirm the background of the production of the text. It also clearly describes that this story is a kind of a factual report about one specific incident that happen in a certain time as the result of the reporter’s (focalizer) job. The tragedy of May 1998 has encouraged many people to express their concern in various channels and media, such as news, film, novel, poem, drama, and prose. The author chose short story as the media to show his understanding, feeling, and ideology perspective about the issue.

The author of the story did realize that being open and straight forward in the beginning of reformation era that automatically become the end of The New Order era in 1998 was not a wise decision. It also might be the main reason why the author chose to use metaphor in several parts to implicitly portray his role and position in the story and in his job. Even, to know that the focalizer is a male can only be identified through the focalization and internal conflict expressed by the focalizer.

By using a specific date, it may be assumed that this story is a half fiction and a half, even more, fact. It was outlined in <https://www.rappler.com/indonesia/133617-cerita-pemeriksaan-mei-1998> several tragic stories about Chinese-descent women who have been raped in the 1998 tragedy. The news was part of a report made by Tim Gabungan Pencari Fakta (TGPF) and Komnas Perempuan related to the rape incident in May 1998. It seems that the stories share some common characteristics with the one told in “Clara” short story. In one of the conversation via phone call between the focalizer and his boss, the boss is explicitly warned the focalizer not to tell anyone, especially a journalist or a non-governmental organization (NGO) about the woman’s case.

From the whole part of the story, it can be inferred that the male focalizer is a typical officer at the time who is proud, even arrogant, of his position as a uniformed worker. They mostly do their job for the sake of status or just to please/delight their boss. The author might intend to criticize the behaviour and work ethos of officers who do not function as the public servants. The story

implies that whatever the position of a male, they tend to be similar in their passion about female's sexual appeals. From the metaphors and some utterances expressed by the focalizer, the author shows the internal conflict experienced by man who in one hand feels less confident about his existence but be more powerful as the officer and man toward woman on the other hand.

For Sara Mills (1991), it is important to understand women's perspective by encouraging them to write. It is because she feels that the way women perceive her world is different with men. The last paragraphs of part 1 of the story, explicitly introduce that it is the male officer who interpret/construe then retell the woman's story in his own language to complete his report about the case. It is not surprising if the focalizer could not describe what the woman as the real object of focalizer feels and how bad/painful was her body due to the physical assault she experienced. The author has tried to understand what has come to her mind, but he doesnot really managed to apprehend/take into the woman's deep emotional feeling.

On the reader position, the recipient of "Clara Atawa Wanita yang Diperkosa" short story is really taken into account by the author. It can be seen from the use of "kau" by the focalizer to address his reader. The use of "kau" seems to be pairing more with "aku", that sounds more casual, instead of "saya". The prudential description of focalizer obviously gives the impression that the author is well aware of the various possible responses from the reader. Therefore, the authors choose not to mention the type of job, but the characteristics of workers in certain professional fields in terms of mental attitude and physical appearance. A description of the inner conflict of the focalizer towards the woman while doing her work, how the focalizer must continue acting professionally, seems to invite empathy from the reader about the difficult position faced by the focalizer. The way focalizer describes his passion for the object of focalizer is very "male". His expression which says that "the problem is: according to zoology, it is said that animals even never raped" might want to show that rape never existed, even in the animal world which has no mind/intelligence and that do everything only by instinct. In other words, in human life there is also no term rape, regardless of the physical and mental effects felt by rape victims. It clearly illustrates that the readers are perceived more as men who will more or less agree with the views of the focalizer.

