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Christiana Anindya Putri



THE GRADUATE PROGRAM
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Dharma University
Jl. Affandi, Tromol Pos 29, Yogyakarta 55002
Ph. +62-274-513301, 515352 Ext. 1501
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EDITORIAL

Dear Readers,

Although managed and published by the English Language Studies of Sanata Dharma University's Graduate Program, IJELS is open to ELS enthusiasts – readers and writers alike. This is proven by the “non-ELS” contributors of this March issue.

Whilst safely-stuck in Chiang Rai, Thailand due to the Covid-19 travel ban, Sri Hariyatmi sent her reading of Orhan Pamuk's novel. Marginalization of veiled women in her article is in conversation with disability in children's literature discussed in Tri Sugiarto's article. Attention towards the weak and the oppressed is also the theme in Christiana Anindya Putri's article. Revisited English Studies allows the broadening interests in studying language, literature, and education-related issues in English as a lingua franca. This issue of IJELS features current topics in translation and education in Indonesia, hence aptly supporting the journal's vision. While Aurelia Reza Hayuwardhani's article examines equivalence in the translation of Joko Pinurbo's poem into English, Rina Astuti Purnamaningwulan's article investigates the grammatical morpheme acquisition of Indonesian high school learners.

We sincerely thank all contributors for sharing their insights. It is only through this reader-and-writer-participation that IJELS can continue to sustain its life.

Editor-in-Chief

Novita Dewi

Analysis of Grammatical Morpheme Acquisition of Indonesian High School English Learners

Rina Astuti Purnamaningwulan

Sanata Dharma University

email: rina.ap@usd.ac.id

ABSTRACT

L2 learners' morpheme acquisition has been studied a lot subsequent to Dulay and Burt's work (1974). Similar to other studies responding to Krashen's (1977) notion on natural acquisition order, this small-scale research aims at investigating whether Indonesian high school English learners also go through similar acquisition order as the respective notion. The data taken from a group of Indonesian high school students' writing assignment were analyzed using the Obligatory Occasion Analysis (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005) to investigate the grammatical morpheme acquisition order of the students. Subsequently, the finding was analyzed to see whether the acquisition order was influenced by Krashen's hypothesis. The findings showed that the morpheme acquisition order of the research participants did not go through similar acquisition order as stated in Krashen's natural order hypothesis. Further, the participants' L1 partially contributed to the order.

Keywords: *grammatical morpheme acquisition, acquisition order, learner language*

INTRODUCTION

Learner language has been one of the major focuses of study in Second Language Acquisition. There are four studies in the scope of learner language proposed by Ellis (1994, p.43), those are: 1) learners' errors, 2) developmental patterns, 3) variability, and 4) pragmatic features. In the context of Indonesia, most studies on Indonesian EFL learner language have been more on the errors that the learners produce, rather than the performances that learners make (e.g. Hidayati, 2011; Septiana, 2011; Fadzilyna, 2013; Wiannastiti, 2014). In contrast, not many studies have been conducted to investigate Indonesian learners' language in terms of their ability to perform in the second language (Widyastuti, 2015).

This study is conducted to investigate one of the issues concerning learners' developmental patterns which are quite

frequently analyzed through error analysis approach. As the researcher agrees with the notion that error analysis tends to "describe learner language as a collection of errors" (Ellis, 1994, p.73), she wants to see the learner language through a more positive viewpoint, which is what learners are able to perform instead what they cannot. Thus, an analysis of L2 learners' grammatical morpheme acquisition was selected as the basis of the research. Grammatical morpheme acquisition is a particular focus in the field of learner's developmental pattern in the acquisition of L2. As reported by Luk & Shirai (2009) and Seog (2015), there have been a number of studies on grammatical morpheme acquisition which studied ESL learners with different L1, e.g. Korea (Pak, 1987), China (Dulay & Burt, 1974), Japan (Izumi & Isahara, 2004), and Spain (Pica, 1983). However, there has not been any major, influential publication of

reports on Indonesian EFL learners' morpheme acquisition. Thus, it is necessary to conduct a study examining the respective issue.

Studies on morpheme acquisition are inseparable from the natural order hypothesis initiated by Krashen (1977). As Dulay and Burt (1973, p. 43, as cited in Luk & Shirai, 2009) state that "the concept of natural order remains very important for understanding SLA both from linguistic and cognitive approaches", some discussions on the development of morpheme acquisition studies from the 1970s until 2000s are included to enrich this study. The following research questions are addressed in this study:

- 1) What is the morpheme acquisition order of Indonesian learners of English in SMA N 2 Banguntapan Bantul (Senior High School)?
- 2) Does the Indonesian high school English learners' acquisition order found in this study confirm Krashen's natural order?

Influenced mostly by Seog (2015), this research report covers the following: 1) review of relevant previous studies; 2) examination of writing samples by Indonesian high school English learners in SMA N 2 Banguntapan, Bantul; 3) identification of the acquisition order depicted by the written data; 4) analysis and discussions of current findings compared to the previous studies; 5) conclusions and implications of the study.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There are two sections presented in this part. The first section provides an overview of the development of L2 morpheme acquisition drawn from previous research. Meanwhile, the second section elaborates the characteristics of Bahasa Indonesia, which is the first language (L1) of the English learners whose writing samples are examined in this study.

The Development of Studies on L2 Morpheme Acquisition

Grammatical morpheme acquisition studies are "a kind of performance analysis in the sense that they aimed to provide a description of the L2 learner's language development and looked not just at deviant but also at well-formed utterances" (Ellis 1990, p. 46). Brown (1973) was the first figure who investigated the acquisition order of English grammatical morphemes conducted to L1 learners, which resulted in a universal pattern of acquisition order. Not long after, Dulay and Burt (1974) adopted this research into the context of L2 acquisition of young learners from different L1 backgrounds (in Luk & Shirai, 2009).

Krashen (1977) then conducted another research as the extension of Dulay & Burt's (Seog, 2005). The finding on morpheme acquisition order by Dulay and Burt (1974) was then clarified by Krashen (1977) through empirical research which resulted in the formulation of the Natural Order Hypothesis, as presented in figure 1 below:

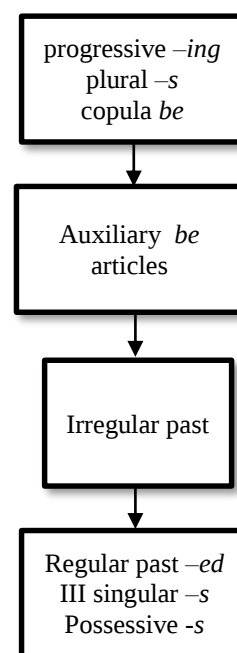


Figure 1. Proposed natural order for L2 morpheme acquisition

Since the postulate of Krashen's acquisition order hypothesis, it has been criticized a lot by a number of researchers (e.g. Andersen, 1983; Sasaki, 1987; Lightbrown, 1983 as cited in Luk & Shirai, 2009) since the evidence obtained in their studies on learners' L2 morpheme acquisition do not demonstrate significant correlation with the natural order. Despite the large number of criticism addressed to his hypothesis, Krashen remains recommending his theory, only he added the term of 'average' to revise it. The most current development of the Natural Order Hypothesis is that it shows the 'average' order of acquisition of English grammatical morphemes as a second language for both children and adult acquirers (Krashen, 2009, p.13).

Further, a number of research reported by Seog (2015) result in contradictory findings suggesting that other variables may affect the order of acquisition. Among the research supporting this notion, the L1 transfer is pointed out to influence L2 morpheme acquisition. One significant report is from Luk and Shirai (2009), who reviewed a number of research investigating grammatical morpheme acquisition of learners with different L1. They summarize that L1 turns out to be the significant predictor of L2 English morpheme acquisition. Accordingly, "L1 transfer has played a large role in explaining deviations between the morpheme acquisition orders of different L1 groups and the natural order" (Seog, 2015, p.152).

In this study particularly, the elaboration above is adopted as the foundation of examining the morpheme acquisition order of Indonesian English learners in a senior high school in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The finding is then used to confirm whether or not their acquisition order follows Krashen's

(1977) Natural order Hypothesis. Further, the results of the study are useful to confirm which notion is more likely to contribute to the acquisition of English morpheme of a group of high school English learners whose L1 is Bahasa Indonesia.

Overview of Bahasa Indonesia Sentence Structures Equal to English Morphemes

Indonesian or Bahasa Indonesia developed under the umbrella of Austronesian languages. It is the language that forms the biggest group of language users (Mat Awal, Abu Bakar, Abdul Hamid, & Jalaluddin, 2007). As the extension of Malay language, Bahasa Indonesia and Malay are similar in structure; they just employ different vocabularies. On the other hand, English, is classified in the Germanic language from the European group. Therefore, English and Indonesian are not connected. In fact, they have a lot of structural differences (Mat Awal, et.al, 2007) which cause problems for Indonesian students in acquiring English.

Mat Awal, et.al. (2007) investigate the difference between English and Malay as the language that belongs to Indonesia family group in terms of morphology. However, not all the notions they suggest is suitable in the context of Bahasa Indonesia, regardless the similarity of Bahasa Indonesia and Malay. Consequently, there is limited information regarding the differences in the particular morphemes studied in this research, namely: progressive *-ing*, plural *-s*, copula *be*, auxiliary *be*, articles, irregular past, regular past *-ed*, 3rd person singular *-s*, and possessive *-s*. For this reason, the researcher, as a native Indonesian and a former Bahasa Indonesia as a Foreign Language teacher will use her knowledge to compare the two languages, in which the mapping is presented in the table below.

Table 1. The comparative overview of English and Bahasa Indonesia

No	Morphemes	Exist in Bahasa Indonesia ?	Examples	
			English	Bahasa Indonesia
1	Progressive – <i>ing</i>	No	He is <u>sleeping</u> .	<i>Dia sedang tidur.</i>
2	Plural – <i>s</i>	No	<u>The teachers</u> are in the office. <u>Some teachers</u> are in the library.	<i>Guru-guru berada di kantor. Beberapa guru ada di perpustakaan.</i>
3	Copula <i>be</i>	Yes	She <u>is</u> a student. **They <u>are</u> beautiful. We <u>are</u> at school. My name <u>is</u> Rina.	<i>Dia (adalah) seorang murid. **Mereka cantik. Kita (berada) di sekolah. Nama saya (adalah) Rina.</i>
4	Auxiliary <i>be</i>	Yes/No*	You <u>are</u> reading a book. The mountain <u>is</u> seen. The house has <u>been</u> sold by the owner.	<i>Kamu sedang membaca buku. Gunungnya terlihat. Rumahnya sudah dijual pemiliknya.</i>
5	Articles	Yes/No*	<u>A</u> book. <u>An</u> egg. <u>The</u> house. <u>The</u> big one. <u>The</u> Governor of Jakarta	<i>(Sebuah) buku (Sebutir) telur Rumahnya Yang besar Gubernur Jakarta</i>
6	Irregular past	No	I <u>went</u> to school.	<i>Saya pergi ke sekolah.</i>
7	Regular past – <i>ed</i>	No	He <u>cried</u> .	<i>Dia menangis</i>
8	III singular – <i>s</i>	No	She <u>reads</u> a book.	<i>Dia membaca buku.</i>
9	Possessive – <i>'s</i>	No	Doni's book Mom's house	<i>Buku Doni. Rumah ibu.</i>

* Exists in limited context only

The verbs in Bahasa Indonesia are not affected by the tenses. This means that regardless the time context, inflection does not occur in the verbs (Mat Awal, et.al., 2007). For example, in morpheme number (1), the verb '*tidur*' remains the same although it is progressive. In morphemes (6), and (7), the verbs '*pergi*' and '*menangis*' remain in basic forms although it is used in past time context. This phenomenon also occurs in the verbs that come after a third person singular subject pronoun (8). Overall, regardless the tenses and the subject pronouns, the verb forms in Bahasa Indonesia remain unchanged.

Nouns in Bahasa Indonesia may experience 'reduplication' in which one of the functions is to indicate non-singularity (Alwi, Dardjowidjojo, Lapoliwa, & Moeliono, 1993, p.267). In particular, plural nouns which are stated without exact quantifiers are repeated. If quantifier exists, the nouns are not repeated (see morpheme (2)).

In row number (3), it can be seen that copula

be usually has a direct translation in Bahasa Indonesia as shown in the words in the parentheses which function as copulas in Indonesian. However, they usually appear only in a formal context. For informal contexts, they can be omitted without changing the meaning. **An exception of the direct translation of copula *be* is when adjectives follow the subject pronouns.

Be as an auxiliary verb is used in progressive verb tenses and in the passives (Azar, 2002, p. A6). The main functions of auxiliary *be* is to help the formation of verbs when used in different tenses and construction, e.g. progressive context and passive voices. In Bahasa Indonesia, auxiliary *be* when standing alone does not have any equal direct translation, except in some progressive contexts as shown in row number 4, 'are' is translated into '*sedang*' just because it serves as a progressive action marker (see also row number 1). Meanwhile, in other uses of the auxiliary *be*, especially in passive constructions, the forms of '*be*' do not exist in Bahasa Indonesia.

Articles 'a' and 'an' that function to describe singularity have direct translations in Bahasa Indonesia, depending on the nouns following. Alwi, et.al. (1993) explain that Bahasa Indonesia has a group of words that categorize the nouns into particular categories. However, people have the tendency to omit those particular words when the noun is contextually clear to be a singular noun (Alwi,et.al., 1993, p.311). For this reason, the translation '*sebutir*' and '*sebuah*' are put in parentheses. Meanwhile, 'The' is quite complex when translated into Indonesian, for example when it is translated into the suffix '*nya*' only if the noun refers to something that has been stated before. On the contrary, it is not translated vice versa (see row number 5). After all, not all articles exist in all contexts in Bahasa Indonesia.

Regarding the possessive -'s, it does not exist in Bahasa Indonesia. In fact, the noun phrase structure of possessive in English and Bahasa Indonesia are contrary, as can be seen in the examples in row number (9).

METHOD

Data Collection

In collecting the data, purposive sampling technique was used. The data were twenty pieces of writing written by twenty six ten graders of SMA N 2 Banguntapan, Bantul, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. In the writing assignment, the students were required to write a handwritten letter addressed to their pen friends in Alor Island, Indonesia. In this study context, the students who wrote the letters had varied lengths of studying English, ranging from three to nine years. Three years was their minimum length of studying English since all of them had studied English as a compulsory subject in Junior High School. It was not generalizable that the student writers only studied English in Junior High School because they came from different elementary schools, some of which provided English lessons while others did not.

