

The Oppression Experienced by the Citizens in Okky Madasari's
“The Years of the Voiceless”

THESIS

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

**UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM
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The Oppression Experienced by the Citizens in Okky Madasari's

"The Years of the Voiceless"

THESIS

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(S.S.)

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MALANG**

2018

APPROVAL SHEET

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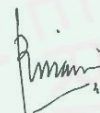
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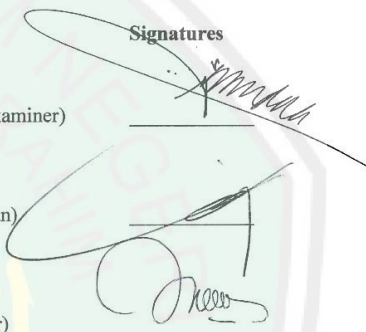
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Malang, 31 of October 2018



Nurul Aini

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MOTTO

“Learn from the past, live for today, and plan for tomorrow”



DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents: my father and my mother,
my brother and my big family.



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Alhamdulillah. All praise is to Allah, the Lord of the world, the Master and the Creator of everything in the universe for the mercy and grace so that this study can be completed as one of the requirements for achieving undergraduate degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S) in English Literature Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. *Shalawat* and *salam* are always delivered to the great Prophet Muhammad SAW who guide us to the brightness with Islam.

I would like to express my greatest gratitude to the people who have helped me in accomplishing this thesis, especially Dr. Hj. Isti'adah, M.A., my thesis advisor who is always willing to help, to guide, share ideas, and spend her busy time for this thesis. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Hj. Syafi'yah, M.A., the Dean of Faculty Humanities, Rina Sari, M.Pd., the Head of English Department.

My highest affection is to my parents: Moch. Zainal Abidin and Siti Masrochah for love, time, endless support and sincere that always given to me. My brother Rafli Muhhamad, who always support me in any condition. My uncle and aunt who takes care of me in Malang.

My friends in Malang, Rohmawati, Nuris Syamsiyah, Bella Kartika, Muzdalifah Mina, Lailatul Hasanah, Zahrotul Milla, Siti Nidhomiyah, Zakki Maulana, Ferry Sandriya, Abdul Aziz, M. Fadli Syakir and all my friends of English Department 2014.

Finally, as an ordinary human being, I am aware of some limitation of this research I conducted. I wish that everyone in any level of education responses this thesis and gives advice for betterment intellectual. Therefore, I expect endless contractive criticism and suggestion for the betterment of the research in this area to help the future researchers to conduct much better researches in literature.

Malang, 31 October 2018

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ABSTRACT

Aini, Nurul. 2018. *The Oppression Experienced by the Citizens in Okky Madasari's The Years of the Voiceless*. Thesis, English Literature Department, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim of Malang

Advisor : Dr. Hj. Isti'adah, M.A

Key Words : Oppression, Government Military, Citizens

As human and social creature, people live in society and interact with each other in daily basis. However, in their social life, there are some issues which appear along the interaction. One of the issue is oppression. Oppression occurs when individuals are systematically subjected to political, economic, cultural, or social degradation because they belong to a social group, results from structures of domination and subordination, correspondingly, ideologies of superiority and inferiority (Charlton, 1998). The study of oppression has been widely known and usually linked with gender or women oppression although the study does not only cover about that topic. According to Iris Marion Young (2014), there are five faces of oppression. This study, would find the example of oppression found in the novel, *The Years of the Voiceless*. This novel written by Okky Madasari and is renowned as a perfect portrayal of the society in New Order Regime era. This period is important and has lot of historical value. The period is also well known because it was a dark age for politic in Indonesia. Thus, a lot of injustice and tragedy happened during this period. Moreover, this study try to find the oppression which happened in *The Years of the Voiceless* and suffered by the citizens that has been done by the official government military staff.

This study focuses on analyzing the types of oppression experienced by the citizens done by government military in *Okky Madasari's The Years of the Voiceless*. In order to find the answer, this study uses the literary criticism using a sociological approach and oppression theory by Irish Marion Young (2014). This study also aims to know the real condition in New Order Regime era by studying the portrayal of the society at that time through *The Years of the Voiceless*.

In result, this study found all of the five faces or types of oppression that has been mention by Iris Marion Young (2014). The citizens in the novel suffered exploitation, powerlessness, marginalization, cultural imperialism and violence, both physical violence and psychological violence.

RINGKASAN

Aini, Nurul. 2018. *Penindasan Yang Dialami Oleh Masyarakat Dalam Novel Okky Madasari Entrok*. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Pembimbing : Dr. Hj. Isti'adah, M.A

Kata Kunci : Penindasan, Pemerintah, Masyarakat

Sebagai makhluk sosial, manusia hidup dalam lingkup sosial dan berinteraksi dengan sesama dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Namun, tentunya akan ditemui isu-isu sosial dalam interaksi tersebut. Salah satu isu sosial tersebut adalah mengenai tentang penindasan. Penindasan terjadi ketika individu secara sistematis mengalami degradasi politik, ekonomi, budaya, atau sosial karena mereka milik kelompok sosial, hasil dari struktur dominasi dan subordinasi, yang sesuai, ideologi superioritas dan inferioritas (Charlton, 1998). Studi tentang penindasan telah banyak dikenal dan biasanya dihubungkan dengan topik kesetaraan gender dan penindasan terhadap perempuan. Menurut Iris Marion Young (2014), ada 5 wajah penindasan dan studi ini akan berusaha menemukan contoh dari penindasan yang terjadi dalam novel *The Years of the Voiceless*. Novel ini ditulis oleh Okky Madasari dan terkenal sebagai cerminan kehidupan sosial pada periode orde baru. Periode ini penting karena memiliki banyak nilai historis. Periode ini juga terkenal karena merupakan masa kegelapan politik di Indonesia. Banyak ketidakadilan terjadi pada saat periode ini berlangsung. Maka dari itu, penelitian ini berusaha untuk menemukan ketidakadilan yang dicerminkan dalam novel *The Years of the Voiceless* yang dirasakan oleh warga dan banyak dilakukan oleh militer Indonesia.

