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**“WORST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS”: DISENTANGLING
FROM DYSTOPIAN SPACE AND DEHUMANIZATION
IN ROY ARAGON’S “GANAGAN”**

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Abstract

The war on drugs in the Philippines, despite President Duterte’s rhetoric of saving the country, has killed alarming numbers of people. This article analyzes a dystopian text titled “Ganagan” (“Fertilizer”) by Roy Aragon which is about the Duterte administration’s war on drugs. Deploying close reading and semiotics, it shows that the story portrays the punitive and vindictive nature of the war on drugs as a totalitarian project which resulted in dehumanization and collapse of human values. It further argues that the text suggests a possible future in which Duterte’s utopian pursuit of “the best of all possible worlds,” which has done away with dangerous drugs, is driven less by the search for happiness than by a determined faith in justice. Lastly, the analysis focuses on the vegetable garden which Castañas, the main character, has cultivated. Launching off from Edward Soja’s trialectics of spatiality and Thirdspace and conventions of dystopian fiction, the article shows that the garden is an ambivalent position, negotiation, and critique of the war on drugs. Hence, the garden, as a lived space, though imposing a desired order, could also be a site of disentanglements and resistance.

Keywords: dystopian fiction, lived space, war on drugs

Introduction

The war on drugs of the Rodrigo Duterte administration in the Philippines has generated praise, and at the same time criticism, from every sector of society, especially human rights groups. Despite the president’s rhetoric of saving the country from dangerous drugs, the number of killed people, particularly the poor, the invisible victims, is alarming. Since taking office on June 30, 2016, the drug war has led to the deaths of over 12,000 Filipinos to date, mostly urban poor—2,555 of which have been attributed to the Philippine National Police (Human Rights Watch Official Website, 2018). This alarming number could amount to crimes against humanity. As such, this project, like its versions in other countries, could be considered a war on drug users, not a war on drugs. Drug users are subjected to a process of stigmatization, marginalization, and social exclusion. As

such, they are hindered from being reintegrated into wider social and economic circles (Buchanan & Young, 2000).

Such a phenomenon creates fear in people's minds. The imagined downward spiral, if not collapse, of society which is caused by this war is hard to handle, hence the need to relegate these fears to fiction, to create diffraction of these fears. Like zombie fiction which functions as an embodiment of people's fears on the uncertainty of today's modern society (Barber, 2013), dystopian fiction is also worth considering.

This article is about a dystopian short story entitled "Ganagan" (fertilizer), a short story by Roy Aragon on the Duterte administration's war on drugs. Roy Aragon (born 1968) is a fictionist and poet having won numerous awards including the Don Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards for Literature, perhaps the most prestigious award in Philippine letters. He writes both in Ilokano (the lingua franca of northern Philippines) and in Filipino (the national language). His major works include the first Ilokano poetry e-book *Napili ken Saan a Napili a Dandaniw ken Dadduma Pay a Riknakem (Selected and Not Selected Poems and Other Musings*, 2000), his poetry anthology *Bagi: Dandaniw (Body: Poems*, 2016), and *Bannuar ken Dadduma Pay a Fiksion (Hero and Other Fiction*, 2018).

I will show in this article that the short story portrays the punitive and vindictive nature of the war on drugs as a totalitarian project which resulted in the death of a lot of people and the collapse of human values. I will focus my attention on the vegetable garden which Castañas, the main character, has cultivated. Launching off from Edward Soja's trialectics of spatiality and Thirdspace and conventions of dystopian fiction, I will show that the garden is an Ilokano's ambivalent position, negotiation, and critique of the war on drugs. As such, as a Thirdspace, the garden in the short story exists not only as an idea or a place or an action but as "a complex ecology of spatial reality, cognitive practice, and real work" (Francis & Hester, 1990, p. 7). I will point out that the garden, as a structure, though imposing a desired, pre-determined order, could also be a site of the exercise of human agency.

Method

This article focuses on the short story "Ganagan" as a representative of a dystopian text that critiques President Duterte's war on drugs in the Philippines. Deploying close reading, I aim to focus on the text itself and the messages it purveys. At the same time, I follow a semiotic lens as an attempt of examining the "patterns and the arrangement of signs and symbols and their significations and meanings, interrogating their entanglements, gaps, fissures, symptoms, and meanings [...] unraveling the mutual constitution of texts and contexts on each other and their ideological underpinnings" (Perez, 2018, p. 17)

Findings and Discussion

The punitive nature of the war on drugs

While this article will not deal with empirical data on the invisible victims of the war on drugs, it is worth mentioning that the story does so in great detail, thus foregrounding the collapse of values this war has caused. Castañas, the main

character, is in charge of cremating the thousands of corpses of people who perished in the war on drugs.

The story begins with ominous imagery. Fog engulfs the physical setting of the story; its thickness is emphasized with the use of hyperbole, “*sapasap a sangkadagaan*” (throughout the face of the earth). This fog, even compared to the ash spewed by Mt. Pinatubo in 1990, comes from the giant ovens which are used as crematoria of a multitude of drug users who were killed in the war on drugs. Additional details are given through the use of staccato in paragraphs: “*pagpuoran ti bangkay...bangkay ti tao...rinibribu a bangkay...a nasken a mapadapo...a panagpadapo kadagiti di agsarday a mapempen a bangkay*” (where corpses are burned...corpses of humans...thousands of corpses...which need to be turned to ash...ceaseless heaping of corpses which are turned to ash).

In addition, the text even says that when the government had not yet thought of the crematoria as a solution to the huge number of killed drug users, its agents even used Manila Bay as a mass grave after cemeteries overflowed with interred drug users. The government even planned that these corpses be transported to the South China Sea or Benham Rise which already belonged to China. When examined within its real-world context, this passage suggests that the author critiques Duterte’s alleged diplomatic relations with China as regards territorial dispute.

The collapse of human values: ash from corpses as fertilizer

The third-person omniscient narrator then bombards the reader with a startling fact in the dystopian world of the story. Human corpses are never cremated to be stored in urns that will be kept by the family. Their ashes, which ought to be memorialized remains of their humanity, are rather turned to fertilizer, hence the title of the story.

In this dehumanizing project of apocalyptic proportions, the protagonist Castañas plays a huge part. He is called “master cremator,” which for him is a huge honor because the prime minister even awarded him a gold medallion for his ability and contribution to the national war against illegal drugs. He received such an award because he was adept at regulating the right amount of heat to pulverize well the corpses. With the fear of being cut off from work before because of “endo” (end of the contract in a job common among the Philippine working class), he was thankful he mastered his craft of turning the corpses to ashes. The mentioning of ‘endo’ is again a reminder to the Duterte administration. The text says contractualization had not been removed because big companies prevented this end—proof of the unabated perpetuation of neoliberal capitalism, indeed. These ashes are then distributed to farms and fisheries because these will be used as a mixture of what domesticated animals and fishes eat. Some are even exported to other countries, particularly China and Russia.

In these sketches of the story’s dystopian world, I argue that the text satirizes the political structure which the author finds himself in, which is known for its instability, flipflopping, uncertainty, and totalitarianism, which are represented by the “double” murders of thousands of people, neoliberal capitalism in terms of no end to “endo,” and giving away disputed territories. On another note, what is forwarded as a political satire could be a projection of fears of not only the author but also of Filipinos in general. These political satires are also put forward by

earlier dystopian texts such as Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-four*, and Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* (Gottlieb, 2001).

Discussing the dystopian fiction of the West, Erika Gottlieb (2001) claims that there is a push and pull of utopian and dystopian perspectives.

If we begin with *We*, *Brave New World*, and *Nineteen Eighty-four*, it becomes obvious that each dystopian society contains within it seeds of a utopian dream. These are articulated by the ruling elite's original promise when its new system was implemented, a promise that was then miscarried, betrayed or fulfilled in ways that show up the unexpected shortcomings of the dream.

(Gottlieb, 2001, p. 8)

Although there is no push and pull of utopia and dystopia in the text, these perspectives on Western dystopian fiction also hold to *Ganagan*. Such a push-and-pull mechanism does not exist because the text itself is already a collapse of utopian ideals. Of course, there might be seeds of utopia in the President's discourse on the war on drugs when the real-world context is consulted. As he said when he was campaigning, "If I make it to the Presidential Palace, I will do just what I did as mayor. You drug pushers, holdup men, and do nothing, you better get out because I'll kill you" (Human Rights Watch Official Website, 2018).

From a Foucauldian power/knowledge perspective, Duterte's statement is a discourse made possible through effectuating the knowledge that crooked souls are a threat to a utopia, hence the need to execute them. Duterte then is the Grand Inquisitor. The text *Ganagan*, however, subverts this discourse because it suggests the horrendous fate which society has been into since the war on drugs. Duterte's promise was "miscarried, betrayed, or fulfilled in ways that show up the unexpected shortcomings of the dream" (Gottlieb, 2001, p. 8). As such, *Ganagan* is a dystopia aimed to "critique and ridicule a worldview for its adherence to instrumental values, its elevation of functional and collective ends over the humanistic and individual" (Claeys, 2017, p. 278). The text thus suggests a possible future in which Duterte's utopian pursuit of "the best of all possible worlds," which has done away with dangerous drugs, is driven less by the search for happiness than by a determined faith in justice. In other words, the dystopian world of *Ganagan* presents us with a society where the ruling elite deliberately subverts justice. The text, therefore, is a protest against the possible totalitarian superstate which the current administration may morph into and which is the "worst of all possible worlds," a universe of terror and rigged trials (Gordin, Tilley, & Prakash, 2010, p. 5).

Gardens as Thirdspace

In the face of totalizing structures such as the 'worst of all possible worlds' which *Ganagan* presents, how do people fare? How do they come to terms with such horrendous end of human values and of valuing of human life?

The story tells us that so much alteration has been done on the physical geography of the country as a result of the double murders done on drug users.

Amid this barren landscape shrouded by fog is the crematoria where Castañas works. On the premises of the crematoria is a dilapidated van which he already turned into a home. Near the van is a vegetable garden which teems with a lot of green vegetables. Hence, the garden stands in stark contrast to the barren surroundings of the dystopian world, the “worst of all possible worlds,” of the story. The main focus of this article is to examine this garden as a crucial site of the story. The book *The Meaning of Gardens* claims the following:

One cannot examine a garden as a physical place without probing the ideas that generated the selection of its materials and the making of its geometry. One cannot fully understand the idea of the garden without knowing something about the process that created it. Also in the act of gardening reside both ideology and a desire to create a physical order. The garden exists not only as an idea or a place or an action but as a complex ecology of spatial reality, cognitive practice, and real work.

(Francis & Hester, 1990, p. 7)

This passage says that a garden is more than just a physical space. It is a physical entity made possible through various conceptions of people and the result is the arrangements and re-arrangements of objects that constitute it. Most importantly, ideology not only is activated in the garden but also made possible its conception as an entity. As such, what is in the mind of who created a garden, including the ideological structures that interpellated him/her (Althusser cited in Bertens, 2014), is activated in real space. As such, the production of space, from the perspective of Henri Lefebvre (Schmid, 2008, p. 28), is a social practice. Society is composed of human beings who “in their corporeality and sensuousness, with their sensitivity and imagination, their thinking and their ideologies” (2008, p. 29) enter into relationships with each other through their activity and practice that lead to the production of space. These ideas find great support in Doreen Massey’s book *For Space* (2005) which pointed out that space (e.g. a garden) is a product of interrelations as constituted through interactions and that it is always under construction.

Massey refers to interrelations as the many ways in which relations are understood as political practices, the relational constructed-ness of things including political subjectivities and political constituencies. As such, she argues that “identities/entities, the relations ‘between’ them, and spatiality which is part of them are all co-constitutive” (Massey, 2005, p. 32). Meanwhile, on the claim that space is always under construction, Massey goes on to explain that not only history but also space is open. Space can never be that “completed simultaneity in which interconnections have been established...There is a space of loose ends and missing links” (Massey, 2005, p. 36).

Such simultaneity in and the openness of space has been greatly emphasized by postmodern geographer Edward Soja in his book *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places* (1996). Expanding the then-current practice of the social sciences of confining scholarly theorizing to history (time) and society (social relations), Soja elaborates Lefebvre’s idea by explaining that what Lefebvre wants to do is Thirthing-as-Othering which introduces a critical “other-than” choice that speaks and critiques through its otherness. This is done

through “disordering, deconstruction, and tentative reconstitution of their presumed totalization...an intrusive disruption that explicitly spatializes dialectical reasoning” (1996, p. 61), which are geared towards building further, moving on, and continuously expanding the production of knowledge beyond what is presently known.

This Thirthing-as-Othering central to Lefebvre’s and Soja’s postulations gives birth to the privileging of historicity-sociality-spatiality trialectic and perceived-conceived-lived trialectic of spatiality (Borch, 2002, p. 116). Simply put, historicity-sociality-spatiality trialectic asserts that not only time and social relations but also space is essential to human beings. Besides, space is simultaneously perceived-conceived-lived, a re-affirmation of the statement by Francis and Hester (1990) pointed out above on the meaning of gardens. In this sense, gardens, an example of space, are material and the materialized physical spatiality (i.e. perceived) and are produced through discursively devised representations of space through the spatial workings of the mind (i.e. conceived). Most important is the proposition that space is lived, a Thirdspace. Describing the openness and simultaneity of Thirdspace, Anderson said that it “facilitates new combinations of once dualized elements...offers an epistemology that can respond to changing contexts” (2002, p. 304). The reason behind this is that Thirdspace is a “remembrance-rethinking-recovery of spaces lost...or never sighted at all” (2002, p. 81) and “an endless series of theoretical and practical approximations, a critical and inquisitive nomadism in which the journeying to the new ground never ceases” (2002, p. 82). With Thirdspace, we could analyze spaces as they are:

[...] filled with politics and ideology, with the real and the imagined intertwined, and with capitalism, racism, patriarchy, and other material spatial practices that concretize the social relations of production, reproduction, exploitation, domination, and subjection...They are chosen spaces for struggle, liberation, emancipation.

(Soja, 1996, p. 68)

The openness and simultaneity of Thirdspace (as altogether perceived-conceived-lived) imply that we can look at space the same way as we look at various institutions and people who constructed it—and what has been constructed or is being constructed. The foregoing, therefore, are the concepts I will use in looking into the garden which the main character Castañas tilled and maintained.

Castañas’s Garden as Thirdspace

An in-depth look at the garden cared for by Castañas reveals that it is more than just a physical space where he could harvest good produce to nourish his body. More than a taken-for-granted place, the garden in itself is polysemous, imbued with different meanings, and altogether a perceived-conceived-lived space.

The perceived space of Castañas’s garden is that in this barren landscape shrouded by fog is the crematoria where he works. In the premises of the crematoria is a dilapidated van which he already turned into a home. Near the van

is a vegetable garden which teems with a lot of green vegetables. Hence, the garden stands in stark contrast to the barren surroundings of the dystopian world, the “worst of all possible worlds,” of the story. The formation of this space, the arrangements, and re-arrangements of objects that constitute it are determined by the dystopian, punitive government. The narrative’s privileging of the space which the main character occupies is symptomatic of how the government conceives the place as something very crucial to its programs of executing lawbreakers, namely the drug users and addicts. Castañas having received an award as being “master cremator” catapults space’s role in the government program.

It is noteworthy, however, that the government ordered the people to till a garden in their backyard, a great contrast to the morbid, fear-inducing, dystopian setting of the text. This promulgation highlights the government’s power to wield its hand in the physical space. As such, the government’s ideology not only is activated in the garden but also made possible its conception as an entity. In Althusserian terms, the war on drugs ideology induces people to fashion themselves and transform the spaces they occupy in a way that they do not run counter to the dominant mode of spatial thinking of the government. They are being “interpellated as subjects” in which “[their] imaginary relationship [as] individuals” is seen in “their real conditions of existence” (Althusser in Ryan & Rivkin, 2004, pp. 2693–97). In this case, the government and the people are in interrelations in terms of political practices, political subjectivities, and political constituencies (Massey, 2005). As such, their self-fashioned identities made manifest in the transformation of their bigger surroundings and of the gardens they maintained, ought to be following the grand design of the totalitarian and punitive government under whom they are interpellated as subjects (Claeys, 2017; Cole, 2017). In this case, centralized state power, in a Foucauldian sense, is dispersed throughout society and people’s self-fashioning proves that they have internalized the social control that monitors society and maintains the disciplined efficiency of the social system (Foucault, 1971 in Ryan & Rivkin, 2004).

The ubiquitous movements of power in the story imply that the act of gardening—Castañas’s gardening, more specifically—implies that the garden is a lived space, a Thirdspace. Seeing it this way enables us to launch ourselves into “a critical and inquisitive nomadism in which the journeying to the new ground never ceases,” thus the construction of new bits of knowledge that speak for the concretization of “social relations of production, reproduction, exploitation, domination, and subjection...[in the] chosen spaces for struggle, liberation, emancipation” (Soja, 1996, p. 68). Seen this way, Castañas’s experience could thus be described as a particular kind of spatial praxis: “the transformation of (spatial) knowledge into (spatial) action in a field of unevenly developed (spatial) power” (Soja, 1996, p. 31). In what ways is this so?

As said earlier, the crematorium is a special place for the fulfillment of the war on drugs discourse because bodies are ferried from the spots where they were killed and delivered to this place. After several processes that turn these into fertilizer, they are carried away in sacks, ready to be used by different consumers. As such, this very spot where Castañas works is a space where “social relations of [economic] production, reproduction, exploitation, domination, and subjection” (Soja, 1996, p. 68) are deployed over and over again. The movements of people to

and from the space reproduce the ideologies of the war on drugs discourse. Hence, space is a microcosm of the “worst of all possible worlds” which the dystopian text presents. Hence, as Henri Lefebvre limned the profound connection between power and space, “power is everywhere; it is everywhere...in space” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 86).

The aforementioned facts are the structures where Castañas found himself in. Does he have a choice? Most likely not. It is noteworthy, however, that he gives a more nuanced meaning to the mandate of the government to cultivate gardens. In his garden, he does the following:

Iti kinaagmaymaysan ni Castañas, dagitoy laengen patpatgenna a mulana ti kakaisuna a pagliwliwaan ken pakaliwliwaanna. No kayatna ti uminum ... kayatanna unay a pulotan ti saluyot a namaga a napakbet iti suka-Iloko ken adu a nataltal a laya ken napitpit a bawang sa nalaokan iti nakirog nga aramang. Kaykatatna ti agmaymaysa nga umin-inum ken agpaypayubyob iti dakkel a butakana. Naulimek nga agmennamenna iti tengnga ti nasamek a kanatenganna nangruna iti sardam wenno uray iti tengtengnga ti rabii a saan a makaturog, urayenna ti parbangon santo agipaburek iti kape a barako ket agkapkape kabayatan ti panagpayubyobna agingga nga aglawag. Santo agsibugen ... Kasasaona pay no kua dagiti mulana a kasla lattan kameng ti pamiliana dagitoy.

(Castañas in his solitude has only these beloved plants as his pleasure and leisure. If he wants to drink...he would much prefer *saluyot* cooked dry in Iloko vinegar and garnished with lots of minced garlic and sauteed *aramang*. He would prefer drinking and smoking alone in his *butaka*. He would ruminate silently amidst his robust vegetables, especially at early night, even at midnight when sleeping is hard, or when at dawn. Then he'd boil *barako* coffee as he smokes till daybreak. Then he waters the plants...He talks to these plants as though they are part of his family.)

This passage is poignant, filled with seeming longings for home, for people who once were there. Of course, during the day, Castañas had to perform the ideology which interpellated him, for he is a subject retroactively and performatively “hailed” into the drug war discourse (Althusser 1971 in Ryan & Rivkin, 2004, p. 698). This seems hard to be disentangled by the master cremator Castañas because interpellations/compulsions have real effects on the body and the psyche of the subject due to the iterative act or performativity, which enacts what it names (Rottenberg, 2008, p. 7). At night, however, he morphs into another being, a positive act of regressing to his former self. The passage above is symptomatic of how he recalls his former identity, a process of remembering made possible through space as a memory trigger, so to speak.

In such process of remembering, there is calling to mind his cultural identity, which is being an Ilokano, an ethnolinguistic group in the northern Philippines. Such Ilokano-ness is symbolized by his use and enjoyment of Ilokano material culture, namely: *saluyot* (jute), Ilokano vinegar, *aramang* (dried shrimp), *butaka* (swiveling chair), and *barako* coffee. All these are done in the garden. On one note, food is intimately connected to cultural identity. Pierre Bourdieu said that

“taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier; social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 6). Also, Roland Barthes said that food is “a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of images, situations, and behavior” (Barthes, 1997, p. 21). As such, food embodies conceptual and philosophical frameworks that point to the fundamental ways in which we articulate ourselves, our cultural identity (Gunkel, 2016). For the case of Castañas, we could point out that his choice of Ilokano food harvested from and consumed in his garden is thus a conscious choice, a signifier that stands for his cultural identity no matter what systemic erasure and incorrigible entropy of values he might be subjected to.

Taking these points to another level, I argue that as regards the garden, his efforts of caring for it, reflecting about his life at it, and consuming its produce are proofs that the garden is a lived space. Aside from exposing the ideologies at work in it, the text suggests that Castañas regards the garden as a lived space, a Thirdspace. One source says of space: “[t]he landscape is alive, it is a text in itself, it is a living text...There is a dialogue there between one’s internal being, one’s psyche, and the nature of place, the landscape” (Harris quoted in Maes-Jelinek, 1991, p. 33). His moments of rumination from early evening to early daybreak suggests that although no words are given, he to some extent takes some opportune time to reflect on himself as “master cremator,” a useful asset of a dystopian society. To this process of rumination, the garden as a lived space takes an indispensable role because there happens a dialogue between Castañas’s internal being, his psyche, and his space that is the garden.

On another note, during his ruminations at the garden, he reveals why he lives alone day in and day out. His wife and children were also killed in the drug war. The two males were shot dead with the words “Nanlaban! Wag Tularan!” (“He resisted; don’t imitate him” [often the words written in cardboards beside those gunned down in the drug war]); the only girl shot dead in a drinking spree with friends; and his wife gunned down while walking after having come from an agency to protest their children’s death. These ruminations further make the garden a Thirdspace because it is through the dialogue between Castañas and the space that he sheds more light on his lonely and miserable life, his bereavement beyond proportions. What is wrong with how the government is run, with all its punitive measures of executing drug users who are discursively considered denigrate type, is further ramified. Revealing the malignant fecaliths and poisonous turds that need to be excised, Castañas’s garden thus becomes a site of resistance, a space for struggle and transgression against powerful ideologies of the drug war, hence a Thirdspace (Soja, 1996).

Conclusion

Castañas’s verdant garden stands in stark contrast to the lifeless, foggy landscape around it. This suggests that as a Thirdspace, the garden is a space of resistance, of launching more specific, local struggles against forms of subjection aimed at loosening the constraints on possibilities for action. Hence, the garden is a site where the agency, or in Michel de Certeau’s term “ways of operating”, could be exercised despite the drug war’s totalizing structures. But as to what extent agency is exercised cannot be determined right away. Or should it be

determined? Big structures are not easily toppled down. In the story, however, Castañas was able to launch more specific, local struggles through his garden as Thirdspace, through remembering his wife and children who are now long gone, and through deliberate choices on food and material culture. These are the ways through which he negotiated his experiences in the face of these totalizing structures and managed to survive the most difficult ordeal. As such, his garden, his Thirdspace, though imposing a desired order, a dystopia, could also be a site where disentanglements and resistance could be done.

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IDENTITIES IN EFL CREATIVE WRITING IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

Creative writing is created for aesthetic rather than informative purposes and its creation is greatly influenced by the writers' background. Thus, how the writers' perception of themselves or their identities are expressed in the creative writing products. As such, creative writing in the English as a foreign language (EFL) context may offer a space for foreign language learners to express their perceived identities. In this study, an analysis of two short stories written by students of the English Letters Department, Universitas Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, revealed that the students' perceived identities were used as the resources for their creative writing outputs. In the first short story entitled "Calling Him Back", through the internal conflicts of the main character, the student writer expressed her doubt as to which identities to claim. In the second short story entitled "Happy Birthday", the student writer exploits her identities as a literature student when she did a research on novels with Indian background. The data were gathered through document analysis on the two short stories and correspondences with the student writers. These two short stories were evidence that foreign language learners utilized different aspects of their multifaceted identities as the resources for their creative writing outputs.

Keywords: identities, perceived identity, creative writing, EFL

Introduction

Identities are defined based on how a person sees himself/ herself, which is also influenced by how others see him/ her. Identities are responses of individuals towards how society perceive them (Lawler, 2011, pp. 7-8; MacKinnon and Heise, 2010, p. 22). The identities that one claims are related to the interpretation of the individual within certain contexts in society. As a result, every individual has multiple identities instead of a single one (MacKinnon and Heise, 2010, p. 35) depending on his/ her relation to society. Identities can be identified from various markers, such as origins and gender.

In language learning, creative writing is one of classroom practices that enables learners to express their identities through their writing product. However, even though studies show the success of creative writing practices for expressing learners' identities, many are conducted in the first or second language contexts. As stated by Lim (2015, pp. 336-337) that not much attention has been given to creative writing in the second or even third language contexts. In contexts where English is used as a foreign language, creative

writing is often applied as a method to improve language proficiency. For instance, studies by Mansoor (2013) in Pakistan and Shahri (2018) in Iran proved the effectiveness of creative writing for developing language proficiency.

In a foreign language context, creative writing is reduced to language exercises for the learners' mastery of the target language. Foreign language learners' abilities are considered insufficient for producing literary work that fulfills the standard for creative writing practices. For instance, insufficient vocabulary means limiting learners to use subjective expressions.

This study intends to investigate how two foreign language learners in Indonesia utilize their identities in creating short stories in their creative writing class. This study also intends to reveal the multifaceted identities of the learners that are expressed in the two short stories written by these two learners, namely "Calling Him Back", published in 2014 and "Happy Birthday", published in 2015. For the framework of analysis, this study utilizes Norton's theory (2016) on perceived identities, Chin's theory (2014) and that of Mansoor (2013) on how learners utilize their identities in their creative writing outputs.

Identity, Creative Writing and EFL context

Identity and Creative Writing

Identities are related perceptions of individuals of themselves. However, the perceptions of the individuals towards themselves are not the sole factor that develops identities. As individuals are always in contact with society, how society perceive them influence the construction of identities (Norton, 2016, p. 47). Identities, therefore, are determined not only by the individual but also by others (Norton, 2016, p. 47) through interactions. Because individuals continue to interact with society, identities are always fluid and changes of identities are contextually driven. Identities are not fixed but they continue to change as individuals continue to interact in society (Block, 2007, p. 1).

The autoethnographic study of Harendita (2017) is one of the examples to show that the perceived identities are also ascribed by others (Norton, 2016) and that identities are subject to change (Block 2007). Harendita (2017, p. 60) described that even though she would identify herself as a Javanese as her perceived identity, she may not fully fit with the expectations from society. Her adaptation to the contemporary world influenced the ways she perceived herself, showing that identities are subject to change. Yet, she did not completely ignore the Javanese code of manner, either. She still conformed with the Javanese tradition, for example, by communicating in the high level of Javanese to her parents to show politeness, as required by the society. Her way of communication in High Level of Javanese to older people was one of the markers Javanese identities although in the contemporary world, the characteristics of Javanese tend to be more diverse and may no longer fit with the stereotypes. That personal identification itself is "not without conflicts" as the Javanese stereotypes may no longer describe her personalities, while she asserts her Javanese identity (Harendita, 2017, p. 60).

Harendita elaborated that individuals may have conflicting identities. Her experiences described the conflicting identities that she wished to claim. As a Javanese woman, she described her struggle to negotiate her conflicting identities. She explained that when she mentioned her origin was from Solo, a city in Central Java, the society's stereotyped perceptions of a person from Solo are directly attached to her (Harendita, 2017, p. 58). The stereotyped labels of women from Solo thus determined that women who did not fit with the characteristics "will be considered as breaching the norms or as not belonging to the culture" (Harendita, 2017, p. 58). This implied that her being Javanese was decided by both her own perception of herself and ascribed by others. Thus, she had to negotiate which identities to perform in different contexts.

One of the markers of identities is language which may express cultural values

(Majchrzak, 2018, p. 75; p. 79). The writer's choice of language shows the cultural identities that individuals claim (Kramsch in Mansoor, 2013, p. 55). That is, the speakers'/ writer' identities are reflected through the linguistic features, such as vocabulary and pronunciation. For instance, people's origin is sometimes easy to guess due to the strong accent or particular dictions. It is also through language that a speaker shows how he/ she wants others to perceive him/ her (MacKinnon and Heise, 2010, p. 5; Shahri, 2018, p. 89). For instance, in a foreign language context, the ability to speak English fluently gives a certain impression towards the speaker and therefore the use in this context confirms how the speaker wants others to perceive him/ her.

One of the classroom practices where identities can be expressed through the use of language is in creative writing. Being different from academic writing, creative writing serves as an aesthetic purpose rather than informative (Maley, 2009) as one of the purposes is to express emotion. This is because creative writing is often associated with the need of writers to express their feelings subjectively. Expressing something subjectively in creative writing enables learners to express their identities.

Significantly, the creative writing output is often influenced by the writer's background. This influence is often manifested in the blend of the native culture and the target language where the native culture of the learners is used as the resources for writing in EFL. For instance, learners might use their native language as a form of language play in their creative writing output to create a certain nuance (Mansoor, 2010, p. 211). Even though the use of the native language inserted into the target language is often considered as an interference, when it is used intentionally, it is, in fact, the evidence of the identities that the learners wish to claim. This also shows that the learners develop their target language competence, and that they can manipulate the language.

Other than inserting the local language in the creative writing in English to enhance language identities, learners might also use their cultural background as the resources for writing. For instance, even though they write in English, they might use settings from their geographical origin, local names or cultural values in their writing output. Mansoor's study (2015, p. 85) revealed that foreign language even draws learners closer to the native roots seen from the learners' creative writing outputs where they used local culture and history as the resources for their creative writing outputs, such as a local demon and a story about a "*maharani*". This implies that language and environment as learners' identity markers are utilized as the resources for their creative writing.

Creative Writing in the EFL Context

Despite the success of creative writing in the first and second language contexts for expressing identities, creative writing in the EFL context is often utilized as a means to improve language proficiency. Despite the effectiveness of creative writing for language improvement, little attention has been given to the application of creative writing to facilitate EFL learners' identity expressions. As stated by Lim (2015, p. 337), the practices of creative writing in EFL context is reduced to language exercises with the teachers' focus on introducing standard and proper grammar. When applying creative writing pedagogy for improving language proficiency, teachers create exercises, for example, where students only need to complete a poem with provided words or phrases. After that, the learners will be asked to write their own poem similar to the samples. As a result, learners will only exercise by imitating examples (Lim, 2009, p.85) instead of expressing their identities in their own works freely. Thus, identity expression or subjective expressions for aesthetic purposes of the learners as mentioned by Maley (2009) do not get enough attention.

As a method for improving the target language proficiency, indeed creative writing is effective. In a study by Tin (2010) in the university level in Indonesia, for instance, learners' linguistic ability is improved through the practices of making acrostic poems.

Through the acrostic poems, learners not only learn to express their feelings but also to improve their grammar and vocabulary.

The emphasis on applying creative writing for improving language proficiency rather than on the subjective expressions is due to the doubt of the ability of EFL learners to produce works of literature. When learners still struggle to get a grip of their mastery of the target language, they do not have confidence in producing even literary works appropriate for the standard of creative writing class. Insufficient vocabulary, for instance, might hinder learners for aesthetic expressions let alone identity expressions in the creative writing outputs.

Studies on the application of creative writing in the EFL contexts have proved that learners may utilize their cultural background as the resources for writing. According to Maley (in Babaee 2015, p. 77), these exercises may also develop students' awareness of their surroundings that they might not be aware of before. The awareness of their surroundings brings benefits that learners will observe within themselves for resources for writing from their "memories, observations, feelings, thoughts and even dreams" (Maley in Babaee, 2015, p. 78).

When learners are encouraged to use their native culture to express in the creative writing, they will be able to use the resources they are familiar with in their writing (Hanauer, 2014; Hanauer, 2015; Disney, 2014; Kelen, 2014; and Tay, 2014). The following two studies are examples of creative writing that successfully encouraged EFL learners to utilize their native culture in the production of their creative writing. These also provide evidence that learners may utilize their multifaceted identities as their creative writing outputs.

The first study was conducted by Mansoor (2013) in Pakistan. In the classroom practice, learners were encouraged to look into their native culture as the resources for creative writing to create novelty. Learners utilized their native language in their narration to enhance the cultural expressions. Words which do not have direct translation in English, such as "'Roll paratha', 'Masha Allah', 'Tauba hay', 'Haii!, Teri qasam,' etc.'" (Mansoor, 2013, p. 57) were chosen to create certain nuance in the learners' creative writing outputs. By doing this exercise, learners were encouraged to be aware of their cultural background while improving their target language proficiency. When these expressions of identities are used, they also indicate how the speakers want others to perceive them.

The second research in Brunei Darussalam also prove the effectiveness of utilizing the learners' backgrounds in their creative writing output. Chin (2014) encouraged the learners to use their identities in their play script writing. Learners were encouraged to explore issues that the students considered important in their society. The result was fostering local themes, such as arranged marriage, gender relations, and cultural values (Chin, 2014, p. 133) being utilized as the resources in creative writing.

The research previously mentioned prove that despite the doubt on EFL learners' ability to produce creative writing, their creative writing outputs reflect the identities that the learners wish to claim. Through creative writing, learners also develop the sense of accomplishment that enhances self-confidence which becomes the drive for positive motivation as stated by Maley (2009).

Method

In order to investigate how two Indonesian students, who learn English as a foreign language utilize their multifaceted identities in their creative writing products, this research was conducted in the English Letters Department, Universitas Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta. Being a student city, the city itself became the destination of High School graduates from many places in Indonesia and this offers interesting contexts in which multi-ethnic groups of people with diverse identities interact with each other both in formal and informal

situations.

In the English Letters Department, Universitas Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, the compulsory creative writing subject is offered to the third-year students. In order to pass this subject, each student is required to submit three final creative writing products, namely a short story, a play script, and a poem.

The participants of this research were two female students taking the compulsory creative writing class in 2014 and in 2015. Both participants wrote their short stories were in their third year of their study in the English Letters Department, Universitas Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta. The story “Calling Him Back”, written by Ni Putu Vitria Arizona, was taken from a collection of short stories entitled *Aide Memoire: Love, death, sorrow* published in 2014 while “Happy Birthday”, written by Dian Windriani, was from *Monochrome*, published in 2015.

The two short stories were chosen because they represented two different examples of identity expressions. The first short story, “Calling Him Back”, expressed the cultural identities through the internal conflicts of the main character. The student writer took her experiences and her cultural identities as the resources for the creative writing output. The student writer of the second short story, “Happy Birthday” did not use her life experiences as the resources. Instead, she used her identities as an English Letters Department student who studied Indian culture either from literary works she had read or from her own study on Indian culture before she wrote the story.