In writing the personal letter, the students were given one topic to write about their schooling experiences. As this task was a take-home assignment, the students were given two days to complete writing the letter. In completing this assignment, the students were allowed to consult dictionaries or any online resources. Neither the length nor the number of words provided in the letter was determined by the teacher. However, the lengths of the resulting letters varied from 130-200 words. Therefore, the total number of words analyzed as the data was approximately 4,600 words.

Further, as the nature of the data texts type and topic was limited to personal letter telling about schooling experiences, there was a limitation in the lexico-grammatical features that appeared in the data. This limitation, therefore, was anticipated to influence the study result.

Data Analysis

Since the acquisition order found in the data texts was compared to Krashen's Natural Acquisition Order, the analysis was focused on 9 English grammatical morphemes found in Krashen's (1977) natural order of morpheme acquisition. They are: 1) progressive -*ing*; 2) plural -*s*; 3) copula *be*; 4) auxiliary *be*; 5) articles; 6) irregular past; 7) regular past -*ed*; 8) 3rd person singular -*s*; 9) possessive -*s*.

To answer the first research question, the writer employed the Obligatory Occasion Analysis proposed by Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005, cp. 4). The procedures of performing this analysis are presented below (Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005, p.80):

- 1) Go through the data and identify obligatory occasions for the use of the morpheme.
- 2) Count the total number of occasions for each of the morpheme.
- 3) Establish whether the correct morpheme is supplied in each

obligatory context. Count the number of times it is supplied.

- 4) As suggested by Dulay & Burt (1980, as cited in Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005), the morpheme supplied will be calculated as follows:
 - No morpheme supplied (ex: last night I come...) = 0 point
 - Misformed morpheme supplied (ex: last night I comed...) = 1 point
 - Correct morpheme supplied (ex: last night I came...) = 2 point
- 5) Calculate the percentage of accurate use of each of the morphemes with the formula below:

$$\frac{n \text{ correct suppliance in context}}{n \text{ obligatory contexts} + n \text{ suppliance in non-obligatory contexts}} \times 100 = \text{percent accuracy}$$

As the overuse of morphemes is also taken into account, the variable 'n suppliance in non-obligatory contexts' is counted (Pica, 1984, as cited in Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005).

- 6) Rank the morpheme scores in order to determine the order of acquisition.

The morpheme identification process is conducted manually, while the calculation and ranking are performed using Microsoft Excel 2013.

To answer the second research question, the acquisition order resulting from the

Obligatory Occasion Analysis was analyzed to see whether the order was in accordance with the L1 or the proposed natural morpheme order hypothesis by Krashen. This was done by checking the score results with the tendencies occurring in Bahasa Indonesia sentence structure as well as comparing the acquisition rank to the order proposed Krashen's hypothesis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

There are two sections presented in this part. The first section elaborates the morpheme acquisition order of Indonesian high school English learners. Meanwhile, the second section contains an analysis of the most probable influence of the morpheme acquisition order.

The Morpheme Acquisition Order of Indonesian High School English Learners

In the examination of the data, the morphemes are labeled into three items. The first item is the obligatory occurrence, which is the frequency that the morphemes should properly occur. The second item is the suppliance, which is the occurrence of grammatical morphemes that are both correctly supplied and supplied with misforms. As explained before, when the suppliance is completely correct, the score is 2, but when it is partially correct, the score is 1 (see examples in section 3.2). Lastly, the third item is overuse. Overuse is when morphemes are not necessarily supplied, but they are supplied. It is, therefore, scored 0. The non-supplied morphemes in obligatory contexts are scored 0, of course. Table 2 below presents the calculated score based on the obtained data.

Table 2. Findings on students' grammatical morpheme applications

Grammatical morphemes	Number of obligatory occurrence (N)	Overuse	Expected score (Nx2)	Actual score
Progressive –ing	34	6	68	53
Plural –s	126	8	252	182
Copula be	189	4	378	271
Auxiliary be	42	6	84	40
Articles	140	1	280	159
Irregular past	36	10	72	22
Regular past –ed	26	3	52	18
3rd person singular –s	7	2	14	9
Possessive –s	3	6	6	0

Based on the values above, the acquisition percentage can be determined using the formula proposed by Pica (1984, as cited in Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005). This formula is modified based on the scoring suggested by Dulay and Burt (1980, as cited in Ellis & Barkhuizen, 2005) mentioned in section 3.2. The formula modification is as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Actual score}}{\text{Expected score} + (2 \times \text{overuse})} \times 100 = \text{percent accuracy}$$

Once the acquisition percentage is obtained, the results are ranked so that the acquisition order is identified. Thus, the Indonesian high school English learners' morpheme acquisition order is presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The morpheme acquisition order of the Indonesian high school English learners

Rank	Morphemes	Acquisition percentage
1	Copula <i>be</i>	70.21
2	Plural –s	67.91
3	Progressive –ing	66.25
4	Articles	56.38
5	3 rd person singular –s	50
6	Auxiliary <i>be</i>	41.67
7	Regular past –ed	31.03
8	Irregular past	23.9
9	Possessive –'s	0

Table 3 above shows the grammatical morpheme acquisition percentage of Indonesian high school English learners as shown in their writing samples. From the table, it is seen that the highest value of the acquisition percentage is 70.21% and the lowest is 0%. Dulay and Burt (1984, as cited in Widiatmoko, 2008) state that a learner is already in the perfect acquisition of particular morphemes when they achieve 90% of accurate supplies in the respective grammar morpheme. From this notion, it is implied that the student participants had not met a perfect acquisition in any of the morphemes.

As it can be seen from the table, the morpheme that is acquired most by the Indonesian high school English learners is the copula *be* with the correctness of 70.21%. The second highest acquired morpheme is the plural –s with 67.91% correctness. Meanwhile, the third least difficulty that the student participants had was progressive –ing, with the acquisition percentage of 66.25%. On the other hand, the regular past, irregular past, and possessive –s got the lowest acquisition percentages with 31%, 23.9%, and 0% respectively. The fact that the participants had not acquired accurately the morpheme of possessive –'s was quite surprising as they had studied English for at least 3 years. There were a few attempts to supply possessive –'s done by some students. Among 9 occurrences, 6 of them were oversupply. Thus, 0% of accurate supplianace of this morpheme was definitely not expected to occur at their level of study.

After all, the findings of this study are affected by a number of factors, such as the nature of the data, amount of data, and the limited topic. The data were in the form of written texts, which could result in different findings compared to spoken data, as some previous studies suggested (Larsen-Freeman, 1975; Ellis, 1994; Seog, 2015). Besides, the small data size and the single topic given for all participants also influenced the study findings. Results might be different if the data size was larger and the texts covered numerous topics.

Analysis on the Most Probable Influence of the Morpheme Acquisition Order

Until recently, the universality of morpheme acquisition is still “treated as a fundamental assumption on which theorizing in SLA is based” (Luk & Shirai, 2009, p.724) as a number of recent research reported by Luk & Shirai still advocates the justification of Krashen’s natural order hypothesis on grammatical morpheme acquisition (e.g. Mitchell & Myles, 2004; Saville-Troike, 2006). Therefore, the natural order of morpheme acquisition initiated by Krashen (1977) is challenged in this research using the study findings obtained in the data. In order to answer the second research question, the research subjects’ acquisition order is compared to Krashen’s. The comparison is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Comparison of Krashen’s proposed acquisition order to the current Research finding

Grammatical Morphemes	Rank	
	Krashen’s	Current research finding
Progressive <i>-ing</i>	1	3
Plural <i>-s</i>	2	2
Copula <i>be</i>	3	1
Auxiliary <i>be</i>	4	6
Articles	5	4
Irregular past	6	8
Regular past <i>-ed</i>	7	7
3 rd person singular <i>-s</i>	8	5
Possessive <i>-s</i>	9	9

From table 4, it is seen that among nine grammatical morphemes, only two items met Krashen’s proposed acquisition order. That number is equal to 28.6%, which means the similarity between Krashen’s natural morpheme acquisition order and the current research finding is relatively low. This finding implies that Indonesian high school English learners’ grammatical morpheme acquisition is not fully in accordance with Krashen’s proposed natural order.

Although two morphemes were acquired according to the order suggested by Krashen, namely regular past *-ed* and possessive *-s*, the fact needs further examination. In Krashen’s hypothesis, the regular past *-ed* is acquired in the 7th place, after the irregular past is acquired. On the other hand, it was confirmed in this study that the acquisition of regular past *-ed* occurred in the 7th place, which was earlier than the acquisition of irregular past, which occurred in the 8th place. After all, the possessive *-s* that is suggested to be acquired the latest in Krashen’s theory, was confirmed accordingly in this study findings.

Other than those morphemes discussed earlier, there were no other morphemes that corresponded to the proposed natural order. Based on this analysis, it can be concluded that Indonesian high school English learners’ morpheme acquisition order did not confirm Krashen’s natural order hypothesis. There must be another factor that influenced learners’ morpheme acquisition order. Thus, learners’ L1 was taken into consideration.

The L1 of this research participants is Bahasa Indonesia. Therefore, the equal forms in Bahasa Indonesia for each of the English morphemes that become the focus in this study were examined. Later in this section, the existence and non-existence of particular morphemes are discussed in order to see whether L1 has a significant influence to the subjects’ morpheme acquisition order. Table 5 below presents the summary of the existence of the studied English grammatical morphemes in Bahasa Indonesia.

Table 5. The Existence of Grammatical Morphemes in Bahasa Indonesia Based on the Rank

Rank	Morphemes	Exist in Bahasa Indonesia?
1	Copula <i>be</i>	Yes
2	Plural <i>-s</i>	No
3	Progressive <i>-ing</i>	No
4	Articles	Yes/No
5	3 rd person singular <i>-s</i>	No
6	Auxiliary <i>be</i>	Yes/no
7	Regular past <i>-ed</i>	No
8	Irregular past	No
9	Possessive <i>-s</i>	No

As expected, the acquisition of copula *be* occurs the earliest mostly because a similar concept also exists in the subjects' L1. A more unexpected disparity is that plural *-s* and progressive *-ing* are acquired relatively early. In fact, the absence of plural *-s* and progressive *-ing* in Bahasa Indonesia does not hinder the subjects to acquire those morphemes quite early. The reason behind this is probably because in English instructional process at schools in Indonesia, the plural *-s* and progressive *-ing* are taught in a relatively early stage. Another conspicuous finding is that the third person singular *-s* - a concept that does not exist in Bahasa Indonesia - is acquired earlier compared to auxiliary *be*, which occurs in some Bahasa Indonesia contexts. Again, this might be caused by other outside factors, like the inconsistency that students produce during the insertion of auxiliary *be*, which contribute more to inaccuracy. The other three morphemes: regular past *-ed*, irregular past, and possessive *-s* are expectedly acquired the latest due to their absence in Bahasa Indonesia.

It is interesting to see the result compiled in table 5 because the subjects' acquisition order is not completely influenced by their L1 as well. In spite of that, generally, L1 influence still has more contribution to the learners' morpheme acquisition order, compared to the proposed morpheme natural order proposed by Krashen. Other variables such as the nature and amount of data, as well as data

collection and analysis techniques might be responsible for the variants occurring in the study result be responsible for the variants occurring in the study result. However, this is not the first case that such variants occur. Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005) reported less conclusive results in some previous studies, such as the one performed by Rosansky (1976). After all, it needs deeper analyses and scrutiny to respond to this finding as well as to anticipate further similar research.

CONCLUSION

The obligatory occasion analysis employed to analyze data helped to reveal the grammatical morpheme acquisition order of Indonesian high school English learners. The current study shows that the high school students' acquisition order does not fully confirm the natural order. Similarly, the students' L1, that was initially expected to influence the acquisition order was not confirmed either. Some other factors like the nature and amount of data, as well as data collection and analysis techniques were presumed to have contribution in the study result.

Even though it was proven that the L1 is more likely to affect the acquisition order rather than Krashen's natural order hypothesis, further and more thorough studies need to be conducted. As Seog (2015) stated, morpheme order studies are crucial in broadening our understanding of the language acquisition process. Thus, other determining factors need to be considered in planning future studies in order to yield better discoveries.

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Headscarves to Die for¹: Freedom of Choice and a Free-will Symbol in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*

Sri Hariyatmi

School of Liberal Arts, Mae Fah Luang University, Chiang Rai, Thailand
sri.har@mfu.ac.th

ABSTRACT

This article intends to unfold Orhan Pamuk's conception or how he (re) presents women and their headscarves within Islamic tradition, with particular reference to his novel *Snow*. *Snow* opens with the return of Ka, a Turkish exile who has been leaving his country for 12 years to Istanbul in order to attend his mother's funeral. He then decides to investigate a wave of suicide by young girls in the provincial city of Kars who object the ban of hijab in public spaces. This study discovers that Pamuk explores the lamentation of the Muslim women emanating out of the domain of religion and the will of the state as a stepping-stone to re (claim) the meaning of their headscarf and identity. Grounded in Mahmood theory, this study argued that headscarf has a deeper meaning than just a symbol of religious devotion. It is a platform of Muslim women's individual will to exercise their chosen identity.

Keywords: *Muslim women, headscarf, religion, identity*

INTRODUCTION

"I put on my headscarf for political reason."
– Orhan Pamuk in *Snow*

Muslim women and their hijab have been a debatable issue in the East and the West. Hundreds of different questions come up related to women with headscarves. Western people perceive women with headscarves as submissive people who sacrifice their life following men's order. The Western view believes that those women do not have 'voice' and at the same time do not have the freedom to express themselves. Some others are surprised why beautiful women have to cover their attractive hair and their body while in their 'world' women try to show off

their body and hair. To the worst perception, this cultural and religious symbol is seen as a thread and associated with terrorism following the 9/11 tragedy in 2011. Muslim women and their headscarves is an issue of "great contemporary currency and political urgency" (Dillon, 1998, p. 682).

Meanwhile, Muslims believe that wearing a headscarf is a symbol of visible expression of devotion as well as a significant determinant of being Muslim. It is worth noting that the headscarf is not as simple as it appears on the surface. It is a multifaceted concept in the intersection of religion and culture embodying beliefs for those who wear it, and the understanding and misunderstanding of those who observe it.

¹ "Hijab to die for" is a borrowed term from the title of Margaret Atwood article reviewing Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*, which published in the *New York Times* on 15 August 2015.