Penelitian ini fokus menganalisis macam-macam penindasan yang dialami oleh masyarakat, dan dalam usaha mencari jawaban atas pertanyaan tersebut, penelitian ini menggunakan studi tentang penindasan yang dibuat oleh Iris Marion Young (2014). Studi ini juga dimaksudkan untuk mengetahui cerminan kondisi asli dari masa Orde Baru dengan menganalisis kejadian di dalam novel *The Years of the Voiceless*.

Pada kesimpulan, penelitian ini menemukan banyak contoh-contoh penindasan yang terjadi dan kelima macam penindasan yang telah disebutkan oleh Iris Marion Young (2014). Masyarakat di dalam novel *The Years of the Voiceless* mengalami penindasan yang berupa eksploitasi, ketidakberdayaan, marginalisasi, imperialisme budaya, dan juga kekerasan.

مستخلص البحث

عيني نورول. ٢٠١٨. الاضطهاد الذي يعيشه المجتمع في الرواية Okky Madasari Entrok.

البحث الجامعي، قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وأدبها، كلية العلوم وأدبها، جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية.

المشرفة : الدكتورة الحاجة استعادة الماجستير

كلمات أساسية : الاضطهاد، حكومة، الاجتماعية

ككائنات اجتماعية ، يعيش البشر في مجال اجتماعي ويتفاعلون مع بعضهم البعض في الحياة اليومية. ومع ذلك ، بالطبع ستنم مواجهة المشكلات الاجتماعية في هذه التفاعلات. واحدة من هذه القضايا الاجتماعية هي حول القمع. يحدث الاضطهاد عندما يتعرض الأفراد بشكل منهجي للتدهور السياسي أو الاقتصادي أو الثقافي أو الاجتماعي لأنهم ينتمون إلى مجموعات اجتماعية ، ناتجة عن هياكل الهيمنة والتبعية ، حسب الاقتضاء ، أيديولوجيات التفوق والدونية (Charlton، ١٩٩٨). الدراسات حول الاضطهاد معروفة جيدًا وعادة ما ترتبط بموضوع المساواة بين الجنسين وقمع النساء. وفقًا لـ Iris Marion Young (٢٠١٤) ، هناك ه وجوه للاضطهاد وستحاول هذه الدراسة إيجاد أمثلة على الاضطهاد الذي يحدث في رواية The Years of the Voiceless. كتب هذه الرواية Okky Madasari، وهي معروفة بأنها انعكاس للحياة الاجتماعية في فترة النظام الجديد. هذه الفترة مهمة لأنها لها الكثير من القيمة التاريخية. هذه الفترة مشهورة أيضًا لأنها كانت في زمن الظلام السياسي في إندونيسيا ، وقد حدثت الكثير من المظالم خلال هذه الفترة. لذلك ، يسعى هذا البحث إلى إيجاد الظلم الذي تنعكس في رواية " The Years of the Voiceless " التي يشعر بها المواطنون والكثير الذي يقوم به الجيش الإندونيسي. تركز هذه الدراسة على تحليل أنواع الاضطهاد التي يعيشها المجتمع ، وفي محاولة للعثور على إجابات لهذه الأسئلة ، تستخدم هذه الدراسة دراسة عن الاضطهاد الذي أجراه Iris Marion Young (٢٠١٤). تهدف هذه الدراسة أيضًا إلى تحديد الشروط الأصلية للنظام الجديد من خلال تحليل الأحداث في رواية The Years of the Voiceless. في الختام ، وجدت هذه البحث العديد من أمثلة القمع التي حدثت وأنواع الظلم الخمسة التي ذكرها Iris Marion Young (٢٠١٤). يواجه المجتمع في رواية " The Years of the Voiceless " الاضطهاد في شكل استغلال ، وعجز ، وتمهيش ، وإمبريالية ثقافية ، وعنف أيضًا.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter defines the background of the study, problem of the study, objective of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitation, research method which consists of research design, data sources, data collection, data analysis, and several key of terms are defined by the end of this chapter.

A. Background of Study

As a part of society, oppression can happen to all levels of society. Especially to someone or some group who do not have power. Usually, oppression occurs when individuals are systematically subjected to political, economic, cultural, or social degradation because they belong to a social group, resulted from structures of domination and subordination, correspondingly, ideology of superiority and inferiority (Charlton, 1998). In other words, oppression is when people decrease the potential for other people to be fully human or make other people less human. The result of oppression can be a few people's choices or policies which causes embedded unquestioned norms, habits, and symbols.