The data for this study were collected through two methods, namely document analysis and correspondence. During the creative writing process in the class, the students were asked whether they would allow the researcher to observe and use their creative writing outputs, particularly the short stories, as the data for research. The students were willing to participate in a research and gave their consent. After the short stories were submitted at the end of the semester, the researcher analysed the short stories to find the expressions of multifaceted identities and took some notes on the two short stories. Then, the researcher asked further questions concerning the details of the short stories and process of creation through email correspondence because there were no more creative writing classes with the student writers. The questions included, for example, the sources of inspiration for their creative writing, the intention of writing, and the steps of creation. Based on the short stories and the answer to the questions, the student writers’ perceived identities were identified.

Findings and Discussion

The analysis of each of the two short stories produced by the two students will be discussed separately. The background of the student writers will also be described to provide the contexts to better understand the identities expressed in the short stories.

“Calling Him Back”

“Calling Him Back” was set in Bali. The story begins with a description of a mother and daughter’s visit to the house of a *Balean*, “a person who leads a ritual in Balinese culture to call the family member who has passed away through supernatural way” (Arizona, 2014, p. 47). From the beginning, the main character, Rana, shows some conflicting identities derived from her cultural background and her modern way of life. She does not believe in spirits and the power of a Balean but she cannot deny that hearing her late grandfather’s voice as described at the end of the story is calming.

The Balinese setting and the rituals to call the spirit of Rana’s late grandfather are based on the student writer’s experience. She explained that “Instead of making story based on imaginary events, I choose to use the event (that) happened in my life. Therefore, I choose my grandfather’s death because it’s the saddest moment of my life.”

There are several examples from the short story that show Rana's conflicting identities. First, Rana is described as a girl with multifaceted identities. Even though the setting is in Bali and she seems to inherit Balinese ancestry because she visits the Balean's house with the whole family members, she does not understand Balinese language. This is clearly seen through her narration, "She greets my family and me with a very delicate traditional language that I can interpret as 'Welcome'" (Arizona, 2014, p. 45). The fact that she does not speak the ethnic language shows that she does not consider herself to belong to the Balinese ethnic group. This also implies that being a Balinese is not the identity she wishes to claim. The student writer explained she intentionally created Rana with such characterizations to show that Rana is different from the other Balinese.

Second, Rana does not believe she will ever need a Balean. Indeed, some people will need a Balean but she is not one of them that she said, "So, she is the woman who will help us. Us? No, it is not for me. It is just for those who believe it." (Arizona, 2014, p. 45). Her statements "It is not for me" and "...just for those who believe it" also confirm that she does not believe in the Balean. However, the student writer also explained that her attitude towards rituals is different from that of Rana. She stated that Rana is similar to her, yet the way she reacts to rituals is different.

Third, Rana's reluctance to participate in the rituals for calling her late grandfather's spirit is revealed through her wish to wait outside the room while the rituals continue. Even when her mother forces her to sit inside, she refuses and answers her mother back. The way she raises her tone indicates that she is upset to be forced to join the rituals.

Fourth, the conflicting identities is clearly depicted through her inner conflict. Her thought "Grandfather, yes my grandfather, I miss him so much, but to do such a thing is not logical for me" (Arizona, 2014, p. 46) pictures how she considers herself as being logical although she respects the elders and even misses her grandfather. She finally gives in and joins the rituals because the Balean uses 'the grandfather' to make her feel guilty of being unwilling to participate. Yet, her identity as a person who lives with logics forces her to consider this participation as being illogical. She says,

Almost 15 minutes she has been doing it and I cannot wait for it anymore, I feel so stupid. I am an educated person, sitting on this place and watching all this foolishness is like I am insulting myself. On the other hand, I have to respect my family and their belief, so I try to be patient (Arizona, 2014, p. 46).

The quotation clearly shows Rana has a conflict with her multiple identities. On one side, she wants to show respect to those who believe in the rituals. On the other side, she wants to appear as an educated person who believes in logic and thus considers such rituals illogical. She shows the two sides of her identities that she wants to confirm: a girl who respects cultural values and a girl who is highly educated.

Then, at the end of the story she makes a decision on which identity she wants to construct. She decides that she will not continue participating in the rituals and let her grandfather rest peacefully. As she is about to leave the ritual room, she suddenly hears her grandfather's voice and when she turns around, she also sees his smile on the Balean's face. This last part of the story confirms her identities. Therefore, instead of leaving the room as she was about to do, she decides to return to the room where the ritual happens. Her final statement saying, "... but I know exactly that my sight exactly turns black and black, and peaceful" (Arizona, 2014, p. 47). With this statement, she concludes the short story. This statement confirms her identity that even though she wants to appear to be educated and logical, deep in her heart she wants to embrace her cultural heritage. What is in conflict is her two identities: her identity as an educated person which is derived from the modern

way of life which she is deeply assimilated in and one as a Balinese which is deeply rooted in her heart through her willingness to embrace her cultural heritage.

“Happy Birthday”

Being different from “Calling Him Back” in terms of setting, “Happy Birthday” does not take Indonesia as the setting in the story. The story is set in an Indian family where a daughter lives with her father and step-mother. Her birth mother, who was abused from the father, already passed away.

The story which describes the female character who ends her life represents the student writer’s perspective on women’s life. She stated that she got the inspiration from Indian movies, such as *Mahabharatha*, *Joda Akbar*, and *Uttaran* that stereotype female characters as being weak and subordinated. To ensure her conclusion, before writing the story, she did some studies on Indian women and how they were situated. She found that women in India are considered as second-class citizens under the strong patriarchal system. She said that “I got frustrated with the female lead character that was really helpless and did nothing even for defending herself, I suddenly got the idea for my creative writing.” For that reason, she depicted “the hardship of Indian women who lived in patriarchal world and how they dealt with it.”

Through her short research, the student writer developed sympathy towards Indian women and she justified suicide in the story. She strengthened the subjugation of women in India through the comparison and contrast between the mother and step-mother characters who were under the domination of the father while the narrator, the girl, chose to end her life as the way of reaching her happiness. Interestingly, as stated by the student writer, the idea of death to end the subjugation on the part of the narrator was inspired by the student writer’s reading on Edgar Allan Poe’s works that often romanticize death to end the story while the strong female narrator who has the desire of her own was influenced by the feminist spirit as pictured by Charlotte Bronte and Jane Austen. This implied that the student writer’s identity as a literature student influenced the creation of the plot of the story. She utilized her knowledge on works of literature she had read as the resources for her creative writing.

The story begins with a flashback of an incident that happened three years before the main character’s mother assured her, saying that “life is a valuable journey of tackling sadness and achieving absolute happiness” (Windriani, 2015, p. 99). From her mother’s statement, the main character patiently searches for happiness in her family.

In this short story, the student writer used her identity as a literature student who was introduced to works of literature from different countries and learned to analyse them. Through these works, she reads the depiction of abuse by men towards women and she also learned from the works that domestic abuse that commonly happened in India. She admitted that her ideas for the strong and rebellious female narrator was influenced by the works that she read, such as works by Charlotte Bronte and Jane Austen.

That women were considered unimportant and powerless was also commonly shed light on in works with India as a background. The situation in which Indian women had been in had been described as being unchanged until now. For the stagnant situation faced by Indian women, the student writer explained that “Modern era is chosen to bring an irony in the story. Although the world has changed, the patriarchal ideology remains intact in people’s mind because those values have been well internalized since a long time ago; same goes to India.” For this reason, this student writer also pictured the female character as being powerless when she witnessed her father abuse her step-mother. This character was also described as living in fear and hopelessness despite her desire to fight in anger. She wrote,

My body was quivering and my mind was full of fear and anger. Without

thinking twice, I slammed the door and run into my bedroom. I feel my feet weren't strong enough to stand. So, I lied down on the bed and began to think. Sometimes I wanted to fight against my dad, but I was powerless. Sometimes I tried to give love to him but it was useless to give love to a man who didn't have love in his life. Sometimes I argued God, but God didn't hear me. I protested why I was trapped in a woman's body: once I was born a woman, I was like a ghost, I could scream as loud as possible but no one would hear me. Therefore, in the hopeless and gloomy night, I unconsciously slept with the fear, tears and anger inside me (Windriani, 2015, p. 100).

As can be seen here, the female character was vividly described as being in frustration against the subordination of women in India. Here, the student writer manipulated her multifaceted identities as a literature student who used her knowledge as the resource for writing. Other than reading works with Indian background, critics, such as Gayatri Spivak who confirmed the subordination of Indian women also influenced the writing of the student writer.

To strengthen the knowledge on the subordination of women in India, the student writer used the culture of Malvai that "never let a woman to fight against a man" (Windriani, 2015, p. 100). The student writer perfectly included the setting that will make the story of subordination towards women only is logical. This showed the identity that the student writer wanted to claim as a literature student who had the knowledge of India and may wish to fight against the subordination towards women. To make sure that her conclusion on challenges faced by Indian women, the student writer did a library research. This implied that when she wrote the story, she already had an intention to picture real situations in India as the background of her short story.

The quotation depicting the female character's feelings of hopelessness also described the identities of the student writer in the use of capitalized God. The capitalized God was mentioned several times in the story consistently. When asked about the use the capitalized God, she explained "I missed to research on that while in fact I am also aware that Arundhaty Roy did not use capitalized God." Then, the student writer also confirmed that she could not avoid to include her own identity as a Moslem woman. Her demographic identity as a Moslem who acknowledged only one God instead of gods in Hinduism as the belief of most people in India confirmed how the student writer utilized her perceived identities.

Other than studying about the situation of women in India, she also did some study for some simple expressions in Hindi that she used in the story to produce Indian flavor: *Malvai* - one of a rural area in Bumbai India (Windriani, 2015, p. 102), *Janmadina Mubar ka*, *Ananda* - happy birthday (Windriani, 2015, p. 102), and *Ladoo* - India's traditional cake (Windriani, 2015, p. 102). These three expressions were intentionally inserted in the story with the meaning provided in the footnote. This also denoted that the student writer wanted to show her identity as a literature student who not only understood Indian culture but also Indian expressions.

Through this short story, the student writer wanted to show her sympathy towards the miserable life of women in India. She emphasized the fact that women who survived to adulthood must be grateful. For this reason, she ended the story by justifying suicide to emphasize the happiness of the female character to reach 18 years of age with an abusive father in a culture that structurally is not on the side of the women victims. "I chose this path because I had achieved the most valuable thing in my life. Honestly, I had been alive for 18 years but I was never happy." (Windriani, 2015, p. 102). Through this ending, the student writer confirmed that with the situation for women in India, death was the only

source of happiness. There was no possible solution to subordination of women except death.

Even though the story ends with a suicide, the student writer intentionally used the self-death as a protest against the subjugation of women in India. Suicide may raise a controversial issue but the student writer argued that

Sometimes I can justify suicide as the narrator's decision to achieve her ultimate happiness; not merely based on "no life is better than life" and opt out from her responsibility to her life. In contrary, I sometimes think that her controversial decision can be a form of her responsibility to her life by considering harms and benefits. If people said her suicide is the result of her impulsiveness, I don't think so because the narrator repeatedly perceives life as something valuable, only happens once in the whole life and cannot be replaced.

This argument showed the student writer's perceived identity that in general she did not tolerate suicide when she said "sometimes I can justify suicide". However, when the suicide was for ending the life tragedies of the narrator, it was justifiable. In addition, the suicide was not considered as an escape from life problems. It was more of a form of protest against subordination. The student writer argued that "The narrator gives a justice for both herself and her life, even further, this is how she resists and not to subjugate to the patriarchal arrogance."

Conclusion

The two selected short stories were analysed to see the identity expressions of two students of the English Letters Department. The creative writing outputs represented how EFL learners utilized their multifaceted identities as the resources for their short stories. This is also in line with the theory that the learners will use the resources they are familiar with in their creative writing, such as their cultural and educational background and those they put in effort to make themselves familiar with as in the case of the writer of the second short story.

The short stories indicate that foreign language learners can produce works of literature that fulfill the standard of a creative writing class by using different aspects of their multifaceted identities even though their language ability is still in progress. In this study, identities are derived from the modern community in which they live or the student community they are in. These identities may also come from their cultural and traditional origin or from borrowed background as the resources for writing.

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ORIENTALISM AND POST-COLONIAL READING OF THE U.S. POLICY TOWARD INDONESIA DURING NIXON ADMINISTRATION

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Abstract

Through the examination of documents pertaining to the United States policies toward Indonesia, this paper studies how Washington viewed Indonesia almost three decades after colonialism had been officially over. More specifically, this paper studies U.S. assistance programs provided for Indonesia during the administration of President Richard M. Nixon. By using the perspective of postcolonial studies on international relations, it shows that while on the surface the assistance programs of the Nixon administration appeared to be altruistic and helpful, a deeper look at them shows that the programs were imbued with subliminal Eurocentric liberal international theory of international relations. It further shows that the administration's programs were not only self-serving, but were also implemented with an orientalist spirit by the United States as part of the "superior" West over Indonesia that was considered part of the East and therefore was "inferior" and in need of help from the West. In light of Edward Said's postcolonial studies of West and East relations, the policies clearly reflect orientalist views and practices, even long after colonialism formally ended.

Keywords: orientalism, English school theory, neoliberal international theory, the Nixon administration, Indonesia

Introduction

During the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson (1963-1969), the United States (US) was hostile toward Indonesia (Robinson, 2018; Roosa, 2020; Wardaya, 2012). Among the reasons for the hostility was Washington's view of President Sukarno as being not only pro-communist but also anti-Western, resulting in the leftist political and economic system that had caused Indonesia's economic troubles. Washington was also unhappy with Sukarno's favorable attitudes toward the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI); his refusal to join the Western side of the Cold War; and his maintaining close relations with the People's Republic of China (Wardaya, 2007). In the eyes of Washington, Sukarno's actions were an indication of his opposition to the U.S. Washington then began to seek ways to undermine President Sukarno and his leftist supporters

while hoping to replace President Sukarno with a pro-Western leader, as shown by a sizeable body of research (e.g. Clark & Mortimer, 1975; Hess, 1974; Taylor, 2019).

A great opportunity for the US to turn tables in Indonesia came when beginning in mid-1965, and following the accusation that the PKI was launching a move to take over the government, between 500 thousand and one million members and sympathizers of the communist party were massacred (Robinson, 2018). Many more were imprisoned and exiled, while the party was destroyed and officially banned (Roosa, 2020). When in 1967 General Suharto officially took over power from President Sukarno in the wake of the mass violence, Washington was pleased and took a different approach toward Indonesia. It changed course from being hostile to Indonesia into being friendly toward it (Easter, 2010; Simpson, 2020; Bevins, 2020). Washington began to fully support the government of President Suharto. The support became more explicit when in the US the administration of S. President Johnson ended and was succeeded by the administration of President Richard M. Nixon of 1969-1974.

Under the Nixon administration, Washington provided various assistance programs to help the pro-Western government of President Suharto. Among the assistance programs were: (a) building close personal relations between President Nixon and President Suharto; (b) supporting the Suharto government in its effort to diminish the influence of President Sukarno in Indonesian politics; (c) helping Indonesia through the Paris Club, a consortium of Western nations that would provide loan for Indonesia; (d) using international institutions to help the Suharto government re-build Indonesia's economy; and (e) encouraging the Suharto government to play greater role in Southeast Asia.

That being said, this present study would argue that President Nixon's policy has orientalist predispositions, i.e. Indonesia remains the subordinate Other in the US-Indonesia relation. In his foundational work *Orientalism*, Edward Said argues that for a long period of time Europe and the West in general described people outside the Western world (also known as the "East" or the "Orient") in a specific way. They mostly depicted the people of the so-called East as "irrational, psychologically weak, and feminized" (Said, 2003). According to Said, such a depiction of the people of the Orient helped the West to dominate and colonize non-Western people. Following the end of the colonial period at the conclusion of the Second World War, Western domination continued, including the domination that was done by the United States (Said, 2003, p. 18). In the absence of formal colonization, he further argues, the West continues to exploit the human and natural resources of non-Western nations to serve its own purposes (Said, 2003).

In explaining the scope of orientalism, Said states that orientalism encompasses different dimensions, which are interdependent of each other. Other than being an academic field and "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and ... 'the Occident'", according to Said, orientalism is also "as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said, 2003, pp. 2-3). He believes that, again, these dimensions of orientalism continued to influence the West's views and practices after the end of colonialism or the post-colonial period. For Said this is clearly reflected in the fact that even after the age of colonialism was formally over, "[t]he relationship between Occident and Orient is

a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony...”(Said, 2003, p. 5).

Implementing Said’s views on the West’s attitudes toward non-European nations, (Hobson, (2012) argues that such approach and attitudes were continued to be implemented in Western nations’ diplomatic relations with the people outside the Western world. According to Hobson, during the pre-1945 period the dominant international relations theories were explicitly Eurocentric, in which Europe was depicted as the main source of ideas for modern international system, known as the “Eurocentric Big-Bang theory of world politics”. In the post-1945 period the explicit Eurocentric theory was abandoned. It was replaced by what Hobson later construes as the liberal international theory.

Although the liberal international theory abandoned explicit Eurocentrism, according to Hobson, in practice it continues to carry remnants of the explicit Eurocentrism, albeit subliminally, hence “subliminal eurocentrism” (Hobson, 2012, p. 214). Thus, Hobson continues, although in the liberal international theory “there is no explicit discussion of ‘civilizations versus barbarians’, or of ‘whites versus non-whites’,” in practice “the traditional civilization/barbarism discourse is sublimated rather than exorcized” (Hobson, 2012, p. 214). Within the liberal international theory itself, as reported by Hobson, there are two more-specific theories, namely English School theory and the Neo-liberal Institutional theory. While the English School theory is explicitly Eurocentric, the Neoliberal Institutional theory carries Eurocentrism subliminally, through supporting European-initiated international institutions (Hobson, 2012, pp. 215–216).

With regard to the English School theory of international relations (henceforth ES), Hobson provides some key features. In general, the ES tends to award the East “various degrees of agency”, but “these are always inferior to the pioneering agency that is awarded to the West.” More specifically, the East is “awarded emulative ‘conditional agency’ whereby it assimilates the institutions and practices that were pioneered by the Europeans as they were delivered courtesy of the Western civilizing mission, ultimately so that the East could join, and therefore enjoy the benefits of, Western international society.” Further, the ES awards the East “a degree of ‘predatory agency’, ... in which the refusal to fully Westernize gives rise to the contemporary ‘Eastern problem’ that in turn destabilizes both global international society/world order and Western civilization” (Hobson, 2012, pp. 214–215). According to Hobson, ES theory “visualizes IR through the Eurocentric ‘big-bang theory’ of world politics.” By using the big-bang theory, adherents of ES believe that “Europe pioneered development and self-generated through the Eurocentric logic of immanence before exporting its institutions (via imperialism) to the East in order to remake the world as far as possible in its own image” (Hobson 2012: 215).

Concerning the Neoliberal Institutional theory (henceforth NLI), Hobson explains that it “...does not openly advocate imperialism and ostensibly rejects it” (Hobson, 2012, p. 216). However, he suggests that “a paternalist conception of neo-imperialism creeps in through the [NLI’s] sub-liminal Eurocentric back door” (Hobson, 2012, p. 216). He further argues that by adherents of NLI “key international institutions are portrayed as paternalist Western vehicles” needed to help “the cultural conversion of Third World states to Western liberal-civilizational precepts” (Hobson, 2012, p. 216). According to Hobson, NLI

adherents do not usually discuss “the rise of the West and the rise of the Western state, given the theory’s lack of interest in historical international systems.” Instead they prefer to discuss “Western states as fully formed and then considers how they subsequently come together to create and reproduce the major international institutions through iterated cooperation” (Hobson, 2012, pp. 215–216)

Using Hobsonian postcolonial approach of the liberal international theory, this paper intends to show that despite their altruistic impression, in practice Washington’s assistance programs were self-serving. More importantly this paper will show that the assistance programs were conducted with orientalist approach, in which the U.S. perceived itself as part of the “superior” West, while perceiving Indonesia as part of the “inferior” East. This paper will further show that when viewed from the perspective of postcolonial studies of international relations, the Nixon administration’s assistance programs were permeated with features of the English School theory and the Neoliberal Institutional theory of international relations. This study will use these features to observe elements within the assistance program carried out by the Nixon administration in its relations with Indonesia.

Method

This study is a qualitative research using document analysis method (Bowen, 2009; Corbin & Strauss, 2012; Rapley, 2011). Document analysis method is “a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material” (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). As further stated by Bowen, “[I]like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge” (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). The analytic procedure of this paper involves “finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of), and synthesizing data contained in documents” (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). The research results are then organized into major themes, categories, and case examples specifically through content analysis (Bowen, 2009; Labuschagne, 2003). In this current study, the data gained were interpreted using Hobson’s liberal international relations theory with its two branches, namely the English School theory and the Neoliberal Institutional theory.

As for the data source, they were procured from an archival research on documents stored at the Richard M. Nixon Presidential Library and Museum in Yorba Linda, California, USA and at the National Archives, College Parks, Maryland, USA, in 2014 and 2017 respectively. The documents are memoranda of conversation among foreign-policy makers, diplomatic memos and diplomatic communication pertaining to policies of the United States under President Nixon toward Indonesia under the government of President Suharto.

Findings and Discussion

This section details the five features of the US-Indonesia international relation using Hobson’s theories outlined above.

Granting the East with “emulative” or “conditional” agency

According to Hobson, the ES theory grants the East with “emulative” or “conditional” agency. By this he suggests that the ES theory regards the East as being keen on imitating and reproducing political values and institutions that had been produced by the West, even after the success of the decolonization process. This view makes the adherents of the ES theory confident that all the political values and institutions of the West are also good for the East (Hobson, 2012; Watson, 1987).

Applied on the case of US-Indonesian relations during the Nixon administration, one can see that such a view was present, albeit implicitly. A document titled “Briefing Book for Nixon Trip to Indonesia” clearly reflects such a view when it describes Suharto as a political leader from the East, in this case from Indonesia. The document describes the Indonesian president as having “*limited experience as a statesman*” while declaring that “*he is still a bit unsure of himself in the world arena.*”(NARA/National Archives and Record Administration, Document No. 690709, 1969, p.3). Based on this observation President Nixon’s policymakers suggested that the US President should build *a personal relationship* with Suharto (“NARA Document No. 690203, ‘Memo for Kissinger on Indo Econ Performance and US Aid,’” 1969). They believed that a close personal relations between the two leaders would provide “reinforcement for achieving understanding and cooperation on range of USG-GOI [United States Government-Government of Indonesia] relationships.”(NARA Document No. 690816, 1969, p. 3). Seen from the ES theory what the policymakers’s belief implies that through personal relationship with Nixon, Suharto would be able to emulate the American President in conducting affairs in international political arena while strengthening US-Indonesian relations.

In the document, the policymakers also urged President Nixon to “encourage Indonesia to continue its sound internal economic policies”. For these officials, the “economic policies” were certainly the same economic policies that the US was using, namely the capitalist economic policies. By imitating the US in using the capitalist economic policies these policymakers believed that Indonesia would be economically prosper just like the US. Implicitly they also suggested that Indonesia should abandon the populist or socialist economic policies that had been implemented by President Sukarno. Such a belief, in turn, reflected what Hobson says about the English School theory’s feature of seeing the East as imitator of Western political values and institutions of the West.

Viewing the East as a “predatory” agency

Hobson argues that the ES theory grants the East not only with emulative or conditional agency, but also with “predatory” agency, especially to Eastern leaders who refused to embrace Western political values and institutions. As further explained by Hobson, ES theorists believe that Eastern leaders refused those values and institutions eventually caused problems not only for their respective states but also for the political world order in general (Hobson, 2012, pp. 214–215).

In the case of US-Indonesian relations, such a view was clearly reflected in the Nixon administration’s regard for President Sukarno. In the administration’s view, Sukarno was an Eastern leader who rejected Western political values and

institutions as shown in Sukarno's refusal to join the Western side of the Cold War, and therefore the administration regarded him as a "predatory" agency. Sukarno was also viewed as rejecting Western political values and institutions by adopting populist economic system while building close relations with communist nations (such as with People's republic of China) and preventing Western corporations to invest in Indonesia. As a result, in the view of the ES theory, Sukarno was causing various problems. Among the problems were Indonesia's "shattered economy", the creation of "communism as a domestic political force" and irresponsible regional cooperation and leadership in Southeast Asia, as one document entitled "Indonesia Annual Policy Review and Assessment" dated February 16, 1970 shows (NARA Document No.700216, 1970, p. 2).

It was not surprising then, that in light of such a view the Nixon administration was willingly supporting the Suharto government in the effort to diminish Sukarno's influence in Indonesian politics—an effort often called de-Sukarnoization campaign (Adam, 2018). Trusting that the chief of the lingering support for Sukarno's influence came from the Navy branch of the Indonesian armed forces, the the policymakers of the Nixon administration were pleased that "the purge of pro-Sukarno military leader currently underway in Jakarta is primarily aimed at settling old scores dating back to the Sukarno period and at removing elements, mainly from the Indonesia Navy, with potential for future disloyalty" (NARA Document No.700122, 1970. p. 1). These officials were hoping that the de-Sukarnoization campaign was "intended in the longer term to prepare the groundwork for an Army victory in the 1971 elections by completing the process of de-Sukarnoization..." (NARA Document No. 700122, 1970, p. 1), in which the Army was considered more emulative toward the political values and institutions of the West since many of their officers had been trained in the U.S. In ES theory's term, the Indonesian Army was a potential "emulative" or "conditional" agency of the East.

The Nixon administration's policymakers believed that by replacing Sukarno the predatory agency with President Suharto as an emulative agency, Indonesia would become in tune with U.S. interests and policies in Indonesia itself as well as with U.S. interests and policies in the Southeast Asian region. Stated in one of the administration's documents called "Indonesia Annual Policy Review and Assessment", dated February 16, 1970 as follows:

With the replacement of Sukarno regime by a government under General Suharto, Indonesia has reversed directions and is now seeking, with some early success, to rebuild its shattered economy, to attract foreign investment, to eradicate communism as a domestic political force and to play a responsible role in regional cooperation and leadership (No.700216, 1970, p. 2).

While Sukarno as the "predatory" agency was associated with "shattered economy", Suharto as the "emulative" agency was expected not only to attract foreign capitals, but also to save Indonesia from communism and to make Indonesia open itself for collaborations with other pro-U.S. Southeast Asian nations.

Implementing Subliminal Eurocentrism

Hobson observes that the ES theory often views relations between West and East by using “Eurocentric ‘big-bang theory’ of world politics.” In light of this view, ES theorists believed that the West had endeavored to assimilate “the institutions and practices that were pioneered by the Europeans” and “delivered courtesy of the Western civilizing mission” to the East. The purpose of the West in this endeavor, in the view of the same ES theorists, is to make the East able “to join, and therefore enjoy the benefits of, Western international society” (Hobson, 2012, p 214).

Implemented in the case of US-Indonesian relations during the Nixon administration, such a view was evident when the administration joined the so-called “Paris Club” in an effort to help Indonesia’s economic recovery. Paris Club was a consortium of mostly-European nations based in Paris, France, intended to provide loans for Indonesia. In return, members of the “club” expected to be given access to invest their capital in Indonesia and to extract Indonesia’s natural resources. The administration viewed the club as part of “the ‘institutions and practices that were pioneered by the Europeans’ and wanted to join it in order to help deliver the ‘courtesy of the Western civilizing mission’, in this case to Indonesia, and Orient nation. Indeed, the developed countries’ urban design for Latin American and Asian countries post-1945 was helpful albeit its Orientalizing tendencies as shown by members of the Paris Club (Feridhanusetyawan & Pangestu, 2003; Hebbert, 2012).

Guided by such a view, President Nixon’s advisers suggested that in order for the U.S. to help Indonesia recover from its economic instability, “we [*the U.S.*] participate fully with the ‘Paris Club’ of Indonesia’s creditors.”(NARA Document No. 690709, “Briefing Book for Nixon Trip to Indonesia” p. 10.). The participation was important, according to the advisers, because it would give opportunity for “*other developed nations*” to help Indonesia in the country’s economic recovery efforts. What they meant by “other developed nations” were certainly European nations. In other words these advisers were believers in the hyper-agency of Europe as the best solution for the problems of the emulative or conditional agency of the East. The attitudes of the advisers in turn, reflecting Hobson’s contention that in the NLI theory of international relations, “a paternalist conception of neo-imperialism” which, according to Hobson, “creeps in through the subliminal Eurocentric back door” (Hobson, 2012, p. 216).

Approving International Institutions as Paternalist Western Vehicles

Hobson argues that in the eyes of the NLI theory adherents “key international institutions are portrayed as paternalist Western vehicles” which was necessary to help “the cultural conversion of Third World states to Western liberal-civilizational precepts” (Hobson, 2012, p. 216). In other words, NLI theorists support the idea of urging nations of the East to adhere to the policies of international institutions that are created by the West.

In the case of US-Indonesian relations during the Nixon administration, this was clear from the US participation in (therefore support for) the Paris Club mentioned above. The Paris Club was seen as a “key international institution” and was utilized to urge Indonesia as a Third World state to embrace the precepts of the West to becoming “liberal-civilizational” in the footsteps of the Western

nations. Along this line, the Nixon administration paternalistically believed that “aid donors, foreign investors and the various international institutions” of the West will best cure Indonesia’s economic woes (NARA Document No. 690203, “Memo for Kissinger on Indo Econ Performance and US Aid”, February 3, 1969, p. 7.). The US also urged a similar international institution, namely the IGGI (Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia), to collaborate and help Indonesia (NARA Document No.700216, 1970). Like the Paris Club, the IGGI was an association of multilateral governments of mostly Western nations, except Japan, that provided loans for Indonesia under Suharto to rebuild the country’s economy. Members of the IGGI included Japan, England, France, Australia, West Germany, Italy and the US itself.

Although not publicly announced, some hidden political motives were also involved. “*Our major objective in the political sector*”, a report said, “*is a friendly and cooperative government which has a reasonable degree of support from the people*” (NARA Document No. 700216, “Indonesia Annual Policy Review and Assessment”, February 16, 1970, p. 2). Meanwhile, “*in the socio-cultural sector, our [US] primary objective is the acceleration of modernization within a value structure compatible with our own*” (No.700216, 1970, p. 1).

Supporting International Cooperation

Hobson also argues that in addition to approving international institutions as paternalist western vehicles NLI theorists also view “Western states as fully formed and then considers how they subsequently come together to create and reproduce the major international institutions through iterated cooperation” (Hobson, 2012, pp. 215–216).

The formation of Paris Club and the IGGI to remedy Indonesia’s economic stability mentioned above clearly indicate such a view. Both institutions were international in nature, and together as fellow members of the “superior” West, they iterated cooperation among themselves in order to solve problems of the “inferior” East, in this case Indonesia (National Archives, 1969).

The cooperation, however, was not merely to benefit the East. It was also to benefit the West itself. As stated in a document from the Nixon administration titled “Indonesia Annual Policy Review and Assessment”, among the aims of such international cooperation was to open Indonesia:

to American trade and investment, by encouraging the effective use of foreign, including U.S., economic assistance; ...to encourage and improve the climate for the growth of private investment, both foreign and domestic, as a major contribution to over-all economic development; ... to insure that Indonesia is a good trading partner of the United States. (NARA Document No.700216, 1970, p.1.)

Some political motives were also involved. “*Our major objective in the political sector*”, the document also stated, “*is a friendly and cooperative government which has a reasonable degree of support from the people*”. Meanwhile, it was further states that “*in the socio-cultural sector, our [US] primary objective is the acceleration of modernization within a value structure compatible with our own.*”(NARA Document No.700216, 1970, p. 2)

Even within the East itself, the US wanted to encourage Indonesia to initiate international cooperation under the frame of US international politics. This was

clear especially when the Nixon administration provided military assistance for the Suharto government. The assistance was intended for “the eventual cooperation of Indonesia with its neighbors in maintaining their collective and individual security.” (NARA Document No.700216, 1970, p. 2). In other words, military assistance to Indonesia was important to “*assure Indonesian competence to maintain internal security and to encourage Indonesia’s interest in a responsible role in the security of the area friendly to U.S. interests*” (NARA Document No.700216, 1970, p. 2). Because of that reason the administration was convinced that the US “*should plan and implement a slightly enlarged program of military assistance...*” (NARA Document No.700216, 1970, p. 2).

Hobson himself dislikes the precepts of the English School and the Neoliberal Institutional theories of the international relations. However, by employing his depiction of the features of the two theories, this paper has shown that the U.S. policies toward Indonesia during the Nixon Administration clearly reflect features of both the English School and Neoliberal Institutional theories. It also became clear that despite the altruistic appearance of the administration’s policies (and the policies of the West in general) toward Indonesia, when looked from the perspective of the post-colonial international relations they show the signs of West’s attempts to continue dominate the East, even after colonialism officially ended. In the specific case of the Nixon administration’s “helps” and “assistance” for the Suharto government, we can see that the help and assistance were also motivated by the desire to perpetuate Western domination over Indonesia, albeit subliminally.

Conclusion

This study has shown the orientalist crux of US-Indonesia relations following Hobson’s English School and the Neoliberal Institutional theories as parts of the liberal international theory of international relations between the West and the East in the post-colonial period. Viewed from the perspective of postcolonial studies of international relations, the Nixon administration’s assistance programs were marked with features of the ES and NLI theories of East-West relations. These features include: considering the East as “emulative” or “conditional” agency; regarding the East as “predatory” agency; harboring subliminal Eurocentrism; approving international institutions as paternalist Western vehicles to exploit the East; and viewing international cooperation as a legitimate way for the West’s domination over the East.

This study has also shown that the anti-Indonesian attitudes of the American policymakers during the government of the Indonesian President Sukarno took a different path in the wake of the anti-communist purge and the removal of the president in mid-1960s. When President Suharto came to power, and especially during President Richard Nixon administration, Washington became very supportive of the Indonesian government. The support included building personal relations between President Nixon and President Suharto; assisting Suharto in the “de-Sukarnoization” efforts; helping rebuilt Indonesian economy; helping Indonesian to join international financial institutions; and helping Indonesia play greater role in Southeast Asia.

Finally, seen from Saidian postcolonial studies, the policies of the U.S. under the administration of President Nixon clearly reflected orientalist views and

practices, despite the fact that colonialism had for so long disappeared. Therefore, this study suggests future research to pursue either by refuting such notions or examining the same issue from the perspective of the so-called “East” itself.

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IDEAS OF SCIENCE AND NATURE IN BIOGRAPHIES FOR FILIPINO CHILD READERS

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Abstract

Many biographies for children are written to teach their readers social values and acceptable patterns of behavior. But even when no such pedagogical aims are stated, biographies for children perform an ideological function. Since they narrate a “true story,” they direct young readers to think of the world and its people in the way these are presented in the text. The Bookmark Inc.’s *Women of Science Series* comprises ten books, each narrating an episode in the life of a living Filipino woman scientist. The Series’ aim is to encourage more Filipino girls to consider careers in science. Its author, Didith T. Rodrigo, herself a scientist, completed writing the series through a grant from the Philippine government. Using an ecofeminist lens, I analyze the Series to answer the following questions: What political view point or interests do these biographies serve? What patterns of behavior do they motivate children to emulate? What social relationships, and relationships between the human and non-human, do they tend to reify? I argue that the Series generally promotes anthropocentric views of science, consistent with Philippine policy pronouncements on science. However, tension points between this ideological frame and the words and practices of scientists featured in the series can be gleaned from the Series itself. I demonstrate how these tension points can lead to fruitful discussions on scientific practice informed by ecological understanding.