Snow is Pamuk seventh novel published and translated in English in 2002. This first and

political novel, as Pamuk claimed has extended his reputation abroad. *Snow* opens with the story of Ka, a poet who has been living as a political exile in Frankfurt, Germany travels to Istanbul to attend his mother's funeral. He also wishes to write about the wave of suicidal girls protesting the ban of wearing a headscarf in Kars, a rural Anatolian village located in Northeastern Turkey. Ka is amazed at how quiet those young girls have taken over their own life: from drinking sleeping pills or hanging themselves by using their headscarf that they tied on the lamp hook in their rooms. These young women's decision to take their own life demonstrate their resistance over the government's order to take off their headscarves.

Hence, this paper would focus on Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* and how Muslim women and their headscarves are represented, in regard to their right and free will. In addition, this paper is expected to provide an additional reference to the study of women's identity. This paper presents a qualitative study where the main data of this study is Orhan Pamuk's *Snow*. Additionally, related studies on Orhan Pamuk's work particularly *Snow* were also employed in order to support the main data in the study.

Orhan Pamuk and *Snow*

Ferit Orhan Pamuk, one of the most- leading contemporary Turkish writers, is widely known as Orhan Pamuk for his record of accomplishment in literary excellence. Pamuk is a secularist author with his best-selling novels such as *My Name is Red* (1998) and *Snow* (2002). He was awarded Nobel Prize in Literature 2006. His books have gained enormous readership across the globe and they successfully are translated into more than sixty-three languages including Bahasa Indonesia.

Pamuk, as part of the Europeanized bourgeois family studied engineering and architecture instead of painting that had been his dreamt. However, he no longer wishes to

guard his family tradition and he eventually abandoned his architecture and engineering class and he then went to School of Journalism in Istanbul University but he never becomes a journalist. When he reached 23 years old, Pamuk determined to become a novelist. He gave up everything else, then "retreated into his flat" and started living his true self a writer (<https://www.orhanpamuk.net/page.aspx?id=7>).

Snow is claimed as Pamuk's first and political novel that represents the conflict within Turkey's identity quest, which are filled with two contradictions arising from those in favor of Islamic values and those of modern secularists. The never-ending battle between Islamic and secularist in Pamuk's point of view can be dangerous and risky. In this novel, Pamuk presents the core dilemma for Turkish people ever since the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of the Turkish Republic in early 1923. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of Turkish Republic, wanted to create new Turkey's identity, which is different from the Ottoman Turkey with its Islamic cultural roots. Ataturk believes that to achieve his goal, he has to cut all tiers from Ottoman Islam and "annul the cultural identity of being a Muslim" (Cagaptay, 20006, p.65). The headscarf, as one of the Ottoman heritage's symbols, therefore must be abolished.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Snow is not the first novel where the crux of the issue is the headscarf. In fact, the representation of Muslim women as an oppressed and veiled sex can be traced back from the twelfth to thirteen centuries (Marandi& Tari, 2012). Since then, Muslim women are represented as the victims of cruel patriarchal tyranny who absolutely have no control over their own destiny (Ibid, p. 11).

In *Snow*, the depiction of how headscarf is considered as a legacy of backwardness is

represented by the scene of a drama entitled *My Fatherland or My Headscarf*, showing a Turkish woman make “her grand gesture of independence, launching herself into enlightenment as she removed her scarf” (Pamuk, 2002, p.151). The actress who plays the woman taking off her headscarf explains, “the turban and the headdress were all symbols of the reactionary darkness in our souls, from which we should liberate ourselves and run to join the modern nations of the west” (Pamuk, 2002, p.155). The director of the play, Sunay Zaim conveys to Kadife, the leader of headscarf girls that he encouraging Kadife to take off her headscarf is for the same reason that he had decided to stage the revolution, in expectation that Turkish women can be as independent as European women (Pamuk, 2002, p. 410).

In addition, as a Westernized Turkish who has been living as a political refugee in Germany, Ka believes that women with a headscarf is naturally not attractive to him. A woman with headscarf will never make him interested. For Ka who is described as a Westernized secularist, a headscarf is “an indication of Muslim backwardness and oppression” (Marandi & Tari, 2012, p. 7). *Snow*, however, presents a different angle about the meaning of headscarf for Muslim women’s life and identity.

As has already been pointed out earlier, *Snow* presents the predicament of Turkey’s identity quest where the mission of modernizing Turkey was established upon secularism in contrast to religion. Turkey determined to abandon its cultural roots by annulling all the laws, which is based on Islamic tradition. Therefore, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk determines to eradicate all marks of religious symbols to establish the Republic of Turkey in 1925 (White, 2016, p. 150).

The headscarf, which is perceived as the paragon for the backwardness of Islamic culture, was therefore outlawed, as the Kemalists believe that wearing a headscarf is a form of religious coercion. The banning of the headscarf describes the violence of

the secularism project following the construction of Turkish Republic whose agenda is eradicating the multiethnic, multi-community as well as multi-religious of the Ottoman period into a “single ‘Turkish’ hegemonic identity” (Connolly, 1999: 76).

Therefore, no one is surprised that “When the authorities had outlawed the wearing of headscarves in educational institutions across the country, many women refused to comply; the noncompliant young women at the Institute of Education in Kars had been barred first from the classroom and then, following an edict from Ankara from the entire campus” (Pamuk, 2002, p. 16). *Snow* highlights Turkish girls’ lamentation who incline to wear a headscarf, but they are banned from an educational institution in Turkey. Here Pamuk wants to demonstrate that the Westernization in Turkey brings a dilemma for the Turkish society. The secularist policy to ban headscarves as the most invisible symbol of religion in Turkey has wounded the society especially Turkish women. Their resistance can be interpreted as an act of expression against their country dictation as well as their religion.

The girls, represented by Hande explains how she and her friends suffer as a result of the anti-headscarf campaign. Hande is dismissed from the school because she comes to the class without taking off her headscarf:

Sometimes I can see a vision of a girl walking into school, her hair flying all around her. I can see her walking down the hall and going into my favorite classroom – oh, how I miss that classroom! I can even imagine the smell of the hallway and the hot, sticky air. Then I look through the pane of glass that separates the classroom from the hallway and I see that the girl is not there. She is another girl, and I start to cry (Pamuk, 2002, pp.126-7).

Another ordeal is even more severe. Being

deeply agitated in a dilemmatic frustration for choosing between what they have been taught (putting on their headscarf) and what they are now forced to do (barring their head), some girls decided to take their own life. They believe that life is no longer meaningful without the freedom to follow their belief. They silently commit suicide for they believe that life would be meaningless without the freedom to exercise their right to wear their headscarves. It can be seen from the case of Teslime. This headscarf girl is heartbroken when she discovers that her friends uncover their heads or give up their headscarves and replace it with a wig. The girl eventually died by committing suicide:

It seems that the girl, Teslime, had spent her last evening silently watching the tension show called Marianna. After making tea and serving it to her parents; she went to her room and readied herself for her prayers, washing her face, her feet, and her hands. When she had finished her ablutions, she sat down on her prayer rug and lost herself for some time in thought, and then in prayer, before tying her head scarf to the lamp hook from which she hanged herself (Pamuk, 2002, pp 16- 17).

Indeed, those girls' decision to take their own life instead of barring their head is a respond to the government banning of headscarf. They resist the oppression of official edict to remove their headscarf and choose to die instead. The girls' action show that headscarf is more than a headgear for them. It is a symbol of their honor as well as a marker of their faith: "the headscarf did not just stand for God's love, it is also proclaimed [their] faith and preserved [their] honor" (Pamuk, 2002, p. 121).

Teslime's suicide is an act to exercise her right in selecting what identity she wants to claim. In Clemens' interpretation, Teslime takes her own life is a daring act of objectification to those who try to dictate her about what she can wear. By committing suicide, Teslime also "cut the chain of

signification coerced on her body" (Clemens, 2011, p. 147). Teslime and the rest of the girls refuse to submit to both the government edict that want them to take off their headscarves or to the Islamic party that insist them to keep putting on their headscarves in order to symbolize political religious resistance. Thus, it is very humble to say that the piece of garment has deeper meaning and symbol than just a religious obligation.

Moreover, the persistence of the schoolgirls in the novel to secure their headscarf shows that their headscarf is not a symbol of patriarchy oppression where Muslim women are the victim of the unfair patriarchal practice. Unlike the message delivered by Ayaan Hirsi Ali that headscarf is the form of women submission over men, therefore they have to debar it, the girls in *Snow* show that their headscarf is their choice to demonstrate their identity. The girls launch themselves into enlightenment by putting on their headscarves not by removing it (Pamuk, 2002). Covering also provides the girls with a sense of being true to themselves and a method to get rid of sexualization and a sense of belonging in one community. As one of the girls admits: "I am not all that afraid of becoming someone else. What scares me is the thought of never being able to return to the person who I am now- and even forgetting who that person is" (Pamuk, 2002, p. 123).

CONCLUSION

The aforementioned discussion has shown that *Snow* presents a different meaning of headscarf within the life of Muslim women. Headscarf, the crux issue in *Snow* has demonstrated that it is beyond what people believe as a "symbol of patriarchal oppression and also the biggest obstacle for Muslim women to take participation in public space" (Badran, 2005, p. 93).

This paper reveals that the headscarf has a deeper meaning more than as a means of patriarchal oppression or women

subjugation over men. Teslime and other girls in *Snow* prove that their headscarf gives them a sense of selfhood and a foundation for them to exercise their identity and to control their own destiny. They refuse to follow the order of patriarchal practices represented by the secularist and fundamentalist. For them, headscarf is an instrument to involve in public spaces rather than a symbol of submission to men culture.

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Equivalence in the Translation of Joko Pinurbo's "Tuhan Datang Malam Ini" into "God Came Tonight"

Aurelia Reza Hayuwardhani

Graduate Program in English Language Studies,
Sanata Dharma University
e-mail: aureliareza@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The paper presents an analysis of Joko Pinurbo's "Tuhan Datang Malam Ini" translated into "God Came Tonight". In this paper, the translation of the original version is seen closely to see its equivalence strategies, referring to Nida's framework, applied to the production of the translation. The equivalence explained in the discussion covers both formal and dynamic. The discussion in the paper leads to three major conclusions, namely: (1) figurativeness in a poem can be preserved by the help of formal equivalence, (2) the type of equivalence depends on how far translators bring it to the translation, and (3) translators need to have broad knowledge to supply their work in translation, especially in that of poetry.

Keywords: *Joko Pinurbo, Nida's framework, formal, and dynamic equivalence.*

INTRODUCTION

Translation of poetry has been discussed as an issue for debates as it is said to be the most difficult to do in the domain of translation. Poetry places the highest rank in the expressions of humankind (Matiu 129). According to Frost, it is due to the fact that poetry contains poetic languages seen to be linguistically bound (qtd. in Dastjerdi, et al 11). Further, it is also tricky to translate poetry, as expressive texts, because "there is often a conflict between the expressive and the aesthetic function ['truth' and 'beauty'] - "the poles of ugly literal translation and beautiful free translation" *ibid.* (Newmark 42). Although there are debates questioning the translatability of poetry, a great number of poems have been successfully translated. The form of the translation remains the same, namely, in the form of poem. This proves that "only a poem can translate a poem" (Dharwadker 139). By this viewpoint, we can sum up that poetry translation, as well as analyses of translation

of poetry, is possible to conduct, for poetry can enter the domain of translation as translatable object.

Based on the facts above, it is prominent to do analyses of poetry translation. This paper tries to present an analysis of Joko Pinurbo's poem "Tuhan Datang Malam Ini". Pinurbo is one of notable productive modern Indonesian poets whose works are subject to study in the domain of equivalence of translation. His writing style is simple because he leans to use more literal language than figurative one (Zaimar 1). Despite this fact, however, the number of his works translated can be counted easily. The translations of his works can be found in "Trouser Doll", a compilation of Pinurbo's poems translated in English by Harry Aveling and Linda Owens. In translation studies, however, Pinurbo's works are scarcely studied compared to those works by Chairil Anwar. Despite this fact, the English translation of Pinurbo's works are interesting to take into account,

and it is to this point the discussion is addressed.

MATERIALS AND METHOD

Data Source

The data source is Joko Pinurbo's poem "Tuhan Datang Malam Ini" in the source language, Indonesian, and its English version "God Came Tonight". Its original Indonesian version appears in Pinurbo's compiled poems entitled "Celana". The translated English version, "God Came Tonight" is found in "Trouser Doll", translated by Harry Aveling, an academic Australian translator whose focus is on Indonesian and Malay literature (Rampan 184). The poem talks about a person who tries to criticize God, a metaphor of the outruling New Order regime holding infinity authority and control over Indonesian mass media (Mahendra). In the New Order era, freedom of expression was strictly controlled. In the poem, Pinurbo figuratively says that the regime created a repressive situation; on the surface, it appeared to be a tool to create peace among society, yet what happened was the opposite. The repressive situation actually promoted confusion in the society. In the poem, he also tries to express that those who are "repressed" still believe and hope that God, the metaphor of the regime, was aware that what they did was wrong.

The following table shows the poem "Tuhan Datang Malam Ini" in Indonesian and its translation "God Came Tonight".

The translation of "Tuhan Datang Malam Ini" into "God Came Tonight".

	Source Language	Target Language
	<i>"Tuhan Datang Malam Ini"</i>	<i>God Came Tonight</i>
1	"Tuhan Datang Malam Ini"	God came tonight,
2	di gudang gulita yang cuma dihuni cericit tikus	to a dark warehouse, inhabited by squeaking mice
3	dan celoteh sepi.	and lonely chatter.