One prominent example of oppression is the Aboriginal communities of Australia that were excluded from society and pushed farther and farther away from their homelands as cities grew. The marginalization of Aborigines happened when society met the needs of white people and not the needs of the marginalized themselves. (Heldke and O'Connor, 2004)

There are so many ways to perceive oppression, one of them is to discuss it through literary work. Oppression has been widely studied which is often studied in gender or women oppression. On the other hand, this study not only focuses on gender or women oppression but also discusses the various kinds of oppression suffered by the citizens in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*. The researcher is interested in examining oppression because the author of the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* shown crime and freedom in Indonesian new order.

The oppression and coercion of the weak are told in that novel. Okky Madasari, describing the events that occurred in the new orde era. The reader is infuriated and sympathetic to injustice in the pages of the novel. Besides that, the author of this novel used some words which are taboo but are not included into pornography, she just wanted to reveal and opened the reader's mind to the fact. In that novel, the author showed the life of the people who lived in that era controlled by government military.

Okky Puspa Madasari, who is known as Okky Madasari is an Indonesian author, won an Indonesian major literary prize, the Khatulistiwa Literary Award, in 2012 for her third novel. She was born on October 30, 1984, in Magetan, East Java. Her first novel, *Entrok* has been translated into English and was published in July 2013 under the title *The Years of the Voiceless*. Her two other novels, *Maryam* and *Pasung Jiwa*, have also been translated into English under the title *The Outcast and Bound Respectively*.

The Years of the Voiceless is an epic about life under totalitarianism and militarism during Indonesia's New Order Era taking back time in 1950-1999. Told

by leading female characters Sumarni and Rahayu, this novel tells of two different eras. Marni is an illiterate Javanese girl and does not understand religion. She performs cultural belief as her ancestor's worship. While Rahayu, is Marni's daughter, is a modern girl who understands how to read and understands religion. She hates what her mother does, she had told her mother how to work in a good way and asked her to stop to be a creditor.

The focus of this study is the oppression suffered by the citizens done by the government military. The researcher used the oppression theory from Iris Marion Young (2014) and sociological approach as the methodology of this study. According to Iris Marion Young in Asumah & Nagel (2014), oppression is divided into five categories: exploitation, powerlessness, marginalization, cultural imperialism, and violence.

In addition, the relation between sociology and literature gets obvious as Laurensen & Swingewood (1972) state that literature and sociology share a similar opinion. Even though the discipline of sociology and literature do not seem strongly related yet, and even look contrary at a glance, literature and sociology are actually complementing to one another in understanding society and what happened in it. Wellek and Warren (1957) state that the focus of discussion in sociology of literature is the content of literary work itself which deals with the depiction of social phenomena. In X. J. Kennedy and Dana (2002) opinion, sociological approach is a critic examines literature in the cultural, economic, and political context in which is written or received.

There are several previous studies which are related to this research. The first previous study is from Debora Levy Savellina (2018), entitled *The Oppression Toward Kino In John Steinbeck's The Pearl*. This journal article focuses on the oppression that happened in Kino's life and the effect of its oppression. The second previous study is from Bayu Satrya Yudha (2016), entitled *Women Oppression As Reflected In Jordan Belfort's The Wolf Of Wall Street*. This study focuses on the forms of women oppression and the causes of women oppression in Jordan Belfort's memoir. The third previous study is from Octaria Tirafiah, (2015), entitled *Sexism in Okky Madasari's The Years Of The Voiceless*. This study focuses on the sexism depicted in *The Years of The Voiceless* novel by using feminist approach. The fourth previous study is from Ayu Monita (2015), entitled *Feminism Reality As Expressed By Sumarni in the Years Of The Voiceless Novel By Okky Madasari: A Critical Discourse Analysis*. This study focuses on the model in how women can show her power through her utterances since women want to be equal in society. The last previous study was done by Ratna Asmarani (2017), entitled *Gender Emancipation in Male-Dominated Jobs In Okky Madasari's The Years Of The Voiceless*. This journal focuses on the life of the female protagonist who is a poor illiterate Javanese.

As those articles and thesis mentioned above finally gave a view to the researcher in conducting such a different research-related issue and to analyse the relation within Okky Madasari's *The Years of the Voiceless*. This study discusses the oppression done by the government military to the citizen in Okky Madasari's *The Years of the Voiceless*.

B. Problem of the Study

Based on the background of the study, the researcher formulates the statement of the problem as: What types of oppression were the citizens experiencing in Okky Madasari's *The Years of the Voiceless*?

C. Objectives of the Study

Concerning with the statements of the problems above, this study is intended: To describe the oppression experienced by the citizens in Okky Madasari's *The Years of the Voiceless*.

D. The Limitation of the Study

In this research, the researcher focuses on the oppression experienced by the citizens in the novel "*The Years of the Voiceless*". The researcher uses oppression by Iris Marion Young as the main theory and sociological approach to connect literary work with sociological aspects.

E. Significance of the Study

This study has two forms of significance, theoretical significance and practical significance. Theoretically, this study is expected to enrich the understanding of oppression theory by Iris Marion Young (2014) by giving example through the condition in the novel. It is also expected to give a better understanding of *The Years of the Voiceless*.

Practically, this study is intended to develop the study towards *The Years of the Voiceless* by Okky Madasari seen from the perspective of oppression experienced by the citizens to provide a study to those who want to do further research on oppression.

F. Research Method

This sub-chapter covers the explanation of research method. It consists of the description of research design, data source, data collection and data analysis.