B. Gender Ideology in "Clara"

The setting of "Clara atawa Wanita yang Diperkosaa" story was the May 1998 tragedy in which there was a social political economic chaos in Indonesia following the monetary crisis and a crisis of trust in the government in power at that time. In addition to the overthrow of the president, arson, looting, kidnapping, and rape were among the major events that occurred at that time. Raping, especially against Chinese women is one piece of incident portrayed by the author in "Clara atawa Wanita yang Diperkosa" story which seems to have a lot of similarities with the news widely spread around the May 1998 tragedy. Although only a few of the many rape victims were brave reporting the case to the TGPF (The Fact Finding Team) or NGO existed at the time, it does not mean that the rape problem had little impact on the community and individuals who were victims or who witnessed the traumatic incident.

By using Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis method, this paper will examine who is the "focalizer" and "object of focalization" to reveal gender ideology found in the short story "Clara atawa Wanita yang Diperkosa. As a matter of fact, the rape case itself is inseparable from the gender issue behind the rape perpetrator in carrying out his actions. The following is an analysis of the form of gender ideology in the short story based on the focalization of the focalizer and the object of focalization, by focusing on the practice of patriarchal ideology both in the life of society and government and in the domestic domain.

This short story consists of five parts. Part 1, 3, and 5 narrate the story from different perspective of the focalizer by using subject pronoun "aku" and part 2 and 4 are with subject pronoun "saya". The author seems deliberately using both subject pronoun "I" from different focalizer to make the story sounds original as the conscience of the focalizers themselves.

1. Part 1

The focalizer of part 1 is a man who called himself as "aku", which functions as the male character bound focalizer in this short story. This part is the introduction of both the story and the two main characters in the story. The focalizer begins the story by introducing himself in metaphorical statements "Barangkali aku seorang anjing" and "Barangkali aku seorang babi". The repetition of modal verb "barangkali" in those statements implies the uncertainty or doubt of the speaker about the truth of what he himself has uttered or spoken. The focalizer labels himself as "dog" and "pig", both which have negative connotations in Indonesian culture and society. In her article about the use of animal terms in Mandarin and Indonesian metaphors, Laurencia (2012:36) stated that the use of 'dog' in metaphorical expression in both Indonesian and Mandarin languages have negative connotation meaning because people usually relate the word with something disgusting or a bad person. She also adds that in both languages, people often use the word to call down a person. However, in other context dog also may symbolize loyalty. On the other hand, the term "pig" is addressed for a person who is greedy, lazy, and shabby (Laurencia, 2012 & Mules, 2002). In Mandarin, according to Laurencia (2012), 'pig' is also identical with stupid that is different with Indonesian. The focalizer seems not to be certain and proud of his 'self-labelling' as the "dog" and "pig", but he is proud to be a uniformed officer.

Besides the introduction of the subject or focalizer and the object of focalization, Part 1 also reports the focalizer's observation on the female character as the focalized object. The first thing that attracts the focalizer's attention is the physical appearance of the woman. It has made him suspicious with the woman due to her hair colour. Observing the woman's condition makes him feel empathy about her at first. However, his job and professionalism put forward his resistance toward his conscience. The second thing which the focalizer notices about the woman is her language and way of speaking. As a man whose job is making report, the focalizer does understand that the woman is really proficient in Indonesian but the psychological pressure has made her cannot tell her problems systematically. The last paragraph of this part 1 confirms that it is the focalizer who retells the woman's story in his own words. He also affirms his competence and his privilege as a uniformed officer to make up the story for the sake of certain group of interest (as necessary), even though it is sometimes beyond the fact.

This introduction part of the story clarifies the patriarchal ideology of the focalizer who affirms that his position as the male public servant gives him such privilege to control others, especially the women as the focalized object of the story. Although in one hand, the focalizer focalized himself as the dog or pig in a metaphorical statement to show his self-competence, on the other hand he has power that has to be taken into account by the society. It confirms how strong the patriarchal system in the administration.