Keywords: children’s literature, literary criticism, ecofeminism

Introduction

Children are naturally curious about the world around them—including the social world. Biographies, being true stories about people, naturally pique their interest. Arguing for the construction of more biographies written with a child reader in mind, Grace Miller Heriot pointed out that biographies have the added value of “inspiring” children with “ideals” (1948).

Today, many biographies for child readers are published aiming to inspire young people to follow model exemplars. Tahanan Books’ *Great Lives Series*, for example, consists of 12 books recounting the life stories of 12 important Philippine historical figures and heroes. The Bookmark Inc.’s *Modern Heroes* for

The Philippine Youth, consists of 24 books about the lives of contemporary Filipinos, many of whom were alive when the books were published. These books are written to teach them social values and acceptable patterns of behavior.

The most recent example of biographies for children is The Bookmark Inc.'s Women of Science Series—10 books narrating an episode in the life of a living Filipino woman scientist. The Series' aim is to encourage more Filipino girls to consider careers in science. As I will show in this presentation, Women of Science accomplishes this by portraying successful women scientists as exemplars of behavior that ensure success in the scientific field.

These biographies, which all aim to motivate children to behave in certain ways, perform an ideological function. According to Daniel Bell (1960), ideology is an action-oriented system of beliefs. Being "true stories," biographies direct young readers to think of the world, its peoples and cultures, in the way they are presented in the text. Accepting this portrayal of the world, children act according to what they believe is expected of them—that is, in a manner consistent with what the text suggests is correct and true. But precisely because its purpose is political, ideologies often operate to obscure reality, so that certain social institutions or interests may be served, and specific points of view, affirmed.

For example, it has been argued that The Great Lives biographies were what Louis Althusser called an "ideological state apparatus," a state-approved tool that reified existing class relations. Francis Ang noted, for example, how the books highlighted fairly minor life events, but omitted controversial incidents—points of contention between the state-supported narrative and counter-narratives about the hero and about Philippine history. In this way, Ang concluded, the biographies reified "a clear mainstream narrative that supports the existence of the [Philippine] nation" (2016).

Bearing in mind that biographies perform an ideological function, what mainstream narratives do the life stories in the Women of Science Series support? What political view point or interests do they serve?

What do they teach our children about our world? What patterns of behavior do they motivate our children to emulate? What social relationships, and relationships between the human and non-human, do they tend to reify?

Method

The Women of Science Series and Philippine State Policy on Science

The Women of Science Series stands out among contemporary Filipino children's books. Re-leased in 2017 by The Bookmark, Inc., each of the ten books in the series consists of 20 fully illustrated pages that narrates an episode in the life of a living Filipino woman scientist. Award-winning children's author, Didith T. Rodrigo, who is herself a scientist, obtained a grant from the Gender Committee of the National Book Development Board's Trust Fund Grant Program to interview and write about ten of the country's "most respected female scientists" (Rodrigo, 2017b, p. 19). She then recounted incidents from the lives of her interview-ees, focusing on how they became scientists, or on narratives that described what it was like to do scientific work in the Philippines.

Rodrigo's aim was to encourage more Filipino girls to consider careers in science. Each book contains an afterword which states that "[w]omen and girls opt out of STEAM fields not because of a lack of talent" but because of "a lack of

encouragement.” Consequently, “relatively few women and girls enter the fields of science, technology, engineering, agriculture, and mathematics” (19). Statistics from the Commission on Higher Education for 2016-2017 bear this out. Out of 448,550 students enrolled in engineering and technology courses at the tertiary level, 317,152 (70.7%) were male, and 131,398 (29.3%), female.

Ecofeminist critique

Ecofeminists draw connections between anthropocentrism in scientific practice and the capitalist mindset, which is perpetuated by dualistic hierarchies of domination, premised upon an ontological divide between human/non-human; culture/nature; man/woman; man/child; mind (soul)/body; heaven/earth, etc. As Alice Curry discusses this in *Environmental Crisis in Young Adult Fiction: A Poetics* (2013), in a capitalist patriarchy, women, nature, and body are all correlated, coded as fecund, nurturing, and nourishing— but also primitive and non-human; men, on the other hand, are viewed as the dominant force in politics, economics, and culture, the embodiment of reason; harbingers of human civilization, progress and development.

Just as women are thought of as having a natural, physiological connection to the earth, children are traditionally viewed as “mere products of heredity and the environment,” and embodiments of innocence and imagination, qualities that are replaced by sophistication and rationality in adults. In turn, nature has been viewed as possessing qualities associated with children: “immediacy, wildness, uncultivated simplicity” (Curry 2013).

These cognitive biases have serious material effects. The Asian Development Bank Gender Hub reports that only 49% of women of working age in the region participate in the labor force compared with 80% of men; and a woman receives, on average, only 77% of what her male counterpart is paid. To this day, only around 10% of women in developing Asia own land (2018).

In certain countries around the world, more boys than girls enroll in school. For example, 78 girls in Chad and 84 girls in Pakistan are enrolled in primary school for every 100 boys (UNICEF 2020a). This, despite the fact that increasing the number of girls in school has not only proven to increase girls’ earnings throughout their lifetime, but has also coincided with drops in child marriage, child mortality, maternal mortality, and child stunting (UNICEF 2020b). Until today, ILO reports, there are around 265 million child laborers around the world, unable to enjoy the right to education (Ortiz-Ospina et al. 2016).

Ecofeminists point out that the same global corporate practices that use science as a means to extract more profit from exploiting the natural world, are the same ones that tolerate, if not encourage, women’s exploitation and child labor.

Because of the problems’ ontological roots, ecofeminists call for the eradication of the false divides between the categories man/woman, culture/nature and human/nonhuman, using “the underlying association between women and the natural world...as a source of both subjugation and resistance, exploitation and inspiration” (Curry 2013). Where the mainstream narrative emphasizes division and alienation, ecofeminism encourages community, creaturely feeling, embodiment and embeddedness. Where texts or practice tend to subordinate women and children, ecofeminism seeks readings that amplify their humanity and agency, and promote their empowerment. Where nature is presented as nothing

more than resource for human consumption, ecofeminism raises the possibility of nature's (that is, non-human) autonomy, agency, even culture (Plumwood 2001).

Findings and Discussion

That Bookmark Inc.'s *Women of Science Series* aims to inspire young girls to study science and aspire to become scientists seems consistent with ecofeminism's empowering objective. The books do the work of raising women's representation in what is perceived as a male-dominated field, thereby breaking this particular gender stereotype. Some stories foreground the fact that their subjects worked in prestigious or otherwise important institutions, and occupied leadership positions:

Jurgenne Primavera was a scientist working in the aquaculture department of a research center in Iloilo (Rodrigo, 2017f, p. 4).

Giselle is a chemist who works at the University of the Philippines Diliman. She studies the bacteria found in turrids, a family of snails found in the ocean (Rodrigo, 2017j, p. 4).

Nida never pictured herself as a botanist, but there she was, one year later, at the Smithsonian working on the seagrasses and seaweed collection. (Rodrigo, 2017e, p. 13).

Evelyn formed a team made up of engineers and scientists from different fields. They set up a food waste research program. (Rodrigo, 2017i, p. 5).

Nina and her assistant, Toto, had been hiking up the mountain for over an hour (Rodrigo, 2017b, p. 2).

Other stories presented their subjects as being at home with scientific concepts and jargon—emphasizing their ability to live the life of the mind:

Jinky Bornaes studied the random walks of something called polymers (Rodrigo, 2017g, p. 6).

When Ninette looks at a mat, she sees what is known in geometry as symmetry or rigid motion" (Rodrigo, 2017h, p. 5).

Moreover, the subjects are represented as plucky and resourceful, unafraid to go head-to-head with government officials, company owners, and other authority figures, who, in all of the stories, happen to be male:

"Cap, please don't kill the mangroves."

"Ma'am Jurgenne," Cap relied, "I need to create jobs for the people in my community."

Jurgenne had to think quickly. "But I have a research project in that forest."

"Is that so?" Cap frowned (Rodrigo, 2017f, p. 10-11).

"Well," the captain said, "We can't really stop people from going there. This is their area after all..."

“We don’t have to prevent people from going to all the caves,” Ging replied. “We just have to conserve some so that the birds and the bats have places to live” (Rodrigo, 2017c, p. 13-14).

Some stories begin with the subjects persuading a reluctant male in a gatekeeper or custodian’s role to allow for the scientific study of some property:

Mr. Palma was unconvinced. “We have experts who know how to do this already. All they have to do is look at a mat and they can tell where it’s from” (Rodrigo, 2017g, p. 11).

Some people had doubts. Mr. Rex, the owner of a large mango processing plant, did not believe that Evelyn’s team could make something useful from the mango wastes (Rodrigo, 2017i, p. 7).

But in the end, the men admit they were wrong:

Mr. Palma approached her after the talk and said, “I always knew that our mats were beautiful, but I never realized how complex they were until I listened to you” (Rodrigo, 2017g, p. 14).

One day, Evelyn was surprised to receive a call. It was Mr. Rex. “I’ve been keeping up to date with your work,” Mr. Rex said. “It’s been fantastic, really! Congratulations!” (Rodrigo, 2017i, p. 16).

Male community leaders ask the subjects’ advice, banking on their scientific expertise:

Turning back to Gemma, the mayor continued, “Is this still related to the weather somehow? Is this something that could come again?” Gemma paused for a moment. “Let me look at the data and get back to you” (Rodrigo, 2017a, p. 13).

Instead of emphasizing childhood passions or a natural inclination for the sciences, the stories foreground qualities and values to which success and excellence in the sciences are attributed. For example, the stories communicate the message that the success of a scientist is the outcome of consistent, patient work, innovation, and attention to detail—all of which are qualities that are identified as valuable to science, rather than attributed as the natural inclination of one sex:

Decades of patience, concentration, and effort made her a true master of her craft. Procedures that used to take two years now take only two weeks. Before, she required hundreds of kilos of plants and gallons and kilos of chemicals to do her work. Now she can work with a sample as small as 10 grams...She has also mastered scientific writing. It took her literally years to finish her dissertation paper. Now, once she has her lab results and the data interpreted, she is able to finish writing a single scientific paper in about one day (Rodrigo, 2017d, p. 13-14).

Nida...learned how to identify the different grasses and seaweeds. She learned how to make technical drawings of each species. She learned how to photograph the

specimens and develop the pictures. When they received a specimen, she asked herself: Was it something they had already catalogued? Was it something completely new? She had to compare it against all the other specimens to find out. Nida quickly learned that details were essential. Knowing details was the only way to know science (Rodrigo, 2017e, p. 13).

These qualities are emphasized as key to a child's future professional success in the sciences. The story *Chemical Romance*, for example, begins with: "What does it take to be a world-class scientist? Read this story and find out" (Rodrigo, 2017d, p. 2). But this drive to achieve success is not for purely personal reasons; it is presented as advancing the country's position as well:

Researching on our own sea creatures could bring local science up to international standards. We could stand shoulder to shoulder with leading scientists from other countries (Rodrigo, 2017j, p. 14).

Moreover, the Series takes pains to show how their subjects use their knowledge of science to solve human problems such as illness, poverty, and climate change:

There were many new organisms that were stronger and more resistant to current drugs. Studying organisms like the bacteria in turrids might help scientist find new treatments. (Rodrigo, 2017j, p. 13).

Connie focused her studies on dilang baka, a common weed that thrived in the UPLB campus. Some people used dilang baka leaves to heal wounds and to reduce swelling, but no one knew for sure if or why the plant worked. If the compounds that Connie found turned out to be good for human beings, people could then invest in more research to determine how this plant could be used as medicine (Rodrigo, 2017d, p. 6).

What was most important to Evelyn, though, was that the work she was doing was helping poor people. Evelyn, her team, and their partners set up a company called Green Enviro Management Systems (GEMS), Inc...In its first two years, GEMS employed 36 people from Jansenville, people who would otherwise be picking garbage from the dumpsites (Rodrigo, 2017i, p. 14).

Gemma stood at the podium and looked at the crowd. A strong typhoon had recently hit this small rural town. Many of the farmers lost their crops. The fishermen lost their boats. Some people lost their homes. Would they really listen to a university professor speak about climate change? (Rodrigo, 2017a, p. 7).

It is not difficult to see how the narratives serve to make the science an attractive career option for the Filipino girl child. A career in science, these stories suggest, does not necessarily call for extraordinary talent or smarts—but for hard work and discipline. Jobs in science are equal-opportunity environments, where girls can succeed, and even become leaders in the field. Pursuing scientific knowledge is presented as desirable, not just for its own sake, but because it can help solve social problems. Science allows the child to imagine herself being useful to society, and presents the ability to contribute to human flourishing as desirable.

Questions from an ecofeminist lens

It is not enough that the Series raises female representation in the sciences; ecofeminists would ask how such representation is raised. Might it be asserted, for example, that although the stories propose that women, like men, can be scientists too, they also suggest that success in the sciences requires the adaptation to patterns of behavior expected from, and values held by, male scientists?

Disembodied subjectivities

Although (as previously mentioned) values and behavior patterns that are identified as important to success in the sciences are not explicitly coded as male- or female-specific, one cannot help but notice that the female-ness of the subjects—for example, information about their marital status, or whether or not they have children—are pointedly ignored. It may be argued that these questions are not often asked of male scientists (if at all). But most men are not interrogated about these matters because these responsibilities are so commonly expected to be borne by women. To downplay these issues in the lives of women scientists closes the door to questioning the status quo.

What's missing here is the sense that the scientists portrayed in the series are not embodied subjectivities. The female body that is perceived to be so closely related to the Earth, is mentioned only in one story—that of a scientist who doesn't have children:

Nida has spent much of her life caring for the environment and teaching others to do the same. She has no children of her own, but she has had many, many students (Rodrigo, 2017e, p. 15).

What emerges is the message that a successful scientist is, first and foremost, a thinking, observing subject—a brain. It is as if the woman's body is so closely tied to ideas of the primitive, the backward, the underdeveloped, that one must efface it altogether so that one might better claim parity with men in science. Ironically, therefore, equality is sought (if not obtained) by reinforcing the mind/body duality.

Acquisitive materialism and specie dominance

De-emphasizing human embodiment denies how embedded we are in nature. To imagine oneself as disembodied subjectivities makes it easy for us to treat nature as an object of consumption—and this, too, facilitates the human tendency to take and use what nature gives until it runs out.

There is an acquisitive quality that the stories seem to privilege: many of the subjects are praised for possessing curiosity, a spirit of inquiry, and a strong desire to know—in fact, a strong, overriding desire to possess knowledge:

People send her new plants for analysis all the time. When they do, she is always challenged, but never daunted. After a few preliminary tests, she immediately has a hypothesis about what it contains. “I know what you're made of!” she say and then proceeds to her laboratory to prove it. (Rodrigo, 2017d, p. 16).

Because nature is the object of scientific study, this unquenchable thirst for knowledge transforms into an unrelenting quest for rare creatures so that they might possess new knowledge:

After four nights of netting bats, Nina and Toto walked down the mountain. Their arms and backs ached, their stomachs grumbled, and their clothes were muddy. In Nina's notebook, though, was *information that no one else had before*, and this was enough to make them smile (Rodrigo, 2017b, p. 17).

There is even something pleasurable but also transgressive in the acquisition of knowledge, as suggested by the following passage: "These tiny creatures had finely tuned survival skills. How did they continue to exist after ages and ages? She was prying into the secrets of nature" (Rodrigo, 2017j, p. 13).

The scientist's study of non-human creatures is an exercise of power, and possibly, a claim of dominion. What these, in turn, suggest is a reinforcement of patterns of human domination over other species.

A number of the stories justify the acquisition of knowledge to be essential to the survival of the human specie; to eradicate poverty or sickness. But these only tend to demonstrate the anthropocentric thrust of scientific practice today. In one story, the conservation of forests, mountains, and caves was asserted to be important "for future generations to enjoy" (Rodrigo, 2017c, p. 16).

Representations of nature

Despite the preponderance of stories about conservation, the texts invariably suggest a landscape of abundance, one that is rarely matched elsewhere in the world:

The variety of life in Philippine oceans was so abundant, few other places in the world had the same diversity.

The Series suggests that scientists practice in this natural environment teeming with life:

When she returned to Mindanao, she focused her research on cataloguing the rich animal life in forests, mountains, and caves...After hours on rough road, they camped near streams or rivers so that they always had fresh water (Rodrigo, 2017c, p. 6).

The lush landscapes depicted in the Series might make a child wonder why nature needs to be conserved in the first place. Shouldn't humans—especially those struggling with poverty and who live in countries suffering from underdevelopment— have the right to take what they need from nature—including space—since nature is so abundant anyway? Such stories take as given that human society and nature occupy separate spaces. In a world of finite resources, humans will inevitably wrest space and resources from nature. Science enables this human mastery over nature and wilderness, or at its least aggressive form, polices the two separate realms strictly (for example, humans are entitled to use certain caves, but leave the rest to non-human life).

Filipino scientists have the privilege to work in one of 18 mega-biodiverse countries in the world. The country is believed to contain 2/3 of the earth's biodiversity and between 70 to 80 percent of the world's plant/animal systems. This notwithstanding, the Philippines, like all other countries on earth, is threatened by climate change and environmental degradation. There is, however, a curious silence as to this crisis of planetary proportions, and the role human activity has played in bringing it about.

One story, *Beyond the Storm*, describes how Dr. Gemma Narisma helps a community hit by a typhoon understand how to minimize risks brought about by natural calamities (Rodrigo, 2017a). Although the text is a straightforward account of Dr. Narisma educating the community during a meeting, illustrator George Vincent Bien portrays Dr. Narisma as a sword-and-shield bearing warrior fighting against threatening anthropomorphized rain clouds on the book cover (Figure 1). Another illustration shows the same rain clouds attempting to blow down a set of anthropomorphized houses (Figure 2). These illustrations suggest that humans are at odds with nature; nature is the enemy; and nature must be defeated by human.

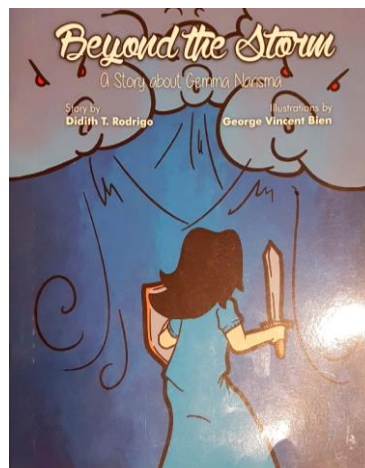


Figure 1. Cover of *Beyond the Storm* by George Vincent Bien (D. Rodrigo, *Beyond the Storm*, 2017; The Bookmark Inc.).



Figure 2. Illustration from *Beyond the Storm* by George Vincent Bien (D. Rodrigo, *Beyond the Storm*, 2017; The Bookmark Inc.).

In portraying nature as human society's enemy, the illustrations do *not* tell an important part of the story: that the effect of many natural disasters today are exacerbated by climate change. Human activities around the world, such as the burning of fossil fuels, are touted to be the reason behind it.

Although Dr. Narisma is a climate change expert and was likely called to speak to the community because of her expertise, climate change is not mentioned in the story. Admittedly, it is difficult to explain how a scientist and her team can defeat, not just nature, but climate change—widely touted to be the biggest threat to life on the planet today.

One might argue that there is no space in a children's book—especially one that aims to *encourage* young girls to get into the sciences—to discuss the structural and material causes behind the modern human's drive to maximize extraction of value from nature (capitalism, for example). This, however, speaks of what we, authors and scholars, assume about child readers—and these assumptions may very well be wrong. We may assume, for example, that child readers would not be able to understand complex social issues—and thus leave these out of a text. But perhaps it is we—parents, publishers, authors—who have difficulty thinking through and communicating our own convoluted assumptions about reality to our children. That we face wicked problems is an altogether different issue from what child readers can, and cannot understand.

It is important to remember that pre-modern societies lived *with* nature, rather than separately from it. Once, the human occupied a place *within* nature, rather than outside it, a place that was in *harmony* rather than conflict with it. What changed things? How might things change again? How does the modern human, the scientist who sees nature primarily as object of study and as resources re-embodied herself in nature, restore relations between herself, her community, and the non-human? These are questions that are both interesting and relevant to adults and children alike. Our search for answers may very well ensure the survival of all creatures on earth, including ourselves. We would do well to introduce such questions to our young.

Counter-narratives in the Women of Science Series

To sum up: there is a danger that discourses of individualism and species dominance in human/non-human relations are strengthened by narratives that do not emphasize human embodiment and ecological embeddedness. To imagine nature as an aggressor makes it easier for us to destroy it. Conversely, to imagine oneself as part of nature leads to the realization that to preserve nature is to preserve the human self. We need to cultivate our imaginations in this direction so that we might develop an ethics of care.

Fortunately, there are stories in the series that demonstrate a healthy tension between anthropocentric scientific practice and views and a more ecological understanding.

The story *Capturing Flight: A Story about Nina Ingle*, suggests, on the one hand, the pursuit of scientific research for the sheer and individualistic pleasure of finding—and possessing—“information that no one else had before” (Rodrigo, 2017b). However, the story itself actually goes into painstaking detail about how Dr. Ingle and her assistant Toto put into operation a scientific protocol that allowed them to study bats without having to hurt or kill them. After tagging

them, Dr. Ingle would set them free. The protocol speaks volumes about the respect Dr. Ingle had for the bats. It is the respect one accords a fellow creature.

It is *Mangrove Warrior: A Story about Jurgenne Primavera*, that portrays most eloquently how a scientist—a human being—pays attention to nature, not as an object of study but as a fellow creature (Rodrigo, 2017f).

Unlike the other stories in the series, *Mangrove Warrior* foregrounds the strong emotional connection Dr. Primavera felt toward the Ibajay Mangroves in Aklan. It was “close to her heart.” It enchanted her. She “instantly falls in love” with it (Rodrigo, 2017f, p. 5). Lost in the mangrove, she notices with concern that the bark of some trees had been deliberately removed—a practice, she is told, preparatory to killing them off. When she learns that the barangay captain had decided on replace them with bakhaw, which could be cut down and sold (Rodrigo, 2017f, p. 8), she resolves to “do something to save their trees.” And it is at that moment, we are told, when she and her companions find their way out of the forest.

Instead of viewing or talking about the trees as though they were her objects of study, Primavera recognizes nature’s sentience, and accords it a kind of agency: “Were there indeed spirits watching them as they walked? Did they test her heart, find that her intentions were good, and then lead them back to the highway?” (Rodrigo, 2017f, p. 9).

Once out, Primavera meets with the mayor and insists she needs the trees for her research—despite the fact that she had not yet secured any grants to fund it. To save the forest from human degradation, she embarked on mangrove research. Nowhere else in the series does a scientist undertake research as a strategy to ensure that the nonhuman be protected from human encroachment. The story is interesting in its portrayal of its subject—the protagonist—as a scientist who relates to nature as a being of equal status and dignity.

A similar sentiment is expressed in *Gardener of the Sea: A Story about Nida Calumpong*. At the end of the book, Dr. Calumpong expresses that all her efforts to teach people to restore and rehabilitate underwater areas was to allow *all* life to flourish:

When I die, plant a tree and bury me under it
The tree will bear fruit and the cycle of life will continue.
The purpose of life is to give life. *It doesn’t have to be of the same species* (Rodrigo, 2017e, p. 16, emphasis supplied).

Conclusion

If ideology both constitutes and obscures reality through the reification of ideas and ideals that form the basis of our actions, one way of resisting ideology is to question these ideas, their representations, our received values and meanings—not so much that we might possess the answers, but to clarify our desires. Questions create space for us to view things differently, thus enabling the possibilities for living differently, and more deliberately.

Although we can never completely escape ideology, questioning can help us live with it more intentionally, as individuals and as a collective. Even texts that tend to reify mainstream narratives contain seeds of possible counter-narratives; but unless one inquires into the former, these counter-narratives might never even be identified.

Beyond questioning a text, one might wish to inquire into what child readers think about issues and concerns that are frequently de-emphasized in mainstream narratives.

For example, one might ask a child who has just read one of the books from the Woman of Science series to imagine what kind of childhood the subject of the book had. This might lead to an investigatory project and possible interview and interaction with one of the subjects of the biography series—for all are living scientists. This project would provide the child with a context to ask the scientist about an early childhood experience with the natural world. Such an interaction might yield an account left out in the book, one that may very well reveal the scientists' direct and embodied responses to nature.

Children may also be asked about their own embodied experience in the world and in nature. They might be asked to describe where they live, their "natural habitat," the home, and what creatures, other than human, shelter in the same place. One might even ask them to imagine themselves as one of these creatures: how would you now see the world from that creature's point of view? Such questions and activities can be springboard for further discussions and inquiries that serve to unify, rather than divide human/non-human; woman/man, etc.

Finally, one may ask child readers to ask about issues such as climate change, poverty, gender discrimination, and social inequality, and, together with the rest of the class pursue a joint investigation on how these issues are all connected to the way we envision ourselves in the world.

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EXAMINING WOMANHOOD: NARRATIVES OF WOMEN'S SUBJUGATION AND NON-SURVIVAL IN FIVE SHORT STORIES FROM ASIA

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Abstract

This paper explored the discourse on womanhood in the Asian context by delving into the narratives of women characters in five short stories by three Asian writers. Specifically, it attempted to determine the images associated with Asian women based on the portrayal of the main protagonists in the selected short stories. It then analysed how these images construct womanhood and perpetuate such ideal in the Asian mindset. Viewed from both feminist and constructionist lenses, findings show that the women protagonists are relegated to their three-pronged traditional roles/images: daughter, wife, and mother. These images, in turn, shape how these characters behave and are seen by other characters - submissive, self-sacrificing and subjugated. However, despite an unrelentingly difficult life, all the five women still struggle to survive. Such act seems inconsistent with the above stereotypical construct of womanhood, though a closer look actually shows a different side to the said construct: strong, steadfast and resilient/survivalist. Not all of the protagonists overcome their tragic lives. Nonetheless, all five women manage to convey that the concept of womanhood is more complex than how it had been perceived in the past. This complexity is clearly illustrated in the lived realities of many Asian women today.

Keywords: women subjugation, womanhood, Asian women narratives

Introduction

Despite women's advancement into the public sphere, there are still many who are marginalized in today's world brought about by the fact that societal expectations of their responsibilities as women have remained essentially the same throughout the ages (Rosaldo, 1974). This grim reality is affirmed by recent studies done on women's subjugation in specific Asian countries.

Gnanaprakasam (2018) examined the dismal condition and representation of women in Indian society as well as their "crumbled voices" as portrayed in the narrative *Giribala* by looking into the women characters' endurance and resistance as they face daily oppression but still struggle hard to survive in their lived realities. Gnanaprakasam observed that the Indian society is generally complicit in the marginalization of its women, more so in the case of the poor, those who

belong to minority groups, and those who are regarded as outcast or rebellious women, for all are not allowed any respectable position and identity within its realm. Moreover, the long-ignored women's egregious conditions are not considered as an injustice by the Indian society; instead these are just part and parcel of their everyday domestic realities except for those who belong to the upper class of society. According to Gnanaprakasam (2018),

the experiences of [marginalized] women are destructive and have multiple shades of evolution and understanding. These women are those living in the tangential line of living in terms of their gender discrimination, class difference, and [caste] position, especially as a home-grown woman. These types of women are normally unnoticed in civil society. Their pains have long been ignored and are not considered as sinful but the usual occurrences of day-to-day life (p.322).

Another short narrative by Mahasweta Devi entitled *Duoloti the Bountiful* was analyzed by Sung-Hee Yook (2018). Yook examined how the tribal women's bodies become sexualized and commodified within a horrific bonded labor system in India. In particular, her paper illustrated how socio-economic changes and movements affect the lives of those who are in the lowest bracket of the economic system especially the women. The tribals had a distinctive culture and a self-sufficient economic system until they were displaced from and disposed of their forest/lands/homes resulting in the appalling exploitation and subjugation of their women as exemplified by Duoloti who is prostituted as a young girl until her body is ravaged by tuberculosis and venereal disease and dies at the age of twenty-seven.

On another front, the bivariate analysis of Soy and Sahoo (2016) revealed that two-thirds of the women in India meet their husbands only on their wedding day or on the day of Gauna while their multivariate analysis indicated that women marrying outside their caste and blood relations are influenced by socio-economic factors. Both findings reflect the plight of many Indian girls whose future depends on the decision of the parents or the elder in charge.

The Asia Foundation (2016) in its report on the violence perpetrated against women and children in Timor-Leste observed that the issue of women unemployment in this young nation could be factored in as contributory to the women's physical, sexual, emotional, and economic abuse by their intimate partners. Many women whose households depend on subsistence agriculture for their livelihood are not paid for their agricultural work extending "the notion of unpaid work for women beyond the domestic duties of housework and child rearing." Such a situation "has important consequences for women's independence and financial autonomy, particularly in the context of deciding whether or not to leave abusive relationships" (p. 23).

Belarmino and Roberts (2019) presented the voices of women experiencing violence and inequality in Japan, which are largely unreported. For instance, despite modern-day advancements in all aspects of life, Japanese women are still expected to have children after getting married and to quit work after giving birth. They are also treated differently from men under the law to their enormous disadvantage. Furthermore, Japanese women are expected to follow the tradition

of keeping quiet and submitting to the wishes of their partner without questions to preserve togetherness or to protect the man's pride, which obviously make them vulnerable to subjugation and domestic or other forms of violence.

The women's vulnerability to domestic violence is exacerbated by the fact that it is often normalized and, even, rationalized by the community. A fact sheet on domestic and sexual violence in Filipino communities (Asian Pacific Institute on Gender-based Violence, 2018) revealed that Filipino women respondents in Hawaii considered men's partner abuse as an expression of the men's "anger, stress, and drunken behavior, rather than as 'abuse' towards their spouse." Moreover, most of the respondents considered "physical violence to be unacceptable, particularly when injuries resulted. However, they do believe that many times when women are harmed, it was 'inevitable' because the women 'likely misbehaved' – i.e. lied or were unfaithful" (p. 2).

The above cited studies presented different ways of women oppression and victimization in their own society caused by traditional gender role expectations. These studies however did not describe how the women dealt with their daily oppressions, thus, this paper attempted to fill such gap by examining how the women characters tried hard to survive and, in the process, let their voices be heard despite their unrelentingly harsh everyday realities.

Method

Employing textual analysis primarily through feminist and constructionist lenses, this paper explored the discourse on womanhood in the Asian context, particularly Chinese, Indian, and Filipino, by delving into the narratives of the women characters in Genoveva Edroza-Matute's "Ang Kwento ni Mabuti", Lu Hsueh's "The Widow" and Mahasweta Devi's "Giribala", "Breast Giver", and "Draupadi". Specifically, the paper attempted to determine the images associated with these Asian women based on the portrayal of the main protagonist in each of the five selected short stories/narratives and informed mainly by de Beauvoir's answers to the question "What is a woman?" which she posed in her monumental book, *The Second Sex* (2011). She posited that the female function – "she is a womb" - is not enough to define woman. Instead, "she is determined and differentiated in relation to a man, while he is not in relation to her; she is the inessential in front of the essential. He is the Subject; he is the Absolute. She is the Other" (p. 26). Moreover, de Beauvoir rejected the "eternal feminine" as a woman archetype or a 'changeless essence whatsoever' because

[o]ne is not born, but rather becomes, woman. No biological, psychic, or economic destiny defines the figure that the human female takes on in society; it is civilization as a whole that elaborates this intermediary product between the male and the eunuch that is called feminine. Only the mediation of another can constitute an individual as an Other. (p. 330)

In other words, de Beauvoir's answer to the 'woman question' is someone who is mediated or socialized to become the 'second sex' and an Other - not an autonomous being but rather "the relative being."

The paper then analyzed how these images construct womanhood and perpetuate such ideal in the Asian mindset as depicted in the stories guided by

Berger and Luckmann's sociological account of constructed meaning as expressed in *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966):

Every individual is born into an objective social structure within which he encounters the significant others who are in charge of his socialization. These significant others are imposed on him. Their definitions of his situation are posited for him as objective reality. He is thus born into not only an objective social structure but also an objective social world. The significant others who mediate this world to him modify it in the course of mediating it. They select aspects of it in accordance with their own location in the social structure, and also by virtue of their individual biographically rooted idiosyncrasies (p. 151).

De Beauvoir's feminist concepts and Berger and Luckmann's constructionist theory underpinned the analysis of the selected short stories to identify women's images that construct the womanhood ideal persisting in the Indian, Chinese, and Filipino mindsets.

Findings and Discussion

Images of Asian Women as Embodied in their Multifaceted Roles

In the Asian context, a woman's marketability is still often associated with what she can do or what her husband or her father has. And though she is pronounced as man's partner, she is generally undervalued within the partnership, which is attributable to her still being principally the nurturer and domestic workhorse in the family despite the fact that for decades now, she has also been a fulltime member of the workforce, even actually becoming the main breadwinner. Nnaemeka (1997) negates this undervaluing by stating that a woman is someone regardless [of you] thinking otherwise. Textual analysis of the five selected short stories reveal that 'woman as someone' can be classified in most, if not all, of these categories: 1) daughter/daughter-in-law; 2) wife; 3) mother; 4) mistress; and 5) rebel indicating the multifaceted and overlapping roles she performs in her daily life and, at the same time, shaping how she and the community perceive her as a woman.

Being a Daughter/Daughter-in-law

When a girl is born, the first image that would shape her is her being a daughter of her parents, which is a role that has its concomitant duties attached. In Mahasweta Devi's *Giribala*, the title refers to the main character, known to family and friends as Giri, who portrays three roles in the story - daughter, wife, and mother – aside from being a family provider. While still young, Giri's marriage was a prime concern of her father like "most of the middle class in modern India who feel that a marriage is to be arranged, heterosexual, and lifelong. It is simply too important to be left to chance" (Khandpur, 2017). As a daughter, Giri is expected to fulfil her dharma to become a wife as willed by her father so she would be blessed in the afterlife. Based on Indian tradition, "before a marriage can be officially declared, a multitude of factors are investigated by the parents and trusted parties to ensure compatibility, future prosperity (both in the marriage and in the derivative households), and divine satisfaction. The concept of sanjog is

often supplicated in the context of divine satisfaction. It serves a dual purpose: promotion of predestined marriage and softening of the rejection of an unsuitable partner" (Khandpur, 2017, p.5). In the case of Giri, when her parents discerned the sinister character of their chosen future son-in-law, they were prepared to stop him from bringing her home but, he sweet-talked them into agreeing to bring Giri home with him. Thus, Giri submissively followed her parents' wishes like any dutiful daughter whose status as a girl/woman in India practically has no autonomy and decision-making power over any aspect of her life (Bloom, Wypij, & Das Gupta, 2001; Jejeebhoy & Sathar, 2001; Mason & Smith, 2000; Desai, 1994 as cited in Soy & Sahoo, 2017).