1. Research Design

This study is literary criticism, which concerns about defining, classifying, analysing, and evaluating works of literature (Abram, 1981). The researcher uses the theory of oppression by Iris Marion Young (2004) within sociological approach in analysing the work. This study is expected to analyse the oppression suffered by the citizens in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*.

2. Data Source

The data source of this research is novel *The Years of the Voiceless* was published in July 2013 consists of 272 pages. This novel translated into English by Nurhayat Indriyanto from the original novel in Indonesian entitled *Entrok* that published in 2010 consists of 264 pages. The data that will be used in this study consist of the words, sentences, paragraphs or dialogues that are related to the problem of the study and may be the evidence of the act of oppression.

3. Data Collection

The data collection of this research is done through several processes. There will be three steps throughout the process of conducting this study. First step is doing a close reading on the novel to understand the plot and general information of the story. In instance, this step is intended to get a better understanding about the intrinsic elements of the novel. The second step is still about conducting intensive reading like the first one. Meanwhile, the second reading focusses to find the social issue and the evidence and its correlation to the five faces of oppression experienced by the citizens in the novel. After gathering the evidences from the novel which indicate oppression, those data are highlighted and marked to be later analysed using the theory of oppression by Iris Marion Young (2014). When the data are already collected, analysed, and interpreted, this study will reveal what type of oppression experienced by the citizens in the novel of *The Years of Voiceless*.

4. Data Analysis

Practically, the process of data analysis starts after the data are already collected in the form of words, sentences, and phrases that are related as the evidences of oppression happen in the novel by excluding parts of the story which are irrelevant. It is done in order to specify the data on oppression experienced by the citizens. Afterward, the data are classified into several major forms of oppression that are belong to exploitation, powerlessness, marginalization, and violence. This step is the analysis of the data using the theory of oppression by Iris Marion Young (2014) that help this study to differentiate what kinds of oppression

that happen in the novel *The Years of Voiceless*. Thus, the final step of data analysis is to draw a conclusion of data analysis regarding theories mentioned above.

G. Previous Studies

There are several studies carried out toward the novel and the topic. The first study is from Debora (2018) entitled *The Oppression Toward Kino in John Steinbeck's The Pearl*. This study focuses on two major purposes. First, describe the oppression seen through in John Steinbeck's *The Pearl* and second is the effects toward Kino in John Steinbeck's *The Pearl*. In this journal article, the researcher wants to analyse the oppression and the effect of oppression toward Kino in John Steinbeck's *The Pearl*. Furthermore, the approaches which are used in this journal article are sociological approach and psychological approach. The researcher also wants the reader to understand more about the oppression that happens at that time. It can also help the reader to understand the whole meaning and the purpose of the novel. The result of the research shows that there are two main oppressions in *The Pearl*. The first oppression comes from the doctor and the second oppression comes from the pearl buyers.

From Debora's finding about the oppression in *The Pearl* using the sociological approach in her study, this study meant to continue the study about oppression that happen in society. Debora's study about oppression in *The Pearl* gives this study a start point as the base line to begin this study about oppression in social life. Furthermore, this study could give a better understanding in the study of oppression by giving another example and explanation beside the one which Debora

provides on her study since this study is quite similar with Debora's and using the same approach which is sociological approach in both of the study. Thus, Debora's study is used for previous study.

The second previous study is from Bayu (2016) entitled *Women's Oppression As Reflected In Jordan Belfort's The Wolf of Wall Street*. This study focuses on women oppression in Jordan Belfort's memoir. The purposes of this study are to explain the forms of women oppression and the causes of women oppression in the memoir. The researcher uses the sociological approach by emphasizing feminism theory and oppression theory to analyse the data. This study shows the women who got oppressed, the forms of oppression, and causes of the oppression. Through the analysis, this study concludes that there are three forms of oppression suffered by women and the cause of the oppression is a financial dependency. In this study, there are three forms of oppression suffered by women: exploitation, powerlessness, and violence.

Bayu's study on women oppression is also quite useful for this study by giving another point of view for understanding women oppression using the theory of feminism, while this study is analysing it using the five faces of oppression by Iris Marion Young (2014). It is interesting to know broad study of oppression in order to giving an input to this study. Meanwhile, although Bayu's study took memoir as the object of the study instead of novel, his study could be helpful for this study on *The Years of Voiceless*.

The third study is from Octaria (2015) entitled *Sexism In Okky Madasari's The Years of The Voiceless*. This study focuses on the sexism depicted in *The Years of the Voiceless* novel by using feminist approach. This study elaborate and examine the meaning of sexism happend upon women's existence. Research findings in this research are divided into three terms: taking control in argument participation, inappropriate in wielding over economic, and lack of regard in women's dignity and self-esteem. While in benevolent sexism the writer classifies it into two, justifying women in chivalrous attitude and lack of complementary from men. Both hostile sexism and benevolent sexism are different. Hostile sexism shows dominating attitudes in society by men. Benevolent sexism involves subjectively favorable, chivalrous attitudes towards women who need affection and support.

The third previous study written by Octaria (2015) shares the same object of the study with this research. Both of the studies are using *The Years of Voiceless* by Okky Madasari. Thus, this study which concentrates in analysing women oppression that happened along the story is completing the study over *The Years of Voiceless* that has been done by Octaria (2015), since both of the studies have different theory and approach in analysing their research.