4	Ia datang dengan sebuah <i>headline</i> yang megah:	He came with the grand headline:
5	"Telah kubredel ketakutan dan kegemetaranmu.	"I have banned fear and uncertainty.
6	Kini bisa kaurayakan kesepian dan kesendirianmu	Now you can truly celebrate your loneliness and your aloneness."
7	dengan lebih meriah."	
8	Dengar, Tuhan melangkah lewat dengan sangat gemulai	Listen, as God passes triumphantly
9	di atas halaman-halaman hilang, rubrik-rubrik terbengkelai.	across the lost pages and unread editorials.
10	Malam menebar debar.	Night scatters restless heartbeats.
11	Di sebuah kolom yang rindang, kolom yang teduh,	In a leafy column, a calm column,
12	ia kumpulkan huruf-huruf yang cerai-berai	he gathers scattered letters
13	dan merangkainya jadi sebuah komposisi kedamaian.	and joins them into an essay on peace.
14	Namun masih juga ia cabar:	The night struggles:
15	"Kenapa ya aku masih kesepian. Seakan tak bisa tenteram	"Why am I so lonely? Why can I only find peace
16	tanpa suara-suara riuh dan kata-kata gaduh."	in noisy voices and loud quarrels?"
17	"Mungkin karena kau terlampau terikat pada makna	"Perhaps you are too attached to definitions
18	yang berkelebat sesaat," demikian	whose meanings never last."
19	seperti telah ia temukan jawaban.	This was the answer he sought.
20	Begitulah, ia hikmati malam yang cerau	Truly, he was blessed that night in the pouring rain,
21	Dan mencoba menghalau galau dan risau.	as he struggled to be free of uncertainty and doubt.
22	Dibetulkannya rambut ranggas yang menjuntai	He pushed the straggling hair
23	di atas dahi nan	back from his broad

	pasai. Dibelainya kumis kusut	forehead. He brushed his curling moustache
24	dan cabang capai yang menjalar di selingkar sangsai.	and the sideburns growing around his misery.
25	Sementara di luar hujan dan angin berkejaran	Outside, the wind and the rain chased each other,
26	menggelar konvoi kemurungan.	forming a long convoy of gloom.
27	Lalu diambilnya pena, dicelupkannya pada luka	Then he took his pen, sharpened it on his wound,
28	dan ditulisnya:	and wrote:
29	<i>Saya ini apalah Tuhan.</i>	<i>What am I, God?</i>
30	<i>Saya ini cuma jejak-jejak kaki musafir</i>	<i>I am the footprints of a wanderer</i>
31	<i>pada serial catatan pinggir;</i>	<i>across a series of commentaries in a newspaper;</i>
32	<i>sisa aroma pada seonggok beha;</i>	<i>the lingering aroma of old brassieres</i>
33	<i>dan bau kecut pada sisa cinta.</i>	<i>the smell of semen after making love.</i>
34	<i>Saya ini cuma cuwilan cemas kok Tuhan.</i>	<i>I am only a heap of worries, God.</i>
35	<i>Saya ini cuma seratus hektar halaman surat kabar</i>	<i>I am only a hundred hectares of newsprint</i>
36	<i>yang habis terbakar;</i>	<i>after a bushfire;</i>
37	<i>sekeping puisi yang terpentil</i>	<i>a discarded poem</i>
38	<i>dilabrak batalion iklan.</i>	<i>besieged by five battalions of advertising.</i>
39	Dan "Tuhan Datang Malam Ini"	And God came tonight
40	di gudang gelap, di bawah tanah, yang cuma dihuni	to a dark warehouse, underground, inhabited by
41	cericit tikus dan celoteh sepi.	squeaking mice and lonely chatter.
42	Ia datang bersama empat ribu pasukan,	He came with four thousand troops
43	Lengkap dengan borgol dan senapan.	armed with handcuffs and rifles.
44	Dengar, mereka menggedor-gedor pintu dan berseru:	Can you hear them, banging on the door and shouting:
45	"Jangan halangi kami. Jangan lari dan sembunyi.	"Don't try to stop us. Don't try to run away and hide.
46	Kami cuma orang-orang kesepian.	We are lonely too.
47	Kami ingin bergabung bersama	We just want to be with you

	Anda	
48	di sebuah kolom yang teduh, kolom yang rindang.	in a leafy column, a calm column.
49	Kami akan kumpulkan senjata	Let us gather our weapons
50	dan menyusunnya jadi sebuah komposisi keseimbangan.	and shape them into an article on fear.
51	Sesudah itu perkenalkan kami sita dan kami bawa	Then, if we may, we'll confiscate all that you own,
52	semua yang Anda punya, sungguhpun	and take it away, even if it is no more
53	cuma berkas-berkas tua	than worthless trash
54	dan halaman-halaman kosong semata."	and empty pages."
55	Tuhan, mereka sangat ketakutan.	Take their fear, Oh God,
56	Antarkan mereka ke sebuah rubrik yang tenang.	And lead them into the land of good news.

Data Collection

The data were collected by note taking. Firstly, to understand its meanings and messages, the poem in the source language "Tuhan Datang Malam Ini" was read several times. Secondly, the translated version, "God Came Tonight", was read in order to (1) examine the equivalence strategies (pragmatic, dynamic and formal); (2) see the semantics and syntax as cultural and conceptual phenomena; and (3) to examine how the transfer of meanings from ST to TL is like by means of translation. While reading the poem several times, note-taking of those three major focuses is required so as to supply the analysis with the evidence.

Data Analysis

In order to (1) see the semantics and syntactical domain playing roles in cultural and conceptual phenomena, (2) examine dynamic, and formal equivalences, and (3) examine the transfer of meanings from ST to TT through translation, Nida's views on

formal and dynamic equivalence (1964) become the basis of data analysis, supported by the analysis in terms of the semantic and syntactical parts of the expressions and the conveyance of meanings in the work.

Nida's Views on Equivalence

Nida (1964) proposes two different types of equivalence in translation namely "formal" and "dynamic" equivalence. Both are seen from different perspectives in processing the translation. In former, a translator is able to reflect both the contents and form as genuine as possible. Those can be achieved by means of grammatical devices, words use, and the sense of terms. In this type of equivalence, Nida argues that the translator can achieve what is called as "faithful translation" if he or she can preserve the word class, paragraph structures and punctuation, both in ST and TT. Therefore, formal equivalence focuses on preserving linguistic aspects of a work so that the target audience can experience the same linguistic experiences as what is in the original text. The latter, dynamic equivalence opposes the previous type. This type of equivalence is called as the most natural translation of a work from the SL. The "naturalness" can be appraised through the receptor's language and culture, context of the message, and the target audience, viz. the TL readers.

ANALYSIS

In terms of the occurrence of each type of equivalence, it is found out that in the TL text, there are 29 lines of the poem applying formal equivalence and 27 lines of dynamic equivalence. Out of these 29 lines, the following excerpts show how formal equivalence is employed in the TL translation.

Table 2.1. The First Example of the Formal Equivalence

Line	Source Language	Target Language
1	"Tuhan Datang Malam Ini",	God came tonight,

The above excerpt is taken from the first line of the first stanza. The statement *Tuhan Datang Malam Ini* is translated into *God came tonight*. It is considered to be formal equivalent due to the fact that the grammatical units are preserved. The nouns, for example, *Tuhan*, and *malam ini* are translated literally. *Tuhan* is translated into *God*. However, if we try to connect it with the underlying meaning of the word *God*, it does not mean what it literally means. The verb *datang* in the SL is translated into the past form of come, *came*. Likewise, the phrase *malam ini* is translated literally into the adverb of time *tonight*. Finally, in terms of syntactical pattern, both the SL and TL texts exhibit the same structure of SVAdv. What we can infer from the process here is that formal equivalent strategy in translating this line is sufficient in the TL; the words in the SL have their own equivalence of terminologies along with their similar functions, meaning that both words in SL and TL are in the same parts of speech. Therefore, such a process is suitable to translate such an expression.

Table 2.2. The Second Example of the Formal Equivalence

Line	Source Language	Target Language
11	Di sebuah kolom yang rindang, kolom yang teduh,	In a leafy column, a calm column,

Table 2.2. shows another example of the implementation of formal equivalence in the translation of "Tuhan Datang Malam Ini". In the excerpt, the expression *Di sebuah kolom yang rindang, kolom yang teduh* is translated into *In a leafy column, a calm column*. The target language expression shows that the translator preserves the structure, words, and even the punctuation from the SL to TL. In terms of structure, the construction of the phrase is kept the same in the TL because, without changes, the target audience of the translation easily understand it in the same way as what is meant in the SL. The choice of words is also

kept the same in the TL, meaning that the translator chose the words literally without converting it to other word types. It is due to the fact that, semantically, the words appearing in the expression, as seen in Table 2.2., are already equivalent with the words in the TL.

Table 2.3. The Third Example of the Formal Equivalence

Line	Source Language	Target Language
35	Saya ini cuma seratus hektar halaman surat kabar	I am only a hundred hectares of newsprint

The previous table shows more examples of the use of formal equivalence in the work. It is taken from line thirty-five in the third stanza. This excerpt displays another process in which every single word in the SL is translated. Semantically speaking, the word-by-word translation we can find in the above example is acceptable. The meaning in the SL and in TL does not decrease to any degree. Furthermore, the way it is translated also does not affect how the target readers perceive the expression even though it is already translated. In this excerpt, both versions, in the SL and the TL, convey the same type of figurative language, a metaphor. It indicates that the translator still maintains the sense of figurativeness in the TL by keeping the metaphorical expression in the SL and in TL intact. The maintenance of the syntactical structure, both in the SL and TL, is also noticeably evident. The syntactical structure in the SL, namely, Subject + Predicate + Object, is transferred into the same structure in the TL. This indicates that the translator tries to maintain the sense shared by the use of such syntactical pattern. To make it clearer, if it is changed into a passive voice, for example, the emphasis of the subject *I* both in the SL and TL will be affected. By putting the subject *I* in the initial position, it indicates that the subject *I* matters both in the SL and TL meanings.

After discussing about the applications of formal equivalence, the discussion on the

dynamic equivalence is presented in the following tables. The excerpts shown in the following are taken from 29 lines containing dynamic equivalence.

Table 2.4. The First Example of the Dynamic Equivalence

Line	Source Language	Target Language
8	Dengar, Tuhan melangkah lewat dengan sangat gemulai	Listen, as God passes triumphantly

This excerpt is taken from the eighth line of the first stanza. In this excerpt, the expression *Dengar, Tuhan melangkah lewat dengan sangat gemulai* is translated into *Listen, as God passes triumphantly*. Both the expressions in the SL and the TL contain imperatives realized by the expression *dengar* in the SL, and *listen* in the TL. As they are imperatives in both SL and TL, the idea of promoting that command is preserved. It is typical with the idea of formal equivalence. However, if we pay attention closely to the expression *melangkah lewat dengan sangat gemulai* in the SL which is translated into *passes triumphantly*, it is noticeable that there exists the phrase *sangat gemulai*. The translator chooses the adverb *triumphantly* rather than choosing the literal translation of *gemulai*, which is *supple* in the TL.

If the phenomenon is related to the culture of the target readers of the English translation, the concept of *gemulai* differs from that in the SL, Indonesian. In KBBI, the word *gemulai* means to move our body parts gently. To describe the character *God*, the notion of moving the body gently is not appropriate with the concept of *God* shared commonly as *God* is always related to greatness and power. Therefore, what the translator did to make it more natural to the target readers is that he changed the word *gemulai* to the adverb *triumphantly* which actually contradicts the concept shared in the SL. It is done to make the target readers get notion on how powerful metaphorical *God* is, thus, in an extent, it reinforces the

mood in the overall poem. This phenomenon reflects the fundamental of translation that finding appropriate unit of translation requires higher level, not just in word-to-word level (Dharwadker 137).

Table 2.5. The Second Example of the Dynamic Equivalence

Line	Source Language	Target Language
24	dan cambang capai yang menjalar di selingkar sangsai.	and the sideburns growing around his misery.

Here is another example of dynamic equivalence employed in the work. The equivalence marker can be noticed in the presence of the word *menjalar* in the SL which is translated into *growing* in the TL. The Indonesian word *menjalar* refers to a process portraying growth affecting the neighboring things of the thing undergoing the process. The context shared by the word *menjalar* is specific; however, in the TL, the word *menjalar* is translated into *growing*. The word *growing* is too general in the source language. However, in English, there is no other choice being equivalent to the word *menjalar*. Thus, in the TL, the word *menjalar* is semantically “reduced”, in the extent that *menjalar* has specific meaning while *growing* is rather general. Due to this phenomenon, it is clear that when dealing with dynamic equivalent translation, the translators need to deal with the context of both SL and TL. In other words, dynamic equivalence is more “context-bound” (Hatim and Munday 44).

Table 2.6. The Third Example of the Dynamic Equivalence

Line	Source Language	Target Language
32	sisia aroma pada seonggok beha;	the lingering aroma of old brassieres

The above table shows the last example presented in the discussion. In the excerpt, the whole expression *in the lingering aroma of old brassieres* contains markers of the dynamic equivalence. It starts with the

phrase *sisia aroma* in the SL. The phrase is not translated literally, but by way of finding an equal term that describes the phrase *sisia aroma*. If the phrase is translated literally, the phrase will be *the remaining aroma*. The word *remaining* is replaced by the word *lingering* which emphasizes more on the time when the aroma will last. The lexical choice shown in the phenomena creates clearer mental representation of the referred idea in the target readers’ minds. It affects how the target readers convey meaning of the line for they have clearer depiction of the idea. In the expression, there is found the phrase *seonggok beha*. The phrase *seonggok beha*, literally, merely refers to a pile of bras. However, in the translation, *seonggok beha* is translated into *old brassiers*. It is done on purpose due to the fact that the added word *old* preceding *brassiers* exaggerates the sense of the aroma mentioned earlier in the phrase. It is also used to help English target readers who happen not to be familiar with the concept of the aroma. By such adjustment, adding the word *old*, the emphasis on the negative smell increases. To sum up, the excerpt contains dynamic equivalence due to the fact that, semantically, the translation shifts the meaning and exaggerates the meaning shared by the idea in the SL.

CONCLUSION

The discussion shows how translating poetry is not a simple thing to do. A translator must be able to determine which strategy, in this case determining the equivalence strategy based on Nida’s framework on formal and dynamic equivalence. This paper has discussed the issue of equivalence in Joko Pinurbo’s “Tuhan Datang Malam Ini” which is translated into “God Came Tonight”. From the analyses, it is found out that there are 56 lines in the poem in which 29 lines employ formal equivalence, while the other 27 apply dynamic equivalence. In each type of equivalence, semantic and syntactical points are included to explain the process of the equivalence.

Further, in the discussion on Joko Pinurbo's "Tuhan Datang Malam Ini" translation, we can point out or infer three prominent things, namely (1) a translator can keep the expressions of the text translated by the help of formal equivalence as formal equivalence can help him or her preserve the figurativeness; (because the ST uses metaphorical expressions elaborating terminologies that are shared by both the SL and TL); (2) equivalence in the target text mainly depends on how far the translation should be brought, meaning to what degree the shifts are sufficient to produce a readable translation; and (3) the translators' knowledge must cover the subjects of the texts translated. Otherwise, he or she will find difficulties in determining which type of strategy, in this case equivalence, to apply in the product of his or her translation.