The experience of servitude and submission as expected of a daughter or a daughter-in-law is shared by Hsiang Ling, the main character in the Chinese short story, *The Widow*, written by Lu Hsun and translated to English by Wang Chichen. At the start of the story, Hsiang Ling, a 26-year-old widow, was shown looking for a job. She was given a trial period by a family, during which she served them diligently, quietly and even performing a man's job with ease. She was then hired as their servant, and, at the end of the year of her servitude, she was doing all the cleaning, cooking, and slaughtering of livestock. She seemed content with her life despite her hard work, her face showing traces of a smile every now and then. But, one day, she was found out to have left her mother-in-law's house without permission.

The mother-in-law came to forcibly take her back to Weichiashan where she would be married off to a Huo Lao-liu of Huochiatsun for the benefit of her dead husband's family. Hsiang Ling fought desperately to escape the second marriage but her in-laws physically abused her into submission, with witnesses not daring to intervene claiming the horrendous situation is purely a domestic issue. Hsiang Ling's subjugation is seemingly rationalized by her violation of filial piety, a central tenet of Confucianism, but is negated by Dalton, Goldstein-Gidoni, Lebra, Koyama and Takahashi's (in Belarmino & Roberts, 2019) notion that the more modern portrayal of women as homemakers, who raise children and care for their in-laws, is their having the option of seeking outside work to contribute to the country's economy and structure. In Hsiang Ling's case, she was forced to stop working to be married off instead for the economic gains of her greedy mother-in-law.

Being a Wife

A woman in most societies, if not all, is expected to get married and raise a family of her own as soon as she is deemed capable of doing so. In most Asian countries, parents are motivated by different factors such as economic stability, continuation of lineage, and political gains to encourage, even push, their daughters to married life. After being a daughter, a woman is thus expected to leave her parents' home and be with her husband to take on another image, that of being a wife, which almost always relegates her to becoming the inessential Other (de Beauvoir, 2011).

At a young age, Giri knew that the valuation of a girl is determined by the bride price given by the groom-to-be to her family, and that as a girl, she could only silently submit to her commodification having no autonomy over her body. Likewise, becoming a wife was Giri's exhibition of filial piety ascertaining that

her father was not made a laughing stock in their place and that he would have a good reward after death because his daughter fulfilled her dharma: "the responsibility that parents felt, to avoid any chance of pre-marital sex, and to avoid the criticism of their community about having an unmarried daughter" (Rathor, 2011). The pressure to be married at a young age is caused by the fact that in India, it would be harder to find a suitable older man and the dowry to be paid would be higher if the girl being married off is older.

Jashoda, in the short story "Breast Giver" by Mahasweta Devi was also married off at a young age. She was still young and healthy and a new mother when her husband met an accident thus she was forced to become the family provider. Though tired from her job, she was still expected to perform her wifely duties such as doing the household chores as well as the bidding of her husband when she came home. It was only when the master's wife talked to her husband that he attempted to help her accomplish some chores.

Like Giri and Jashoda, Hsiang Ling became a wife as well. When she became a widow, her mother-in-law arranged for her second wedding to gain profit to finance Hsiang Ling's younger brother-in-law's wedding and the old woman's personal needs.

As illustrated in the experiences of Giribala, Jashoda, and Hsiang Ling, becoming a wife is not a choice for an Asian woman to make. She is compelled to become one by her parents or elders at a very young age which makes her miss out on the fun of being young. Instead, becoming a wife continues her journey into life-long servitude, submission and self-sacrifice that began when she became a daughter to her parents.

Being a Mother

After being a daughter and wife, a woman is then expected to become a mother to fulfil her function as "a womb". Society dictates this order when one is born a girl. In the case of the main women characters in the selected Asian stories, three of the five had their lives progress in this prescribed order: Giri in "Giribala", Jashoda in "Breast Giver", and Hsiang Ling in "The Widow". Mabuti in "Kwento ni Mabuti" became a mother but not a wife.

Giri mothered four girls, with her two elder daughters being sold by their father in the guise of marriage. She did not talk about the incident or the anger and the betrayal she felt towards her husband after her eldest daughter was sold refusing to talk to him at all. But when their second daughter was sold, she finally succumbed to her mother hen instinct and made a decision that shocked the whole community – she left her husband.

In the case of Jashoda, she biologically mothered 20 children and wet nursed more than 50 children from the household of her mistress who treated her well and provided food for her family in return. Wet nursing a succession of babies in the Haldar's household became Jashoda's main source of income for quite some time as this suited the needs of the mistress's sons and her daughters-in-law, with the latter perceiving that not breastfeeding their babies would prevent their body disfigurement.

Mabuti, on the other hand, was a single parent to a 6-year-old daughter so she did not technically become a wife, only a lover to a man who is already married to someone else, an act for which she paid a heavy price to her community. Working

as a teacher, she kept much of her private life except for the stories she shared about her little girl revealing her dedication and deep love for her daughter.

Among the four characters, Hsiang Ling had the vaguest memory of being a mother and was made fun of by people for it. She had a son with her second husband, but the toddler vanished completely having been eaten by a wolf. This terrifying occurrence finally broke Hsiang Ling's weakened grasp on reality returning to work as a servant with faltering hands and with a faraway look in her eyes no longer wanting to talk. Sadly, no one wanted to listen anyway.

Becoming a mother continues the self-sacrifice and subjugation of a woman as illustrated by the circumstances of the women characters. Giri's daughters being married off by her husband caused her a lot of pain but she could not hit back at her husband and Jashoda had to be perpetually bearing children in order to earn a living wet nursing babies in her employer's household. Mabuti braved the scornful eyes of her community to raise her child from an illicit relationship and Hsiang Ling was perceived by her community as an unworthy mother for not being able to save her son from a wolf and so scorned for it.

Being a Mistress

Aside from the common images of being a daughter, wife and mother that are embodied by the women protagonists in the analysed stories, a fourth image – that of being a mistress - was shown in the story of Mabuti. Typically, the word mistress is associated with a kept woman, much like a whore who has no means of supporting herself. As postulated by Elson and Pearson (in Carby, 2018), if a woman loses her job in a world market factory after she has reshaped her life based on a wage income, the only way she may have of surviving is by commodifying her body. Mabuti's life however has not gone such route because she could very well support herself by being a teacher. She just decided to have the baby from her affair with the married doctor making her an atypical mistress.

Being a Rebel

A fifth image of a woman is presented in Draupadi's story, which is that of being a rebel. There is a general perception that women of color had been molded by western traditions to be docile, submissive, and patient. Consequently, even today, many find it unpleasant when a woman goes against expectations and proves to be steadfast, unafraid, and independent. In the case of Draupadi, in the short story with the same title, she was perceived as a threat to peace, a cancer to the society for being a rebel fighting for the rights of her own people. Despite being viewed as a threat to the order the militia has created, Draupadi was still considered weak for being a woman until she was able to display her extraordinary resilience and courage as a fully committed rebel.

As seen in the five selected stories, the common roles played by Asian (Chinese, Indian, and Filipino) women in the society are as daughters, wives and mothers. In addition, some become mistresses and even rebels juggling their various roles as if these were a natural extension of a woman's self. In reality, these roles or images of themselves are constructions that have been imposed on girls by their community (Berger & Luckman, 1966). While growing up, girls are socialized to believe that their roles in life begins with being a daughter and

progresses to being a wife and then a mother. If a woman breaches such order, then she is frowned upon by society such as in the case of Mabuti and Draupadi.

Asian Women's Role Expectations and Consequences

The labels attached to girls as they grow older - daughter, wife and mother - come with attached expectations. As discussed in the preceding chapter the most common expectations for a woman in whatever role she is performing is for her to be submissive and self-sacrificing to keep her family and community happy, which effectively puts her in servitude and subjugation with often dire and tragic consequences. In the Asian community, for instance, the existence of domestic abuse receives little or no public acknowledgment. Some people would comment on it, some would even rant about it on social media but when exposed in real-time events, oftentimes people shrug their shoulders dismissing it as domestic and personal concerns. Under the veil of traditional practices and values as well as apathy, violence in the family and in the community continues to grow, and the women continue to suffer generally in silence. These experiences are mirrored in the different situations the women characters were exposed to as detailed below.

Giribala, an only daughter, was married off at a young age to a lazy, deceitful, and irresponsible man. Although the man's sinister character was exposed to Giri's parents when he came bearing different gifts, they still decided to let him marry their daughter. Even the maid of Babu, the man's employer, was certain of the bleak future Giri was facing as a newly arrived bride:

what kind of heartless parents would give a young girl to a no- good ganja addict? How can he feed you? He has nothing. Gets a pittance taking care of the babu's cattle and doing odd jobs. Who knows how he manages to feed himself, doing whatever else he does! If you've been brought up on rice (on which Giri was), my dear, you'd be wise enough to go home tomorrow to leave behind the bits of silver that you have on you (Devi, p. 4)

The 14-year old Giri was advised to go home, but she resolved not to do so to keep her own silvers, instead, busying herself with creating mud paste to make do with what her current situation had to offer.

Through the years of her marriage, Giri lived in dismal poverty giving birth to four children in their hovel in close succession. She got herself employed in the babu household with meals as her wage and her children followed in her footsteps as soon as they were capable of working, also being paid with meals instead of money.

After the birth of her fourth child, Giri took it upon herself to get sterilized and was beaten for her action but stoically endured her punishment to stop the tragedy that happened to her elder daughters. Despite being taciturn, she knew what she wanted and acted on it despite the odds. In this sense, her stubbornness makes her resilient and a survivor.

Seeing her sagging roof, which is an apt metaphor of her life, Giri decided to go ask her father's help in fixing it leaving behind her marriageable eldest daughter. Upon her return, she learned that her husband already married off her eldest daughter without telling her as "nobody ever imagined that she could think on her own, let alone act on her thought." Giri and her father tried to get the girl

back but the child could not be found. In the end, the missing girl was philosophically explained away by her father saying "it's as if the girl has sacrificed her life to provide her father with money for a house." Although totally devastated, Giri kept her peace and grieved silently on her own.

Despite the time that passed, Giri still thought of her missing daughter and even attempted to write her a letter with the help of Babu although it was never sent. This attempt however shows Giri's sensitivity and how she thinks outside of the box negating the notion of those around her that she cannot think for herself; that she is a typical village girl. In fact, her silence is a witness to her agonies and her hard work is to silence her longing for her daughter. Giri did everything she could to protect her second daughter but this would be futile as she ended with the same fate as that of her first born.

Silently working to feed and clothe her children as well as quietly bearing all the physical pains as well as psychological upheavals brought by her marriage, Giri portrays the plight of many women in Asia even to this day.

Another character reflective of the current plight of women in the marginalized sector is Jashoda in Devi's "Breast-Giver". The title of the story is quite suggestive aside from the fact that the image it creates is very strong. A woman is often described based on the size of her breast that even the prestigious Ms. Universe beauty contest has created an imagined contour of a woman who is considered appealing and attractive. Teenagers, even some mature women, are bothered by the issue of breast size to the point of going through some surgical procedures to enhance their beauty, but not a single thought or study in this sense is completely dedicated to the life-giving power of the breast - perhaps since it seems a natural and totally domestic affair (Nowshin, 2014).

Jashoda was a young wife and a very healthy breast-feeding mother whose struggles begun dramatically when her husband lost his legs. To feed and clothe her family, she worked as a wet nurse in the house of Mrs. Halder for many years.

The description of Jashoda's wet nursing in the house of Mr. Halder demonstrates the commodification of her body – particularly her womb and her breasts - so she could feed her husband and children. In this sense, these parts of a woman's body are also viewed paradoxically: they are sexualized to objectify and commodify her but, at the same time, honoured for being life vessels. Both ways nonetheless expose a woman to abuse particularly those who have no means of fighting back.

When the mistress died and Jashoda no longer served as the Halder household's wet nurse, she was faced with what most people fear - uselessness. Her feeling of uselessness was intensified by the fact that she was later on diagnosed with cancer but neither her husband nor her children, nor her milkchildren were willing to look after her. Jashoda's situation reflects the state of women who are revered when still capable of providing for others, but are disposed of when already deemed useless.

Fighting one's own battle is a shared experience among the women characters in this study, but none as defiant as Draupadi, whose real name is Dopdi Meyhenfaces, 27 years old and married. She left her family and had long ago gone underground to fight for her people's rights. She is an unusual everyday Indian woman in her empowered state openly going against societal expectations on women of her class: subservient and unthinking. Draupadi thus exemplify real

empowered persons who can make choices even if they were denied this ability (Kabeer, 2005).

To break her indomitable spirit, Draupadi was caught, gang-raped, and made to appear before the military head to be sentenced. Shaming through rape, based on the premise that a woman's honor is closely associated with her chastity, is perceived to destroy a woman's self-image and integrity (Simon-Kerr, 2008). This practice of questioning a woman's integrity is cultural and has been used by the Asian justice system to impeach a woman witness based on her sexual history. For most Asians, a woman's honor and credibility are associated with her sexual virtue (female uprightness being equated to her reputation for sexual purity or chastity) and not her character for truth-telling as truth itself is prescribed differently for women and men (Simon-Kerr, 2018). Thus, the easiest way of destroying Draupadi's influence on her community is to destroy her sexually, all the more painfully through gang rape, especially because she is already a married woman.

Mabuti, the fifth of the women characters in this study, seemingly lives up to being a *mistress* as the term can mean 'a teacher' as well as 'a whore' or 'a concubine' (Erickson, 2008). Mabuti, a teacher, is expected to behave formally and with integrity but she has a secret that if revealed, the community would certainly use to define her as a person; she happens to have a love child with a married man. Thus, Mabuti embodies both the respectable and the derogatory connotations of being a mistress. Interestingly, having an affair outside of marriage has gender ascription: married men who have kept women are viewed mainly positively (being macho and normal) while women who are tagged as mistress are seen purely in a negative light without regard for the circumstances surrounding their being one such as in the case of Mabuti.

Hsiang Ling, the woman who was widowed twice and whose son was eaten by a wolf was left to suffer alone in the end. After she lost husband, she was sold by her mother-in-law and after she lost her second husband, she was driven away by her brother-in-law from her husband's house. Psychologically affected by her experiences, Hsiang Ling was no longer able to perform well as a servant so her employers thought of disposing of her and her services. Her case demonstrates how society values those who are perceived to be useful and how it quickly discards those who no longer have marketability and usefulness as experienced by Jashoda in "Breast Giver." As a last indignity to her tragic life, Hsiang Ling was perceived as selfish for dying on New Year's Eve.

The depiction of the women characters in their respective Asian societies illuminate the various horrific consequences attached to expectations of their embodied gender roles. Although some proved more empowered to choose their roles such as Draupadi being a rebel and Mabuti being a single parent to a love child, in the end, all the women were made to pay heavily for the gendered choices that were mostly forced upon them but were socialized to internalize that it is an essential part of their being a woman.

Asian Women's Attempts at Resilience in their Gendered World

The concept of resilience has been used to describe and understand the different experiences of persons when dealing with risks and survival especially among the marginalized sectors of society such as the women. Van Breda (2018)

pointed out various ways in which the concept has been perceived: "resilience as something intrinsic to the individual, while others refer to it in a more holistic sense. Some refer to resilience as the competencies or capacities of people, while others refer to it as positive functioning in the face of adversity." The theory on resilience evolved from adversity and how hostile life experiences influence people detrimentally. Resilience is defined as "an interactive concept that is concerned with the combination of serious risk experiences and a relatively positive psychological outcome despite those experiences" (Rutter in Shean, 2015, p.5). In other words, resilience is shown when "some individuals have a relatively good outcome despite having experienced serious stresses or adversities" (Rutter, 2013 via Shean 2015, p.5). Rutter further theorized that individuals possessing protective factors of mental features/operations such as planning, self-control, self-reflection, sense of agency, self-confidence, and determination have more control and success in changing situations in their lives.

A woman subjected to the power of men and society, therefore, can still have the will to create a life that is suitable and bearable for her. The five women, Giribala, Draupadi, Jashoda, Mabuti, and Hsiang Ling went through different life situations and events that led them to making bold and critical decisions. Unfortunately for these women, their social relationships that are a primal need for protection from emotional and behavioral disturbances, according to Rutter, were non-existent. Therefore, Giri was forced to keep silent about her worries and grief given her community's gendered beliefs and apathy towards her concern over her daughters; Jashoda was disposed of by those expected to protect her as she was no longer useful and marketable for them; Hsiang Ling suffered a similar fate to Jashoda, also being discarded by her employers for no longer proving useful in their household; Draupadi, for her part, was cheated and betrayed by a member of the community she thought was protecting her; and Mabuti was effectively isolated for going against the norms of her society. Though these women were disadvantaged and silenced by the rigid norms and mores of their society, they were all able to experience a turning point which allowed them to disengage from their past and provided them instead with an opportunity for [constructive] change. In the end, Giri finally had the strength to leave her husband bringing along her children. Her determination and seriousness of purpose was shown in how she "walked down the big road and caught the early morning bus to the town." That morning was not foreseen even in the wildest imagination of anyone in her village. Giri's final act was a way of redeeming herself and also of removing her children away from her husband's abuse and from those who view women and children as economic commodities meant to provide for their pecuniary needs.

Draupadi, a woman, who joined the rebels' cause against the tyranny of the oppressors, has long understood her disadvantaged position and powerlessness in the society as well as how her kind is silenced by power and fear. She joined the leftist group after her tribe was denied access to drinking water and the tribe retaliated by killing Surja Sahu, the local kingpin, and his sons. Draupadi's resilience in spite of her misfortunes culminated in her refusal to submit to honor shaming. By doing so, she was able to display her "ability to adapt and restore equilibrium in her life through her determined engagement with the negative life circumstance" (Werner-Wilson, Zimmerman, & Whalen in Hyland, 2014, p.12).

She refused to howl or act as a helpless victim; instead, she walked unashamed and confident in the strong morning sun towards Senanayak in her nakedness and her two mangled breasts. The army was baffled, terrified, and mortified as she confronted them with the truth in a voice that is chilling, sky splitting, and piercing. Draupadi, as argued by Sinha and Vishwavidyalaya (2016), is a "very successful portrayal of what happens to women when they are seen as objects. By presenting her mutilated body as "the object of your search" (p.492) she stressed the materiality of what women are for men; literally a 'target' on which they can exercise their power. In the end, she was able to show her power through her unbreakable spirit as she kept her dignity and refused to be frightened.

Women are always subjected to defining their vulnerable position no matter whether they are mothers, daughters, or wives. Jashoda 's value was high when she was at her most fertile stage. In her dying breath, she was able to ask and question the choices she made. Death might have stopped her from bouncing off her lowly state, but as she had recognized even during her pain the callousness of people, her acceptance and regret coupled with her death are as maintained by Masten (in Jefferis & Theron, 2018) "a resilience [that] denotes recovery from trauma without subsequent growth."

Mabuti's resilience is seen in how lovingly she describes and talks about her six-year-old daughter despite the reality that she is forced to limit her social relationships to keep secret her "transgression against Philippine society". Both her profession and her society dictate that she keeps the identity of her child's father or she loses her job (this story was written before Republic Act 7836 known as the Philippine Teachers Professionalization Act of 1994). At the start, Mabuti's empowerment and resilience were revealed when she still chose to have her child despite being aware that it was cultural taboo to get involved in an illicit relationship. Furthermore, she committed to being a support to students who are quietly suffering. This involvement indicates that she had grown better than her old self. Jordan (cited in Jefferies & Theron, 2018) posited that the "gender-stereotypical behaviors of women, such as maintaining relationships as nurturers and carers, enable women and girls culturally-aligned positive connections; being mutually-supportive of each other are the keys to their resilience." He further explained "that women and girls draw strength in positive connections to others and this fosters courage and self-esteem" (p.2).

The widow, Hsiang Ling, is another marginalized woman who tried her best to be resilient but was not given a second chance both by her society and fate as she died abandoned in the end. Hsiang Ling had experienced a lot of painful and traumatic challenges in her life but she still attempted to bounce back. She was empowered enough to run away from her in-law's household after her first husband died to escape their abuse and worked hard to feed herself until her mother-in-law forcibly brought her back to their village. She bore the pain of losing her second husband and son quietly as well as the rebuke and the insults of the people around her. Her silent endurance and resilience prove how she values herself and her freedom affirming the claim of Walsh (1996) that "resilience is residing within the individual, [with the family often dismissed as dysfunctional]."

Although Hsiang Ling had demonstrated her resilience amidst all her trials, Kabeer (2005) suggested that there must be alternatives - the ability to have chosen differently - to give disadvantaged people like her a better fighting chance

to survive. With the closest people turning away from her, it seems that death is thus her last hope of liberation as in the end she could no longer provide for her own needs with her deteriorating physical and mental health. After all, “[p]overty and disempowerment generally go hand in hand, because an inability to meet one's basic needs - and the resulting dependence on powerful others to do so - rules out the capacity for meaningful choice. This absence of choice is likely to affect ... intensifying the effects of poverty (Kabeer, 2015, p. 14).”

The main characters in the selected stories - Giribala, Jashoda, Draupadi, Mabuti, and Hsiang Ling - are all Asian who were deprived of their voices because of their being women by their respective societies validating Simone de Beauvoir's (in Devika, 2016) claim "that the history of humanity is a history of systematic attempts to silence the female" (p.37). Moreover, the "men had subjugated the women to their will, used them as a means of selfish gratification, to minister to their sexual pleasure, to be instrumental in promoting their comfort; but never desired to elevate the women to the ranks they were created to fill" (Grimke in Devika 2016). Indeed, the women characters were pressured and forced to succumb to the demands of the society and their men, but in the end, they proved resilient and displayed varying degrees of empowerment enduring all the physical, mental, and spiritual pains caused by their subjugation although some of them had to die to be completely liberated from their oppression.

Asian Women being Othered for their Gendered Roles

A woman in her role as a mother, daughter, or wife is viewed as a help whose usefulness and value are assessed through the services she can render given that she is not considered an autonomous being (de Beauvoir, 2011). Nowshin (2014) observed that "their sufferings have long been avoided and were not even considered as 'wrong' but the usual consequences of everyday life. Every woman does not belong to the upper class or face the fate of misery, or not every woman has the same tragedy to endure but many of them have similarities. They have similar stories of indifferent pronouncement and different situations."

When Giri decided to take total control of her life, the "people were so amazed, even stunned ... they were left speechless, perplexed by her guts to leave a husband." The villagers' reaction echoes people's essentializing of the prevailing gender inequities in society today as they benefit from [these] existing gender norms, and/or see these inequalities as natural and not open to change (UKAid, 2015). This gender inequity that clearly disadvantages women reinforces the notion that it is inherently divine for a woman to do what she does without questioning the one in authority (Kyomuhendo Bantebya et al., as cited in Marcus & Harper, 2014, p. 56).

Draupadi, the rebel woman, was feared by the army men who are abusing the marginalized group. She was considered very dangerous and must, therefore, be taken into custody, without discounting the possibility that she could be 'countered', which means she could still be killed even if she had surrendered. Her fearsome reputation grew as she rose to power with accounts of how firm and brave she is during encounters with her nemesis. Indeed, society can find it troubling and terrifying when a person, especially a woman going against the norm, has learned to stand her ground and to face adversities with dignity as exemplified by Draupadi.

Jashoda past her prime was totally othered by those she previously served well. She was cast aside by her own family and the Hadar children whom she wet nursed while they were babies. As pointed out by Kaur (2018), she “has been heartlessly misused by a wide range of people - her husband, her kids, her milk-children as well as by her master. There is nothing wonderful about her motherly figure and it is just a successful ploy to misuse her.” Susan Wadley (in Sharma, Pandit, Pathak, & Sharma, 2013) contextualizes Jashoda’s plight by observing that “the Indian woman is constantly made to adopt contradictory roles – the nurturing roles as daughters, mothers, wives, and as daughters-in-law, and the stereotyped role of a weak and helpless woman. The latter is fostered to ensure complete dependence on the male sex. Consequently, the constant movement from strength to passivity leads to enormous stress placing the woman's mental health under constant threat.” Jashoda was not able to overcome her deteriorating physical health despite her resilience and her desire to be saved from the excruciating pain brought by breast cancer. Sadly, there was also no one who offered her even just emotional support while she was in pain.

In the case of Mabuti, her othering is in the form of her apparent voluntary isolation from society constantly conscious of the fact that she if her secret is revealed, she would be shunned by people around her or worse, she would certainly lose her job given that her “sin” – to have an affair with a married man – is one of the biggest taboos in Philippine society.

Finally, Hsiang Ling as a broken woman is now othered by her Chinese community, viewing her as a nuisance. When she was in her prime and was deemed very useful, she was deeply valued by her employer and praised by people around her for her diligence but when she started having mental lapses, her employer also started treating her as if she were a useless invalid. People consciously made fun of her but she remained stoic through it all, choosing to just “stare vacantly and say nothing.”

Ungar posited in Verma (2015) that ‘where there is potential for exposure to significant adversity, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to psychological, social, cultural, and physical resources that build and sustain their wellbeing, and their individual and collective capacity to negotiate for these resources to be provided and experienced in culturally meaning ways. These dual processes of navigation and negotiation are important. They emphasize that individuals engage in processes that demonstrate resilience when they take advantage of the opportunities they have and do better when they exercise influence over what those opportunities are and how they are provided.’ The five women have experienced significant adversities and all of them have tried to bounce back and establish a meaningful life, but their imagined communities are not supportive and sympathetic seeing them as nothing but another body to provide the whims of those in power, hence, they are forcibly silenced by society’s apathy and inability to lend support.

Giribala, Draupadi, and Mabuti continued to be resilient despite the odds. They have learned to take their space in the universe and have fought for it the best way they could. While Jashoda and Hsiang Ling both fought to the last of their breath, they found their peace by revealing the monstrosities of the communities that ought to have supported them. Indeed, the five women's values reflect the premise of Morton in Roddannavar (2016) that “labor is a sexual

partition between productive labor (masculine) and reproductive labor (feminine) based on the essential notion of sexual difference. This sexual variance of labor has orthodoxly devalued and ignored the material specificity of women's domestic work, including childbirth and mothering because these forms of work do not directly produce exchange value or money." Thus, the sacrifices the women have committed are devalued.

Conclusion

Asian womanhood as could be gleaned from the analyzed narratives and stories is a gendered state embodied in the common roles assigned to women anywhere in Asia: daughter, mother, and wife. In this context, the oppression of women is often brought about by the expectations of their naturalized self-extension - a quiet and submissive daughter, wife or mother whose life revolves around her family and so receives very little to no attention from her community. Such oppression is often dismissed as a purely domestic and personal affair so there is no need for community intervention despite obvious signs that women in the community are being subjected to various forms of abuse by their family. Thus, a woman who decides to take matters in her own hands by leaving her home, rebelling, questioning her circumstances is generally frowned upon by the Asian society. As seen in the representative works, not all of the protagonists overcome their tragic lives in the end; nonetheless, all five women manage to convey that the concept of womanhood still prevailing in Asia, particularly in China, India, and the Philippines, today is actually the cause of many women's continuing oppression and difficult life.

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EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM STRATEGIES IN DONALD TRUMP'S SPEECH AT SOTU 2020

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Abstract

In this article, the researchers aim to explain the types and functions of the use of expressions of euphemism and dysphemism in President Donald Trump's speeches at the State of the Union Address 2020. With Donald Trump's controversial background and many of his statements attracting attention, researchers assume that Trump uses many expressions of euphemism and dysphemism in his speech. This study uses Allan's and Burridge's (1991) theoretical framework on euphemism and dysphemism as the base for data analysis. This study's data were taken from Trump's utterances in his speech. This study uses a qualitative descriptive research method to carry out in-depth analysis. The results of this study indicate that there are eight types of euphemistic expressions, five types of dysphemism, eight functions of euphemisms, and six functions of dysphemism.

Keywords: euphemism, dysphemism, political speech

Introduction

Politics is one of the main issues discussed by the public and the media. Indeed, it happens because the actions of each person can be motivated by certain political influences. Political figures themselves are often in the spotlight of the public and journalists for their political activities and discourses. Their statements have been the subject of intense discussion by linguists primarily related to their political utterances. The statements they express in the public domain then come to the fore as a discourse. Discourse itself means a set of sentences or harmonious sayings that connect proportions, sentences to one another and refers to certain goals (Bahri, 2009).

When we talk about discourse, the first thing that can be observed about political speech is the choice of politicians' words. According to van Dijk (2000), word choice is closely related to the "us vs. them" strategy, manifested by euphemistic and dysphemistic language styles. These two terms are usually used to indicate who belongs to a group and who is considered "the other." Euphemism is a term to describe the use of certain beautiful words to give a subtle impression

in a text context as a substitute for an offensive or unpleasant expression. (KBBI, 2001)

Euphemism is described as an attempt to avoid harsh and offensive words by using words that have a more positive connotation so as not to cause violations of social norms. Using euphemisms, the speaker can criticize and convey his opinion to the interlocutor safely and without offending. In this sense, euphemisms are closely related to the principle of politeness in language. However, it is also used in political processes with certain discourse themes to achieve individual goals (Vedung, 1982; Bahri, 2009).

According to Allan and Burridge (1991), dysphemism itself is a word or phrase with a painful or disturbing connotation for someone who is being spoken to and for those who listen to the conversation. Besides, Allan and Burridge (1991) state that dysphemism is an expression that has a semantically negative connotation and is chosen by the speaker to show his negative assessment of something or someone so that negative nuances appear. Zollner (1997) defines dysphemism as an expression used to indicate something taboo, rude, inappropriate, or of low value. Due to its negative connotations, the use of dysphemism is largely based on propaganda and oppositional discourse.

The use of euphemistic and dysphemistic language styles by politicians can then represent their ideology. Van Dijk (2006) gave an example that politicians with anti-communist ideologies usually tend to use dysphemism in their speeches to show that communism is a bad ideology, and these politicians will use euphemism when they talk about bad things related to their ideology so that these bad things seem to be more neutral, even less bad in meaning. This makes researchers interested in studying euphemisms and dysphemisms in the political discourse of state leaders or presidents whose every statement is often in the public spotlight. Therefore, researchers decided to examine the political speech by the United States president, Donald Trump. The reason for choosing this figure is because of the controversy that he often carries out. Many studies have examined Trump's discourse, especially in uncovering his ideology to get support and sympathy from the public.

In this description, previous research will be explained and categorized according to its similarities, such as research subjects, theories, or topics studied, and others. In several previous studies, some researchers examined the use of euphemisms and dysphemisms to focus on political speech research. As the research conducted by Zang and Lei (2019) about the use of euphemism in Donald Trump speeches from 2018 to 2019. Here they use the conceptual metonymy theory and conceptual metaphor. In the results, it is stated that there are three things behind the use of euphemisms, namely concealment, avoidance, and politeness.

Furthermore, Olimat (2020) researched the expression of the dysphemism Trump used in his speech about Covid-19. In his research, he combines three theories, namely Critical Discourse Analysis by Van Dijk (1997), Allan and Burridge's theory (2006), with his concept of dysphemism, and the conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). In the results of his research, he stated that Trump is someone who has linguistic reliability in persuading, influencing, and even turning the listener's mind with his utterances when making political speeches.

The following studies use the same theory based on Allan and Burrige's theories. The research includes Heryana's (2019) research, which examines euphemisms and dysphemism in the news media to uncover their form, meaning, and function. Furthermore, Laili (2012), with her eco-linguistic research, also focuses on finding ways, types, and functions. Other previous studies examine euphemism and dysphemism, which are not mentioned. However, a study like this research was conducted by Rachman (2016). He examines President Jokowi's use of euphemisms with a focus on discussing types and styles. Like this research, he also uses Allan & Burrige's theory in his research.

The choice of Allan and Burrige's theory in this study is because this theory explains the types of euphemisms and dysphemisms more carefully and systematically. From the explanation above, this study conducts further analysis and is different from previous studies. This research will analyze the use of euphemism and dysphemism expressions used by President Donald Trump, especially in terms of types and functions. According to researchers, the selection of objects and topics is interesting and different from previous studies. This state speech was held shortly after the tragedy of the overthrow of Iranian general Qassim Soleimani by a US military attack on President Donald Trump's orders. Assuming that this speech is also motivated by the ideology and power of Donald Trump and because his speech is related to political and social issues, this research uses Allan and Burrige's theory. It integrates it with Van Dijk's theory of discourse analysis to interpret functions to obtain more critical analysis results.

Several assumptions have also motivated researchers to formulate several problems related to Donald Trump's political speeches. The first assumption is that the researcher believes that the text of Donald Trump's speech, especially on February 4, 2020, has many diction and speech elements that contain elements of euphemism and dysphemism, as mentioned above regarding some examples taken from his speech. This suspicion is also reinforced because Donald Trump's background is known for his narcissism and arrogance (Enns, 2018). The next assumption is that the diction which contains euphemisms and dysphemism here does have a certain function by the context of the text used in the state speech. The final assumption is that several types of euphemisms and dysphemisms emerged in his speech to congress. This assumption also departs from the statement of Rahardjo (2002), which states that the use of elements of euphemism and dysphemism by political figures can have certain goals beyond reality. Therefore, the researcher aims to conduct this research to reveal the types and functions of the euphemisms and dysphemisms that Donald Trump uttered in his speech and to show the facts that might be contained in his speech.

Method

This research on euphemisms and dysphemism uses descriptive qualitative methods. It is shown to analyze and describe the data so that the results obtained emphasize more on meaning. The data is taken from President Donald Trump's speech at the 2020 State of the Union Address congressional meeting, in the form of words or phrases or clauses or sentences. In analyzing the data, the researchers used several steps following Allan's and Burrige's (1991) theory. It is described briefly, concisely, and sequential from beginning to end so that the reader quickly understands it.

Findings and Discussion

Types and Functions of Euphemism

In this study, the researchers found eight types of expressions using euphemisms: circumlocution, hyperbole, figurative expression, abbreviation, one for one substitution, understatement, jargon, and synesthesia. Trump's use of euphemism expressions in his speech is divided into several functions: delivering information, quipping, exaggerating, showing respect, criticizing, avoiding words that stir up panic or anxiety, giving advice, avoiding taboo things, and showing concern or sympathy. The full explanation is below, along with examples of the data.

Circumlocution

Circumlocution is the use of several words that are longer and more indirect (Laili, 2012). Circumlocution usually takes the form of using the word in a circle, not getting to the point of the conversation, and adding a few words or other terms to make it longer. The following is an example of a unit of euphemism in the form of circumlocution found in the data.

Data 1

*Under the **last administration**, more than 10 million people were added to the food stamps rolls. Under my administration, 7 million Americans have come off of food stamps, and 10 million people have been lifted off of welfare. In 8 years under the **last administration**, over 300.000 working-age people dropped out of the workforce. In just 3 years of my administration, 3,5 million working-age people have joined the workforce.*

In this expression, Trump uses the phrase “last administration” which refers to Obama's administration. The choice of the “last administration” phrase is deemed more refined and can be understood by listeners even though it only implies the meaning. In this context, this expression serves as a satire because the statement contains a comparison of Trump's achievements during his presidency. The second sentence reinforces this reason in the statement above, which states, “in 8 years under the last administration,” which directly shows that the “last administration” here is intended to insult Barack Obama's achievements in the previous administration, whose achievements were much lower than Trump's. Trump tried to make small talk by indirectly mentioning the satirical party so that the expression he made could sound smoother and nicer.