The fourth study is from Ayu (2015) entitled *Feminism Reality As Expressed By Sumarni In The Years Of The Voiceless Novel By Okky Madasari: A Critical Discourse Analysis*. This study focuses on the model on how to show her power through her utterance since woman wants to be equal in society. Analytical method of this study is done by grouping Sumarni's utterances, thus the utterances analysed by considering feminist stylistic elements at the level of the sentences by

using transitivity choices and Wodaka's triangulatory approach. The result of this study reveals that Sumarni appears as an uncommon woman since she can be a sugarcane field owner and moneylender at the end of the novel. In addition, there is a feminism reality as realized by Sumarni that a woman must be independent and be responsible both in society and family.

Ayu's study on *The Years of Voiceless* is also an interesting study to be one of the previous studies for this research. Since both of the studies use the same object of the study, they complete each other interpretation over *The Years of Voiceless* by using different theories. Both the studies chose to highlight the role of women in this novel, but Ayu (2015) chose to use feminism in analysing her research while this study using oppression theory by Iris Marion Young (2014). Ayu' study on feminism also can be the baseline for this research to begin the analysis in broad new knowledge over the same object of the study.

The last is from Ratna (2017) entitled *Gender Emancipation in Male-Dominated Jobs In Okky Madasari's The Years Of The Voiceless*. This journal article focuses on the life of female protagonist who is a poor illiterate Javanese. The aim of this article is to analyse the gender emancipation fought for by the Javanese female protagonist in the male-dominated jobs. Since this study focussing on the female protagonist, the frame of the analysis used in this study is feminist literary criticism which reads writing and examines its ideology and culture with a woman-centered perspective. Besides analysing why and how she survives in the male-dominated jobs, this journal also analyses the kinds of backlash that she finally cannot overcome leading to her losing mind. Considering that the

protagonist is a female, the frame of analysis used is feminist literary criticism. The result shows that the male-dominated jobs are social construction that can be deconstructed by a strong-willed female. However, her success doesn't last long because of the social-political backlash that cuts off the thriving early life of her only daughter.

Since *The Years of Voiceless* emphasizes its story around women and feminism, a lot of studies which want to analyse about feminism use this novel as their object of the study. Ratna's study is one of them. As no different from Ratna's study, this study also uses *The Years of Voiceless* and studies about the social issues, especially oppression that happened in the story. Ratna's study gives this study a point of view over the social issue which focusses on work emancipation for women. In instance, this study gives a new perception over the previous study on the same object of the study. Thus, Ratna's study becomes important for this study.

Moreover, those studies mentioned above share a similar topic. In the first previous study by Debora, the study analyse about the oppression and the effects of oppression. This study uses four theories to analyse the data, they are characters, characterization, oppression ethnicity, and race. It also uses two approaches for analysing this study which are psychological and sociological approach. In addition, this study also analyses the oppression and use sociological approach. The similarity with the second previous study by Bayu is this study also uses oppression theory by Iris Marion Young and use sociological approach. While with the last three previous studies are this study uses the same novel by Okky Madasari *The Years of the Voiceless* and the three use feminist approach to analyse their studies

which provide a broad new knowledge over the same object of the study that they used in their studies

H. Definition of Key Terms

To avoid misunderstanding, the researcher listed some of the definition of the key terms used in this research for better understanding over the terms used in this study:

- **Oppression:** A situation in which people are governed in an unfair and cruel way and prevented from having the opportunities and their freedom: While, every human born with certain rights to life and freedom is one of them. Thus, oppression is considered as a violation for this right. War, starvation, and also oppression have forced people in the region on fleeing from their homes.
- **Domination:** The implementation of power or influence done by the controller over someone or something without considering their willingness. It also means the state of being so controlled.
- **Inferiority:** The condition of being powerless and lower status or quality than other status. The inferior usually controlled by the dominant people which usually lead to the act of oppression.
- **Subordination:** The act of placing in a lower rank or position or the condition of being subordinated, or made dependent, secondary, or subservient.
- **Superiority:** The fact that one person or thing is better, stronger, than another or an unpleasant way of behaving that a person has when they think they are better than other people.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

In this chapter, the researcher explains the review of related literature which is used to analyse the novel. Theories used to analyse the oppression done by the government military in Okky Madasari's *The Years of the Voiceless* in this study are the theory of oppression proposed by Iris Marion Young (20) and sociological approach in literary criticism. Then, the researcher takes several previous studies which are related to this study.

A. Sociological Approach in Literary Criticism

Since there is a vast scope that could be analysed in one particular literary works, there are many ways in analysing and approaching it. From many approaches that are interesting enough to be used for this study, this study used sociological approach. Sociological approach is an approach that examines literary work in the cultural, economic, and political context in which it is written or received (Kenedy & Gioia, 1995). Damono in Wiyatmi (2013) argues that sociology can be used as an approach in evaluating literary works which mainly dealing with society and its social phenomenon. Moreover, it is also supported by Plato's idea on his mimetic concept which deals with theories considering that literary works are an imitation of the universe, as well as a reflection or a mirror of the reality (Abrams, 1953).