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Reading Disability in Indonesian Children's Literature

Tri Sugiarto

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta
trisugiarto@uny.ac.id

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to examine the representation of disability and to identify the discourse resulted from the pattern of its portrayal in four selected Indonesian children's shorts stories, namely "Kacamata UFO", "Gadis Penari", "Bapak Si Dono", and "Cerita Rion dengan Sebelah Mata" published in Bobo magazine. Applying the lens of Said's Orientalism, this content analysis study shows that children with disabilities are presented as weak, dependent, not productive, an object of curiosity and violence, and a vehicle for the growth of other characters in the story. This study concludes that literacy on disability for Indonesian people is significant. Such writing is to provide a positive image and reduce the negative stereotype which is currently shared among society.

Keywords: *children's literature, disability, representation, short stories*

INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, there are about ten million people with various disabilities resulted either by a congenital condition or by some other factors such as accident, natural disaster, tribal war, or any other incidents that cause a temporary or permanent impairment to a body (Amannullah, 2016; Cameron & Suarez, 2017). The degree of impairment is different from one person to another. They usually start from a little up to severe difficulties that could be about the problem in hearing, seeing, speaking, or walking, which affects one's ability to participate actively in society. Almost everyone with impairment experiences discomfort in their social interaction.

This situation occurs because society consists of people with various backgrounds who tend to view the world from the perspective of binary opposition. The discourse creates a dichotomy between abled and disabled. As a result, this ideology segregates and leads the two

communities to have a prejudice against one another. People without disabilities gaze the people with disabilities negatively. They are considered as a burden, both for family and the state, a source of embarrassment, a sin of a family, and a case that is destined by God (Byrne, 2007). They are also considered as the *other*, a marginalized group of communities that is alien to the majority group (Bold, 2019).

This article explores the issue of disability in four selected children's stories published online and printed in *Bobo* magazine. This magazine is an adaptation of a magazine with the same name from the Netherlands that has been published since 1973. It has been very popular among young readers in Indonesia for many different generations. From the list of short stories published in the magazine, this article seeks "Kacamata UFO" by Tria Ayu K from the collection of short stories series 40, and "Gadis Penari" by Kemala P, from the collection series 28. Besides, it includes "Bapak Si Dono" by Sylvana Toemon, and "Cerita Rion dengan

Sebelah Mata” by Putri Puspita which are downloaded online from *Bobo* magazine website. The investigation focuses on explaining the representation of disability and the discourse constructed from the representation of the people with disabilities in the selected stories.

The genre of children’s literature is chosen because it is an essential medium to facilitate the growth of children’s and young adult’s awareness of various social problems, including the topic of disability. There are many studies on children’s literature examining environmental problem (Dewi, 2017; Jeanne & Harms, 2019; Nikolajeva, 2014; Segal, 2014; Sugiarto & Purbani, 2019), multiculturalism (Iwai, 2013), identity (Coleman-king & Groenke, 2015; Sajid, 2015), but a study on the representation of disabilities in children’s literature, especially Indonesia’s children literature, is very limited. The existing studies on children’s literature and disability stop on inspecting the importance of inclusive children literature in Indonesia (Kristanti, 2016; Wardany, 2018). While the studies found that inclusive reading materials are vital for children and some inclusive works depicting children with disabilities become available, an investigation on how such topic is presented in a literary work for children is worth doing. Applying the lens of Said’s *Orientalism*, this study is hoped to shed a light on the discourse of disability and its presence in children’s literature.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Children's literature has been used for educational purposes for children, young adults, and even adults to understand the world. This genre is used as an effective tool to transmit values, understanding, tolerance, and a positive mindset for its targeted group of readers since a long time ago (Boudreaux, 2006; McIlhagga, 2016; Sedgwick, 2010). It gives pleasure by presenting lively characters, setting, and also provides a gap for its readers to

complete. It facilitates discussion and negation that help children and young adults to be more critical.

The selection of short stories published in *Bobo* magazine illustrates some different types of disabilities that are permanent and exist from birth. The characters in all of the stories experience negative preconception by peers who have no disabilities. The detail of the representation is observable in the following table.

Table 1. Representation of disabilities in some selected short stories for children

No	Title	Types of disability	Representation
1.	<i>Kacamata UFO</i> by Tria Ayu K	Children with low vision disability	An object of curiosity and violence, weak, a vehicle for the growth of other characters
2.	<i>Gadis Penari</i> by Kemala P	Children with a speech disability	Not productive/Incompetent, vehicle for the growth of other characters
3.	<i>Bapak Si Dono</i> by Sylvana Toemon	Children with mental/intellectual disability	Dependent, a vehicle for the growth of other characters
4.	<i>Cerita Rion dengan Sebelah Mata</i> by Putri Puspita	Children with low vision disability	An object of curiosity and violence, incompetent, a vehicle for the growth of other characters

From Table 1, it is seen that children with disabilities are addressed with negative prejudices. In *Bobo* selected short stories, the portrayal focuses on the absence that these children have and neglecting the potential skills that may be nurtured to make them contribute equally with children and people without disability.

DISCUSSION

A Person with a Disability is an Object of Curiosity and Violence

People usually define normalcy as having no impairment. It has a complete function of physic and mental to work and contribute to others (Couser, 2009). Some children with impairment are excluded from this criterion and are easily identified. Their looks are different and contrast to the standard of 'normal' kids constructed by society. They may lose one or two functions in their body. With incomplete parts of the body that leads to limited ability to behave and perform based on an ideal image in society, children with disabilities are potential subjects of bullying.

In K's "Kacamata UFO", the story narrates Diah who wears thick cylinder eyeglasses. These glasses have a unique look and design compare to the glasses worn by her classmates. Among her friends who also have a low vision problem, Diah's problem is complex. She has astigmatism that makes her unable to see objects at any distance without glasses. However, the glasses turn her appearance peculiar and lead her to become an object of bullying. Four classmates bully Diah verbally and physically because of her unusual look.

*"Awat, ada mahluk UFO lewat!"
teriak Didik, si bandel di kelas 4.
Teman-teman lainnya cekikikan"*
(24)

"Watch out, there is an alien passing by!" shouted Didik, the naughty student in the 4th grade. The other classmates' giggle" (24)

From the above quotation, it is illustrated that Didik, one of Diah's classmates, name-calls her as a UFO creature, as an alien. This name-calling results from the effect of cylinder glasses on the Diah's face. Wearing the glasses has made her eyes look bigger and wider. She resembles an alien with big and wide eyes. Seemingly, her classmates

also support Didik because they giggle when hearing him ridicules her. None defend her or stop Didik for his ill-treatment. All of them might agree to discriminate Diah for her look, or afraid to be connected with Diah, and thus possible to be a victim of a bully.

Then, this verbal bullying continues to physical bullying. Didik, Tom, Ari, and Wawan bully Diah physically by taking her glasses at the end of their school hour.

*"Tangan Wawan lalu melayang
cepat di wajah Diah, ia mengambil
kacamata Diah"* (27)

"Wawan's hand moves quickly on Diah's face, he grabs her glasses"
(27)

Wawan takes Diah's glasses and plays with them until they accidentally fall and break. Didik and his bystanders do this because Diah does not respond to the name-calling they have made to mock her in the class. She stays calm and acts like their verbal bullying means nothing. She pretends that it does not hurt her at all (24). Her patience and feeling of gratitude help her to see things clearly. She realizes that the glasses are helpful for her and her parents spend a lot of money to buy them for her.

In Puspita's "Cerita Rion dengan Sebelah Mata", a boy with only one abled eye is also objectified by some children around him. Due to his left eye impairment, some children make fun of him. However, Rio does a similar response to Diah's in "Kacamata UFO". He channels his anger and discomfort to the name-calling addressed to him into something positive. He creates a state of mind that he must thank to have one healthy and functioning right eye. This positive sentiment motivates him to work harder, disregard the bully, and never give up on his limitation to chase his goal of life.

*"Awalnya aku malu karena
berbeda. Beberapa teman juga*

mengejek,” kata Rion mengawali ceritanya di depan anak-anak” (1)

“I am different; it embarrassed me at the beginning. Some friends also mocked me” said Rion when he started his story in front of some children” (1)

The above quotation explains that unfair treatment has a significant effect on the psychology of a person with a disability. In the beginning, being different from the majority has made Rion unconfident. This gets difficult because some friends also tease him for his impairment. Nevertheless, this motivates him the fight and leap higher to prove his valuable existence. The insult could not turn him into a traumatic state or isolate him from the outside world.

A Person with a Disability is Weak

In response to some unequal treatments given by their surroundings, children with disabilities mostly remain silent. Diah in “Kacamata UFO” does not share the true story about her broken glasses with her classmates. She hides the fact that Didik and his friends have broken her glasses. Diah is presented as a wise girl who does not want to seek problems with the bullies. She is also portrayed as a weak girl who does not dare to fight or defend herself.

“kembalikan kacamataku!” pinta Diah dengan suara tertahan”. (28)

“Give me back my glasses!” begged Diah in a muffled voice.” (28)

“Tolong, kembalikan kacamataku!” pinta Diah mengiba sambil menghampiri Didik” (29)

“Please, give me back my glasses!” begged Diah while approaching Didik” (29)

The above quotations justify that Diah is a powerless girl. She does not confront Didik and take back her glasses. She only begs them to return her glasses in a less powerful and firm statement. Consequently, this has not stopped the perpetrators from taunting

her. In the discourse of bullying, Diah matches the archetype of bullying victim that is generally weak, poor, and perform a passive response to the aggression done by Didik and his friends (Danielson & LaBonty, 2009). She will always become a victim of bullying from her peers unless she learns to be stronger and defensive for herself.

A Person with a Disability is not Productive

This representation is explicitly found in “Gadis Penari” written by Kemalam P. The story portrays a talented dancing girl with speech impairment who has been misjudged by one of her peers. Ika, a major character of the story, does not know that Nuri is a dancer who has a speech disability. She thought that she is a great talented girl with a complete physical ability like her.

“Ika sangat kaget. Ternyata gadis itu bisu” (108)

“Ika was very surprised. It turns out that she is a mute girl” (108)

The above statement implies that Ika has a negative image of a person with a disability. Her surprise implies that she is apt to the commonly false stigma on people with disabilities; that they are weak, a burden, and unable to contribute socially and financially to family or society (Rohwerder, 2018). When he finds Nuri does not parallel to the myth, she was amazed and confused. Nuri does not burden his community. She contributes to her surroundings instead. She trains dancing for some girls in her neighborhood, and this situation negates the preconception of low expectations toward people with disabilities.

Besides, in “Gadis Penari” Ika also disputes Nuri’s confidence in responding to her speech impairment. She always focuses on her impairment, and assume that this would always hamper her to grow and gain recognition and achievement

“Dia cuma heran bagaimana gadis itu begitu percaya diri, seolah cacatnya itu bukan masalah buatnya” (108)

“She just wonders how the girl is so confident, as if her disability is not a problem for her” (108)

The quotation shows that Ika is curious about Nuri’s outstanding achievement. Her physical limitation should have had limited her. Yet, it does not stop her from achieving big. Nuri has failed Ika’s and many conceptions on people with disabilities. The myth that sees disability as a disease that should be cured or fixed to make the person gain a complete capacity and contribute to the people has been disapproved through the story from Nuri

Rion in Puspita’s “Cerita Rion dengan Sebelah Mata” also expresses how society underestimates a person with a visual impairment. Rion is considered to be weak, low, and unable to demonstrate good work on the textile business.

Aku juga pernah diragukan ketika ingin masuk ke bidang tekstil, seperti yang aku tekuni sekarang. Lalu, aku tunjukkan bahwa aku bisa dan mau belajar,” kata Rion dengan tegas” (2)

“I have also been doubted when I want to enter the textile field, the focus area that I am working on now. Then, I show them that am capable and eager to learn “said Rion firmly” (2)

The data explains that Rion answers the prejudice from the people in his community with commitment and persistence. He finally reaches his dream and gains recognition from other people. He achieves his life’s goals as a great and successful man in the textile business.

A Person with a Disability is Dependent

Another portrait of a person with a disability

is the inability to be independent. A disabled person is described as a dependent person who could only live with assistance from other people (Rapley, 2004). In “Bapak si Dono”, Dono’s father works as a driver for a rich family and is responsible for nurturing a boy who suffers from a mental disability named Bambang. When he is not assigned to drive a car for the family, he accompanies him playing and provides him everything he needs.

From the perspective of Dono, Bambang is viewed as a dependent person.

“Ada seorang anak laki-laki bertubuh besar. Pantasnya ia sudah SMP atau SMA. Namun, anak itu duduk main mobil-mobilan di lantai. Bapak sedang jongkok sambil memegang semangkuk bubur kacang hijau dan menyuapi anak itu. Darah Dono mendidih saat melihat anak itu menaruh mobil-mobilan di atas kepala Bapak dan tertawa terkekeh-kekeh. Sementara Bapak menyuapkan bubur, anak itu malah meludahkannya ke lantai. Dengan sabar Bapak mengambil lap, membersihkan lantai” (2)

“There is a big boy. He might be in middle or high school. However, he sits on his car toy on the floor. Dono’s father is squatting while holding a bowl of green bean porridge and feeding him. Dono’s blood boils when he sees the child puts the car on his father’s head and then laughs. Yet, his father allows him to do it. And when his father feeds him the porridge, he spits it on the floor instead. Patiently, his father takes a rag and cleans the floor” (2)

The quotation explains that Bambang could not even spoon his food. He depends on someone else to spoon-feed him. When Dono’s father leaves him because Dono has

come to pick him, Dono's father lets another maid in the house to continue providing the boy his food.

"Bapak keluar ruangan sambil membawa mangkuk bubur. Ia menyerahkan pada Satpam dan Satpam berkata, 'Biar Mbak Ning yang menyuapi!'" (2)

"Dono's father comes out of the room carrying a porridge bowl. He hands it to the security guard and the security guard says, 'Let Mbak Ning feeds Bowo with his porridge!'" (2)

Mbak Ning continues to assist Bambang. She spoon-feeds the boy his porridge after Dono's father left the house. This situation gives another inference that Bambang is given low expectations from his parents to be an independent disabled boy. He is not trained and expected to fulfill his basic needs alone. He is not trained with some essential skills needed to survive in life. Furthermore, giving the responsibility to nurture Bambang to untrained people like Dono's father and Mbak Ning implies the situation that the family has neglected him

Furthermore, Dono represents a member of a society who does not open to differences. The narrative illustrating him to witness his father's interaction with Bambang results in no awareness or empathy. He keeps busy thinking about himself and his plan to get a present from his uncle. Bambang's condition does not give him a particular sensitivity to disability

Then, Dono's father begins to provide a considerable perspective that may improve Dono's sense of tolerance and empathy toward Bambang.