2. Part 2

The focalizer of part 2 is the female character who has become the object of focalization in part 1 of the story. This part describes the testimonial of the Chinese woman about what has happened to her by using subject pronoun "saya". There are three major themes focalized in this part, i.e. the woman's social status, her social concern and nationalism, and her physical harassment.

a. The Social Status

The social status of the woman can be inferred from several things described in this part 1 in relation with the woman as both the focalizer and the object of focalization of the story. It explicitly lists the woman's goods that are used to be possessed only by the rich, like BMW car, handphone, a million rupiahs cash, high heels, and passport. She lives with her family in a housing complex that might/usually be exclusive for people from higher social class. Her passport is almost always with her since she may go abroad anytime for business affair because her company has a joint-venture with other overseas companies in Hong Kong, Beijing, and Macao. She also has relatives in Sydney that she might have visited before. The Chinese-descent woman loves her family so much, so she does not care for her safety to find her family in such chaotic situation.

The description of the woman's background shows a very large difference between the socio-economic status of the focalizer "aku" and "saya" which is also focalized from the perspective of focalizer "aku". The focalizer "saya" tells of herself and her family in the form of focalized imperceptible objects. In this section, focalizer the "saya" shows the ideology of familialism that willingly sacrificing oneself for the sake of his family. Although business or work for her is important, as a first daughter she has a double burden not only to care for the safety of the business and its workers but also especially to save her family. Even with minimal information about the conditions around her, she knows that her life and safety are threatened. The focalizer "saya" felt that she had no other choice, she had to go home even though her family expected her to immediately save herself abroad. The ideology of familialism is very clear in this section.

b. The Social Concern and Nationalism

Like many other companies in Indonesia in 1998, her company is almost collapse as a result of global economic crisis at the time. In that situation, the focalizer struggles to save her family's company even to not fire their employees because she wants to avoid riot that might arise as the social effect of unemployment. She does not have much time to read newspaper but she knows well that students are going on strike anywhere and the riots as well as social conflicts around recently. Deep in her heart, she believes that students are absolutely not the initiator or provocator of the disturbances and arson.

While driving very fast home to find her family, she gets blocked by the crowd who stop her on the toll road. It is not easy for her to stop her car suddenly in such speed, but she tries hard in order to not offend the crowds feeling by controlling brake. She does not want to hit the crowd, although they commit traffic offense. Without prejudice, she stops her car and opens her car window. Answering the crowds' question, she does not deny that she is a Chinese-descent woman, but she affirms that she is Indonesian. Even, her boyfriend is a Javanese man and she is regardless of ethnicity or race. The uncontrolled crowd damage her car and take her possessions from the car, but she relinquishes them all.

In this part, familialism ideology drives the focalizer "saya" to take whatever a risk to make sure that her family is safe. She is worried but still tries to keep calm facing the crowd who are not friendly at her.

c. The Physical Harassment

Although the crowd has taken her possessions gladly, they still despise her for she is Chinese. She is even pulled out of the car window and thrown down the asphalt. As the consequences, her cheek is painful sticking on the asphalt. She is also slapped till falls that makes her lips pain and broken, gagged by a dirty feet. Although the crowd are curious about her boyfriend, she does not tell anything about him. She is also still patient although the crowd consider her as woman with no religion. On top of that, she gets sexual harrasment. All of them have made her speechless and not able to tell or recall that very bad situation.

Besides patriarchal ideology, the issue of primordialism based on ethnicity, race and religion in this section is very clearly visible. To strengthen its position, all male masses use sexual violence as a way to suppress the woman. Being polite, silent, and obedient does not dampen the masses to act harshly toward the focalizer "saya". The desire to control other people, women, has blinded the conscience of violent masses”.

3. Part 3

The focalizer of this part 3 of the story is the man and the object of the focalization is the woman. The man focalizer observes that the woman is weeping even faint sometimes. However, he denies his feeling and does not want to show his empathy for professional reason. He deliberately does not believe his feeling for he states that feeling can be unfaithful. He awares his position who is not a subject, but merely plays a role as an equipment or apparatus.