Sociology of literature derived from the sociology and literature. Literature is a reflection of society. Through literature, the authors are free to express and to

show their point of view of life, including issues and social problems. Literary works which are created by the authors are typically influenced by the society where the authors live. Therefore, literary works become a tool for authors to present their idea over an issue and make an impression on society through its story. Sociology can be defined as the science or systematic knowledge about the life of human group in relation to other human beings which is generally called a society. The sociology literature is a subfield of the sociology of culture. This study is mainly studying about the social condition created inside the literary work as the production of the real social portrayal and its social implication. Supporting that sentence, Wellek and Warren (1976:94) stated that:

literature is a social institution, using as its medium language, a social creation. They are conventions and norm which could have arisen only in society. But, furthermore, literature represents 'life' and 'life' is, in large measure, a social reality, even though the natural world and the inner subjective world of the individual have also been objects of literary 'imitation'. The poet himself is a member of society, possessed of a specific social status; he receives some degree of social recognition and reward; he addresses an audience, however hypothetical.

In addition, the relation between sociology and literature gets obvious as Laurensen & Swingewood (1972) state that literature and sociology share similar conspectus. Sociology is an objective and scientific field concerning with the study of social institutions and of social processes which examine several notable discussions such as social, religious, political, economic institutions, social structure, social stability, and social changes and so on. Literature is believed to concern with people's social world, their adaptation to it and desire to change it. Therefore, novel as one of the genre in literature is said often to depict, recreate and

delineate the social life of people, their relationships with others, family, politic, nation, class and other institutions around them (Laurenson & Swingewood, 1972).

Even though the discipline of sociology and literature do not seem strongly related yet they even look contrary at a glance, literature and sociology are actually complementing one to another in understanding society and what happened in it (Laurenson & Swingewood, 1972). But literature is more likely to be how the social phenomenon is depicted and portrayed in the form of literary work, especially novels. Wellek and Warren (1957) state that the focus of discussion in sociology of literature is the content of literary work itself which deals with the depiction of social occurrence. Besides, literature and sociology have the same object of study. Both literature and sociology have the same object of discussion, that is human in society, understanding human's relation, and the result of process occurred because of human relations (Wiyatmi, 2013). Yet the difference is that sociology itself is the scientific and objective one, while literature is close to be subjective and based on personal assessment or knowledge (Damono in Wiyatmi, 2013).

Sociology of literature does not see literary work as something independent like what structuralists do. Literature, hence, should be understood by considering its relation with social aspects of human life in society as literature is believed as a product of social and cultural practice of human being. Author of the work is indeed a member of society, as well as the reader. While the content of the work may depict and represent something which actually happens in real life. Thus, scholars of literature divided sociology of literature into three branches of approach: sociology

of the author, sociology of the reader and sociology of literary work. (Wiyatmi, 2013).

Sociology of the author explores the relationship between the author and the sociological background and ideology of the author that influence him/her to write. It focuses on the author as the creator of literary work. In sociology of the author, an author as the creator of literary works is tied with his/her social status in the society, the ideology he/she follows, position in the society and his/her relation with readers (Wiyatmi, 2013).

Sociology of the reader explores the relationship between literary works and the reader. It focuses on the social effect of the literary works. In addition, it also studies about the relation between value inside the literature and social value. The reader is a target for the author in creating his/her literary works. However, not all of the author follows readers need in writing his/her literary works. Sometimes, the uniqueness of works could bring new reader; the author could create his/her own readers. Some authors have their own style in writing their works and they have their own reader who can follow their style (Wiyatmi, 2013).

The last, sociology of literary works explores the relationship between literary works and issues in the society. It began from the theory of mimetic Plato which assumes that literature (arts) is a mimetic of reality. It focuses on what inside the literary works itself which has connection to the social issues (Wellek and Warren as cited in Wiyatmi, 2013). What occurs inside literary works assume as the description of society. In addition, it also studies about literature as reflection

of society, documentation socio-cultural reality in society in certain time. Thus, literary works could be the storage of ancient customs or historical sources.

Although all kinds of sociological approach in literature are significant to be conducted, this study focuses merely on the study of sociology of literary work which deals with social aspects depicted, portrayed and presented in the novel *The Years of Voiceless*. *The Years of Voiceless* is a novel which tells about the social condition in New Order Regime. It tells exactly the social condition, economic, and people's life in that era. This study would see the social context of the story on how the problem of oppression experienced by the citizens happened in society and that is why this study using sociological approach instead of others to conduct this study.

Although *The Years of Voiceless* is rich with the depiction of social life, this study will only focus in oppression. Oppression itself is a sensitive social issue at that time or regime that had been told in *The Years of Voiceless*. Historically, New Order regime is famous with national military cruelty and their dominancy in almost every aspect of social life. There are a lot of injustice that happened in New Order regime, especially for people who do not have power such as women, slave, and children. Obviously, this oppression phenomenon is a very critical social issue. Moreover, in order to research the social issue that happened in the story, *The Years of Voiceless*, this study needs to analyse it from the perspective of sociology instead of psychology. The Five Faces of Oppression theory by Iris Marion Young (2014) is actually could be seen by two different approaches, sociological and psychological. Although psychology approach could also be done in order to get the information about the effect of oppression in the story of *The Years of Voiceless*,

this approach is more suitable for further research which could be done by focusing on the psychology effect on the characters rather than is implemented on this study. Yet, this study will only discuss about the social portrayal of oppression in *The Years of Voiceless*, which means the study more likely be talking about the social condition. Thus, the sociological approach on oppression is more suitable than using psychological approach.