Hyperbole

According to Allan and Burridge (1991), Hyperbole is an expression that exaggerates to express a real situation. This expression is commonly used in everyday life to emphasize and exaggerate a statement. It aims to illustrate a particular situation to the listener. The following are some examples of a hyperbolic euphemistic expression unit found in the data.

Data 2

*I am thrilled to report to you tonight that our economy is the best it has ever been. Our military is completely rebuilt **with its power being unmatched anywhere in the***

world, and it is not even close. *Our borders are secure. Our families are flourishing. Our values are renewed. Our pride is restored. And for all these 35 reasons, I say to the people of our great country, and to the Members of Congress before me : the State of our Union is stronger than ever before!*

Hyperbolic expressions intend to exaggerate a situation to refine the speaker's meaning. For example, in the first expression, "with its power being unmatched anywhere in the world, and it is not even close", here is an exaggeration in the American military's context occupying the highest position in the world with the most muscular military power. Trump is trying to emphasize that no other country can match American power. This expression's function is also to exaggerate because seen from its use in that context, and Trump is trying to suggest that America is truly a powerful country. He chose not to directly express it with the phrase "powerful military" or "strongest military" but made small talk by giving more emphasis to make his expression stronger.

Figurative Expression

A figurative expression is a form of expression by symbolizing, likening, or decorating something with another form (Heryana, 2019). Some forms of euphemisms in Donald Trump's speech that use figurative expressions are as follows.

Data 3

*Almost every American family knows the pain when a loved one is diagnosed with a serious illness. Here tonight is a special man, someone beloved by millions of americans who just received a stage 4 advanced cancer diagnosis. This is not good news, but what is good news is that he is the **greatest fighter and winner** that you 37 will ever meet. Rush Limbaugh: thank you for your decades of tireless devotion to our country. Rush, in recognition of all that you have done for our nation, the millions of people a day that you speak to and inspire, and all of the incredible work that you have done for charity, I am proud to announce tonight that you will be receiving our country's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. I will now ask the First Lady of the United States to please stand and present you with the honor. Rush, Kathryn, congratulations.*

The expression "greatest fighter and winner" here is an example of using euphemism in the form of a metaphor. Trump chose to use the word "fighter", which is synonymous with "fighters sent to fight" or "fight crime", and the word "winner", which is synonymous with "the person who wins the competition", refers to Rush Limbaugh, who managed to recover from terminal cancer. This context's expression serves to provide sympathy and show the speaker's respect for the intended person. Trump chose to use the expression "greatest fighter and winner" instead of a man who has successfully recovered from his cancer because the words "fighter" and "winner" here have a more subtle meaning and impression for Trump to show his appreciation for Rush, who has struggled hard against his disease and which ultimately resulted in healing for him.

Abbreviation

An abbreviation is a shortening of a word to several shorter letters but not a whole word (Laili, 2012). The abbreviations in the units of expression of euphemisms are meant to protect the feelings of others. The following is an example of a euphemism unit in the form of an abbreviation in the data.

Data 4

*We have launched ambitious new initiatives to substantially improve care for Americans with kidney disease, Alzheimer's and those struggling with mental health challenges. And because the Congress funded my request, we are pursuing new cures for childhood cancer, and we will eradicate the **AIDS** epidemic in Amerika by the end of the decade.*

The word "AIDS" above is a form of euphemism expression. Nevertheless, the word AIDS here is also included in an acronym because it is in the form of a complete word which comes from the combination of the initials of several words, namely Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (the final stage of HIV disease which is a disease that attacks the immune system and until now there has been no cure for it). AIDS itself is one of the deadliest diseases in America; as Trump stated, this disease has become an epidemic in America. Trump chose to name the disease in an acronym to avoid being taboo and intimidating for listeners. Therefore, the function of euphemistic expressions in this context is to avoid words that cause a scare, fear, or disgust.

One for One Substitution

According to Allan's and Burridge's (1991) opinion, one for one substitution means one word that has the same meaning, but is more subtle, and can replace one other word that is coarser. The following is an example of a unit of euphemism in the form of one word to replace one other word (one for one substitution) found in the data.

Data 5

*As we restore American leadership throughout the world, we are once again standing up for freedom in our **hemisphere**. That is why my administration reserved the falling policies of the previous administration on Cuba. We are supporting the hopes of Cuban, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans to restore democracy. The United States is leading a 59-nation diplomatic coalition against the socialist dictator of Venezuela, Nicholas Maduro.*

Substituting one word for another is intended to smooth the speaker's words. The "hemisphere" here is used to refine the words "nation" or "countries". In this context, the word "hemisphere" refers to the countries under the leadership of the United States, especially countries in the hemisphere of the American continent. In that sentence, Trump tried to provide information that the American leadership had returned and had brought back independence to the countries he led. On the other hand, this expression is used to hide the fact that there are still some areas in America which, according to Trump, are not yet independent like Venezuela because a dictator leads them. Nevertheless, to cover this fact, Trump gives a

subtle impression with “we are once again standing up for freedom in our hemisphere”.

Understatement

Understatement is a word meaning that is separated from the meaning of the original word to be humble (Rachman, 2016). The following are examples of euphemistic expressions in the form of understatement found in the data.

Data 5

*As we restore American **leadership** throughout the world, we are once again standing up for freedom in our hemisphere. That is why my administration reserved the falling policies of the previous administration on Cuba. We are supporting the hopes of Cuban, Nicaraguans, and Venezuelans to restore democracy. The United States is leading a 59-nation diplomatic coalition against the socialist dictator of Venezuela, Nicholas Maduro.*

The meaning of leadership is leading a group or organization, but here it implies domination. It means that Trump has indirectly stated that America's domination of countries in the world has returned. It could happen because Trump's background, who was previously a businessman, often intersects with the term leadership because this term itself is more closely related to the world of economy and business. This expression's function in context is to hide the fact that the real point of leadership here is that America's domination is recovering. Not to overtly state this, Trump chose to be humble and use the word “leadership” to avoid his ambitious impression.

Synesthesia

Synesthesia is a change in meaning caused by an exchange of responses between two different senses (Laili, 2012). The following is an example of a dysphemistic expression unit in synesthesia found in the data.

Data 6

*Days later, the criminal alien went on a gruesome spree of deadly violence. He viciously shot one man going about his daily work, he approached woman sitting in her car and shot her in the arm and the chest. He walked into a convenience store and wildly fires his weapon. He hijacked a truck and smashed into vehicles, critically injuring innocent victims. One of his bloody rampage was a 51-year-old American named Rocky Jones. Rocky was at a gas station when this vile criminal fired eight bullets at him from close range, murdering him in cold blood. Rocky left behind a devoted family, including his brothers who loved him more anything. One of his grieving brothers is here with us tonight. Jody, would you please stand? Jody, **our hearts weep for your loss**, and we will not rest until you have justice.*

The use of the synesthesia expression is shown by the expression “our hearts weep for your loss”. The word “weep” here is used for the sense of the eye, but Trump puts it on the heart, which incidentally cannot cry. It is intended to provide a sympathetic effect on the sadness felt by the shooting victims' families. It is an example of euphemistic expressions that serve to show sympathy and concern. Using the word 'weep' to heart instead of eyes means that they are saddened and

condoled for the incident. So it does not have to show that the eyes are crying to show sadness. From this, it proves that Trump uses euphemistic expressions to show sympathy and sorrow.

Jargon

A technical term or jargon is the use of words that have the same meaning but differ in form (Laili, 2012). Examples are as in the data below.

Data 7

*My administration is also strongly defending our national security and combating radical Islamic terrorism. Last week, I announced a groundbreaking plan for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. Recognizing that all past attempts have failed, we must be determined and creative in order to **stabilize** the region and give millions of young people the change to realize a better future.*

In this context, Trump uses the word “stabilize” to express that he plans to maintain state security and fight radical terrorists, with a peace plan between Israel and Palestine. The use of the word “stabilize” itself here serves to hide the facts. Before this speech, Trump stated that Hamas, an Islamic defense organization to liberate Palestine from Israel's shackles, is a terrorist group, and the United States itself is known to be allied with Israel. Moreover, the Trump administration has withdrawn all forms of assistance to the Palestinian state and its citizens due to Trump's frustration because Palestine refuses peace dialogue with Israel. From this, Trump is only siding with one side, and he is trying to look good by using the word stabilize rather than reconcile. In other words, it could be that stabilization here actually means stabilizing Israel's victory over Palestine.

The Types and Functions of Dysphemism

In this study, the researchers found five types of dysphemism: hyperbole, jargon, idiom, one for one substitution, and circumlocution. It proves that in his speech, Trump uses expressions of dysphemism to voice things that are not pleasing to his heart. In his speech, Trump's use of dysphemistic expressions is divided into several functions, including exaggerating, criticizing, giving information, insulting, ridicule or sharpening the insult, quipping, showing disagreement, and denoting dislike. A full description is set out below.

Hyperbole

According to Allan and Burridge (1991), hyperbole is an expression that contains exaggerated statements with a specific purpose. The following is an example of a hyperbolic dysphemistic expression unit found in the data.

Data 8

*One of the single biggest promises I made to American people was to replace the **disastrous NAFTA trade deal**. In fact, unfair trade is perhaps the single biggest reason that I decided run for President. Following NAFTA's adoption, our Nation lost one in four manufacturing jobs. Many politicians came and went, pledging to change or to replace NAFTA, only to do absolutely nothing. But unlike so many who came before me, I keep my promises. Six days ago, I replaced NAFTA and signed the brand new United-States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) into law.*

The context in this example is that Trump shows his disappointment with the NAFTA agreement system, which is no longer profitable for the United States. He expressed his dislike of using the phrase "disastrous NAFTA trade deal." Trump is trying to exert pressure that the agreement is indeed catastrophic for America. It is exaggerated because Trump has chosen to use a harsher word, namely "disastrous", instead of using more subtle expressions such as "adverse agreement" or "irrelevant agreements". This expression shows displeasure because Trump directly shows his feelings towards the agreement system, which he feels is more beneficial to other countries. For such reasons, it is no wonder that Trump has criticized the pursuit of new reforms by forging new agreements. With his success in making this new agreement, Trump indirectly shows that he has great power in his power.

Jargon

The use of technical terms (jargon) is a word that has the same meaning but has different forms (Rachman, 2016). The following is an example of a unit of dysphemistic expression in the form of the use of technical terms (jargon) found in the data.

Data 9

*The United States is leading a 59-nation diplomatic coalition against the socialist dictator of Venezuela, Nicolas Maduro. Maduro is an **illegitimate ruler**, a tyrant who brutalizes his people. Cut Maduro's grip of tyranny will be smashed and broken. The second example is the illegitimate ruler, where the ruler should give a positive impression because he has a position as a country's leader.*

In this context, it is stated that Maduro is no longer the legitimate president of Venezuela because Juan Guaido has legally and legally replaced him. Nevertheless, Maduro won the presidential election for the second time, but Trump disagrees more and recognizes the legislative member Guaido as the official leader. From this, it can be concluded that the function of the expression of dysphemism in this context is to show dislike and disapproval for something that is not pleasing to the speaker's heart.

One for One Substitution

One word with the same meaning but is coarser can substitute for another word, which is more subtle (Laili, 2012). Replacement of harsher expressions is done to sharpen the meaning of the speaker. The following is an example of a one-for one substitution expression unit found in the data.

Data 9

*The United States is leading a 59-nation diplomatic coalition against the socialist dictator of Venezuela, Nicolas Maduro. Maduro is an illegitimate ruler, a **tyrant** who brutalizes his people. But Maduro's grip of tyranny will be smashed and broken.*

A speaker commonly uses the replacement of one word with another to the abrasiveness of an utterance. As in the example data 9, there is the word "tyrant". Tyrant means a leader who has full power to humiliate his people cruelly. Trump

gave Maduro the title to give the impression of being more ruthless than the dictator. Furthermore, the expression of dysphemism in the tyrant expression shows dislike. Tyrant is a term that refers to a country leader who has full power over its people to rule viciously and cruelly. In hindsight, Maduro was Venezuela's legitimate leader in the presidential election, and he has served for his second term since 2019. However, because in his leadership, Maduro was judged incompetent for bringing his country into decline; perhaps, Trump showed his displeasure by calling him a tyrant. Moreover, this is a form of insulting, vilifying, and sharpening the insult towards Maduro. Trump has previously called Maduro a dictator, but he has sharpened his insults by choosing the tyrant.

Idiom

An idiom is an expression that functions as a unit whose meaning will be lost if the phrase is separated (Laili, 2012). Below is an example of data using idioms.

Data 10

*Days later, the criminal alien went on a gruesome spree of deadly violence. He viciously shot one man going about his daily work, he approached woman sitting in her car and shot her in the arm and the chest. He walked into a convenience store and wildly fires his weapon. He hijacked a truck and smashed into vehicles, critically injuring innocent victims. One of his bloody rampage was a 51-year-old American named Rocky Jones. Rocky was at a gas station when this vile criminal fired eight bullets at him from close range, murdering him in **cold blood**. Rocky left behind a devoted family, including his brothers who loved him more anything. One of his grieving brothers is here with us tonight. Jody, would you please stand? Jody, our hearts weep for your loss, and we will not rest until you have justice.*

The first use of idiom expressions in the data above is “cold blood”. Its literal meaning cannot take as its phase because it will give a different meaning from the speaker's meaning. In this context, Trump mentioned that the foreign shooter had killed Rocky cruelly and heartlessly. By using the idiomatic expression cold blood, Trump gave an even bigger negative impression. Trump did not choose to use another idiom because it is closely related to heinous things like murder. The function of this dysphemism expression is to convey information about the chronology of how the crime occurred. By adding idiomatic spices, Trump wanted to give a more dramatic impression with what he said.

Circumlocution

Based on Rachman's (2016) opinion, circumlocution is the use of several words that are longer and more indirect. Circumlocution usually takes the form of using the word in a circle, not getting to the point of the conversation, and adding a few words or other terms to make it longer. The following are examples of the unit of expression for dysphemism in the form of circumlocution found in the data.

Data 11

One of the single biggest promises I made to American people was to replace the disastrous NAFTA trade deal. In fact, unfair trade is perhaps the single biggest reason that I decided run for President. Following NAFTA's adoption, our Nation

*lost one in four manufacturing jobs. **Many politicians came and went, pledging to change or to replace NAFTA, only to do absolutely nothing.** But unlike so many who came before me, I keep my promises. Six days ago, I replaced NAFTA and signed the brand new United-States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (UMSCA) into law.*

The expression dysphemism in the form of circumlocution in the above expression essentially shows that many politicians have failed to fix NAFTA. Trump uses this expression to make small talk and a form of criticism of the politician's performance. The sentence stated that 'many politicians came and went, pledging to change or replace NAFTA, only to do absolutely nothing' to sharply criticize the NAFTA agreement's problem, which was no longer profitable. Speakers criticized the performance of politicians who failed in fixing them, and the speakers also gave the impression that they emphasized the criticism more by 'only to do absolutely nothing,' which means that they had no progress in performance.

Discussion

After obtaining the data and analysis related to the research questions in this study, in this session, the researchers describe a more in-depth discussion of the findings on the theories used in this study to provide more in-depth explanations to strengthen the answers to the research questions. Besides that, the researchers also explain the interpretation of the relationship between the use of expressions of euphemism and dysphemism with Donald Trump's political speech in this study.

In this study, as mentioned in chapters 1 and 2, the theory used in this study is the theory of euphemism and dysphemism by Allan and Burridge, which states that there are sixteen types of expressions of the two terms. After analyzing, the researchers finally found eight types of euphemistic expressions used in Donald Trump's speech this time: circumlocution, hyperbole, figurative expressions, abbreviations, one for one substitution, understatement, jargon, and synesthesia. From the results of this study, the researchers got a new expression, namely synesthesia, from the sixteen types of Allan and Burridge theory. Still, it was also found in Elisa's 2012 study. After that, for the findings of the type of dysphemism expression, the researchers found five types of dysphemism: hyperbole, jargon, idiom, one for one substitution, and circumlocution. These belong to the sixteen types of euphemisms and dysphemisms of the leading theory.

After conducting this research, the researchers concluded that the current study results have several similarities and differences with the theory and previous research that became the reference in this study. As stated in Allan and Burridge theory, which is the basis of this research theory, there are sixteen types of euphemisms and dysphemisms. After doing research, the results here were only found in as many as eight species. The same thing happened in several previous studies whose results did not mention sixteen species. In this regard, there are two studies that both examine types of euphemisms and dysphemisms. Like Elisa's (2012) research, her research found 13 types of euphemisms and 13 types of dysphemism in the topic of her environmental discourse. Rachman's (2016) research on euphemisms only found six types of the sixteen types mentioned in

theory. It is proven that the research objects are different, so the results obtained are also different.

Furthermore, regarding the function of using euphemism and dysphemism expressions, according to Allan and Burridge's theory, there are seven types of euphemism functions, and there are four functions of dysphemism (in Kurniawati, 2016: p53). This study found eight euphemism expression functions and six dysphemistic expression functions. Of course, these results are different compared to the results of previous studies. Some of it is due to the diversity of theories and approaches used, resulting in varied research results. Then, further discussion will discuss the relationship between the use of expressions of euphemism and dysphemism with the political speech made by Donald Trump at the State of the Union Address 2020.

As mentioned above, eight types of euphemisms and five types of dysphemism have been found. Of the eight types of euphemisms used, Donald Trump tends to use the hyperbole type often. In its context, this euphemism is often used when Donald Trump discusses his performance and achievements. Besides that, it is also used in discussing matters relating to America and its people. Furthermore, of the five types of dysphemism found, in their use, it was found that Trump used more one for one substitution. This usage is often found when Trump discusses political opponents or parties that it considers not supporting and is labelled as enemies. The intensity of using words that impress badly shows that Trump is the type of person who is easy to tease and shows his dislike openly through his utterances.

In conclusion, the researchers can conclude that several previous studies with the latest research have many differences and similarities. The use of the same theory can also affect the similarity of the researchers' interpretation in examining each object. However, with different approaches and different objectivity, it also causes different results but is related and complements each other's shortcomings. After conducting this research, the researcher can determine why the speakers use euphemism and dysphemism expressions in their speech and statements.

Conclusion

After conducting this research, it can be concluded that President Donald Trump was proven to use expressions of euphemism and dysphemism in his speech. The researchers concluded that the elements of euphemism and dysphemism are closely related to politics with the discovery of eight types of euphemism and five types of dysphemism and the function behind the use of these expressions. As explained in the discussion section, President Donald Trump uses more euphemism in expressing things related to himself and any other things related to the U.S. government. Whereas when talking about what he deems to be a crime or something that he considers threatening and not commendable, he will use the expression dysphemism. It can be seen from this that President Donald Trump is the type of person who is good at expressing himself through words and speech because it is supported by his background, who is a businessman and a man with much experience as he is also involved in U.S. politics.

The conclusion above shows that linguistic elements, euphemism and dysphemism, cannot be separated from every person's utterances, both politicians and ordinary people. There is a vital function behind their use, either to avoid

taboo or wrong words or as a form of self-expression when we meet things that unmatch with something that we expect. As readers, we must be more sensitive to someone's words because they may indirectly try to message through their words, whether subtle or harsh, as not all conditions can support them.

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FOR FEAR OF ISLAMIC LOOKS: A REFLECTION OF DISPLACED “SELVES” WITHIN ISLAM

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Abstract

The study discusses a triggering issue of those Indonesian Muslims who frequently feel uneasy to socialize with other Muslims with Arabic looks to neutralize Islamic brotherhood in the Indonesian context of unity in diversity. A survey was made available online for over three months to get public responses concerning the issue. Sixty-two responses were collected for further analysis. Findings of the study revealed that most of the respondents expressed fear of Arabic looks because of terrorism-related activities resulting in deep personal hates. Fears were also felt due to the image that such a group of Muslims have deteriorated the local cultures of Indonesian origins. Still, others expressed fears of those distinctive individual Muslims because of a frequent political demonstration staged by those types of Muslims against engineered issues caused by discrepancies in political views to terminate the President. The authors offer recommendations for those with such Islam phobia to learn more about the truth of Islam from distinguished clerics from recognized Muslim organizations or to read Islamic literature to create peace of mind amid the wrong mindset about Islam, and finally to put aside egocentrism in the spirit of unity in diversity, only to fight against radicalism.

Keywords: Islamic looks, egocentrism, radicalism

Introduction

Historically, Islam started to grow in Indonesia (Nusantara) near the end of the Majapahit Kingdom of King Brawijaya V whose son, Raden Patah founded the first Islamic Kingdom of Demak (Mussadun, 2019). Governance of Islamic Kingdom was strictly practised under of the *Wali Sanga*—nine charismatic clerks whose main duty was to be responsible for the spread of Islam across the Indonesian archipelago while to serve as the members of the advisory board to Raden Patah, King of Demak Islamic Kingdom (1500-1518). Not only did the King perform in state-related duties but also act as a religious leader (Zamharir et al., 2020)

Except for Sunan Kalijaga, the other eight clerks were dressed like Arabians—robes, turbans, beards, beads, and any other thing related to Arabic attributes. Sunan Kalijaga maintained to wear black traditional clothes he created by himself similar to Chinese traditional clothes. In Indonesian movies about the struggle of Islam, the *Walisanga* were characterized as being powerful and charismatic individuals with Islam-based magical strengths. They were good at self-defence and traditional medical practices. Each Wali had special expertise, for example, Sunan Giri was an expert of making Gamelan music instrument aimed to promote Islam (Rahayu et al., 2020) While laymen were characterized as marginalized—wearing only shorts and headgears without having Islam-based magical power.

The *Walisanga* were highly respected due to their wisdom and superpower—being viewed as those close to Allah, the Almighty. This group of religious clerks and their communities were referred to as the first group of Islamic history in Indonesia called traditional history, characterized by religious and magical aspects (Fatiyah and Hariyanto, 2018). This group of clerks employed local wisdom in the spread of Islam—evolutionary than revolutionary (Kasdi, 2017), assimilating the local cultures with Islamic teaching. Therefore, laypeople behaviorally practice traditional rituals but with the Arabic (Islamic) prayers (Fatiyah and Hariyanto, 2018) and sometimes a mixed language between a local language and Arabic to produce new yet powerful prayers (mantra). Concerning the legal practice, such as *Shalat*, a five-time-a-day standard of Islamic ritual, Javanese Muslims, for example, maintain the original rituals. In other words, they maintain the 5 pillars of Islam.

In this respect, a new term “Islam Kejawen” (Javanese Islam) was coined to accommodate their religious practices. It is sometimes called “Islam Abangan” (Reddish Islam) which is, somehow, related to Clerks, Sunan Kalijaga or Syekh Siti Jenar (Susilo and Syato, 2016).

To accommodate the practices of ‘naturalized’ or traditional Islam, an Islamic group or mass organization called “Nahdatul Ulama” (NU for short) was established by K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah and K.H. Hasyim Asy’ari, on January 31, 1926, in Surabaya, East Java to preserve traditional Islam, institutionalized in Pesantren (Islamic Boarding Schools). It had something to do with preparing Indonesia for its independence, for example by “banning the Muslim youths from entering the Dutch military service, prohibiting the Muslims from supporting the Dutch army, and rejecting the Dutch aid which was offered to the Nahdlatul Ulama’s madrasas” (Ismail, 2011). The NU Santris (students/disciples) have been so far those of the grassroots even though at the moment one of them managed to get the second-highest position in the government of the Republic of Indonesia, the Vice President, KH. Ma’ruf Amin. Some others have got several good positions in both the private and governmental sectors.

However, in Indonesia there was also a group of Muslims who initiated a positive movement or renaissance (if it may be called so) or modernism, to return to the original teaching of Prophet Mohammad (Peace be upon him). In 1912, it was KH. Ahmad Dahlan who established a mass organization of Muslim accredited by the Sultanate and Dutch colonial government—14 years before the establishment of NU. His mission was to modernize Islam. Thus, Muhammadiyah

was often referred to as a modernist Islamic and educational organization to synergize with its struggles (Kim, 2010).

Viewed from its legal standing, NU stood against Dutch colonial government while Muhammadiyah was accredited by the Sultanate and Dutch colonial government. It was good for the Dutch to be able to divide Muslims into these two big mass organization. However, it remains a history leading to the independence of Indonesia. The authors are pretty sure they contributed a lot to the achievement of Indonesia's independence in their ways (Ismail, 2011). There used to be discrepancies between these two big mass organizations in political views, religious practices. Extremely speaking, in one neighbourhood, there was one mosque for Muhammadiyah followers and another mosque for NU practitioners. But now, they could cooperate in some ways under the spirit of unity in diversity as seen in their cooperation against radicalism in Jember (Amal, 2016). In other words, these two mass Muslim organizations have similar grounds for 'hand in hand' developing the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

NU and Muhammadiyah along with their sympathizers, including non-Muslim groups of people have now been fighting against radicalism, to be exact Islamic radicalism (Fealy, 2004). The role of women was important in anti-radicalism movement as revealed in Cirebon assuming that women were most often used as perpetrators with a feminine approach. It was argued that women should be positioned distinctively high by developing religious literacy, changing the paradigm of communication, reviewing and updating learning curriculum, and socializing with other religious groups and setting institutional net-working (Gumiandari and Nafi'a, 2020).

However, due to the complexity of Muslims, the program found it hard to implement. Some individuals, assumed to be the "radical" people themselves, started questioning the definition of 'radicalism'. The government, religion ministry, found it complicated to answer such a 'misleading' question. The progress of anti-radicalism movement seems to be stagnant; moreover within which the global COVID-19 pandemic broke out (Sohrabi et al., 2020) to shake the whole world without exception.

It was argued that to identify radicalism acts was not difficult at all (Sirry, 2020). Upon the fall of Soeharto in 1998, particular groups of radical Muslims described as 'white-robed and turbaned Muslim militiamen' have found a rather smooth path for their struggle for immediate implementation of Syari'ah law. They simply staged a political demonstration in front of the Parliament, shouting "Allahu Akbar!!" explicitly implying "God, the Greatest", but implicitly meaning "Kill, Go to hell, *Kafir*.", and any other form of hate speech. Another example as set out by Mietzner was that Arab-Indonesian Islamic "clerics" were threatening to "sweep" foreigners from Indonesia (Mietzner, 2018). Other cases, such as sweeping places of interests, restaurants open on Ramadhan day-time, have been around up to now to be exact during the era of reformation (Adi et al., 2019).

In Jokowi's administration, both in his first and second half of presidency, radicalism has been everywhere—off-line through political demonstrations performed by 212 Alumni, financed by anonymous opposing elites, hate speeches by particular clerks and online through producing hoaxes and hate speeches in social media. The government's tolerance to these "democratic" activities had been wrongly translated as if they could have done anything freely without rules.

We would not like to mention any names of groups or individuals to protect their privacy.

The problem to which we would like to respond is the silent majority consisting of people under pressure, in fear of Islamic looks who are now *marginalized* as foreigners in their motherland.

Method

A survey ([Google Form](#)) in *Bahasa Indonesia* was made available online for over four hours to get public responses regarding the issue of radicalism in the Indonesian context. Fifty-five to fifty-eight responses—depending on the items—returned for further analysis. We would mention the number of responses in each item. Based on the results of the analysis and discussion, we would offer recommendations for the betterment of life in Indonesia under the spirit of unity in diversity.

Findings and Discussion

Narrated below is a discussion on the findings of the survey conducted through Google Form. There were 58 responses for further analysis. The results of the survey are presented in Figures of Pies for ease of description.

Radicalism in Indonesia

Below is Figure 1 representing the existence of radicalism in Indonesia.



Figure 1. Radicalism in Indonesia

Fig. 1 shows that most of the 58 respondents (86.2%) believe that there is radicalism in Indonesia and only 12.8% doubted that there was radicalism in Indonesia. This low percentage indicates that the respondents may not be interested in this kind of issue. However, none of them gave negative responses. Thus, it is very clear that radicalism does exist in Indonesia. Precaution is therefore of high necessity. Radical people will attempt anything possible to create chaotic situations against the legal government.

Have they done so? They have. We think it is still fresh how they protested against the parliament on the legislation of Pancasila Ideology Guide (HIP) staged

by a group of radical people organized under PA 212 Islamists. Even though the government had expressed “disagreement” against the legislation, their demonstration went on. Their primary interest is not in the legislation of HIP or whatever but to terminate the legal government. It was overheard in their oration that they wanted to topple down President Jokowi and to ban PDIP (Democratic Party of Struggle), the President’s primary political supporter. Such a situation has been politically predicted (Lane, 2019).

The Main Characteristics of Radicalism

Regarding what characterizes ‘radicalism’ is shown in Fig. 2 below



Figure 2. The Main Characteristic of Radicalism

Radicalism is characterized as opposing the current government for a particular purpose. Therefore, the majority of the 58 respondents (91.4%) justified that radicalism refers to an idealism that opposes the current government as also further justified in Oxford dictionary defines 'radicalism' as (in politics) a belief favouring fundamental reforms (Horby, 1987). In other words, radical people are those who oppose the government regarding whatever policies or achievements it has made. They tend to ignore laws and regulation. Whenever the government makes blunders or policy malpractices, they will launch severe even illogical protests. This situation is not at all favourable in any country. It is, therefore, logical to assume/believe that radicalism has to be eradicated. In this context, Jokowi's administration has been in the right track to have an anti-radical policy even though it is stagnant as possibly caused by the outbreak of Coronavirus-19 which has shaken the world.

Perceived Radicalism

Perceived radicalism can be seen in Fig. 3 below:

Saat Anda shalat berjamaah berdampingan dengan orang yang (bila laki2) memakai jubah, sorban dan celana cingkrang, (bila wanita) bermukena khusus dan bercadar, anda merasa

58 tanggapan

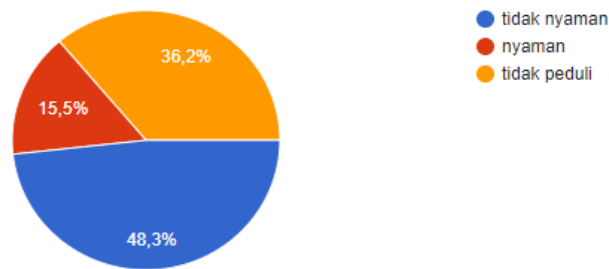


Figure 3. Perceived Radicalism

Radical Islamists in Indonesia—though not applicable to all Islamists—are identified by how they are dressed, namely as white-robed and turbaned Muslim militiamen. For women, they are robed and fully-veiled (left only two eyes). In this survey, on being next to people dressed as such, the 58 respondents are relatively distributed. Most of them (48.3%) feel uneasy; 36.2% of them ignore; while the last 14.5% of them feel just fine. Surprisingly, there is a majority of the feeling of fear among people when socializing with people of Arabic looks—wearing Arabic attributes. We term this 'Islam-phobia' in which we feel strange or foreign in our own country when confronted with such looks. In this respect, a variety of reactions may occur, such as leaving them alone, feeling discomforts, but unable to do anything. The 'displaced selves' can be the right term, without physical and spiritual comforts.

Personal Judgment on Radical Demos

Regarding personal judgment, displayed below is Fig. 4, representing how respondents judged radical demos organized by the 212 radical groups.

Atas terjadinya demo berjilid-jilid yang dilakukan oleh kelompok tertentu, Anda merasa

58 tanggapan

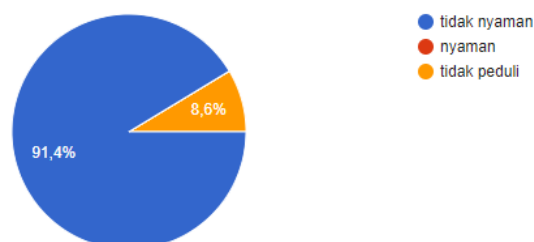


Figure 4. Personal Judgment on Radical Demos

Seen from Fig.4, most of the 58 respondents (91.4%) expressed discomforts regarding radical demos regularly staged. Only very recently did they stage another demo in front of on Parliament Building, in demand for cancellation of 'Pancasila Ideology Guide' legislation as they claimed 'related to communism, a set-back issue to frighten people. Historically, they should have remembered that in Soeharto's regime, there was the legislation of P4 (Guide to Internalization and Implementation of Pancasila) which turned out to be a tool to maintain Soeharto's status quo.

The other 8.6% of the respondents expressed 'ignorance' regarding the multiple radical demos. At the moment, it can be assumed that they have been fed up by such silly and useless activities.

Personal Worries on Radicalism

Personal worries on radical demos are also of concern. Demos consume energy from both parts—the government and the radical people. We would like to know the respondents' views on such multiple demos. The results are revealed in Figure 5. below:

Yang Anda khawatirkan tentang demo-demo tersebut adalah

58 tanggapan

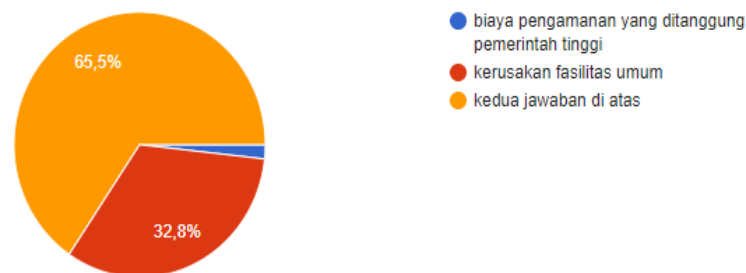


Figure 5. Personal Worries on Radical Demo

Surprisingly, most of the 58 respondents (65.5%) expressed worries about (1) the cost of security and public facilities destructions. The later can be minimized since the 212 radical group claim to be such a professional demonstrator leaving no public facilities destroyed. What about how much money the government must lose in, for example, one day demo? It was argued that the Government spent IDR 100 million. Such a [big amount](#) of money, which can be used to build a hospital in Papua, President Jokowi quoted as saying. However, the second high proportion (32.8%) is still to safeguard public facilities next to the government's budgeting on demo.

Personal Emotive Attitude in Arabic Looks (in Men)

Presented below is Figure 6. regarding the personal emotive attitudes on Arabic looks experienced by the respondents:

Kesan Anda terhadap pria yang berjubah, serban, celana cingkrang, dan jidat hitam adalah anda merasa....

57 tanggapan

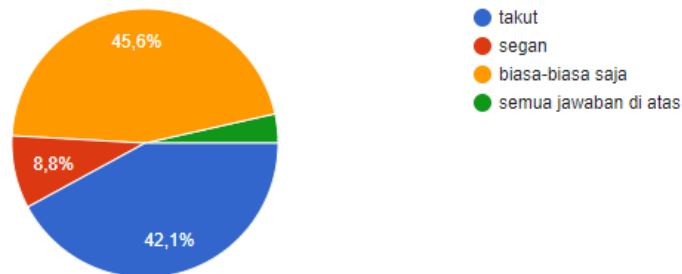


Figure 6. Personal Emotive Attitudes on Arabic Looks (in Men)

There were 57 respondents. Surprisingly, though with a little difference (3.5%), more respondents (45.6%) expressed ignorance of Arabic attributive clothes and the other (42.1%) expressed 'fears'. The rest (8.8%) expressed 'respect with fears'. Some of them have learned to socialize the 'radical' by expressing ignorance. It is quite similar to COVID-19 pandemic. After a certain period of 'large scale social restriction', we have to implement 'new normal' with a strict protocol of social distancing.