"Tapi, kalau sedang tak ada tugas, Bapak menemani Bambang. Kasihan, ia cacat mental. Walaupun orang tuanya kaya raya, apalah artinya" (2)

"But, if there is no duty, I accompany Bambang. Poor him, he

is mentally handicapped. Even though his parents are rich, it could mean nothing" (2)

From the quotation above, Dono's father expresses his pity for Bambang and his family. He extends his belief that being rich is useless when it has a child with a disability. This proves the stereotype that disability is "the other", something different which is not expected by anyone (David, 2000). A family could hardly accept and make peace with the situation. This is due to the socially constructed myth that having a child with a mental problem is associated with bad luck and a curse. In Indonesia for instance, a family will usually neglect its disabled member or hold him or her, for example, in stocks to "protect" the family, the person himself, and also the community.

A Person with a Disability is a Vehicle for the Growth of Other Characters

Because the short stories under the study are narrated in the third point of view, they could provide various perspectives of characters that are not only from the major but also the minor characters. From the four selected stories, it is generally found that the unpleasant experience of characters with disabilities has always provided a positive effect for some characters without disabilities.

In "Kacamata UFO", the incident that has made Diah lost her glasses help Didik and his friends become conscious of their misdeed. It gives them a positive moral understanding. The guilt feeling has urged them to repent their mistake.

"kenapa orangtuanya tidak membelikan kacamata baru" selidik Didik lagi

"Ayahnya kan Cuma tukang becak, Dik!" Sahut Yeti ketus. Kalimat terakhir Yeti ini menari-nari di kepala Didik. (31)

"Why do her parents not buy new glasses for her?" Didik exclaimed

"Her father is only a pedicab driver, Dik!" Yeti replied firmly.
Yeti's last sentence makes Didik thinks very hard" (31)

Diah does not attend school after she has her glasses broken. Knowing that Diah's parents could not afford to buy her new glasses, Didik's sense of humanity and empathy improves. He feels sorry for his misdeed and then gathers his saving to be given to Diah. Besides, he navigates his classmates to also give donations to Diah. Without anyone knowing his bad behavior, Didik and his bystander can clear their mistake and stop bullying Diah. They will stop it because Diah finally dares to offend Didik, Tommy, Ari, and Wawan. It is when they deliver the money for her to buy new glasses. In front of them, she stresses that "indeed she needs new glasses to replace the one which is broken because it falls from a desk" (33). This playful satirical statement implies a message that has made Didik and his friends feel uneasy.

Furthermore, in "Gadis Penari", Nuri's achievements as a talented dancer with speech impairment have made Ika promises herself to study hard and be a successful dancer as Nuri.

"Ika semakin kagum pada kak Nuri yang ternyata pernah mendapatkan penghargaan atas tarian ciptaannya. Di dalam hati Dian ingin tekun belajar menari agar bisa seperti Kak Nuri" (111)

"Ika is even more amazed at Nuri, who had received an award for her dance creation. Inside her heart, she wants to be diligent in learning to dance, so she can be as successful as Nuri" (111)

Ika is suspicious about Nuri at their first meeting and wonders why Nuri is very confident to dance regardless of her impairment. Finally, she understands that impairment has nothing to do with skill and work quality that a person could produce.

Nuri wins many awards for her choreography because of her hardworking. She has been invited to dance in many different countries quite often. These outstanding achievements burn Ika's spirit to also aim and dream high.

The same situation is also found in "Cerita Rion dengan Sebelah Mata". Among the short stories from Bobo magazine that are selected for this study, only "Cerita Rion dengan Sebelah Mata" whose characters are all the persons with disabilities. The story projects the struggles that Rion has to undergo to achieve his current status as a textile expert. He fights negative stigmas and fright of being isolated by other people. His story motivates other disabled people who attend his talk. They commit themselves not to be afraid and continue to work hard to achieve their dream.

"Seorang anak berkursi roda datang memeluk Rion. "Terima kasih ya Kak. Kakak membuat aku lebih semangat," katanya. Beberapa anak pun akhirnya melakukannya, dari yang tangannya hanya ada setengah, kakinya tak sempurna, hingga matanya tak bisa melihat. (2)

"A child in a wheelchair comes hugging Rion. "Thank you. You make me more enthusiastic" he said. Some children finally do the same thing. Some of them are children with hands, feet, and eye impairments" (2)

This is seen that Rion's story gives a positive impact on the group of the disabled person in the sharing and discussion moment with him. Learning from Rion, the people from the session are more spirited and confident to cope with a diverse set of societal perspectives that may value disability differently. They will focus on their life's goal, rather than their impairment.

A Discourse of Disability in the Selected Inclusive Children's Literature

The discourse of disability in the selected children's stories is mostly colored with prejudice. In the selected short stories, the appearance of children with impairment is stigmatized as weak, dependent, incompetent, and target of a bully by their peers. This portrayal is strongly influenced by the traditional perspectives maintained in daily interaction of people in the community and supported by books, social media, and mass media in Indonesia that create an imbalanced picture of people with disabilities. The spread of news and stories through various media could guide and strengthen the negative image of people with disabilities. When these media reinforce negative stigmas that people with disabled-bodies are weak, inferior, and incapable, the people with disabilities will always be trapped as fated to fail people. As most of the Indonesian mass media, especially newspapers, often depict the negative stereotype of people with disabilities (Priyanti, 2018; Tsaputra, 2016), the course of any literary work to portray a character with disabilities positively meets challenges.

Indeed, some people or children with disabilities are illustrated as having a patient, persistent, hardworking, and friendly person. These values are observable in the characterization of Diah, Rion, and Nuri in their reaction to the mistreatment of their peers. Nevertheless, these traits are depicted to benefit the people without disability, the perpetrators who ridicule, or create prejudice upon them. People with disabilities must not always become the sidekick to create a better world for others. Their experience must not be presented simplistically in a literary work and benefit the majority, so readers can understand their hardship real and then take awareness to respond to the society's behavior toward people with disabilities.

Thus far, people with disabilities are

depicted in an unfortunate position. Although the Indonesian government has taken serious attention to the issue of disability, the people's comprehension of the government's concern toward people with disabilities is different. In Indonesian's inclusive children's stories or picture books is not popular and could not be easily found, but when they appear, the depiction falls far from realistic portrayals of human complexity, and thus negative perceptions of their existence are prevalent in the selected children's short stories.

CONCLUSION

It is always hard for people with different posture and looks to be accepted in society. The prejudice and negative mindset toward people with impairment have rooted traditionally since the past. The discourse of poststructuralists has located society's way of thinking into binary oppositions such as normal and abnormal, and ability and disability. This dichotomy entails stereotype that has put the minority group as something different and "other", and thus make it allowed to be treated unequally. From the selected stories, none of the stories explore the process of negotiation of anger and sadness experienced by the characters with disabilities when they are bullied or discriminated by their peers. The character with a disability is simply projected as a community who would accept anything done to them with an open arm. These images are intriguing because they imply the negative recognition for people with disabilities by the majority group.

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Symbolic Violence among Characters in Selected Eka Kurniawan's Works

Christiana Anindya Putri

Sanata Dharma University

e-mail: chr.anindya@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This article explores symbolic violence experienced by men and women in their everyday lives as portrayed in selected Eka Kurniawan's works: *Beauty is a Wound* (2016), *Man Tiger* (2015), and *Vengeance is Mine, All Others Pay Cash* (2017). In order to identify the symbolic violence, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence is applied in this research. The finding of this research indicates that symbolic violence experienced by men and women is the result of patriarchal system which is manifested in culture and tradition. This culture and tradition has power to discipline society and it also induces symbolic violence towards society since they are required to follow the patriarchal values or stereotype. The symbolic violence against men and women in selected Kurniawan's works are depicted through arranged marriage, marital rape, women's obligation in domestic domain, and men's sexual performance and masculinity.

Keywords: *patriarchy, symbolic violence, stereotype*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia can be considered as a country that embraces patriarchal system which can be found in its culture and norms. Patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices that placed men in a dominant position to oppress and exploit women (Walby, 1989, p. 214). In patriarchal societies, power is generally associated with men's property. Patriarchal society also gives absolute priority to men and to some extent limits women's human right (Sultana, 2011, p. 1). Men definitely benefit in all things from patriarchy since it gives privilege to men. Meanwhile, women are kept away from the power system and placed in conditioned of being objectified and oppressed. Women are often considered as an object that depends on man's existence as a subject. Thus, patriarchy system has placed women in the subordinate or inferior position in all fields.

In Indonesia, patriarchal system is even more implanted in daily life since the state also took part in creating ideal construction of women through the notion of *kodrat wanita*. Throughout the twentieth century, the Indonesian state upheld the notion of *kodrat*, or natural destiny, for men and women which projects men as primary income-earners while women as child-bearers and housewives (Blackburn, 2004, p. 11). Besides, women are often demanded to be loyal to the husband and supposed to be an ideal housewife and mother for the family. The state also took part in creating ideal construction of women at that time through *Panca Dharma Wanita* or the Five Duties of Womenly (Suryakusuma, 2011, p. 128). These were duties that had to abide by *Dharma Wanita*, the association of wives of civil servants, the counterpart of *Korpri*, with an organizational structure that parallels that of their husbands. However, it

was also considered to be ideal for all women in the state.

The stereotype of women's role or status and women's ideal characteristic constructed by society has established gender inequality and perpetuated women's subordination. As a result of this, women are often discriminated and put into a restricted life with fewer rights. Apparently, men who are given the absolute priority and privilege also suffer from the stereotypical norms and tradition created by patriarchal system. Men are also harmed by patriarchy in ways that they are required to obtain the ideal masculinity as internalized by society. This certainly has led to symbolic violence since men and women are bounded with patriarchal values that controlling their life. The concept of symbolic violence was firstly coined by Pierre Bourdieu. Symbolic violence is a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 1-2). Symbolic violence is different from other kinds of violence since its form and effects are subtle and hardly recognized, hence people do not realize that certain act or attitude actually contains symbolic violence.

The practices of symbolic violence are reflected in Eka Kurniawan's, particularly in *Beauty is a Wound* (2016), *Vengeance is Mine, All Others Pay Cash* (2017), and *Man Tiger* (2015). In Kurniawan's works, symbolic violence is depicted through the culture and tradition constructed and acknowledged by society. Society passively accepts these oppressive traditions and they never challenge it because it has passed down from generation to generation. The setting of the time in selected Kurniawan's works used in this research ranges from the late Dutch colonial period until the post-Soeharto period so that several depictions are closely related to patriarchal system which has been implanted in Indonesian society. Thus, it can be said that symbolic violence appears in Kurniawan's works is the result of patriarchal system which is manifested in culture and tradition.

In regard to Kurniawan's works, there are several studies from various points of view and different topics that have been conducted previously. A study on *Beauty is a Wound* argues that the novel represents gender relation dominated by patriarchal power in domestic and public domain (Wiyatmi, 2009). Another study on the same novel analyzes gender and sexuality which are constructed and negotiated in the story using postcolonial approach (Rahayu, 2017). There is also a study on the characteristic of femme fatale portrayed in the women characters (Som & Hasanah, 2017). The novel *Vengeance is Mine, All Others Pay Cash* also used in a study which discusses about the dynamic of masculinity and femininity of a women character (Permata, Priyatna & Rahayu, 2018). The novels are also used in a study that examines violence against women (Prasetyo & Haryadi, 2017). Lastly, there is also a study on Kurniawan's short story which discuss about women resistance portrayed through food, culinary, and kitchen (Rusdiarti, 2019). Based on the list of previous studies, none of them has discussed about symbolic violence among characters in Kurniawan's works. Therefore, this study aims to identify how symbolic violence is represented in Kurniawan's *Beauty is a Wound*, *Vengeance is Mine, All Others Pay Cash*, and *Man Tiger* by applying Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Symbolic violence is a kind of violence in which the practice is invisible and subtle. In contrast to other kinds of violence of which the form and effects can be clearly recognized, symbolic violence is very smooth and subtle, hence the society may not recognize that there are numerous practices or values in the society that contain symbolic violence. The concept of symbolic violence was proposed by Pierre Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu, symbolic violence is a gentle and imperceptible violence that is hardly recognized even to its

victim (Bourdieu, 2001, pp. 1-2). Symbolic violence is the domination that people maintain in everyday living. Since it is practiced and repeated in everyday life by subject to other subject, people do not realize that certain act or attitude actually contains symbolic violence. Bourdieu states that: symbolic domination is something you absorb like air, something you don't feel pressured by; it is everywhere and nowhere, and to escape from that is very difficult (Grenfell, 2014, p. 192). In other words, symbolic violence occurs when people are unconsciously subjected to various forms of violence. People who experience symbolic violence still think that they are doing things based on their free will while in fact they are unconsciously oppressed and they do not feel it as destruction.

In order to understand the concept of symbolic violence, one should understand the concept of habitus, capital, and *doxa*. Bourdieu defines habitus as set of dispositions that generate practice and perceptions within the original meaning in a normal or typical condition, state, or appearance in the body (Bourdieu, 2003, pp. 14-16). In other words, habitus can be defined as a social structure that is internalized through a gradual process so that it becomes a habit that continues to be realized. Habitus focuses on the way of how people act, think, and be. It also captures how people carry the history from the past into the present circumstances and how people make choices or act in certain ways. Thus, we can simply say that habitus is a set of social values, habits, and skills lived by people, created through a socialization process, and possessed due to people's life experiences. The way people live at any moment is the result of past events that have shaped their path.

In dealing with the social world, individuals are inseparable from human interaction and social space. In order to be eligible or socially acceptable, individuals must have capital to meet their interactions and social spaces with others. Bourdieu does not

merely define capital in the form of material capital but capital as a result of accumulated works. Capital can be understood as an element that is possessed by an individual or certain group in order to achieve their goals and determine their position within a social structure.

Capital is divided into four types which are social capital, economic capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. First, social capital refers to a set of actual or potential resources related to mutual networks or relationships. Social capital also refers to resources linked to award and title one may possess. Secondly, economic capital refers to capital in the form of financially based goods or economic resources such as money, stocks and shares, possessions, and property. Thirdly, cultural capital covers the accumulated knowledge, behaviors, and skills of individuals that is managed in order to demonstrate one's social status. It also covers all intellectual qualification from formal education or family inheritance, such as: one's prestige, status, ability, and authority. Lastly is symbolic capital which cannot be separated from symbolic power. Symbolic capital covers accumulated pride, honor or recognition that considered as an essentials source of power.