Furthermore, since the main characters in *The Years of Voiceless* are female, it becomes an interesting issue to be researched. Thus, the previous study which used in this study is mostly taken from the study which researched about feminism or sociological approach and study which conducted over the same novel, *The Years of Voiceless*. Yet, as mentioned before, this study will merely focus on oppression as one of the critical social issue in new order regime that is well portrayed in *The Years of Voiceless* written by Okky Madasari.

B. Oppression

This study has seen *The Years of Voiceless* as the perfect portrayal for oppression that usually found in society. Oppression, as its name, is a social problem that might occurs in daily basis. According to Iris Marion Young in Heldke & O'Connor (2004) and Asumah and Nagel (2014) oppression means the implementation of tyranny done by group of rulers. Oppression is when people neglect the potential quality of other people to get their human right and make other people less human. Oppression practice could mean denying people language, education, and other opportunities that make them feeling fully themselves in both

their mind and their body. He also gives example of oppression that happens in some certain groups, which by new social movements in the United States since 1960 claimed as oppressed group: It happens among others woman, Black, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking Americans Indians, Jews, lesbian, gay men, Arabs, Asians, old people, working-class people, and the physically and mentally disabled. He aims to systematize the meaning of the concept of oppression as used by these diverse political movements and to provide normative arguments to clarify the wrongs the term names.

Although oppression could happen anywhere over anyone (or group), the oppression that comes over certain groups is different from one to another. Obviously, the groups which have mentioned above are not having the same oppression to the same extent or in the same ways. In the most general sense, it is indeed that all people who are oppressed had suffer some inhibition of their ability to develop their capacities and express their needs, thoughts, and feelings. Thus in general, all oppressed people share a certain common condition. But beyond that, it is learnt that there are some types of oppression that differentiate one to another which is suffered by those groups mentioned above.

Consequently, there are various attempts by theorists and experts to formulate a common description or the essential causes of the oppression of all these groups have frequently led to fruitless disputes about whose oppression is more fundamental or more grave. The contexts in which members of these groups use the term oppression to describe the injustices of their situation suggest that oppression names, in fact, a family of concepts and conditions, which Iri Marion

Young (2014) divided into five categories: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence.

As mentioned that in fact there are five ‘faces’ of oppression, this study aims to know what type of oppression occurs in the novel *The Years of Voiceless*. As the story is well-depicted of the social condition in New Order Regime era which is widely known for its oppression practice, this study wants to analyse if there is only one particular type of oppression that happens in the story or lots of them are. Thus, this study will find out about the type of oppression in *The Years of Voiceless* by Okky Madasari.

1. Oppression as a Structural Concept

In traditional usage, oppression means the exercise of tyranny by a ruling group. Traditionally, oppression also carries a strong connotation of conquest and colonial domination over someone or something. For example, it is said in the history that The Hebrews were oppressed in Egypt. The term oppression, by many users, invokes this paradigm. In another usage, usually used by dominant political discourse, oppression means society system which is different from our own, usually Communist or purportedly Communist society. Communist society seems to like the idea of brutal tyranny that is implemented over millions people by a few rulers and their thirst to conquer the world by bringing hitherto independent people under that tyranny. In addition, it is illegitimate to put term oppression in normal society (society other than communist society) since oppression is evil perpetrated by the other.

However, the term of oppression used by Iris Marion Young (2014) explains that oppression is based on New left social movement. New left social movement of the 1960s and 1970s shifted the meaning of the concept of oppression. Tyranny and colonialist practices, of course, are also one of types of oppression in their point of view, but they broaden the definition of oppression and come up with a term 'structural concept'.

As oppression also refers to systematic constraints on groups that are not necessarily the result of the intentions of a tyrant, in this sense, oppression is more into structural, rather than the result of few people's policies or choices. This structural oppression is the vast and deep injustice suffered by some group which caused by underlying assumptions, habits, norms, media and cultural stereotype, market mechanism, advertisement. In another word, it is the product of normal practices and habit in everyday live.

Furthermore, different from the common concept of oppression, structural oppression cannot be eliminated by getting rid of the rules or making some new laws. Because structural oppression is reproduced systematically in major economic, politic, and cultural institutions, this action to erase this type of oppression is difficult to be done. The characters of oppression in this sense also differ from one group to another, one action might be seen as oppression in one group are not always seem the same in other groups. According to Foucault (1977), to understand the meaning and operation of power in modern society it is needed to look beyond the model of power as "sovereignty", a dyadic relation of ruler and subject, and instead of analysing the exercise of power as the effect of often liberal

and “human” practices of education, bureaucratic administration, production, and distribution of consumer goods, medicine and so on. By looking of the different paradigm of oppression for one group to another, Young derives five faces of oppression from reflection these different groups. Since different factors or combinations of factors, lead to the differences of oppression in different group.

2. Five Faces of Oppression

In order to understand the oppression in *The Years of Voiceless* written by Okky Madasari(2013), this study will differentiate them into Iris Marion Young five faces of oppression. According to Iris Marion Young (2014), there are five faces or types of oppression. They are: exploitation, powerlessness, marginalization, cultural imperialism and violence. Below here is further information of each type.

a. Exploitation

The first type of oppression is exploitation. Exploitation is the act of using people’s labour to produce profit as much as it can while not compensating them fairly. Many people who work in sweatshops are exploited. This is a fine example of exploitation. Although they are paid for their work, efforts and toils, they are not paid a fair wage considering how much money they make for the company.