We never know how they feel to have to make social interaction with people of different cultural attributes. We hope that they are doing just fine. Fearful individuals (42.6%) are exactly the displaced 'selves.' They have lost their freedom to live in their country. They are probably frightened by possible blasts at one time or another. They are not to blame at all. What about another proportion (54.6%)? The choice 'ignorance' needs clarification but for the time being, we assume that they are doing social distancing with Muslims of Arabic attributes.

Personal Emotive Attitude in Arabic Looks (in Women)

On personal emotive attitude regarding Arabic looks (in women), Figure 7. below represents the respondents' responses.

Kesan Anda terhadap wanita yang berpakaian cadar lengkap warna gelap adalah Anda merasa

55 tanggapan

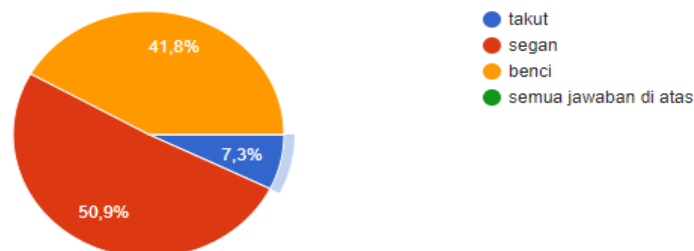


Figure 7. Personal Emotive Attitudes on Arabic Looks (in women)

To our surprise, a significant proportion (50.9%) of the 55 respondents expressed “respect with fear” regarding women dressed in robes and full veils over their faces with only two eyes left open. Meanwhile, 41.8% of the respondents expressed ‘hates’. The rest (7.3%) expressed ‘fear’. The current study should have been accompanied by in-depth interviews with respondents. The problem that it was not, was that the study took place in the time of COVID-19 pandemic.

Personal Assumptions on Radicalism

We also would like to find out the respondents’ personal assumptions on radicalism. Fig. 8 below represents their responses.

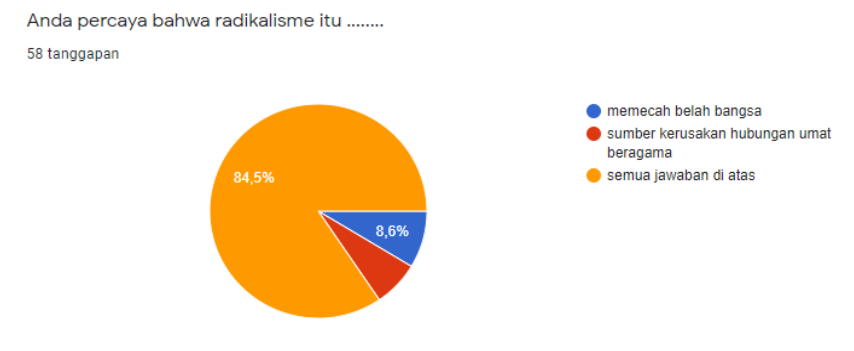


Figure 8. Personal Assumptions on Radicalism

Possibility of Radicalism Solution

We are in particular questioning whether or not radicalism can be eradicated from Indonesian dreamland. Fig. 9 below illustrates the respondents’ responses.



Figure 9. Possibility of Radicalism Solution

Most of the 57 respondents (75.4%) are very optimistic about the possibility of radicalism solution. Meanwhile, 22.8% of the respondents remain 'in-between' namely adding up another possibility. Only very few respondents are pessimistic about the possibility of radicalism solution. We are committed to excellence to their optimism under unity in diversity, driving away racial, religious differences.

Cross-regional cooperation among people of different religions is required to realize the optimism to eradicate radicalism from Indonesian motherland. It

should be remembered that radicalism is not always related to any particular religion. It can belong to any group of people with a view to making a chaotic condition without logical thinking. In other words, it is about ego-centrism of one identical fanatics. Once a group of people were radically indoctrinated, it takes a very long time to neutralize them to be ordinary people. We have to solve the problems comprehensively, never partially. With our full efforts, we hope to finalize everything to help the government realize its national program without any obstacles.

Parties to Solve Radicalism Problems

We would like to know the respondents' views regarding who would be responsible for solving radicalism problems. What are the real/factual problems of radicalism? Included in the problems are (1) to convert the radical people to normal people, meaning that they would be just like ordinary Muslims without any political practices, (2) to help the marginalized Muslims who are identified as being in fear of other Muslims with full Arabic attributes though they may not perform radical activities.

This is of great importance since full Arabic attributes have become an enigmatic social judgment as “belonging to terrorists”. Although, it should be kept in mind that wearing full Arabic attributes does not necessarily mean ‘radical’, only by gradual process would those marginalized individuals be naturalized. Any phobia cannot be cured in a single day. It needs processes. Fig. 10 below illustrates who would be responsible for solving radicalism problems.

Siapa yang paling bertanggung jawab atas radikalisasi ?

58 tanggapan

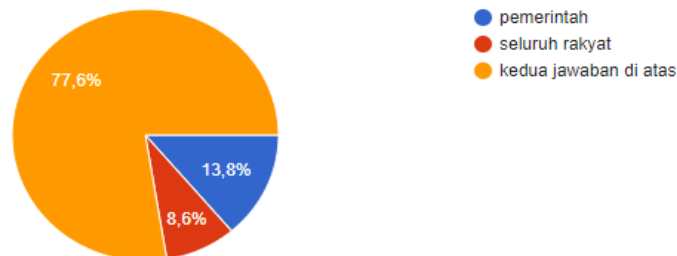


Figure 10. Party to Solve Radicalism Problems

The last item to discuss is “Who will be responsible for solving radicalism problems?” We offer three choices of responses. Our assumption is correct as the majority of the 58 respondents (77.6%) expressed a choice that it is the responsibility of the government and the people to solve radicalism problems. Meanwhile, 13.8% of them expressed that it was the government’s sole responsibility to solve the radicalism problems, and ironically the rest (8.6%) expressed a personal concern that it was the people’s responsibility to solve the problems.

It is still a good idea that the majority of people still realize the importance of cooperation between the government and the whole population of our beloved NKRI (the republic of Indonesia).

Conclusion

Despite increasing confidence in the success of gigantic foreign company acquisitions, overall development of infrastructure (Negara, 2016), including the betterment of transportation system, digital business management, improved banking and economic sectors (Primadini, 2018) an upgrade of income per capita, Indonesia is now encountering two different problems, concerning its political stability—Jokowi's presidential position and silent majority's fear of Islamic radicalism, parasites destroying Islam from within.

Despite frequent failures, including religious blasphemy in the case of Ahok (Peterson, 2020), radical groups of the opposition have been struggling to terminate Joko Widodo's presidency. However, he is still under Allah's protection. Every bit of their actions against Jokowi's presidential position hit nothing. At this point, we have to increase our precautions against all possibilities of occurrence regarding the safety of our nation, in particular, to secure Jokowi's presidency. We are happy that the president himself is not over-reactive about political bullying, be they in the form of hate speech, privacy, regular demos and the like. He remains calm but cautious.

The silent majority of people are in fear of Islamic looks demonstrated daily by the radical groups of people, resulting in disgrace of local values and cultures. Anywhere in every corner are a number of Muslims dressed in full Arabic customs. This has resulted in a gradual loss of atmospheric looks of Indonesian Muslims in general. As well, the 2019 Presidential Election demonstrated high friction of national disintegration with religious-political contestation (Winarni et al., 2020). Some of us have been silenced to witness the disgrace of our cultural heritage.

It is therefore important that religious preachers be restructured against producing hate speech that will bring about provocation ending in governmental chaos (Burhani, 2020). Some people are not patient enough to see the slow responses of the government against radical oppositions who have signalled cruel attitudes and behaviours. They always compare the steps that would be taken in Suharto's Order Baru against such a group of intolerance and radicalism. We may forget that we are now living in a different era with a different security model.

Silent majority of people in fear of radical looks have realized that they cannot do anything without the support of the authority. It is recommended that they learn more about Islam from charismatic and dignified Islamic scholars preferably from any of the two big mass Muslim organizations—NU or Muhammadiyah. Each of them has demonstrated a commitment of excellence to safeguard Indonesia before and after Indonesia's independence. They can simply ignore the existence of those who would jeopardize Indonesia. They have to believe that everything is going to be all right under the current government of Indonesia supported by the majority of people, the police and the army with all necessary deterrence.

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A STUDY OF POLITENESS STRATEGIES USED BY ERIN GRUWELL IN FREEDOM WRITERS MOVIE

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Abstract

This study aims to identify and describe the four politeness strategies and the factors which are proposed by Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson as seen in an American movie entitled *Freedom Writers*. It is qualitative research since the focus is on analysing the utterances of the main character. The data is taken from the movie script. There are two research questions discussed in this study: (1) what are politeness strategies used by Erin Gruwell in the *Freedom Writers* movie? And (2) what factors influencing the politeness strategies? The findings show that Erin Gruwell applied the four politeness strategies, which are bald-on record, off-record, negative and positive politeness. However, the dominant strategy used by Erin is positive politeness, where Erin wants to get close and satisfy the hearer's face. Related to the factors influencing the politeness strategies, the finding shows that there are two factors that affect Erin in choosing the politeness strategies: the payoffs and the sociological variables. In addition, sociological variables have three sub things: social distance, relative power and rank of imposition.

Keywords: politeness, politeness strategy, *Freedom Writers*, language

Introduction

Communication plays an important role in human beings' lives. As human beings, we need to interact, socialize and exchange ideas with each other. In communication, language is an important instrument that is used by people in delivering messages. Through language, people not only are able to deliver the message, but they can also express feelings, criticise a problem, receive a message, or even ask people to do something.

One of the issues in communication is politeness. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), the relevant concept of politeness is the concept of face. Being polite means respecting and maintaining other's faces. Face is categorised into two, which are positive face and negative face. Positive face is defined by Brown and Levinson as the self-image that he or she wants to be desirable, to be

appreciated, and to be liked by others. Meanwhile, a negative face is the self-image that wants to be free, independent, and not to be imposed by other people.

Unconsciously, some people tend to threaten other's face through their speech acts. We might see that many problems in such places are caused by our language choices, especially in the education field. As a teacher, or even students, we need to be more aware of language politeness in order to minimize this phenomenon which is still happening.

By considering the latest phenomenon above, this study analyses the four politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson found in an American movie entitled *Freedom Writers*. There are two research questions discussed in this study: (1) what are politeness strategies used by Erin Gruwell in the *Freedom Writers* movie? And (2) what factors influencing the politeness strategies?.

Review of Related Studies and Theories

There are several studies conducted on politeness strategies applying Brown and Levinson theory of politeness strategies.

The first study was written by Liu Peng, Fang Xie, and Lingling Cai (2014) entitled *A Case Study of College Teacher's Politeness Strategy in EFL Classroom*. This study is a qualitative research since the focus is analysing teacher's language in the classroom by using teaching learning recording.

The second study was conducted by Mifta Hasmi (2013) entitled *A Pragmatic Analysis of Politeness Strategies Reflected in Nanny Mcphee Movie*. The focus of this study was the language politeness of the main character in the *Nanny Mcphee*. Hasmi (2013), and it applied descriptive qualitative approach.

The third study was done by Widiadnya, I., Seken, K., and Santosa, M. (2018) entitled *The Implications of Politeness Strategies among Teachers and Students in the Classroom*. The data of this study was taken from tenth grade EFL teacher and some students of SMK Nusa Dua Bali. The data were collected through observations and interview. Brown and Levinson theory of politeness is also applied by the researcher in analysing the data.

The fourth study was written by Ardi, H., Nababan, M., Djatmika, and Santosa, R. Entitled *Politeness Strategy in Indonesian Translation: Has it already changed?* This study is aimed at comparing politeness strategies used in directive act in the novel *Deception Point* written by Dan Brown (2001) and its two translation versions released in 2006 and 2015. This study uses four different theories as a reference in data analysis, which are speech acts theory proposed by Searle (1976), the concept of politeness related to face-saving by Brown and Levinson (1987), theory of translation techniques proposed by Molina & Albir (2002), the impact translation techniques toward the quality of translation used Nababan, Nuraeni, & Sumardiono (2012).

The fifth study was written by Almoaily, M. (2018) entitled *Greetings as a Politeness Strategy in EFL Distance Learning Students' Official Emails*. The study analysed the EFL online students' politeness strategy in greeting their supervisors through email. The researcher applied face theory from Goffman and politeness theory from Brown and Levinson.

The sixth study was written by Marpaung, T. (2019) entitled *Politeness Strategy among Teachers and Students in EFL Classroom*. This study is a qualitative research since its purposed to find out the types of politeness strategy

by using Brown & Levinson theory (1987) and to find out the most dominant of politeness strategy of English teacher and grade eight students in classroom conversation.

Speech Acts

Language does not only produce sounds, words, or utterances. However, it carries action behind them all, namely speech acts. Speech acts is a sociolinguistics field and part of pragmatics study. According to Searle (1969) speech act is the production or issuance of a sentence token under certain conditions. It means that the uttering words or sentences are produced by the speaker based on the condition. There are three kinds of meaning in producing utterance; locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary (Austin, 1962).

Locutionary

The speaker produces an utterance as a particular linguistic expression with a particular structure and literal meaning (Austin, 1962) which means that what the speaker said to the hearer is the authentic meaning of the utterance without any reference. For instance, someone enters a room and finds that the room is not comfortable because of the temperature, and suddenly says “the room is superhot” this statement indicates that the temperature in that room is humid and hot.

Illocutionary

The illocutionary act is the social function that the utterance has, in which illocutionary means the act of doing something. For instance, when somebody asks “do you have some water?” after exercising, the illocutionary act is a request: “please give me some water.”

In Searle taxonomy, there are five points of his taxonomy. These five points represent an important attempt to classify actions that people can perform their utterances. The first is directives, which is an attempt to make the hearer perform some future actions, such as requesting, ordering, and questioning. The second is assertives, an attempt to represent an actual state of affairs, such as asserting, concluding, informing, predicting, and reporting. The third is commissives, committing the speaker to a future course of action, such as warning, promising, threatening, and guaranteeing. The fourth is declaratives, an attempt to bring a change in some institutional state of affairs, such as declaring war and performing a marriage. The fifth is expressive, expressing a psychological state, such as thanking, complaining, greeting, and apologizing.

Perlocutionary

Perlocutionary is the result or effect that is produced by the utterance in that given text. It brings the consequence or effect of uttering sentences from the speaker to the hearer. The effect of the utterance can make someone do what the speaker has said. According to Searle, the effects can be enlightenment, inspiring, convincing, and persuading.

Face

According to P. Brown and S. C. Levinson (1978), face is defined as a basic ‘want’ of individuals. Face is something that is emotionally invested, lost, maintained, or enhanced and must be included in interaction. Face is categorised into two aspects, which are negative and positive faces. Based on Brown and Levinson in Politeness book “negative face is the basic claim to territories,

personal preserves, rights to non-distractions, for example: to freedom of action and freedom from imposition.” Positive face is the wants of someone which should be desirable by other people or at least some others, for example: life, health, honour, a positive self-image.

Face Threatening Acts

Face threatening act or FTA is the act of being impolite and can have risk to threaten either positive or negative faces. Very often we threaten other’s faces with our expressions and non-verbal communication, such as requesting, offering, giving suggestions, advising, or even staring at someone with no reason.

Politeness Strategy

In order to save hearer’s face of doing FTA in communication, politeness strategy is developed by Brown and Levinson in 1978. Politeness strategy is a strategy that is used to prevent a violation of the hearer’s face. Brown and Levinson divided human politeness behaviour into four strategies namely Negative Politeness Strategy, Positive Politeness Strategy, Bald On-Record Strategy, Off-Record Strategy.

Negative politeness strategy appears when people show respect of deference, avoiding imposing or offending, acknowledging their “rights”. This means the speaker is trying to avoid offense and maintaining the distance between them and giving them an option to choose. Brown and Levinson (1987) propose the strategies to indicate negative politeness strategy as being conventionally indirect, questioning and hedging, being pessimistic, minimizing the imposition, giving difference, apologizing, impersonalizing speaker and hearer, stating the FTA as a general rule, nominalizing and going on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebted hearer.

Positive politeness strategy refers to showing emphatic with someone, commiserating with one another about common problems, admiring the other’s taste in clothes by commenting approvingly, and friendly joking. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), there are 15 strategies to show positive politeness strategy, namely noticing and attending hearer, exaggerating, intensifying interest to hearer, using in-group identity markers, seeking agreements, avoiding disagreement, presupposing/raising/asserting common ground, joking, asserting or presupposing speaker’s knowledge of and concern for hearer’s wants, offering and promising, being optimistic, including both speaker and hearer in the activity, giving (or asking) reasons, assuming or asserting reciprocity, and giving gifts to hearer in the forms of goods, sympathy, understanding or cooperation.

Findings and Discussion

Politeness Strategies Used by Erin in Freedom Writers Movie

In the Freedom Writers movie, the four politeness strategies are used by Erin Gruwell. She considers hearer’s public face as the important aspect to implement her politeness strategies in communication. The payoffs or result and sociological variables affect Erin’s politeness strategy, since those always appeared in the utterances.

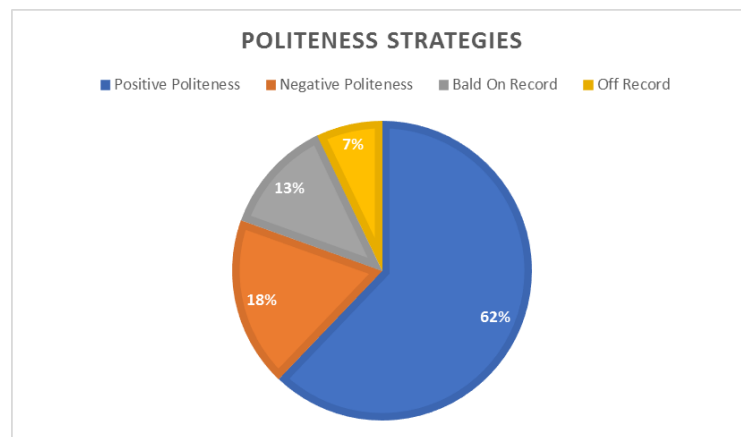


Figure 1. Politeness strategies used by Erin Gruwell

Positive politeness

Positive politeness strategy is the dominant strategy found in Erin Gruwell's utterances. According to the result, there are 105 utterances that are categorised as positive politeness strategy. This strategy is applied by speaker to protect her/his self-positive face, which includes the awareness of hearer's wants and needs, the optimism, promising, complementing, and the use of personal pronoun such a "we" or "us" to imply that either speaker or hearer have the same value or the same in group. Brown and Levinson state some advantages of positive politeness strategy: giving compliment; satisfying hearer's positive face; minimizing the Face Threatening Acts (FTA); and minimizing the intention of being debt such as requests and offers.

There are several situations in which, positive politeness strategy is applied by Erin Gruwell in the movie, one of them can be seen where Eva comes to the classroom and talks to Erin. In this case, Eva has problem with her family and cannot go home for a while. Then, she asks Erin's permission whether she can stay in or not. Erin's response below is categorised as positive politeness strategy because it has saved Eva's want in public. This utterance also belongs to illocutionary act, which shows an assertives type to inform that Erin let Eva to stay.

Setting	: room 203
Participants	: Eva and Erin
Situation	: Eva asked Erin's permission to stay late with her to do her work in the room.
Time	: 01:34:42
Eva	: See, my aunt lives even further away, so I was just wondering if I could, like, stay here late with you, so I can get my homework done, 'cause it's late by the time I get home.
Erin	: <i>You can stay as late as you want. And I can even drive you to your aunt's, if it gets too late.</i>

The situation above, where Eva requests something to Erin, indicates that Eva is showing her positive face to Erin. Here, Eva's wants or needs should be accepted by the hearer, if not, her positive face will threaten.

Erin responds "you can stay as late as you want. And I can even drive you to your aunt's, if it gets too late." This responds has totally saved Eva's positive face. Look at the first statement, "you can stay as late as you want." It indicates that Erin accepts Eva's request to stay in the classroom and she also gives Eva a freedom to stay for how long. This utterance also belongs to illocutionary act, which shows an assertive type to inform that Erin let Eva to stay. In the second statement, "and I can even drive you to your aunt's, if it gets too late." Erin attempts to get closer to Eva by offering something as if both of them are a close friend who will be there if the other needs help. Erin puts aside the distance between them.

Negative politeness

Negative politeness strategy is in the second place after positive politeness. The result shows that there are 31 utterances which belongs to negative politeness. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), negative politeness strategy is oriented towards hearer's negative face and the basic want to maintain distance and self-determination. Negative politeness strategy has some characteristics which contrast with the previous strategy that have been explained above. Specifically, negative politeness is signalled by being self-effacement, being formality and restraint, being pessimistic, and being indirect. Moreover, the payoffs of negative politeness strategy are satisfy hearer's negative face by giving respect and deference to hearer, avoiding incurring, maintaining the social distance and avoiding the threat.

The example of negative politeness application strategy can be seen in the following dialogue, where Erin asked for discount to the bookkeeper. Erin attempts to be polite when asking for a discount to someone who she did not know before. The use of words "excuse me" and "could" are considered as polite way in delievering her intention. Moreover, the use of hedging "sort of" also indicates that Erin attempts to maintain hearer's negative face by reducing the strength of her utterance of asking for discount. The strategy is suitable to be used when a speaker does not really know a hearer and wants to be seen polite. Furthermore, Erin's utterance shows an illocutionary act, in which she is requesting a discount to a shopkeeper.

Setting	: in a book store
Participants	: book keeper and Erin
Situation	: Erin was in bookstore and looking for a book for the students
Time	: 00:55:55
Erin	: <i>Excuse me, if I wanted to order any books in bulk, could I get some sort of a discount?</i>

From her words above "Excuse me, if I wanted to order any books in bulk, could I get some sort of a discount?" Erin attempts to be polite when asking for a discount to someone who she did not know before. The use of words "excuse me"

and “could” are considered as polite way in delivering her intention. Moreover, the use of hedging “sort of” also indicates that Erin attempts to maintain hearer’s negative face by reducing the strength of her utterance of asking for discount. The strategy is suitable to be used when a speaker does not really know a hearer and wants to be seen polite. Furthermore, Erin’s utterance shows an illocutionary act, in which she is requesting a discount to a shopkeeper.

Bald on Record

On-record strategy is a direct, clear and unambiguous expression. The communication between speaker and hearer is straightforward and not rambling. In this strategy, the speaker does not really pay attention to the hearer’s face, in which it might cause the hearer to get some shock. On-record strategy can be used in urgent situation.

On-record strategy is in the third position after negative politeness. It has 21 points, according to the result. Erin Gruwell applies this strategy in some situations, one of them is in the classroom, the example can be seen in the following explanation, in which Erin is about the first time teaching in room 203, and is surprised that her students are impolite and rude in the classroom. Some inappropriate words are heard in the conversation between Erin and her students. The use of on-record strategy by Erin Gruwell conceives some payoffs or the advantages, which are enlisting pressure against the hearer, giving clarity, avoiding to be seen as manipulator and misunderstanding. The conversation can be seen in the following dialogue.

Setting	: room 203
Participants	: Andre, Marcus, Eva, Jamal
Situation	: Erin was explaining the materials for today
Time	: 00:20:45
Andre	: Think we don’t know Tupac?
Marcus	: White girl gonna teach us about rap.
Erin	: No, it’s not that. See, what I was trying to do...
Eva	: You have no idea. What you’re doing up there, do you?
	You ever been a teacher before?
Jamal	: And teacher gets nailed, y’all!
Erin	: <i>All right, Jamal, enough. Jamal! That’s enough! You know what? I want you to move to this front seat right here now.</i>
Jamal	: What?
Erin	: <i>Come on. I am sick of these antics in my classroom.</i>

Erin Gruwell as the first time being a teacher in Wilson High School does not know her students’ character and condition at that time. She is shock when her expectation about being a teacher is not going well. Although, there are still some students who responds in good manners, but most students are aggressive, sensitive, rude and impolite.

In room 203, Erin starts to teach her students about poetry and rhyme. She asks the students whether they know Tupac Shakur or not, a well-known rapper and actor in America. Tupac Shakur is chosen because his song lyrics and poetry

are so cool and sophisticated. Unexpectedly, Erin's question is answered impolitely by some students.

In the dialogue 1, after getting such a bad response from her students, Erin responds "All right, Jamal, enough. Jamal! That's enough! You know what? I want you to move to this front seat right now." This utterance shows that Erin does not like Jamal's action who has underestimated a teacher through his actions in the classroom. Bald on-record strategy can be seen in Erin's response, in which her utterance shows three hints of doing on-record strategy. She mentions his nickname (Jamal), she uses directives category of illocutionary speech act (I want you to move to this front seat), and she specifies the time (right now). Moreover, she adds "come on. I'm sick of these antics in my classroom." In the following expression, it indicates Erin's positive face has been threatened by the students' utterances.

Off Record

In contrast with on-record, off-record strategy is an indirect way to say something. Here, a speaker lets the hearer decide what the speaker means, and the hearer should interpret by himself. Some linguistic realizations in off-record are used, such as metaphor and irony, rhetorical questions, understatement, and all kinds of hints that a speaker wants to communicate. Several advantages of off-record strategy are avoiding responsibility which potentially damages the hearer's face, being tactful, and testing hearer's feelings towards him. Based on the result, off-record is the lowest strategy found in the movie. The total utterances are 12.

The example of off-record application can be seen in the dialogue 10, where Erin and Scott are talking about the latest discussion with her father in a restaurant, in which, what her father did actually made them offended. Here, Erin applies off record strategy by giving association clues to Scott. She presupposes her father with an actor in a book *To Kill A Mocking Bird*, Atticus Finch, a well-known lawyer who was competent in solving a problem by questioning witnesses. An illocutionary act is applied in Erin's actions, where she complains to Scott about her father.

Setting	: in the bedroom
Participants	: Scott and Erin
Situation	: They were talking while brushing teeth.
Time	: 00:18:55

Erin : What's happened to him? *He was like Atticus Finch to me* when I was growing up.

In the utterance above, Erin applies off record strategy by giving association clues to Scott. She presupposes her father with an actor in a book *To Kill A Mocking Bird*, Atticus Finch, a well-known lawyer who was competent in solving a problem by questioning witnesses. An illocutionary act is applied in Erin's actions, where she complains to Scott about her father.

The Factors Affecting Politeness Strategies by Erin Gruwell as The Main Character in Freedom Writers Movie

This part defines some factors influencing the main character's politeness strategies in the movie. There are two factors affecting the character's politeness strategies, namely payoffs and sociological variables.

The Payoffs

According to Brown and Levinson, payoffs are the advantage of doing the four strategies. Since there are four politeness strategies, Brown and Levinson stated four different payoffs of each strategy based on their conditions. The four different payoffs reflected in Erin Gruwell's statements are presented as follows.

On-record Payoffs

The use of on-record strategy by a speaker conceives some payoffs or the advantages, which are enlisting pressure against the hearer, giving clarity, avoiding to be seen as manipulator and misunderstanding. The example of on-record payoffs can be seen in the following dialogue.

Dialogue 10

Erin : All right, Jamal, enough. Jamal! That's enough! You know what? I want you to move to this front seat right here now.

Jamal : What?

Erin : *I'm sick of these antics in my classroom.*

Erin was about to start the class by asking them about song lyrics which were written by Tupac Shakur who was an American actor and rapper. However, the students responded to Erin impolitely. Then, Erin used on-record strategy in this conversation by saying "I'm sick of these antics in my classroom" which indicates that Erin's face has threatened by the students, that is why Erin's effort to protect the students' face was less, and preferred to be clear and direct in expressing her speech.

The next example of on-record payoff can be seen in the dialogue 11, where Erin and Scott were arguing Erin's profession as a teacher. Scott actually did not feel comfortable with what Erin was doing for her students because she has been very busy taking care of the students.

Dialogue 11

Scott : They're not even your kids!

Erin : Why do I have to be asked? Scott...

I finally realized what I'm supposed to be doing and I love it.

On-record strategy was used by both of them in the dialogue above. Erin's response "I finally realized what I'm supposed to be doing and I love it" is the very clear, honest and unambiguous statement that Erin said to Scott as the reason why she was so busy just for the students.

Another example of on-record strategy payoff is listed in the following dialogue. The circumstance is Erin was trying to explain why she could not continue teaching them in senior year. But then, a student named Marcus replied

to her, and it surprised Erin a little bit. The response from her student made her use an on-record strategy which can be seen as follows.

Dialogue 12

Erin : I want you all to know that Dr. Cohn and I tried very hard. But it's been decided we can't continue with each other junior year.

All students : What? What?

Erin : You... Wait. Wait. Guys. Everyone.

Marcus : No! That don't fly, Ma!

Erin : *Look, first of all, I'm not anyone's mother in here, okay?*

She emphasizes “look, first of all. I’m not anyone’s mother in here, okay?” to make the students understand that Erin was not their mother who would be together and help them forever. They could do something even with or without her.

Positive Politeness Payoffs

According to Brown and Levinson theory of factors influencing the choice of strategies, there are several advantages of positive politeness strategy. The payoffs are giving compliment, satisfying hearer’s positive face, minimizing the Face Threatening Acts (FTA) and minimizing the intention of being debt such as requests and offers. The following dialogue is the example of positive politeness payoffs.

Dialogue 13

Erin : I want you to take one of these glasses of sparkling cider, and I want each of you to make a toast. *We're each gonna make a toast for change.*

The students were shocked by Erin’s plan today. She prepared some glasses and bags to make a deal together. A toast for change indicates that nobody will never disturb them from now on and every voice that stops them should be disappeared. The he signal “we’re” Indicates that Erin avoided FTA such as requesting and offering by including hearer and speaker equally as participants.

Another example of positive politeness strategy payoff can be seen in the scene, where a student asked to read his diary in front of the class, and Erin pleased him by saying “that’d be great.”

Dialogue 14

Student A : Ms. G? Can I read something from my diary?

Erin : *That'd be great.*

“That’d be great” is the positive politeness strategy which indicates that Erin was trying to protect that student’s positive face. She satisfied the student by agreeing his request to Erin.

Negative Politeness Payoffs

Negative politeness strategy payoffs aims to satisfy hearer’s negative face by giving respect and deference to hearer, avoiding incurring, maintaining the

social distance and avoiding the threat. The dialogue 15 below is the example of negative politeness strategy payoff that the main character did in the movie.

Dialogue 15

Ms. Campbell : Apparently you're taking your students on a trip?

Erin : Yes, but it's over the weekend, so it won't affect any test schedules. *I know how busy you are. And since I'm paying for it myself, I didn't want to bother you.*

The conversation started when Ms. Campbell asked Erin about a trip that Erin had planned with the students. Actually, Erin did not tell her about that plan because she did not want to disturb Ms. Campbell. However, it threatened Ms. Campbell's negative face as a principal in the school. She was mad at Erin and left her before Erin finished her words. Here, Erin showed her effort to save Ms. Campbell's face by applying a negative politeness strategy. The utterance "I know how busy you are. And since I'm paying for it myself, I didn't want to bother you." Shows the reason why Erin used negative politeness strategy, in which the utterance indicates that Erin was showing her respect to Ms. Campbell by not disturbing her freedom as a principal.

Another example of positive politeness payoff is listed in the dialogue 16, where Erin just came home late because she should drive the students' home. The circumstance can be seen in the following dialogue.

Dialogue 16

Erin : *Sorry, it got late.* I drove the kids home. I didn't want them taking buses.

The underlined utterance above shows that Erin was giving an apology to her husband who has been waiting for her. She realized that it was already late at night and she just came home. Here, she was trying to minimize the potential face loss of her husband by apologizing. She also showed her respect to Scott because he was her husband.

Off-record Payoffs

Several advantages of off-record strategy are avoiding responsibility which potentially damages the hearer's face, being tactful, and testing hearer's feelings towards him. The dialogue 19 above is the example of off-record strategy payoffs.

Dialogue 17

Her dad : I thought you were an architect.

Erin : He is. He's just taking a break.

Scott : And the money's good for now.

Her dad : How much are you making? \$27,000 before taxes?

Erin : *If you know, why are you asking?*

The example of off-record payoff can be seen in the conversation above, where Erin, Scott, and her dad were having dinner in a restaurant. Her dad started the conversation by asking Scott about his job. Since Erin applied to be a teacher,

her dad got suspicious whether Scott could earn money by himself or not. He interrogated Scott with some questions, who made Erin use negative politeness strategy to respond to her father “if you know, why are you asking?” which indicates that she used a rhetorical question to emphasize some points being discussed and have an obvious answer. Here, Erin let her father interpret by himself what actually the meaning of her words were. The use of this strategy means that Erin was avoiding responsibility for FTA interpretation.

The Sociological Variables

According to Brown and Levinson, besides payoff, another factor of choosing politeness strategy is influenced by sociological variables. Those variables are social distance, relative power and ranking of imposition. The detailed explanation will be served in the following discussion.

Social Distance

According to Brown and Levinson, social distance is the common factor influencing a speaker in choosing their politeness strategy. Commonly, social distance is determined by three things, which are age, gender and intimacy. If the social distance between speaker and hearer is close, the speaker can apply on-record and positive politeness strategies in their conversation. However, if the closeness and distance between participants is less, then, the speaker may use negative politeness or off-record strategies in a conversation.

In this study, social distance always appears in the data, which means it is a factor influencing the speaker to choose the politeness strategies in his or her speech.

Dialogue 18

- Eva : See, my aunt lives even further away, so I was just wondering if I could, like, stay here late with you, so I can get my homework done, 'cause it's late by the time I get home.
- Erin : *You can stay as late as you want. And I can even drive you to your aunt's, if it gets too late.*
- Eva : Ms. G, let's not get nuts.

The relationship between Erin and Eva is a teacher and student. However, in the conversation above, the way they both speak as if they are close friends. Erin wanted to satisfy Eva positive face by letting her to stay as late as she wanted, also, by giving an offer to drive Eva to her aunt's home. Here, the use of positive politeness strategy is applied because the distance between them is less.

Relative Power

The relative power is also a factor affecting speakers in delivering their politeness strategy. Here, a speaker who has greater power than others, they can use either on-record or positive politeness strategies in their speech. On the other hand, a speaker who has low power in certain situation, they can use negative politeness or off-record strategies. The relative power example can be seen in the following illustrated.

Dialogue 19

Steve : Oh, no. No, no, no. Erin? Get back in the car.

Erin : *Dad, he lives right here.*

Steve : I'll get him. Get back in the car and lock your door. What's his name?

Erin : Andre Bryant.

Steve Gruwell is the father of Erin. As a father, Steve has higher power than Erin. By asking her "Get back in the car" "I'll get him. Get back in the car and lock your door." Erin could not ignore him. Her utterance "dad, he lives right here." does not be listened by her father, in which it indicates that Erin has less power to rule her father. Erin realizes that if she ignores her father, she will do the FTA which is impolite as daughter to father.

Rank of Imposition

Rank of imposition is determined by the obscurity surrounding a speaker and hearer. Positive politeness or on-record strategies can be applied when the rank of imposition is less. On the other hand, a speaker can use negative politeness or off-record strategies when the rank of imposition is high in order to avoid face threatening acts.