The concept of *doxa* is applied by Bourdieu in order to explain the practice of symbolic violence within society. According to Bourdieu, *doxa* is the pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world that flows from practical sense, and it is also the relation of immediate adherence between habitus and field (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 68). In the field, individuals are able to initiate relationship and exchange their accumulated experiences and history or habitus. The accumulated experiences and knowledge of individuals in the field are developed into common sense. This process has changed habitus into *doxa* and *doxa* start to be internalized within individuals when they feel comfortable with the common sense and consider it as natural as well. In this field, *doxa* is implemented in the mind of dominated individuals; hence

they will lose their critical thinking as if there is no oppression since they consider that everything runs logically and naturally. It can also be understood that symbolic violence runs due to the recognition, willingness, and involvement of the dominated. Besides, there is a form of agreement on the viewpoint of dominant group that is subtly implanted. This situation is called as *doxa* by Bourdieu and it is accepted as common truth by those dominated individuals.

Symbolic violence persists because of the approval of society and the ignorance of the dominated party (Haryatmoko, 2010, pp. 128-129). Since it operates in a symbolic principle in the form of language, the ways of thinking, the ways of working and the ways of acting, symbolic violence is known and accepted by both the dominant and the dominated. It is not even felt as a form of violence so that it can run effectively. It also leads to obedience that is not realized as coercion. Symbolic violence is carried out by the mechanism of "hiding violence" and turning it into something that is accepted as something that is natural and supposed to be.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Arranged Marriage

Marriage is commonly understood as a union of two individuals based on romantic or passionate love and agreement between the two spouses who decide to get married in order to legalize the relationship. However, there is a marriage that is done based on negotiation and decision between parents of the two intended spouses which is known as arranged marriage. Arranged marriage can be defined as a marital union in which the intended bride and groom are selected by parents or respected elders (O'Brien, 2008, p. 40). Typically, in arranged marriage, the boys and the girls are told to get married without a right to consent, even if they have never met each other until the wedding day (Broude &

Greene, 1983). However, sometimes, both intended spouses approve the marriage arranged by their parents or elder relatives. Arranged marriage is usually caused by various reasons, such as economic and social factors. In some places whereas arranged marriage has become the tradition, when a girl is already in a certain age, her family starts to keep an eye open for a proper man to be matched with her. The bride's parents usually will scrutinize the background family of the groom in order to know whether their daughter's spouse have a good reputation or not.

The practice of arranged marriage can be found in Kurniawan's *Man Tiger* through the portrayal of Nuraeni who is matched to a young man named Komar by her parents. The arranged marriage is portrayed in the following excerpt.

Komar has married Nuraeni when she was sixteen years old and he was nearly thirty. As was common in the village, the match was an arranged one, and the engagement had lasted for years. On the day Syueb came with a pail full of rice and noodles and a dark blue scarf to ask for her hand in marriage on behalf of Komar, she was a girl whose breasts were only budding and with hair still sparse between her legs. Of course, the two fathers had discussed the matter already, meaning that even this proposal was arranged, a formality. Their father agreed that once Nuraeni was able to bear a child, the two would be married in the nearest surau (Kurniawan, 2015, pp. 89-90)

After failing in looking for job in the big city, Komar comes back home and marries Nuraeni. Both Komar and Nuraeni do not know each other even they do not have any feeling to each other as well, yet their parents have already matched them and arranged their marriage. In the matter of fact she would be matched to Komar, Nuraeni

does not against her parents' will to have an arranged marriage for her.

Arranged marriage portrayed in *Man Tiger* is considered as an ordinary tradition within society. The girls in the society portrayed in *Man Tiger* will wait for the time in which their parents will set them up with men based on their parents' choice. Like every other girl, Nuraeni has been waiting for the moment her father would tell her who she would marry (Kurniawan, 2015, p. 90). Thus, the girls usually will accept their parent's choice for their future husband without opposing their parents' will. Unfortunately, this arranged marriage leads to an unhappy marriage life between the two. Nuraeni often gets physical and sexual violence from her abusive husband although she does not make any mistake.

The practice of arranged marriage that has been rooted in society and acknowledged as a custom actually can be considered as a form of invisible violence. Society accepts and obeys this custom without realizing that they actually experience violence. As a daughter, Nuraeni has been familiar with the long years of arranged marriage custom in her society; hence this custom has been internalized within her. According to Bourdieu, this situation can be called as *doxa*; a discourse that is already acknowledged as a truth and it does not need to be questioned anymore. As previously mentioned in the literature review section, when the individuals already feel comfortable with the truth, the truth itself will be internalized and considered as natural or common matter.

Arranged marriage that has been internalized within society can be considered as symbolic violence since this custom restricts the children's choice of life and repress their freedom. The choice of whether, and whom, to marry is intimately related to self-determination and it has been acknowledged in several key international instruments as a fundamental human right (Dauvergne & Millbank, 2010, p. 58). This

kind of marriage is arranged in order to satisfy the parent's desire without taking the children's feeling into consideration. The parents already have chosen a partner for their son or daughter with certain background that meets their parent's requirements or standard. As the results, there is no contribution in the decision making and no freedom for either the bride or the groom to choose their own future partner since all the things have been set according to the parent's will. In addition, following parents' choice and will is a form of obedience and respect of children toward their parents. Thus, children will likely feel guilty if they do not follow the parents' choice and will. Besides, in the arranged marriage, the intended couples do not have capability to oppose or refuse their parents' will and it is also unacceptable for them to argue.

The practice of arranged marriage in society is not considered as violence since it is delivered in a subtle way as a custom. Thus, society does not realize that actually there is something taken from them, that is their freedom and right to choose future life partner. This custom has been implemented in the mind of society; hence they lose their critical thinking as if there is no oppression since they consider that everything runs logically and naturally. They also lose their idea that as a human they have the right to decide what best and suitable choice is for them freely. The society portrayed in *Man Tiger* live under the custom of arranged marriage and they have no freedom to choose their own choice. Unfortunately, they passively accept that custom without asking why the custom has to be obeyed. In the case of arranged marriage, children are the dominated party because they have the weakest capital than the parents.

In line with Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence, arranged marriage can be seen as symbolic violence. Society considered both of arranged marriage and child marriage as custom while in fact it is a kind of subtle violence that represses women although it

does not give visible effects or physical impacts to its victim. This violence can grow even subtler when it hides behind power relation; in this case is power relation between parents and children in which parents are considered to have more power than their children. The girls also might not want to do that, but if they refuse it or do not follow their parents' choice, they would have upset and embarrassed their parents.

Arranged marriage portrayed in Kurniawan's works can be considered as an oppressive tradition that devalues women and it can lead to other severe problem such as domestic violence. It can also be said that arranged marriage is the extension of patriarchal agenda that violates the right of women to choose and it makes them as if they do not have alternatives or choices for their life. Unfortunately, women passively accept this oppressive tradition and this custom is never challenged or being unquestioned by society because it has passed down from generation to generation. As a consequence, this oppressive tradition has become a part of the society's life for a long time and internalized within society as well. This oppressive custom can persist due to the approval of society and the ignorance of the dominated party.

Marital Rape

In Kurniawan's selected works, there are numerous portrayals of sexual violence against women; one of them is marital rape. Marital rape is a term used to describe the act of sexual intercourse within legitimate marriage that is done without consent from one spouse. People might think it is impossible for rape to take place within marriage relationship because it is the right of spouses to fulfill their sexual needs. However, if the act of engaging sexual intercourse is obtained by force or violence or without consent, it will be considered as a rape. Unfortunately, marital rape is seen as a taboo topic that society refuses to acknowledge the act as a rape within a legitimate marriage. Moreover, wives who

become the victims of marital rape prefer not to report the violence because they consider sexual intercourse as private matters. This condition shows how society still hold on to the prevailing belief that husbands have control over their wives bodies' and wives have to sexually serve their husband under any circumstances as a compliant act towards husband.

In a patriarchal society, men are addressed as the primary holders of power while women are subordinated and associated with domestic domain (Sultana, 2011). Due to patriarchal system which subordinated women, women are perceived as husband's complement instead of equal partners within marriage. Some husbands believe that the wife has the obligation to fulfill the husband's sexual desire under any circumstances. Since society acknowledge a prevailing belief that women have to serve their husbands whether they want it or not, marital rape which considered as deviant actions will blend into everyday life and it will not be considered a crime. In regards to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence, symbolic violence has already taken place at this stage because some women do not realize that they are actually experiencing marital rape due to the prevailing belief that has been internalized. Therefore, they consider the act of sexual intercourse without consent as a reasonable act instead of marital rape which degrading humanity value. Bourdieu also adds that symbolic violence will lead to other types of violence targeting women as the dominated party.

In Kurniawan's selected works, some women are portrayed as sexually submissive and subservient to men. The first book to be discussed in this part is *Man Tiger*, in which Nuraeni often gets marital rape from her abusive husband since the first day of their marriage. Nuraeni lays exhausted in bed, still in her wedding blouse and batik skirt. The lust-ridden Komar invites her to get naked so they can make love, but Nuraeni merely growls, half-awake, remains wrapped-up and defensive. Although

Nuraeni has refused to have sex, Komar continues to force her (Kurniawan, 2015, pp. 102-103). Since the first night of their marriage, Komar engages sexual intercourse without asking Nuraeni's consent and understanding her condition as well. He only fulfills his own lust and sees his wife as his object of sexual desire. Since then, he often forces Nuraeni to have sex with him. This is what has been internalized within our society that forcing a spouse to have sex or doing sexual intercourse without consent is perceived as a reasonable matter and it is not even considered marital rape. In addition, society still puts husband's satisfaction as priority in the relationship. For the majority of Indonesian people, it is impossible for rape to take place within the marriage institution, however some others believe that it possibly occurs (Susila, 2013, p. 319). Since the act of having sexual intercourse without consent is considered as rape, some people insist on Indonesian government to qualify marital rape as violence.

Komar perceives marriage as the legalization for having sexual intercourse with partner so that he often insists Nuraeni to sexually serve him. Komar's habit of forcing his wife to have sex with him does not only happen in the beginning of their marriage but also throughout their marriage life as well. He even forces Nuraeni to have sex by beating and doing other physical violence so that Nuraeni would serve him. Komar's domination towards Nuraeni shows that he cannot control his ego to demand her wife to fulfill his sexual desire. Komar also does not hesitate to beat Nuraeni who does not have enough strength to fight back (Kurniawan, 2015, pp. 103-104). In her marriage, Nuraeni is treated as object to be used and abused by Komar. If Nuraeni does not want to grant her husband wishes, her abusive husband will soon beat her and she does not oppose or resist him although she knows that Komar can threaten her life. She even does not dare to go back to her parents because she is afraid that her parent will be angry. This portrayal proves

that symbolic violence caused by the habitus of patriarchy leads to other kind of violence against women.

In relation to sexual intercourse within marriage, women have the right to refuse their husbands' request to have sex if they do not want to. However, women are afraid to refuse her husbands because they already acknowledge that it is their obligation as wives to serve the husband so they mostly do not resist the violence. Besides, women who become the victims of domestic violence are reluctant to report the violence they experienced in the house because they consider that domestic affair should be kept as it is seen as private matter. This belief acknowledged by women is also included to symbolic violence that makes women always resigned to what their husbands have done to them.

The portrayal of marital rape against woman is also found in Kurniawan's *Beauty is a Wound*. Dewi Ayu's first daughter named Alamanda is forced to marry a Japanese soldier named Shodanco who has raped her. Being married to Shodanco makes Alamanda devastated and she does not want to have sexual relations to Shodanco. Thus, she wears impenetrable underwear made from iron to protect herself and it can only be opened with a mantra that only she knows how to recite. Although she already protects herself, Shodanco still asks Alamanda to make love with him and fondle her by force. For several years, Shodanco is unable to conquer her wife and he cannot have sex with her until one day he manages to attack and kidnap her from the bathroom when she is completely naked with her iron underwear resting on the edge of the tub.

Alamanda lays in bed naked and unconscious after being raped by her husband. Her hands and feet are tied to the four corners of the bed. Alamanda pulls at the ropes binding her, but they are tied so tightly that whatever she does only make her wrists and ankle hurt all the more (Kurniawan, 2015, pp. 230-231). Shodanco

repeatedly forces Alamanda to have sex with him thereafter. The more Alamanda refuses, the more Shodanco gets angry. He will strip her naked and force her to have sex with him.

Both of Nuraeni and Alamanda are the victims of marital rape of their own husband. However, unlike Nuraeni, Alamanda strictly states that she does not want to have sex with Shodanco since the beginning of their marriage. She even tries to protect herself and resist Shodanco's violent behavior although she is raped by her husband in the end. Alamanda shows that she has courage to speak up her voice and strive for her right. Unfortunately, some women do not have courage to be outspoken about how the husband abuse them because of the necessity to maintain the family's dignity. Besides, women are reluctant to not report or be outspoken because they consider sexual intercourse as private matters. Consequently, men can do any sexual violence without worrying of any repercussions.

As previously stated, symbolic violence has occurred because women do not realize that they actually experience marital rape while they consider that they perform their obligation as wives to sexually serve their husbands. Moreover, women do not do any resistance towards marital rape performed by their husbands. The idea comprehended by society that wives have to sexually serve their husband under any circumstances will perpetuate the perception that women are object of men's sexual desire. It will degrade women's value as human beings because their presence is merely seen as objects or property to satisfy and please men. Besides depicting symbolic violence, marital rape also depicts women's failure to be aware of their own autonomy. As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, a woman is considered to have autonomy of her own body if she is able to take control over herself and make autonomous decision over herself. Unfortunately, some women in Kurniawan's work are not aware of their

own autonomy since they are unable to take control over their bodies.

Women's Obligation in Domestic Domain

The images of men and women in literary works are often based on social construction acknowledged by society. A society embedded with patriarchal ideology usually has a set of idea about how individuals are expected to act and present themselves based on society's expectation related to their gender. Gender is the state of being male or female and it is socially and culturally constructed. Based on *Women's Studies Encyclopedia*, gender is a cultural concept that perpetuates a distinction between females and males in terms of role, behaviors, and mental and emotional characteristic which developed by society (Tierney, 1999, p. 565). Thus, it can be said that gender is a cultural expectation for men and women.