Focalizer "aku" thinks that work is everything. As a man, he should not look weak or to be carried away by his own emotions. As an employee he places himself as a tool, who has no feelings and has no right to protest or argue, who must act decisively and professionally. Patriarchal ideology appears in the attitude of the focalizer who never shows his weakness in front of women. In addition, he feels he must rely on logic rather than feeling in handling all cases. The Focalizer "aku" does not see a rape case as something special, but only like other cases he often handled in order to make a report. For him, completing the report is more important than helping the victim-reporter's mental recovery.

4. Part 4

The story in this part 4 is focalized by the woman. She gets faint, powerless, helpless, and lonely. She completely suffers physically and psychologically. She reaffirms her nationalism that he does not understand Chinese language at all. An old woman has helped her by bringing her a cloth to cover her naked body on the road. The old woman apologizes her for the men's act/criminal act/obscene act toward her, those who consider themselves indigenouse people. However, what makes her most depressed is knowing that almost her family members have been die, may be it's only her father who still alive in hopeless condition.

This section raises other female characters as a focalized perceptible object that shows the ideology of her motherhood. As a good mother, she has no right to protest the actions that have been carried out by the masses. As a custom of society in general, she can only apologize for the actions of other people she considers to be her children. The use of the "we" pronoun reinforces the separation or racial or ethnic differences between the old woman and the focalizer "saya". On the other hand, the focalizer "saya" did not have time to care about his situation because what worries her more is the condition of her family. Familialism ideology is very dominant for the focalizer "saya" that can no longer think of itself.

5. Part 5

The last part of this story is focalized by the man, while the object of focalization are the woman, the old woman who has saved her, and the man's boss. The man called his boss to inform the woman's case. The boss commands him in turn to detain her there in the office. The boss also warns him not to tell anybody, especially journalists or NGO. The man continues interrogating her with no compassion for the sake of his job. He realizes that the woman is uncomfortable with his questions. He sees her wound, but he focuses his attention more on her good-looking appearance, and her social status and possessions. He confirms that he hates the riches, especially Chinese because of social envy. He warns and blame the woman not to spread false rumours.

He knows that the woman is in anger and she dares to speak out about her case for she is (an) obstinate (woman). In this part, the woman asks permission/insists to go home. However, the man commands her to stay there till tomorrow due to the chaotic situation around. Finally the woman obeys his instruction to stay there. Like at the beginning of the story, in this part the man still focuses more and more on her physical appearance. He confesses that he attracts with her charm, but he still wants to be professional.

The final part of this story also shows that there are two dominant ideologies, namely patriarchy and familialism. Patriarchal ideology is shown by the boss of the focalizer "aku" in giving orders what to do by focalizer "aku" toward the focalizer "saya" as a focalized object. As the focalizer "aku", his boss also tends to ignore the woman's mental condition as a rape victim. Although the focalizer "aku" sees and realizes the physical suffering experienced by focalized objects, he still has

to be assertive and does not show his empathy. His hatred of ethnic Chinese does not necessarily make him not sexually attracted to the focalized objects.

Patriarchal ideology is not only seen in the broader relationship between men and women in society, but also occurs in domestic areas where men feel more powerful than women. The second part of this story shows the patriarchal ideology possessed by the father of the focalizer "saya". He is well aware of his important role in being the most powerful in his household, even though in the end he has to give up the responsibility to the focalizer "saya". The failure of the business and the destruction of the household makes him feel useless and wants to end his life soon.

V. CONCLUSION

The study of gender ideology in "Clara atawa Wanita yang Diperkosa" give some conclusions. First, both the contexts of production and reception of the text have great influence on the story. Second, There are two dominant ideologies found in the story, patriarchy and familialism. Patriarchal ideology in society and government is explicitly presented in most parts of this story. The motherhood or *ibuisim* ideology is also exist but it is more or less identical with the familialism ideology. Third, the analysis of focalizer and object of focalization clarifies the role of each character and it is helpful to find out the focalizer's perspective and ideology in the story.

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