Dialogue 20

Scott : I feel like we haven't talked about anything, other than your job, in like forever.

Erin : *I'm sorry*

In the conversation, Scott expressed what he felt to Erin. By saying "I feel like we haven't talked about anything, other than your job" indicates that Scott is giving a clue to Erin which led Erin to interpret what Scott wants. Here, the rank of imposition is high because Erin did not realize that she has ignored Scott by talking her job only. Erin gives her regret to Scott for her mistake she made by applying negative politeness strategy "I'm sorry."

Conclusion

Based on the findings, the first research question was answered by categorising the utterances of the main character using Brown and Levinson theory of politeness, and the study found that the four strategies (bald-on record, off-record, positive, and negative politeness strategy) are implemented by Erin in the movie. Positive politeness strategy is the most dominant strategy since the relationship between the main character and other characters is close. Meanwhile, in the second research question, the study found that there are two factors that affected Erin in using the politeness strategies in the movie. Those two factors are the payoffs and the sociological variables namely social distance, relative power and rank of imposition. Payoffs refers to the advantage or result of each politeness strategy. The payoffs in positive politeness strategy means, a speaker wants to be close to hearer, satisfy hearer's face, and minimize acts that can threaten hearer's face. For bald-on record, a speaker wants to be direct, clear and unambiguous in uttering speech. Meanwhile, the payoffs in negative politeness strategy, a speaker satisfies hearer's freedom of not to be imposition and respects hearer's negative

face. The advantage of doing off-record politeness strategy, a speaker can avoid responsibility in damaging hearer's face and test hearer whether he or she cares to the speaker or not. The study can add more knowledge related to some values in politeness either for English teachers or students who deal with language. Dealing with language does not stop in learning the rules or enriching vocabulary, yet, politeness is an important part of learning a language. Therefore, through the study, all English teachers and students are expected to have more knowledge by reading and understanding the study which contains politeness, its strategies and factors influencing the choice of politeness strategy.

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NASAL PREFIXES AS DENOMINAL VERB FORMERS IN JAVANESE LANGUAGE

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Abstract

This research focuses on nasal prefixes as denominal verb formers in Javanese language. The formulation of problem can be stated as follows: (1) how is the form of denominal verbs with nasal prefixes? (2) what is the function of nasal in the forming of denominal verbs? (3) what is the meaning of nasal prefixes in denominal verbs forming? The goal of this research is to describe the function of nasal in the forming of denominal verbs in Javanese language. Research methodology includes: research strategy, location of the research, data and the source, data collection technique, data analysis technique, and the analysis of the result. There are three results, they are: (1) the form of denominal verbs with nasal prefixes in Javanese language (2) the function of nasal in the forming of denominal verbs of Javanese language (3) the meanings of nasal prefixes in the forming of denominal verbs.

Keywords: nasal prefixes, verbs, nouns, derivation

Introduction

Many researches has discussed about morphology in Javanese language, but it's hard to find the one that focuses on the forming of words with derivation, especially focus on the forming of denominal verbs.

Affixation is a part of morphology. The other processes are reduplication and compounding. Nasal affixes can form denominal verbs; it means that the basic form of noun is attached an affix [N-] and becomes a verb. It is called denominal verb, that is, verb is derived form a noun.

Nasal affixes can be derivative and inflective. Derivative nasal can form new word that lexically is different with the basic form; it also has different word category. But the attachment of nasal affix to basic form sometimes does not change the word category. In other words, the basic form and the new one have the same category. This research will discuss about nasal affixes {m-, n-, ng-, ny-, and nge-} that form denominal verbs in the Javanese language. Therefore, the basic form is a noun and the formers are nasal affixes.

The research on derivation and inflection can be found in paper of Verhaar (1996: 143). It states that inflection is morphemic word changing that maintains lexical identity of the word. Whereas, derivation is morphemic word changing

that results new word with different identity. Verhaar states that inflection process maintain the class and identity of the word; and derivation word forming with different class and identity of the word. For example, the word *maku* 'to nail' is derived from the basic form *paku* 'nail'. The word *maku* and *paku* are two words with different class and identity.

- (1) *Bapa mundhut **paku** ning toko wesi.*
'Father bought **nails** at hardware store.'
- (2) *Bapa nembe **maku** meja ingkang sempal punika.*
'Father **nailed** the broken table.'

The word *paku* is noun; the *maku* is verb.

Nasal prefixes in Javanese language has five allomorph, they are: {m-}, {n-}, {ng-}, {ny-}, and {nge-}. The verb [N-] is active transitive and intransitive. Active verbs happen when the subject does the action. The subject (S) acts something and have the emphasis; whereas the object (O) is less emphasis. Denominal verbs with prefix [N-] can be formed from basic morphem beginning with consonant or vowel. There are some rules of forming word with nasal, they are:

- (1) Prefix [N-] will become /m/ when the basic morphem begins with consonant /b/, /p/, and /w/. Examples:
Bobor 'vegetables bobor' → *mbobor* 'to make vegetables bobor'
Paku 'nail' → *maku* 'to nail'
Warung 'shop' → *marung* 'to open a shop'
- (2) Prefix [N-] will become /n/ when the basic morphem begins with consonant /t/, /th/, /d/, and /dh-. Examples:
Tali 'rope' → *nali* 'to bind'
Thuthuk 'knock' → *nuthuk* 'to knock'
Dhadha 'chest' → *ndhadha* 'to bear'
Dalang 'mastermind' → *ndalang* 'to become a mastermind'
- (3) Prefix [N-] will become /ng-/ when the basic morphem begins with vowel /a/, /e/, /u/, /o/, /i/, and also begins with consonant /g/, /k/, /r/, /l/, and /y/. Examples:
Ani-ani 'knife to pick up rice' → *ngani-ani* 'to harvest rice with ani-ani'
Endhog 'egg' → *ngendhog* 'to lay egg'
Ibu 'mother' → *ngibu* 'to suppose someone to be one's mother'
Obor 'torch' → *ngobor* 'to light the torch'
Rabuk 'fertilizer' → *ngrabuk* 'to fertilizer'
Labur 'paint' → *nglabur* 'to paint'
Kapal 'boat' → *ngapal* 'to sail'
- (4) Prefix [N=] will become /ny/ when the basic morphem begins with /c/, /s/, and /j/. Examples:
Cathut 'pincers' → *nyathut* 'to pull out something with cathut'
Soto 'vegetables soto' → *nyoto* 'to eat vegetables soto'
Jenang 'porridge' → *njenang* 'to make porridge'
- (5) Prefix [N-] will become /nge-/ when the basic morphem is only one syllable. Examples:
lap 'rag' → *ngelap* 'to wipe'
pel 'mop' → *ngepel* 'to mop the floor'

Gong ‘music instrument’ → *ngegong* ‘to beat a gong’

Based on the above explanation, the formulation of the problems can be stated as follows:

1. What is the form of denominal verbs with nasal prefixes?
2. What is the function of nasal in the forming of denominal verbs?
3. What is the meaning of nasal prefixes in the forming of denominal verbs?

Morphology

According to Verhaar, morphology (2001) is the basic unit in language as grammatical unit. As in the word *ngepel* ‘to mop the floor’, based on phonology it has five phonemes; based on morphology it has two minimal units, [*nge-*] and *pel*. The minimal unit is called morphem. There are two kinds of morphem: independent morphem and bound morphem. The independent morphem is a unit or free form in speech; it can stand alone to have the meaning. Examples: *adus* ‘to take abath’, *lunga* ‘to go’, *turu* ‘to sleep’. While bound morphem cannot stand alone to have a meaning; it needs other morphem to make a meaning. For example: morphem /*nge-*/, it does not have any meaning.

Many language experts have done the research on morphology, such as Tambubolon (1983), Simatupang (1983), Subroto (1985), Ekowardono (1988), Sunoto (1990), uhlenbeck (1982), Kridalaksana (1998), Verhaar (2001), Ermanto (2008), Poedjosoedarmo (2016), Nanik Herawati (2017).

Affixation

Affixation is one of morphologic processes, like reduplication and compounding. Words are formed by adding **prefix** at the beginning of the words, or inserting **infix** in the middle of the words, or adding **suffix** in the end of the words, or **confix** (the combination of them).

Sasangka (2001: 36) states that the affixation in Javanese language has four kinds, they are: (1) *ater-ater* ‘prefix’ (2) *seselan* ‘infix’ (3) *panambang* ‘suffix’ (4) *ater-ater* and *panambang* ‘prefix and suffix’.

Poedjosoedarmo (2016) states that Javanese prefixes are [*N-*, *dak-*, *ko-*, *di-*, *ke-*, *sa-*, *pa-*, *pi-*]. Javanese infixes are [*-in-*, *-um-*, *-el-*, *-er-*]. Javanese suffixes are [*-i*, *-a*, *-e*, *-an*, *-na*, *-ake*, *-ane*]. Javanese confixes are [*ke-an*, *ke-en*, *pa-an*, *N-a*, *N-I*, *N-ake*, *N-ana*, *N-e*, *di-e*, *di-ana*, *di-ake*, *sa-e*, *-in-ake*, *-um-a*]. His statement is in line with other language experts that words are formed with affixation.

Position of prefix is at the beginning of the word. Javanese prefix *anuwara* [*N-*] has five allomorphs, they are [*m-*, *n-*, *ng-*, *nya-*, *nge-*]. The other prefixes are [*dak-*, *ko-*, *di-*, *a-*, *ma-*, *ka-*]. This research will focus on the nasal prefixes in the forming of derivative words.

Word Category

Poensen (1987) states that Javanese word category consists of (1) *tembung aran* ‘noun’ (2) *tembung wasesa* ‘article’ (3) *tembung watak* ‘adjective’ (4) *tembung kriya* ‘verb’ (5) *tembung wilangan* ‘number word’ (6) *tembung sesulih* ‘pronoun’ (7) *tembung panerang* ‘adverb’ (8) *tembung ancer-ancer* ‘preposition’ (9) *tembung panyilah* ‘conjunction’ (10) *tembung sabawa* ‘interjection’. So

Poensen classified Javanese words into 10 kinds. Padmosoekotjo (1987) also explains the same category.

Verb

Javanese words know two kinds of verbs, they are (1) basic verb, such as *lungo* 'to go', *adus* 'to take a bath', *туру* 'to sleep', *gojek* 'to play', *adang* 'to cook rice' (2) derivative verb, such as *maku* 'to nail', *nyapu* 'to sweep', *ngguntung* 'to sew', *ngecet* 'to paint', *nyemprit* 'to blow whistle'. If derivative verb comes from a noun, it is called denominal verb. It means that the verb comes from a noun added with prefix.

According to Poedjosoedarmo (2016) verb is a word that implies action. The verb has morphologic sign, that is, it can follow the slot:

- 1) [N-] L, [NL-i], and [NL-ake] for example: *nuthuk* 'to beat', *nuthuki* 'to beat several times', *nuthukake* 'to beat for someone else'
- 2) [NL-a], [NL-ana], and [NL-na] for example: *macula* 'please hoe', *maculana* 'please hoe several times', *maculna* 'please hoe for someone else.'
- 3) [dak-N], [dakN-i], and [dakN-ake] for example: *daknulis* 'I write', *daknulisi* 'I vewrite for several times', *daknulisake* 'I write for someone else'.

According to Wedhawati (2016) verb has some characteristics, they are:

- 1) Verb can be added with denial word *ora* 'do not', but cannot with *dudu* 'to be not'
- 2) Verb cannot be applied in the degree of comparison
- 3) Verb can function as a predicate
- 4) Verb cannot be followed with word that implies intensifying
- 5) Verb can be followed by adverb
- 6) Basic verb can function as a command, while derivative verb cannot.

Noun

According to Poedjosoedarmo (2016) a noun is a word that marks or names an object. It can stand alone, does not depend on other word. Javanese noun can be classified into some ways. According to the meaning, there are concrete nouns such as *macan* 'tiger' and *pari* 'rice'; and there are abstract nouns such as *akal* 'sense' and *kejujuran* 'honesty'.

Derivation

Gorys Keraf (1978) states that morphemic process changes lexical identity of a word. Derivation is distinguished into two categories:

- 1) Derivation as morphemic process that changes lexical identity followed with changing of categorical status, such as *paku* 'nail' (N) becomes *maku* 'to nail' (V)
- 2) Derivation as morphemic process that changes lexical identity without changing of categorical status, such as *labu* (V) becomes *nglabuhi* (V)

In other words, derivation is morphologic process that can change word identity both transpositional and untranspositional.

Denominal Verbs

The forming a verb from noun is called denominal verb. The basic word is a noun processed with affixation or reduplication and becomes a verb. According to Nanik Herawati (2017) denominal verb is a verb from basic form *gunting* 'scissors' becomes *menggunting* 'to cut with scissors'. Morphemic analysis, that word has two morphemes, they are {N-} and the basic form $\rightarrow$ {N-} + D = Vn. Other examples: *paku* 'nail' $\rightarrow$ *maku* 'to nail' $\rightarrow$ [N-*paku*]; *sapu* 'broom' $\rightarrow$ *menyapu* 'to sweep' $\rightarrow$ [N-*sapu*].

Method

This research has some goals, they are (1) to describe the nasal form in the process of forming the denominal verbs in the Javanese language, (2) to analyze the function of nasal in the forming of denominal verbs, and (3) to describe the meaning of nasal prefixes in the forming of denominal verbs. That's why the structural description is used in the research. The topics that will be reviewed in this research cover: research strategy, research location, data and the data source, data collection technique, data analysis technique, and result presentation.

This research uses description method, that is, describing the language phenomenon accurately and carefully. Data collection, according to Sudaryanto (1992), is called kualitative description. It collects data based on the facts so that the description is real.

The location of this research is in the library to gain the written data. Besides that, the research is also held in Klaten and Solo to gain the data from the native speakers of Javanese language which is daily spoken.

The data is words having nasal prefixes [N-: m-, n-, ny-, ng-, and nge-] which are kinds of *ragam ngoko* 'lower language'. Derivative nasal prefixes are taken when they are verbs coming from basic form of nouns. The data source which is used is primary data and secondary ones. The primary data is many found the Panjebur Semangat magazine; while the secondary ones from daily speeches of society in Klaten and Solo.

Data Collection Technique

The technique of data collecting are listening technique and noting technique. (1) Listening technique means that we listens carefully to the speakers to gain the nasal prefixes of derivative denominal verbs, (2) Noting technique means that we note accurately the data gained.

Data Analysis Technique

To analyze data, **technique two-two** and **technique expansion technique** are used. To find the rule in analyzing data, three methods are used: (1) equivalent method (2) agih method (3) intropective reflection method. These methods are described in the book of Sudaryanto (Sudaryanto, 2001)

1. Technique Two-two

To analyze the process of derivation with nasal prefixes, technique two-two is used. This technique shows wheather there is lexical identity difference or not concerning the category of the words. Affixation can change the category of words, eg, from a verb becomes a noun and like versa. The technique two-two can be described as follows:

Gunting 'scissors' (N) → *nggunting* 'to cut with scissors' (V)

Garu 'rakes' (N) → *menggaru* 'to harrow' (V)

Paku 'nail' (N) → *memaku* 'to nail' (V)

The opposition of the two words *gunting* (N) and *nggunting* (V) shows the different word category. The changing process from a noun to a verb is called denominal verb. The opposition of the two words shows different category after affixation process; to be exact, nasalisation. The same thing happens also for the words *garu* (N) and *paku* (N) which become *menggaru* (V) and *maku* (V). Other words:

Sapu 'broom' (N) → *nyapu* 'to sweep'

Tukang 'workman' → *nukang* 'to work as workman'

Cat 'paint' → *mengecat* 'to paint'

The category of the words is changed at the result of nasalisation from nouns to verbs. It is denominal verb.

2. Expansion Technique

This technique expands a certain lingual unit with other lingual unit. It can be described as follows.

1) *Lik Tarja suku pacul ning pasar Wedhi.*

'Lik Tarja bought a hoe at the market.'

2) *Lik Tarja macul ning sawah.*

'Lik Tarja hoed at the field.'

The word *pacul* in the first sentence can be expanded with number: *Lik Tarjo suku pacul loro ning pasar Wedhi.* 'Lik Tarjo bought two hoes at the market.' The word *pacul* can also be added with denial word *dudu* 'is not' as in the sentence *Iki dudu pacul* 'This is not a hoe.' The word *macul* in the second sentence can be expanded with words of tenses: *arep* 'will', *wis* 'has' and *durung* 'not yet'.

3) *Lik Tarja arep macul ning sawah.*

'Lik Tarja will hoe at the field.'

The words of tenses show that the word *macul* is a verb.

Result Presentation

Presentation of the result produces certain rule. They are:

- a) Formulation with sentences is called informal method
- b) Formulation with symbols or signs, for example sign of arrow (→), brackets (...), and quotation marks ("")

Findings and Discussion

1. Denominal Verb with Nasal Prefixes

The nasal prefixes forms, {N-} has five allomorphs, they are {*m-*, *n-*, *ng-*, *ny-*, and *nge-*}. The nasal prefixes can change nouns into verbs, that is denominal verbs. The rules are as follows:

- a. Nasal will be in the form of {*m-*} when followed with basic morphem beginning with consonant /b, p, and w/

1) *Baso* 'round meat' → *mbakso* 'eat baso'

Titin suku baso. 'Titin bought baso'

- Titin lagi mbakso nang warung.* ‘Titin is eating baso at cook shop.’
- 2) *Pincuk* ‘small container from leaves’ → *mincuk* ‘to make pincuk’
Ani pinter gawe pincuk. ‘Ani is skilled at making container from leaves.’
Ani lagi mincuk sego gudhangan. ‘Ani is eating rice and vegetables with pincuk.’
- 3) *Wadung* ‘ax’ → *madung* ‘to cut something with an ax’
Bapak tuku wadung ning pasar Kartosuro. ‘Father bought an ax at the market.’
Bapak lagi madung wit ringin nganti gobyos. ‘Father is cutting down banyan tree.’
- b. Nasal will be in the form of {n-} when followed with basic morphem beginning with consonant /t-, th-,d-, dh-/
- 4) *Dubang* ‘red saliva’ → *ndubang* ‘spit red saliva’
Simbah yen mbuang dubang ning pojok omah. ‘Our grandmother the red saliva at the house corner.’
Sedhelo-sedhelo simbah ndubang. ‘Simbah very often spits red saliva.’
- 5) *Dhadha* ‘chest’ → *ndhadha* ‘to pat the chest’
Ibu seneng dhahar dhahda ayam. ‘Mother likes to eat chicken chest.’
Dheweke dari juara banjur ndhadha. ‘He’s the champion, then he pats the chest.’
- 6) *Tempe* ‘side dish from soy’ → *nempe* ‘to make side dish from soy’
Tuti nggoreng tempe kriyuk. ‘Tuti is frying side dish from soy.’
Tuti lagi repot nempe. ‘Tuti is busy making side dish from soy.’
- c. Nasal will be in the form of {ng-} when followed with basic morphem beginning with consonan /k-, g-, r-, l-, y-/
- 7) *Karung* ‘sack’ → *ngarung* ‘to put something into the sack’
Marsudi melipat karung dengan rapi. ‘Marsudi folded the sack neatly.’
Marsudi lagi ngarungi jagung. ‘Marsudi is putting the corn into the sack.’
- 8) *Kayu* ‘wood’ → *ngayu* ‘to become like wood’
Lawange digawe saka kayu jati. ‘The door is made of teak wood.’
Pohunge wis kesuwen, padha ngayu. ‘the casava is too long, it became like wood’
- 9) *Gambar* ‘picture’ → *nggambar* ‘to draw.’
Tini dhuwe gambar pemandangan. ‘Tini has a picture of ssenery.’
Tini nggambar gunung loro. ‘Tini draws two mountains.’
- 10) *Rabuk* ‘fertilizer’ → *ngabuk* ‘to fertilize’
Lik Tarno tuku rabuk. ‘Lik Tarno bought fertilizer.’

Lik Tarno sekeksuk ngrabuk ning sawah. 'Lik Tarno fertilized at the field all day.'

11) *Labur* 'paint' → *nglabur* 'to paint'

Asep gawe labor dinggo tembok. 'Asep made paint mixture for the wall.'

Asep sarapan sadurunge nglabur. Asep has breakfast before he paints the wall.'

12) *Oyot* 'root' → *ngoyot* 'to become root'

Oyot pelem kuwi ngrusak pager. 'The root of mango tree damages the fence.'

Wortele wis ngoyot. 'The carrot has rooted.'

13) *Uyuh* 'urine' → *nguyuh* 'to urinate'

Uyuh pancen pesing ambune. 'The aroma of urine smells really awful.'

Yen nguyuh yo dang disentor. 'If you urine, soon flush it.'

14) *Idu* 'salive' → *ngido(ni)* 'to spit to someone'

Yen idu aja sakenggon enggon. 'Mind your spit, please.'

Aja seneng ngidoni kancane. 'Don't spit your friends.'

15) *Endhog* 'egg' → *ngendhog* 'to lay egg'

Sarmi nggodhog endhog kanggo bancakan. 'Sarmi cooked eggs for thanksgiving.'

Pitike ngendhog ana kebon. 'The hen lays egg at the yard.'

16) *Andhong* 'horse cart' → *ngandhong* 'to ride on horse cart.'

Dirman duwe andhong loro. 'Dirman has two horse carts'

Ibu tindak pasar Candhi ngandhong. 'Mother goes to the market by horse chart.'

d. Nasal will be in the form of {ny-} when followed with basic morphem beginning with consonant /c-, j-, s-/

17) *Copet* 'pickpocket' → *nyopet* 'to pickpocket'

Akeh copet ana nang pasar malem. 'There are many pickpockets at the fair.'

Wong kuwi ketangkep pas arep nyopet. 'That man was caught when he would pickpocket.'

18) *Jago* 'cock' → *njago* 'to make someone a candidate.'

Pak Joko duwe jago loro. 'Joko has two cocks'

Aku njago dulurku dadi lurah desaku. 'I make my relative a candidate of my village headman.'

19) *Susu* 'milk' → *nyusu* 'suckle'

Adi nyimpan susu nang botol. 'Adi kept the milk in the bottle.'

Anak kucing kuwi lagi nyusu. 'The kitty is suckling.'

e. Nasal will be in the form of {nge-} when basic morphem only consists of one syllable.

20) *Cat* 'paint' → *ngecet* 'to paint'

Tukua cet ning toko Abadi kana. 'Please, buy a tin of paint at to Abadi shop.'

Bapak lagi ngecet pawon. 'Father is painting the kitchen.'

21) *Bis* 'bus' → *ngebis* 'to go by bus'

Wong loro kuwi nyegat bis ana halte. 'Those men stopped the bus at the bus-stop.'

Bocah-bocah mangkat nang sekolah ngebis. 'The children go to school by bus.'

22) *Tik* 'typewriter' → *ngetik* 'to type using typewriter'

Mesin tik jaman biyen dadi barang mewah. 'At the old days, typewriter was a luxury goods.'

Ani ngetik nganti wengi. 'Ani typed the paper till late at night.'

23) *Rem* 'brake' → *ngerem* 'to brake'

Paklik Tono lagi ndandani rem motor. 'Uncle Tono is repairing the brake of the motorcycle.'

Sopir bis kuwi wis ngerem kanthi alus. 'The bus driver has braked the bus softly.'

24) *Pel* 'mop' → *ngepel* 'to mop'

Yu Jum umbah-umbah pel. 'Yu Jum is washing the mop.'

Yu Jum lagi ngepel kamar. 'Yu Jum is mopping the room.'

2. Function of Nasal in Denominal Verbs Forming

The function of nasal prefixes {N-} is to form active transitive verbs. Some examples of active denominal verbs with nasal prefixes are *nggaru* 'to harrow', *nyapu* 'to sweep', *nyiduk* 'to take water', *nguping* 'to eardropping'. Nasal prefixes {N-} indicates modality, that is, indicating something real. The transitive verbs from nouns can be indicative, imperative, subjunctive.

3. The Meaning of Nasal Prefixes in Denominal Verbs Forming

Nasal prefixes {N-}+ D have some meaning as follows:

- a. to do action as indicated in the basic form
 - 1) *Jenang ayune nglenga.* 'The porridge Ayu contains much oil.'
Nglenga 'to contain oil' (V) from *lenga* 'oil' (N)
 - 2) *Mas Budi esuk-esuk wis ngebel.* 'Brother Budi has phoned early in the morning.'
Ngebel 'to phone' (V) from *bel* 'phone' (N)
- b. to do the activity with the basic form
 - 3) *Ibu ngasta roti bolu.* 'Mother brings cake bolu.'
Ngasta 'to bring something with arm' (V) from *asta* 'arm' (N)
- c. to become or to contain something like the basic form
 - 4) *Gulene nggajih.* 'The curry contains much fat.'
Nggajih 'to contain fat' (V) from *gajih* 'fat'
 - 5) *Sepedane ora nate diresiki ngganti ngarat.* 'The bike is never cleaned up till rusty.'
Ngarat 'to become rust' (V) from *karat* 'rust' (N)
- d. to play or to sound the basic form
 - 6) *Anakku senengane nyuling.* 'My son loves to play flute.'
Nyuling 'to play flute' (V) from *suling* 'flute' (N)
- e. To do or to bring something like the basic form

- 7) *Budi menyang sawah nyeker.* 'Budi went to the field with bare feet.'
Nyeker 'to walk with bare feet' (V) from *ceker* 'feet'
- 8) *Sardi senengane nguping.* 'Sardi loves to eardropping.'
Nguping 'to eardrop' (V) from *kuping* 'ear'
- f. to ride the basic form
 - 9) *Pardi ngepit ontherl saben esuk.* 'Sardi usually goes on bike every morning.'
Ngepit 'to go on bike' (V) from *pit* 'bike' (N)
 - 10) *Titi ndhokar menyang pasar.* 'Titi goes to the market on horse cart.'
Ndhokar 'to go on horse cart' (V) from *dhokar* 'horse cart'
- g. to produce something as indicated in the basic form from the body
 - 11) *Pitik katene wis ngendhog lima.* 'The chicken has lay five eggs.'
Ngendhog 'to lay egg' (V) from *endhog* 'egg'
 - 12) *Yen nguyuh kudu disiram.* 'If you urinate, please flush it.'
Nguyuh 'to urinate' (V) from *uyuh* 'urine' (N)

Conclusion

The conclusion can be taken from the above review as follows. Nasal prefixes {N-} in the forming of denominal verbs with nasal sound have five allomorphs, they are {m-, n-, ng-, ny-, and nge-}; The function of nasal prefixes {N-} are to form active verbs. Examples of transitive active verbs are: *nggaru* 'to harrow', *nyapu* 'to sweep', *nyiduk* 'take water', *nguping*, 'eardrop'. Nasal prefixes {N-} indecates modality, that is, indicating something real, and: Nasal prefixes {N-} in the forming of denominal verbs have some meaning; they are: to do action as indicated in the basic form, to do the activity with the basic form, to become or to contain something like the basic form, to play or to sound the basic form, to do or to bring something like the basic form, to ride the basic form, and to produce something as indicated in the basic form from the body

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ENGLISH PHONOLOGY FOR LANGUAGE LEARNERS: EXPLORING LEARNERS' PREFERENCES

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Abstract

English Phonology is an absolutely necessary subject that should be mastered by foreign language learners in learning English. It is taught mostly at university level. However, there are still many students who are not aware of how important learning English Phonology is and less interested in learning this subject. There also has been little study that concerns students' preferences in learning English Phonology whereas knowing students' preferences on topics or themes used in learning materials is a good step to make better learning outcomes. This study aims to investigate the most and least preferred topics and themes by EFL (English as a Foreign Language) students during English Phonology learning. This was a descriptive quantitative research by using a cross-sectional survey design. The data was collected with questionnaire from 112 participants of English Education Study Program students. The result showed phonological process pattern in English becoming the most preferred topic and theme while segmental phonology becoming the least preferred topic and theme in learning English Phonology.

Keywords: EFL student, English Phonology, learning English, pronunciation, student preference

Introduction

Learning English is certainly not an easy thing, especially for foreign language learners. English is a dominant language which is globally used in many sectors of life such as in business, politics, technology, science, education, and many more (Crystal, 1997; Nunan, 2003). In Indonesia, the status of English is as a foreign language. It means that English is not frequently used in daily life, especially by students. Mostly English is only used when they are studying at school or only as target language (the language used as a learning objective). There are components that must be mastered in learning English. Pronunciation is a part of language components. The way people pronounce English is an important skill to pay attention to. As stated by Brown (1991), learners' pronunciation ability will influence their English learning outcomes. However, many foreign language learners still have difficulty in pronouncing English words. One of the reasons is the influence of their mother tongue, Indonesian language, on their target language, English (Gozali, 2019). Adeline (2020) claimed that Indonesian students face difficulty in pronouncing English because there are differences in language sound systems between Indonesian language and

English. She also explained that students feel less motivated to check the correctness of their pronunciation when pronouncing words in English, for example in pronouncing /g/ sound correctly. Incorrect pronunciation can cause a change in meaning of the word. It can lead to misunderstanding. Mentioned by Savitri and Andrianto (2021), EFL students need to be aware of English sounds to understand the language accurately. This is why learning English Phonology is quite important.

English Phonology

According to Rabiah (2018), phonology is a part of language subsystem. It explains that learning a language is inseparable from learning phonology because phonology is a part that forms language. Phonology is the study of sound systems, that is about how the sound in a language can be produced, patterned, and functioned (Hyman, 1975; Catford, cited in Fikry, 1988; Collins et al., 2008). This means that learning phonology is important in order to know how to pronounce language correctly.

The existence of phonology is closely related to phonetics. Phonology also discusses phonetics in terms of transcribing the speech sounds. However, they are both different. Dardjowidjojo (2009) claimed that the difference between phonology and phonetics lies in focus of the study. The focus of phonetics is in formation, production, and perception of sounds rather than the way how sounds are directly used and formed. Phonology in each language can be different. The example is in English Phonology. In learning English Phonology, there are several topics that can be studied which are accent difference, intonation analysis, phonetics transcription, speech rhythm, segmental phonology, phonological process pattern in English, vowel system, and consonant system.

In pronouncing a language, everyone from different countries can have a different accent. Accent is “several ways in which language can be pronounced” (Collins et al., 2008, p.2). It is also in speaking English. There are different ways of speaking English such as British English, American English, Australia English, Indian English, Singaporean English or Chinese English, and etc. Supported by Mahmud (2018), even the language that people speak is the same language, people can have several differences such as influenced by dialect, etc. These differences can be caused by mother tongue or first language used in daily life.

Intonation belongs to phonological phenomena. Intonation refers to “the pattern of rises and falls in pitch across a stress speech” (Becker & Bieswanger, 2017, p.67). According to Becker and Bieswanger (2017), pitch is also called accent which is the normal melodic height that an individual can reach when his/her vocal folds vibrate. Spence (2014) expressed that intonation analysis deals with analyzing the intonation patterns which are tonality, tonicity, and tone. Tonicity is “the division of continuous speech into melodic units called tone groups”, while tonicity is “the placement of the melodic nucleus or tonic of each group of tone” (Spence, 2014, p.5). Tone is variations of pitch that affect the meaning of a word (Becker & Bieswanger, 2017).

Collins et al. (2008) described that phonetics transcription is an indicator which can show a small details articulation of any particular sound by using differently shaped symbols, e.g. [ʔ ɹ], or by adding little marks (known as diacritics) to a symbol, e.g. [ã ɿ]. Then, Becker and Bieswanger (2017) claimed

phonetic transcription as a way to transcribe spoken language using square brackets which reflect the actual pronunciation in very detailed. In example, the phonetic transcription of 'language' is ['læŋgwɪdʒ].

Segmental phonology is one of recognized branches in phonology. It deals with the analysis of speech into phonemes (or segmental phonemes), which correspond fairly well to phonetics segments of analyzed speech. Crystal (1981) stated that segmental phonology is how analyzing speech into variant units, or segments, as the primary of the sound system. Furthermore, Becker and Bieswanger (2017) defined segmental phonology as individual sounds function in a language which is called segments. Chomsky and Halle (1968) mentioned that segments consist of vowels and consonants. Vowels and consonants can be referred to as segmental phonemes.

Form of words and sounds can change when they occur in connected speech (Becker & Bieswanger, 2017). This is a natural process called phonological process. Phonological process is "rules used to simplify pronunciation of words in a language" (Leung & Brice, 2012, p.2). In this process, there are several processes adapted from Becker and Biswanger (2017). These processes consist of strong and weak forms, assimilation, and liaison.

Vowel system is one of main topics in learning English Phonology, which is side by side with the topic of consonant systems. Mahmud (2018) explained that this topic focuses on how vowels can be pronounced by speech organs and differences between one sound to another when it is produced. Mahmud also mentioned that there is a specific symbol of each sound that can differentiate the sounds. Adapted from Dardjowidjojo in Mahmud (2009), there are 11 vowels in English which are /i:/, /ɪ/, /e/, /ɛ/, /æ/, /ə/, /u:/, /ʊ/, /ɔ/, /o/, and /a/. Dardjowidjojo also stated that the vowel system has four parameters in vowel production. The parameters are the height of the tongue, the position of the tongue, the protrusion or rounding of the lips, and the tense or lax state of the muscles.

Mahmud (2018) explained that the consonant system focuses on how consonants can be pronounced by speech organs and differences between one sound to another when it is produced. It is similar to the vowel system that every sound in the consonant system has a different and particular symbol to differentiate each sound. There are 24 consonants in English which are /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /h/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /w/, /r/, and /y/ (Dardjowidjojo, 2009). Adapted from Dardjowidjojo in Mahmud (2009), consonants have five parameters in explanation which are state of the vocal cords (voiced or voiceless), lateral or central, oral or nasal, place of articulation, and manner of articulation.

Students' Preference in Learning English Phonology

Students are one of indispensable components to increase the power of learning, especially in this case is language learning. However, each student has differences in which this can affect the results of learning. According to Naka (2015) stated that what distinguishes students from each other when learning in the classroom is not their physical characteristic, but the differences can be seen in the way they study, the topics they are interested in, the length of time they study, the motivation they need, the type of environment they are comfortable studying

in, and many more. It means that there are many different factors that can determine students' success in learning a language.

To increase students' success in language learning, teachers' roles are very needed. As a teacher, it is needed to discover what and how students want to learn (Papangkorn, 2015). Therefore, it is also important to pay attention to students' opinions about what they want to learn. What students want to learn indicates learning material which is related to topics or themes given. Each student can have a different opinion about which topics or themes that they are interested in. Then, it can be called students' preference.

Students' preference is a choice chosen by students based on their more liking for one option over another. The choice of students' preferences when it comes to learning can be comprehensive. This can lead to preferences towards learning strategies, learning styles, learning topics or themes, and many more. Many studies have conducted research on students' preferences in learning strategies and learning styles, but only a few studies have conducted research on students' preferences on topics or themes of learning material. Lintunen and Mäkilähde (2013) declared that there was still rare to do research on teaching and learning phonetics, especially on aspects of student preferences, even though students' opinions influence the results of the learning. Interesting topics given to the students can help to increase students' motivation when they are learning language (Harmer, 2001; Naka, 2015). Shabani (2012) also mentioned that interesting topics given in foreign language learning is a factor which can influence the success of learning.