Gender differences create various rules related to gender roles and gender relation within society. People who were born male are often expected to be tenacious, aggressive, curious and ambitious while people who were born female are often expected to be affectionate, obedient, kind and friendly (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 5). Society acknowledges the differences of gender roles between women and men as a result of this gender-based stereotype. Since women have been traditionally considered as being caring and nurturing, they are identical with their social function as dutiful homemakers and housewives in domestic place who have responsibility to take care of the family and household works. Meanwhile, men as the leader of family are placed in public place and they tend to have more power since they are the main breadwinner of the family.

Gender-based stereotype can be a possible reason for gender inequality in society. Gender inequality is a condition in which there is a discrimination against people due to their gender, particularly between men

and women. In patriarchal society, men are given absolute priority and it eventually limits women's human right (Sultana, 2011, p.1). Patriarchal culture also gives authority and domination to men within a family and public space while it gives woman a position as an object that depends on man's existence as a subject. Women are often imprisoned in domestic domain and they do not have chance and role in public domain to influence society. This patriarchy system definitely has placed women in the subordinate or inferior position and it has led to discrimination against women. As a result, women is often treated differently and put into a restricted life with fewer rights.

In selected Kurniawan's works used in this study, there are portrayals of traditional gender roles in which men are portrayed as a leader and breadwinner of the family. Meanwhile, women are imprisoned in domestic domain and do not have equal opportunity to perform their ability or works in public domain. As portrayed in Kurniawan's *Man Tiger*, in Nuraeni's family, men are responsible for farming while women are responsible for doing domestic works. Men tend to do the job or works that needs more strength or power such as cultivating the land while women tend to be assigned to do the household works such as cooking and cleaning the house. After being told to have an arranged marriage by her parents, Nuraeni has no longer helping her father in the rice field. She is assigned to help her mother cooking the dish for the family and back to the rice field only to plant the rice, clear the algae and weeds and cut the rice plants when it comes to harvesting time. Moreover, Nuraeni is asked to mind her looks and be careful with her behavior since she is about to marry a man. Her mother buys her crimson lipstick and an eyebrow pencil and she no longer let her slightly protruding breasts be exposed in the breezy air of the hillside village (Kurniawan, 2015, p. 90).

The distinction of roles has been taught in

the family since Nuraeni is still young and this perception is carried over when she is married with Komar. Thus, the same pattern is also created in her marriage in which husband goes out to work and wife stays at home. After being married with Komar bin Syueb, Nuraeni is assigned to stay at home, take care of the family, and do the household works while Komar is working as a barber. Komar has left his village shortly after turning twenty. He learns how to shave people's heads and chin and becomes a barber. However, he actually does not want to be a barber at all and hopes to get a job at some factory instead, like other young men (Kurniawan, 2015, p. 92). The same condition is also portrayed in Kurniawan's *Beauty is a Wound* whereas Maya Dewi performing her role as an obedient and polite wife. She stays at home and takes care of the family and house like other women typically do. Besides, Maya Dewi also goes to the women's Thursday night prayer meetings and to the *arisan* on Sunday afternoon, socializing and contributing money to the women's lottery pool. She makes her family seem just a little bit civilized, in part by earning a living from her daily work of making cookies with her two mountain-girl helpers (Kurniawan, 2016, p. 367).

Aside from being required to be responsible for domestic works, women are also often being told to behave and present themselves based on society's expectation or the stereotype of women justified by society. As a consequence of gender-based stereotype, some activities or works are often associated to a particular gender. For instance, cooking, dancing, sewing are often assumed as women's typical activity. Besides, some people also quickly assume that teacher, nurse, and are women's occupation while doctor, pilot, and engineer are often assumed as men's occupation. Accordingly, women who do not behave or/and dress properly in ways that are stereotypically based on their gender would likely to be judged or get comments.

In Kurniawan's *Vengeance is Mine, All Others Pay Cash*, gender-based stereotype is also experienced by Iteung, particularly when she asks to get an extra class. When Iteung asks to take an extra class, her father quickly assumes that she wants to learn piano, dancing, flower arranging, or baking (Kurniawan, 2017, p. 142). His assumptions show how women are often associated with hobbies or activities that are typically 'feminine'. The excerpt also shows that it is common for society to distinguish the activities or job based on individuals' gender, whether they are men or women. In relation to occupations, jobs or occupations that need strength and courage such as soldiers or police are often called as masculine jobs while jobs that require accuracy and feelings such as cooking, sewing are called as feminine jobs.

Iteung is portrayed as a tomboy girl who loves to fight since her early appearance in the story. After being sexually abused by her teacher, she enrolls in a martial arts class to learn how to fight. Iteung's mother describes her daughter as a girl who does not like to wear skirt and make up but loves to fight all the time, climbs trees, speed around her motorbike, and hikes up mountains (Kurniawan, 2017, p. 83). Iteung's decision to take martial arts class has made her mother sad and worried seeing her daughter doing the unusual activities for women. Society perceives that fighting, climbing trees, practicing martial arts, and racing are attributes that belong to men because they are seen as part of masculinity. When a woman does not appear to be feminine or being different from the standard or norm, it can be considered as violation towards normativity. Thus, Iteung's mother feels relieved when Iteung gradually changes to be a feminine woman and follows the normative concept of women after she falls in love with Ajo Kawir. Iteung's mother is happy that Ajo Kawir has helped her daughter to become a woman again (Kurniawan, 2017, p. 83). The concern appears from Iteung's mother indicates that traditional gender construction

is still embraced by her mother and society as well. That concern disappears when Iteung finally wears skirt and puts on make-up which has been considered as a feminine attribute.

The excerpts presented in this sub-chapter portray that women in Kurniawan's works are imprisoned in domestic territory and required to present themselves based on society's expectation related to their gender. This gender-based stereotype is generally caused by patriarchal culture and it has been internalized in society. Patriarchal ideology assigns different roles, rights and responsibilities to women and men (Sultana, 2011, p. 5). As a result, division of labor based on sex which does not accommodate equality between men and women is considered as a common or natural thing by society. While men work in public domain, women are often isolated in domestic works by staying at home, taking care of the family and household.

In regards to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence, gender-based stereotype which isolates women in domestic domain can be seen as symbolic violence against women since it restricts women's right and freedom. This stereotype which has been acknowledged by society negates women's opportunity to work and perform their ability and interest in public domain. As a result of this restriction, women are discouraged to express and actualize themselves as well. In addition, this stereotype can also be repressive when it is manifested in a way that women are considered to be incapable of jobs or tasks which require a lot of physical strength. Therefore, it is difficult for women to change or erase the construction within society because they do not have opportunity to speak up their voice and take role in public domain.

Unfortunately, women are not aware that they actually experience violence caused by gender-based stereotype. Women are always told about how they should be based on

standard constructed by society. Subsequently, women follow the standard constructed by society and act accordingly in order to be accepted by society. If they deviate or do not act accordingly, they will be considered to violate *kodrat* or women's natural destiny. As a result, women will feel guilty if they do not follow the rigid or traditional gender role or deviate from the standard constructed by society. In addition, the state also takes part in creating ideal construction of women hence the construction is embraced by women themselves. Since it has been implanted for so long, women passively follow this oppressive stereotype. They also consider it as a normal standard in society while in fact it restrains women's freedom and it leads to gender inequality as well. There are many stereotypes ascribed to women that limit their freedom, but ironically women also perpetuate those stereotypes because of lack of awareness of gender equality.

Men's Sexual Performance and Masculinity

In a society that embraces patriarchal culture, women often become the target or victim of symbolic violence. However, men can also become the victim of symbolic violence caused by gender-based stereotype internalized in patriarchal society. As aforementioned, patriarchal society usually has a set of idea about how individuals are expected to act and present themselves based on society's expectation related to their gender. In the life of patriarchal society, men's gender roles are strongly influenced by the ideology of masculinity in which men are often demanded to be strong, firm, and dominant as they are considered as the characteristic of masculinity. Masculinity refers to behaviors, characteristics and roles that usually assigned for men. As gender is socially constructed, masculinity values and its stereotype are also socially constructed as well. When men do not have masculine traits, they are more likely to be considered as unmanly.

In Kurniawan's *Vengeance is Mine, All Others Pay Cash*, Ajo Kawir experiences symbolic violence which caused by stereotype of masculinity uphold by society. In the beginning of the story, it is told that Ajo Kawir cannot get an erection. His sexual dysfunction is not caused by a health problem but an adolescent trauma after witnessing a rape of a lunatic widow done by two police officers. One night, Ajo Kawir's friend named Gecko brings him to spy on a widow named Scarlet Blush when she takes a bath at her home. Instead of watching Scarlet Blush takes a bath, they witness a violent rape committed by police officers. Ajo Kawir is not lucky that he gets caught by the police officers and they even force Ajo Kawir to rape the widow too. However, Ajo Kawir's penis is curled up as small as it could get and the two policemen bursts out laughing, saying the he is an useless kid (Kurniawan, 2017, p. 26) The policemen's reaction shows how men are seen or judged from their virility or sexual ability. Men are considered to be useless individuals when they have erectile dysfunction. Ajo Kawir who is portrayed as a strong man who loves to fight is not spared from the scorn of society due to his erectile dysfunction. This kind of judgment is certainly influenced by social construction of masculinity circulating in the society.

Ajo Kawir is demanded by society's perception that being a man must be able to get an erection. Erection is perceived as a symbol of virility and masculinity of an ideal and real man. Ajo Kawir also admits that one must have an erect penis in order to be considered as a real man. Therefore, he considers himself as a useless individual when the two police officers insult and mock him after seeing his penis is curled up. The projection of masculinity constructed by society is a kind of symbolic violence which is presented in the form of *doxa*. The concept of *doxa* is applied by Bourdieu in order to explain the practice of symbolic violence within society. *Doxa* is created from the accumulated experiences and

knowledge of individuals in the field which are developed into common sense or perspective and internalized within individuals. People will unconsciously believe in certain perspective that they are unable to criticize it. When people feel comfortable with certain perspective, they will glorify it as a truth or consider it as normativity. In regards to Ajo Kawir's context, the society around Ajo Kawir has created doxa with values and normative demands on how to be an ideal man. Ajo Kawir obviously implements the consensus from the society that a man has to have an erect penis if he wants to be seen as an ideal man.

The idea of ideal masculinity is not only agreed and perpetuated by men but also women as well. It is depicted through the response of a streetwalker when Ajo Kawir is invited by Irwan Angsa to use the streetwalker's service in order to 'wake up' his sleeping penis. The streetwalker has tried several ways to wake Ajo Kawir's penis up but it is useless. The streetwalker says that there is nothing more demeaning to a prostitute than a bird that won't stand up (Kurniawan, 2017, p. 35). In order to achieve the label of an ideal man, Ajo Kawir tries several ways to erect his penis by rubbing chopped up chili pepper on his penis and letting his penis get stung by bees (Kurniawan, 2017, pp. 28-31). His efforts are certainly in vain that it only causes him pain and humiliation. Thus, he laments his fate and equates himself as a useless rusty blade that cannot be used to cut anything (Kurniawan, 2017, p. 54). The decision he takes to erect his penis is certainly influenced by society's perception on ideal masculinity that must be fulfilled.

Ajo Kawir grows up to be a sloppy and stubborn man who loves to fight. He often looks for troubles only for fulfilling his desire to smack others and it will end in a fight that will make him black-and-blue. He grows even more violent by killing The Tiger and cutting Mister Lebe's ear. The violence committed by Ajo Kawir is caused

by the concept of ideal masculinity which he comprehends. When Ajo Kawir finds himself is unable to get an erection, he feels he has failed to meet the standard of ideal masculinity perceived by society. Regarding this context, Ajo Kawir's sexual dysfunction has placed Ajo Kawir in a subordinate position in the area of sexuality. Ajo Kawir's violence is a form of compensation for his failure in obtaining the ideal masculinity, particularly in the area of sexuality. Therefore, he tries to acquire masculinity by committing violent acts against other men.

Social construction towards men's masculinity, particularly in sexual ability, can also be found in Kurniawan's *Beauty is a Wound*. After Shodanco and Alamanda are being married for a year, people start to gossip about their marriage since Alamanda still shows no sign of being pregnant. A number of people begin to speculate that if Shodanco is impotent or he is sterile. The other people also make another speculation that Shodanco has been castrated by Japanese during the war. When he has finally heard the gossip about himself, Shodanco is completely distraught, stewing in a mix of humiliation and anger and helplessness. (Kurniawan, 2016, pp. 228-229)

The depiction of Ajo Kawir and Shodanco as previously explained shows how society accepts the stigma about men's sexual powerlessness. Men are considered to be not masculine if they are unable to have an erect penis and get their wife pregnant and it is considered to be a shameful issue. When society accepts the stigma or construction about men's ideal traits, men will merely be seen and measured by their sexual ability and performance so that other values of men as human beings are ignored. In addition, the depiction also shows that symbolic violence against men takes place in social sphere in which its society embraces a social construction of the ideal standards of masculinity that are not entirely appropriate due to the influence of patriarchal system.

CONCLUSION

After discussing the symbolic violence among characters in selected Kurniawan's works, it can be concluded that symbolic violence is depicted through arranged marriage, marital rape, women's obligation in domestic domain, and men's sexual performance. Patriarchy becomes the major cause of symbolic violence within society as depicted in the novels. Both men and women can be the victims of symbolic violence that hides behind the habitus of patriarchy. Symbolic violence against women is the result of domination and power of men against women which is supported by patriarchal culture embraced by society. In a patriarchal society, norms, rules, and stereotype in society are constructed from men's perspective without considering women's right. Women are often regarded as objects for men's importance without having their rights to make decisions like autonomous individuals. Therefore, norms, rules, and stereotype prevailing in society will result in women's subordination and women's freedom of expression is restrained.

Patriarchal society often uses morality as a weapon to oppress women and to keep them subordinated. Apparently, men who are given the absolute priority and privilege are also not free from the stereotypical norms or values created by patriarchal system. Men are also harmed by patriarchy in ways that they are required to obtain the ideal masculinity as internalized by society. Those who are failed to meet the requirements will feel pressured and it can lead to negative impacts.

Men and women in Kurniawan's works are bounded by society's values and they inevitably respond those values by following it. The values or stereotypical norms which control how men and women should act and present themselves based on their gender are the product of social construction caused by patriarchal ideology. In addition, those values or stereotypical

norms are also damaging to men, women, and society as whole. Thus, both men and women need to break down the flawed structure of patriarchy in society and to live a life that is not hindered by aged out traditional roles and values.

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