Students can have different perspectives about their interesting topics in learning. In a small interview that the researcher did to some students, one of the main reasons stated is they find English Phonology to be difficult to learn so they are less interested in learning this subject. Furthermore, knowing which topics that make students interested will help to motivate students in learning English Phonology. It can be known by investigating students preferences' on topics and themes which are given in English Phonology learning.

This study dealt with students' preferences in learning English Phonology. The purpose of this study was to investigate the most and least preferred topics and themes by EFL students during English Phonology learning using a descriptive quantitative approach. Result of this study was expected to make better learning in English Phonology subjects, especially to the materials which are given by the lecturers based on students' preferences to the topics and themes in English Phonology subject.

Method

This study used a descriptive quantitative method by using cross-sectional survey design. Cross-sectional survey design is a type of research design by making inferences from collecting data of a large population at one point of time (Lavrakas, 2008). According to Setia (2016), participants in this cross-sectional survey are selected based on criteria set by the researcher without being given any treatment then. This research design is suitable for answering the research question of this study because it is in accordance with the purpose of holding this research that is to get a conclusion from the data taken from large numbers of participants at same time. This study involved 112 participants from 4th and 6th

semester students of English Education Study Program, Faculty of Cultural Studies, Universitas Brawijaya in the academic year 2019/2020, who have taken English Morphology and Phonology course. The participants were randomly selected without considering any specific categorization.

Instrument used in this study was questionnaire. The questionnaire was adapted from Lintunen and Mäkilähde (2013) by choosing just six statements and changing one statement from eleven available statements which were part of content of lecture series and adding one different statement. Five statements adapted from Lintunen and Makilahde were accent difference, intonation analysis, phonetic transcription, speech rhythm, vowel system, and consonant system. One statement changed was assimilations changed into phonological process pattern in English, while one different statement added was segmental phonology. These changes and additions were made to suit the topic used in this study which was English Phonology because previous research was more focused on English Phonetics. The statements were completely with a five-step Likert-scale ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree” that students have to choose based on their preferences.

Validity and reliability tests have been carried out before the instrument was used to collect data. The validity test functions to test that data collected has covered the actual condition of research (Ghauri & Gronhaug, 2005). The result was valid because all scores of r_{yx} value was 0.495 and above which showed that it was higher than r table value which was 0.306. The reliability test functions to test a measurement of a phenomenon providing stable and consistent results (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). The result was reliable because all Cronbach's alpha value was 0.852 and above which was more than r -table of 0.306.

Data analysis is a part of process of collecting the data (Marshall and Rossman, 1999). The data was collected by using google form as an online questionnaire. The data of this study consisted of students' answers to the eight topics and themes based on their preferences in learning English Phonology. For answers strongly disagree was worth 1 point, disagree was worth 2 points, neutral was worth 3 points, agree was worth 4 points, and strongly agree was worth 5 points. Then, the data was calculated using the Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS) and analyzed descriptively.

Findings and Discussion

English Phonology is a course that is taught at university level. It becomes one of subjects taught in the 4th semester in English Education Study Program. This subject is taught together with English Morphology subject in English Morphology and Phonology course which has three credits.

In this section, the researcher tried to explain the survey result to answer the research question: “Which topics and themes are the most and least preferred by EFL students during English Phonology learning?”. The data result was gained from a survey conducted from May 21st until June 8th, 2020. The link of google form was distributed to 4th and 6th semester students who have taken English Morphology and Phonology class. The total respondent involved in this research was 112 respondents. The respondents consist of two groups of students which were 103 of 4th semester and 9 of 6th semester students.

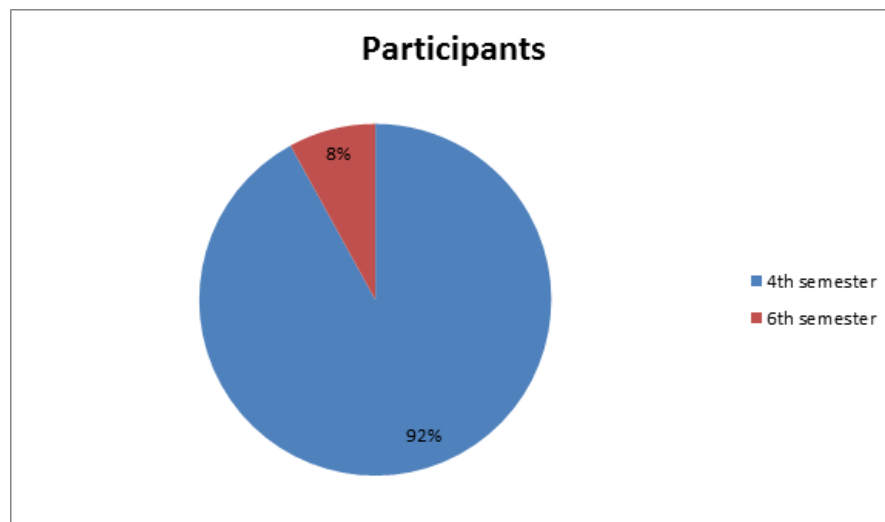


Figure 1. Percentage of students involved

From the research problem, the researcher wanted to find out the preferred topics and themes that students chose in learning English Phonology. The researcher tried to calculate the result of data by SPSS. The data was shown in bar chart completely with percentage for each topic and theme.

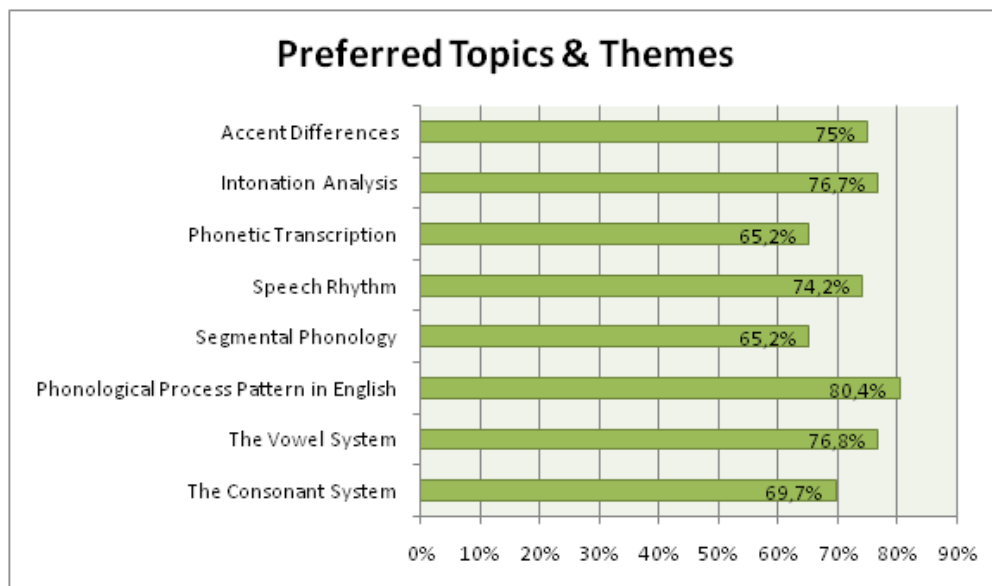


Figure 2. Percentage of students' preferred topics and themes

In the figure, there were eight available topics and themes in English Phonology subject. The percentage was the result from data calculation of percentage strongly agree and agree answers by students. The students chose the topics and themes based on what they thought which topics and themes that they interested in and preferred in learning English Phonology. According to an online survey using google form that had been done, the result most of the students chose 80.4% on phonological process pattern in English. This result consisted of 29.5% strongly agree answers and 50.9% agree answers. In the middle result of the percentage, there were 76.8% students choosing the vowel system, 76.7% students

choosing the intonation analysis, 75% students choosing the accent differences, 74.2% students choosing the speech rhythm, and 69.7% students choosing the consonant system. The difference in proportions was not that far. While we can see that the phonetic transcription and the segmental phonology were less chosen by students. 65.2% of the students chose the phonetic transcription and the segmental phonology as their preferred topics and themes.

The aim of this study was to investigate the most and least preferred topics and themes by EFL students during English Phonology learning. The research finding showed most students choosing phonological process pattern in English (80.4%) and least students choosing phonetic transcription and segmental phonology (65.2%) as their preferred topics and themes in learning English Phonology. The researcher compared the finding of this study with previous study conducted by Lintunen and Mäkilähde (2013). The result of that previous study was accent differences becoming the most preferred topic which reached 69.2% percentage higher than other topics, while the consonant system becoming the least preferred topic which reached 5.3% percentage. Agustina and Andrianto (2021) conducted the same study as Lintunen and Makilahde did and got result of the vowel system (28.2%) as the most preferred topic and segmental (13.6%) as the least preferred topic. From the findings of three studies, it can be concluded that there was a different result on most and least preferred topics and themes chosen by students.

Papangkorn declared that as a teacher, knowing what students' want to learn is a must. As stated by Harmer, students who were given an interesting topic in learning got increased motivation. Finding out the most and least preferred topics and themes in learning English Phonology is a way to discover one of students' needs to increase their motivation in learning. However, problems faced by students in learning English are not just the less interesting topics they get. As explained by Adeline, students' lack of awareness in checking the correctness of their English pronunciation was one of the stumbling blocks in learning a language. Rokhman et al. (2020) explained that a crucial skill which has to be considered in learning English well is phonemic awareness. They added that phonemic awareness is a valuable help for improving speaking skills by more accurately dissecting deeper into the sounds which can improve vocabulary by understanding the words, pronouncing it correctly, and avoiding word writing mistakes.

Conclusion

All in all, knowing students' preferences especially on topics and themes in learning English Phonology is essential to enhance the quality of teaching, to meet learners' expectations, to support learning and learning motivation. Although each student may have different preferences in learning English Phonology, it is needed to know what they are interested in. The result showed that phonological process pattern in English became the most preferred topics and themes which reached 80.4% percentage higher than other topics and themes, while phonetic transcription and segmental phonology became the least preferred topic which reached 65.2% percentage. Theoretically, the result of this research is expected to help further researchers who conduct research in English Phonology field, especially dealing with students' preferences. The further researchers

hopefully can find appropriate ways to improve students' preferences in learning English Phonology using least topics and themes so the learning process will be more effective. Practically, the result of this research is to help the students to get better outcomes in learning English Phonology because their preferences are researched and needed to enhance learning activities. So, the learning process is not only seen and considered from the lecturers' point of view, but it is also from the student's point of view. One limitation of this research was the data collection only using questionnaire.

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ANALYSIS ON CLARITY AND CORRECTNESS OF GOOGLE TRANSLATE IN TRANSLATING AN INDONESIAN ARTICLE INTO ENGLISH

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Abstract

The objective of this study is to analyze the aspects of clarity and correctness in Google Translate's ability in translating an Indonesian article from English into Indonesian. This research refers to qualitative research. Data used in this research is a published Indonesian article which is translated into English by using Google Translate. Based on the analysis, the researcher concludes that Google Translate is a machine translator, but there is always going to be potentially less clarity and correctness at the end of the translation product such as in Indonesian articles into English. Because English grammar is a complicated thing to be learned, people perhaps cannot expect more that machine translator understands every aspect of the way human beings communicate with each other. That is why the answer about the clarity and the correctness of Google Translate is that it still has a way to go before it can consistently, clearly, and correctly translate the language without errors. In the clarity aspect, there is still no clarity in English translation by Google Translate, even it translated the language word-for-word. In the correctness aspect, it refers to the mechanical rule in writing which is related to grammar, punctuation, and spelling. Some examples of non-correctness are related to grammar and punctuation errors. Machine translators have come a long way in a short amount of time, but some features still lack good translation such as in aspects of grammar and punctuation.

Keywords: Google translate, translation, article, clarity, correctness

Introduction

The idea of using computers in translating human language is almost as old as the computer itself (Trujillo, 2012, p. 4). Machine translations have also increased in complexity and usability in recent years, beyond what we expected. It has increased in recent years because of the increase in English communication between countries in the world (Li et al., 2014). Many people have proposed that an endangered species could be human translators. Currently, several online translator sites can translate every language in the world. Machine translation (MT) is a perfectly appropriate solution to translation, but where there is a lack of

comprehension or unreasonable standards, complications often follow (Calvin, 2017).

Machine translation translates text or voice from one language into another using algorithms. To easily substitute words in one language with words in another, MT uses a machine translation engine but that alone typically does not generate the highest quality translation of a text. (Gubler, 2016) states that machine translation is a machine that uses translation tools to translate written or spoken texts from one language to another, such as a computer, tablet, or smartphone.

Because of its simplicity, Google Translate is one of the most used machine translation services. At present, more than 100 billion words a day are translated (McGuire, 2019). He also adds that the use of automatic machine translation such as statistical machine translation service, Google Translate (GT) was launched in April 2006, using documents from the United Nations and the European Parliament to gather linguistic data. It searched for similarities in these documents during translation to help determine what the correct translation was (Twose, 2019). Google Translate has been the go-to resource for fast, easy foreign language translations on the internet (Sommerlad, 2018). Indeed, millions of people worldwide use this service every day to translate any language (Herlina et al., 2019).

Correctness is about a mechanical rule in writing. It has two points, both factual precision and mechanical correctness (Major, 2008, p. 8). Correctness is also related to grammar, punctuation, and spelling even capitalization. Some examples of correctness are misspelling (or spelling error), punctuation error, agreement of subject and verb, and other common errors (Major, 2008, p. 10). Nordquist (2019) states that the term conciseness (clarity) refers to language that is brief and to the point in speech or writing. Concise writing must convey a simple meaning using an economy of words to be effective. Conciseness or clarity is essential to getting your message across accurately and efficiently. Justesen (2017) states that concise means writing everything that is needed in as few words as possible. In improving the comprehension and understanding of writing, clarity is one of the essential dimensions of good writing. Clear writing communicates best (Harris, 2017). According to Li (2013, p. 189), clarity refers to words or groups of words used to express the intended meaning correctly without ambiguity to the other.

There are some previous studies relating to this research. The first, research is written by Nadhianti (2016) entitled "An Analysis of Accuracy Level of Google Translate In English-Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Indonesia-English Translations". The goal of this study is to find the accuracy level of Google Translate in English-Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Indonesia-English Translations. The second research is written by Ulfah (2015) entitled "An Accuracy Analysis in Indonesian-English Translation Using "Google Translate" Machine Translation". The goal of this study is to figure out the effectiveness of "Google Translate" in translating English sentences into Indonesian sentences. There are difference and similarity both two previous studies focus on the accuracy and this research. The two previous studies above focus on the accuracy level of Google Translate, and they also have the same purpose of the research to find the accuracy level or the effectiveness of translation. While, this study, also

focuses on Google Translate, but this research wants to know the aspect of clarity and correctness of the translation result.

Based on the explanation above, the researcher wants to study Google Translate. Therefore, the researcher writes the title “Analysis of Google Translate in Translating Article from Indonesian into English: Clarity and Correctness”. The objectives of this study are to analyze the aspects of clarity and correctness in Google Translate’s ability in translating Indonesian articles from English into Indonesian.

Method

This research refers to qualitative research. According to Watzlawik & Born (2007, p. 59), qualitative research is a research approach that leads to a comprehensive understanding of the perception, explanation, and analysis of reality. The principle is focusing on a single case. The technique of collecting data used is document analysis. As stated by Patton (2002, p. 4) that qualitative data findings consist of three kinds of data collection, such as in-depth or open-ended interviews, observation (direct), and written documents. So that, the document used in this research is taken from an Indonesian article written by Fitria (2018b) entitled “Implementasi Program Kegiatan "English Club" Sebagai Salah Satu Kegiatan Mahasiswa di STIE AAS Surakarta”. Then, this article is translated into English. The translations can be found in various writing both non-academic writing and academic writing, such as article journals (Fitria, 2018a). Document content is important because such content may be studied during the research (Silverman, 2004, p. 77). The technique of analyzing data in this research uses three flows of steps, such as 1) data condensation or data reduction, 2) data display, and 3) drawing conclusions or verification (Miles et al., 2014, p. 12).

Findings and Discussion

Some findings related to this research show the aspects of clarity and correctness in Google Translate’s ability in translating Indonesian articles from English into Indonesian. There are some examples of clarity and correctness in translation result by using Google Translate as follow:

Clarity

Clarity refers to words or groups of words used to express the intended meaning correctly without ambiguity to the other. For example:

- Indonesian article : ...perlombaan bahasa Inggris yang diikuti mahasiswa **sejumlah** anggota English Club, ...
Google Translation : ...English Language Competition which is participated by **a number of** English Club members, ...

The example above shows that the Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it is seen that there is no clarity in English translation. In Indonesian, “sejumlah” is translated to be “a number of”. The phrase may be wordy so that it is considering changing the other wording which cannot influence the meaning in the context. So, the better English translation is “some”, “several”, or “many”.

Indonesian article : ...agar mahasiswa **mampu** berkomunikasi dan berwacana dalam bahasa Inggris.

Google Translation : ...skills so that students **are able to** communicate and speak in English.

The example above shows that the Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it is seen that there is no clarity in English translation. In Indonesian, “mampu” is translated to be “are able to” or “to be + able to”. The phrase may be wordy so that it is considering changing the other wording which cannot influence the meaning in the context. So, the better English translation is “can”.

Indonesian article : **Ada beberapa kegiatan** yang bisa dilakukan pada kegiatan English Club, ...

Google Translation : **There are several activities** that can be carried out in English Club activities, ...

The example above shows that the Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it is seen that there is no clarity in English translation. In Indonesian, “Ada beberapa kegiatan” is translated to be “There are several activities”. The meaning is similar to the Indonesian meaning, but Google Translate translates it word-by-word. The English translation can be changed into “several activities” only by removing “there are” because it cannot influence the meaning in the context. So, a better English translation is “several activities”.

Indonesian article : ... apa yang mereka lihat **atas dasar** minat mereka, latar belakang, pengalaman, dan sikap.

Google Translation : ...what they see **on the basis of** their interests, backgrounds, experiences, and attitudes.

The example above shows that the Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it is seen that there is no clarity in English translation. In Indonesian, “atas dasar” is translated to be “on the basis of”. The phrase may be wordy so that it is considering changing the other wording which cannot influence the meaning in the context. So, a better English translation is “based on”.

Indonesian article : maka peneliti **mengambil kesimpulan** bahwa...

Google Translation : the researcher **draws the conclusion** that...

The example above shows that the Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it is seen that there is no clarity in English translation. In Indonesian, “mengambil kesimpulan” is translated to be “draws the conclusion”. The meaning is the same as the Indonesian meaning, but Google Translate translates it word-by-word. The English translation can be changed into

“draws the conclusion” only because it cannot influence the meaning in the context. Then, the phrase “conduct research in” maybe unnecessarily wordy. It is considered to replace the noun with a corresponding verb. So, a better English translation is “conclude”.

Indonesian article : ...**sebagaimana yang nyata** terjadi dalam arti temuan fakta

Google Translation : ...it **actually** occurs in the sense of fact finding...

The example above shows that the Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it is seen that there is no clarity in English translation. In Indonesian, “sebagaimana yang nyata” is translated to be “actually”. The phrase “conduct research in” maybe unnecessarily in this sentence. It is considered to replace or remove it. So, a better English translation is “some members”.

Indonesian article : ... English Club **untuk melakukan penelitian** dalam kelompok English Club...

Google Translation : ...English Club group **to conduct research** in the English Club

The example above shows that the Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it is seen that there is no clarity in English translation. In Indonesian, “untuk melakukan penelitian” is translated to be “to conduct research”. The meaning is the same as the Indonesian meaning, but Google Translate translates translated it word-by-word. The English translation can be changed into “research” only by removing “to conduct” because it cannot influence the meaning in the context. Then, the phrase “conduct research in” maybe unnecessarily wordy. It is considered to replace the noun with a corresponding verb. So, a better English translation is “some members”.

Indonesian article : Data hasil observasi tersebut kemudian dibandingkan apakah **sesuai dengan data** hasil wawancara.

Google Translation : The observational data is then compared whether it is **in accordance with** the interview data.

The example above shows that the Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it is seen that there is no clarity in English translation. In Indonesian, “sesuai dengan hasil data” is translated to be “in accordance with”. The phrase may be wordy so that it is considering changing the other wording which cannot influence the meaning in the context. So, the better English translation is “by, following, under”.

Indonesian article : ..., dimana mahasiswa duduk **dengan cara melingkar**...

Google Translation : ..., where students sit **in a circular way** and...

The example above shows that the Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it is seen that there is no clarity in English

translation. In Indonesian, “dengan cara melingkar” is translated to be “In a circular way”. The meaning is similar to the Indonesian meaning, but Google Translate translates translated it word-by-word. The English translation can be changed into “circularly” which refers to an adverb. As we know that in English, the adverb of manner is formed by Adjective + ly. While Indonesian adverb is formed by ‘dengan + adjective’. This adverb also cannot influence the meaning in the context. So, a better English translation is “circularly”.

Indonesian article : ..., apalagi **ada beberapa anggota** English Club yang merupakan mahasiswa olimpiade.

Google Translation : ,..., especially **there are some members of** the English Club who are Olympic students.

The example above shows that the Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it is seen that there is no clarity in English translation. In Indonesian, “Ada beberapa anggota” is translated to be “There are some members of”. The meaning is similar to the Indonesian meaning, but Google Translate translates translated it word-by-word. The English translation can be changed into “some members” only by removing “there are” because it cannot influence the meaning in the context. So, a better English translation is “some members”.

Correctness

Correctness is a mechanical rule in writing both factual precision and mechanical. It is also related to grammar, punctuation, and spelling even capitalization. Some examples of correctness are misspelling (or spelling error), punctuation error, agreement of subject and verb, and other common errors. For example:

Grammar

Grammar is the set of rules that describes how words or word groups can be arranged to form a sentence in a particular language (Cowan, 2008, p. 3). Fitria (2018a) states that grammar is the system of a language or sometimes it can be said as "rules" of a language. Without grammar, we cannot make a good language and the language we produce will not be understood by others (Fitria, 2020a).

Indonesian article : mengungkapkan persepsi pada **hakikatnya**...

Google Translation : states that perception is **essentially**

The example above shows that the bold phrase is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it does not show that the correctness in English translation. In Indonesian, “hakikatnya” is translated to be “essentially”. The word shows grammar errors. It appears that the adverb “essentially” should be an adjective based on the sentence structure. It should be replaced by an adjective. So, the correct word is “essential”.

Indonesian article : English Club banyak ditemui dekat kedutaan Inggris lalu merambah ke lembaga pendidikan sebagai ekstrakurikuler yang cukup diminati.

Google Translation : English Club is often found near British embassies and then spread to educational institutions as extracurricular that **is** quite in demand.

The example above shows that Indonesian is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it does not show the correctness in English translation especially in to be because Indonesian does not use 'to be' like in English. If we see the 'to be' is written "is" refers to the singular. The 'to be' here shows grammar errors. It appears that the verb 'is' does not agree with the subject. It should be changed by the other verb form. So, the correct verb 'to be' is "are" with appropriate with plural subject "British embassies" and "educational institutions".

Indonesian article : Penelitian ini **menggunakan** pendekatan deskriptif kualitatif.

Google Translation : This research **use** descriptive qualitative approach.

The example above shows that the bold phrase is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it does not show that the correctness in English translation. The example above shows that the Indonesian word "menggunakan" is translated into "use" in English. Here, the plural verb 'use' does not appear to agree with the singular subject "this research". It should be changed by the other verb form. So, the correct verb is "uses". Therefore, it shows that Google translate cannot translate the word correctly based on the rule of subject-verb agreement in English grammar.

Indonesian article : ...sebagai salah satu variabel campur tangan (intervening variable), **bergantung** pada faktor-faktor perangsang, ...

Google Translation : ...as one of the intervening variables, **depending** on stimulating factors, ...

The example above shows that the bold phrase is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it does not show that the correctness in English translation. The example above shows that the Indonesian word "bergantung" is translated into "depending" in English. Here, the verb 'depending' does not appear to agree with the plural subject "intervening variables". It should be changed by the other verb form. So, the correct verb is "depend". Therefore, it shows that Google translate cannot translate the word correctly based on the rule of subject-verb agreement in English grammar.

Indonesian article : Kedua, Wall Magazine atau majalah dinding yang diadakan setiap sebulan sekali.

Google Translation : Second, **the** Wall Magazine which is held once a

month.

The example above shows that Indonesian is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it does not show the correctness in English translation especially in grammar. In Indonesian, there is not found a determiner or kata sandang, but the result of its English translation appears determiner/article “the” which is unnecessary in this context. It should remove it.

Indonesian article	:	Jadi hambatan utama mereka adalah waktu yang harus dibagi-bagi dengan kegiatan lain...
Google Translation	:	So their main obstacle is the time that must be divided with other activities...

The example above shows that Indonesian is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it does not show the correctness in English translation especially in grammar. In Indonesian, the passive form “dibagi-bagi” is translated into English passive form “divided with” or V3 (by using past participle). Google translate translated into word-for-word, “dibagi dengan” into “divided with”. But, there is a grammar error of “divided with”. It appears that preposition use may be incorrect here. Google translate does not follow the rule of English grammar about Phrase + Prepositions. It should be changed into “divided into”.

Punctuation

Punctuation is the music of language. Without punctuation, the writing can be ambiguous and misinterpretation (A'Morelli, 2017).

Indonesian article	:	...peristiwa yang nyata terjadi dalam arti temuan fakta .
Google Translation	:	...event that occurs in the sense of the fact finding .

The example above shows that the bold phrase is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it does not show that the correctness in English translation. In Indonesian, “temuan fakta” is translated to be “fact finding”. The meaning is the same as the Indonesian meaning, Google can translate translated it correctly. But, it shows a punctuation error. It appears that “fact finding” is missing a hyphen. It should be added by a hyphen. So, better writing is “fact-finding”.

In the aspect of clarity, it refers to the language that is brief and to the point. It means that the use of words or groups of words used to express the intended meaning correctly without ambiguity to the other. Indonesian article is translated into English by using Google Translate, but it shows that there is no clarity in English translation. For example 1) In Indonesian, “sejumlah” is translated to be “a number of”. The phrase may be wordy, it should be changed into other words. 2) In Indonesian, “mampu” is translated to be “are able to” or “to be + able to”. it should be changed into “can”. 3) In Indonesian, “Ada beberapa kegiatan” is translated to be “There are several activities”. Google Translate translates it word-by-word. it should be changed into “several activities”. 4) In Indonesian, “atas dasar” is translated to be “on the basis of”. it should be changed into “based on”. 5) In Indonesian, “mengambil kesimpulan” is translated to be “draws the

conclusion". Google Translate translated it word-by-word. it should be changed into "conclude". 6) In Indonesian, "sebagaimana yang nyata" is translated to be "actually". it should be changed into other words. 7) In Indonesian, "untuk melakukan penelitian" is translated to be "to conduct research". Google translate it word-by-word. it should be changed into "to research". 8) In Indonesian, "sesuai dengan hasil data" is translated to be "in accordance with". The phrase is maybe wordy. It should be changed into "by, following, under". 9) In Indonesian, "dengan cara melingkar" is translated to be "In a circular way". Google Translate translates it word-by-word. The English translation can be changed into "circularly" which refers to the adverb. It should be changed into "circulary". Then, 10) In Indonesian, "Ada beberapa anggota" is translated to be "There are some members of". The meaning is similar to the Indonesian meaning, but Google Translate translates it word-by-word. It should be changed into "Some members".

In the aspect of correctness, it refers to the mechanical rule in writing both factual precision and mechanical correctness. Correctness is also related to grammar, punctuation, and spelling even capitalization. Some examples of correctness are misspelling (or spelling error), punctuation error, agreement of subject and verb, and other common errors. In grammar, for example: translated into English by using Google Translate, but it does not show that the correctness in English translation. 1) In Indonesian, "hakikatnya" is translated to be "essentially". It appears that the adverb "essentially" should be an adjective based on the sentence structure. It should be replaced by the adjective. So, the correct word is "essential". 2) In English translation especially to be because Indonesian does not use 'to be' like in English. If we see the 'to be' is written "is" refers to the singular. It appears that the verb 'is' does not agree with the subject. It should be changed by the other verb form. The correct verb 'to be' is "are" suitable with plural subject "British embassies" and "educational institutions". 3) In Indonesian, "menggunakan" is translated into "use" in English. The plural verb 'use' does not appear to agree with the singular subject "this research". It should be changed by the other verb form into "uses". It shows that Google Translate cannot translate the word correctly based on the rule of subject-verb agreement in English grammar. 4) In Indonesian, "bergantung" is translated into "depending" in English. The verb 'depending' does not appear to agree with the plural subject "intervening variables". It should be changed by the other verb form into "depend". 5) In Indonesian, there is not found a determiner or kata sandang, but the result of the English translation, appears determiner/article "the" which is unnecessary in this context. It should remove it. 6) In Indonesian, the passive form "dibagi-bagi" is translated into English passive form "divided with" or V3 (past participle). The Google Translate translates it word-for-word, "dibagi dengan" into "divided with". It shows the grammar error of "divided with". The preposition is incorrect. Google translate does not follow the rule of English grammar about Verb + Preposition. It should be changed into "divided into". It is still difficult to consult grammar books without considerable knowledge of grammar (Fitria, 2019). grammar is an important part of the English language that can make the language clear. In punctuation, for example: In Indonesian, "temuan fakta" is translated to be "fact finding". Google Translate can translate translated it correctly (Fitria, 2020b). But, it shows a punctuation error. It appears that "fact finding" is missing a hyphen. It should be added by a hyphen into "fact-finding".

Google Translate is a machine translator, but there is always going to be potentially less clarity and correctness at the end of the translation product. Because language is a complicated thing, people perhaps cannot expect more that machine translator understands every aspect of the way human beings communicate with each other by writing. That is why the answer about the clarity and the correctness of Google Translate is that it still has a ways to go before it can consistently, clearly, and correctly translate without errors. Machine translators have come a long way in a short period, but they are still lacking in certain aspects of good writing and translation such as in grammar and spelling. Google translate often makes this mistake. Rather understandable because the translator is a machine.

Conclusion

Google translate (trying to) can translate to and from many other languages. Even Google translate has been able to recognize the source language that is typed or pasted in the input column. Google Translate has a fairly good ability to translate various languages, such as English. But if the translation involves a fairly long context, grammar and has specific content, both referring to nuances in the language contained, Google Translate translation results often even become increasingly difficult to understand. There are some elements of language identification that are still missing understood by a computer/machine translator and can only be understood and assessed by human translators.

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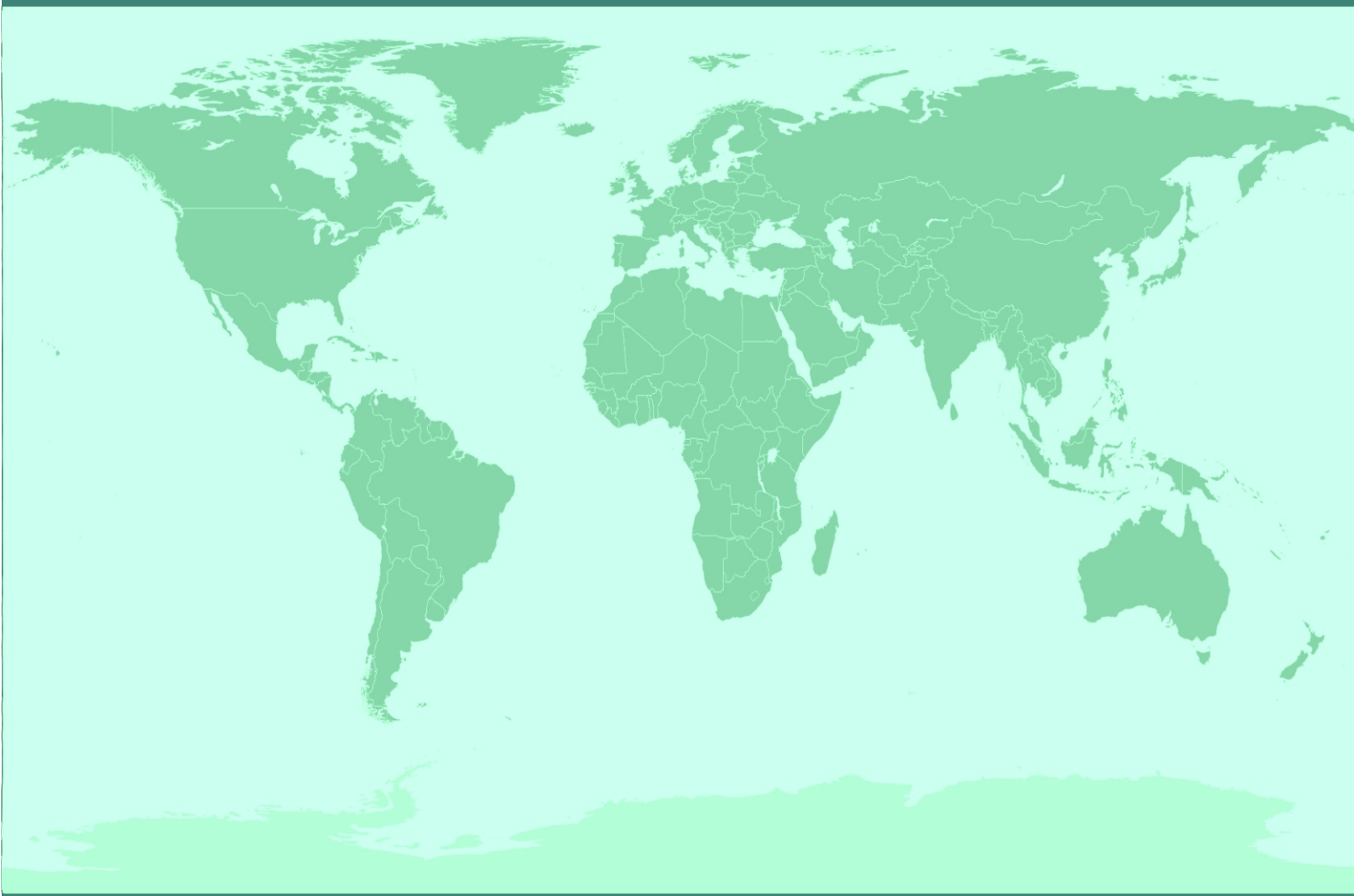
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1. Articles have not been published or accepted for publication, or are being considered for publication elsewhere.
2. In addition to the manuscript, a written statement should be attached which clarifies the originality and free of plagiarism.
3. Types of articles suitable for publication include research reports and conceptual ideas.
4. Each article should be in form of essay written in English which includes:
 - a. Title (15-20 words) in bold type and in capital and in 12- point size of Times New Roman font. Please follow the template uploaded in the website.
 - b. Author's name (without academic degree) with an e-mail address and institution's name.
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 - d. Keywords in English (3 - 5 words).
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 - f. Theory (literature review/theoretical construct) of the research.
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 - h. Results (with sections)
 - i. Discussion (with sections) which includes data analysis, verification of hypothesis, findings, and the interpretation.
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 - k. Reference list should appear at the end of the article and includes only literature actually cited in the manuscripts. Reference list should contain at least 60% new primary literatures and at most 40% new secondary literatures. References are ordered alphabetically and chronologically. When writing a reference list, please use the APA style (the sixth edition)
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 - c. Theory Application
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