According to Young (Asumah & Nagel 2014) exploitation is a seriously unequal distribution of wealth, income, and other resources that are groups based and structurally persistent. An agent said to be exploited when what he gets as the exchange of his energy is less than what he did. The injustice of exploitation cannot

be eliminated by redistribution of goods because as long as institutionalized practices and structural relation remain unaltered, the process of transfer will recreate an unequal distribution of benefits. Bringing about justice where there is exploitation requires reorganization of institutions and practice of decision making alteration of the division of labour and cultural change.

While exploitation is a psychological, rather than a social or an economic concept, the problem of oppression is included in social issue. For categorized an offer as an exploitative, it must serve the need to create or to take advantage of other's recognized psychological vulnerability which, in turn, disturb the offer's ability to reason effectively. In short, to exploit others means to take unfair advantage of them. Although exploitation has occurred prominently in Marxist theories, it is frequently invoked in ordinary moral and political discourse. This entry surveys various definitions that have appeared in the literature attempts to identify the core elements of exploitation, then considers its moral force. (Hill, 1994)

In the other hand, this study figures out that *The Years of Voiceless* is one of the novel that shows the practice of exploitation in society. Moreover, as discussed before that literary work is basically a representation of the real condition of social phenomena, it is very interesting to discuss and find the implementation of this type of oppression in literary work.

b. Powerlessness

Another type of oppression beside exploitation is powerlessness. According to Marx' theory of socialism: some people "have" power while others "have-not". The powerless are dominated by the ruling class and are situated to take orders and rarely have the right to give them. Some characteristic of the fundamental injustice associated with powerlessness are inhibition to develop one's capacities, lack of decision making power, and exposure to disrespectful treatment because of lowered status. In most cases, it means not voting or participating in any decision-making process. It remains the case that the labor of most people in the society augments the power of relatively few.

In the U.S, the powerless do not participate in basic democratic processes because they feel that they can't or that their participation won't mean anything. Thus, most people in these societies do not regularly participate in making decisions that affect the conditions of their lives and actions, and in this sense, most people lack significant power. At the same time, domination in modern society is enacted through the widely dispersed powers of many agents mediating the decisions of others. To that extent, many people have some power in relation to others, even though they lack the power to decide policies or results. The powerless are those who lack authority or power even in this mediated sense, those over whom power is exercised without their exercising it; the powerless are situated so that they must take orders and rarely have the right to give them. This powerless status is perhaps best described negatively: the powerless lack the authority, status, and sense of self that professionals tend to have (Heldke an O'Connor, 2004).

Powerlessness may be very common oppression that happens in an inferior group. Thus, as the leading character of *The Years of Voiceless* is women, one of the traditional groups that usually struggle to get their rights, it is suspected that there will be lots of example of powerlessness that shown through the story. In addition, *The Years of Voiceless* took the setting back in New Order Regime when the gap between the dominant and inferior is very obvious. Thus, it will be no surprise when there will be a lot of evidence along the story of *The Years of Voiceless* (2013) that indicate this type of oppression.

c. Marginalization

In the United States, racial oppression occurs in the form of marginalization rather than exploitation. Marginals are people the system of labor cannot or will not use. Not only in Third World capitalist countries, but also in most Western capitalist societies, there is a growing underclass of people permanently confined to lives of social marginality, most of whom are racially marked—Blacks or Indians in Latin America, and Blacks, East Indians, Eastern Europeans, or North Africans in Europe. (Heldke and O'Connor, 2004)

Young also states in Heldke and O'Connor (2004), marginalization is by no means the fate only of racially marked groups, however. In the United States a shamefully large proportion of the population is marginal; old people and increasingly people who are not very old but get laid off from their jobs and cannot find new work; young people, especially Black or Latino, who cannot find first or second jobs; many single mothers and their children; other people involuntarily

unemployed; many mentally and physically disabled people; Americans Indians, especially those on reservations.

Marginalization is perhaps the most dangerous form of oppression. A whole category of people is expelled from useful participation in social life and thus potentially subjected to severe material deprivation and even extermination. The material deprivation marginalization often causes is certainly unjust, especially in a society where others have plenty. Contemporary advanced capitalist societies have in principle acknowledged the injustices of material deprivation caused by marginalization, and have taken some steps to address it by providing welfare payments and services.

As the most dangerous form of oppression that might happen in society according to Iris Marion Young (2014), this study wants to find out that if it is marginalization is also depicted in *The Years of Voiceless*. Of course, this study will find the evidence of the practice of marginalization in New Order regime since the novel is the real portrayal of the social condition on that era.

d. Cultural Imperialism

The next type of oppression is what Iris Marion Young (2014) called as cultural imperialism. Cultural imperialism involves the universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm. Some groups have exclusive or primary access to what Nancy Fraser (1987b) calls the means of interpretation and communication in a society. As a consequence, the

dominant cultural products of the society, that is, the most widely disseminated, express the experience, values, goals, and achievements of these groups.

An encounter with other groups, however, can challenge the dominant group's claim to universality. The dominant group reinforces its position by bringing the other groups under the measure of its dominant norms. Consequently, the difference of women from men, American Indians or Africans from Europeans, Jews from Christians, homosexuals from heterosexuals, workers from professionals, becomes reconstructed largely as deviance and inferiority. The culturally dominated undergo a paradoxical oppression, in that they are both marked by stereotypes and at the same time rendered invisible. As remarkable, deviant beings, the culturally imperialized are stamped with an essence. The stereotypes confine them to nature which is often attached in some way to their bodies, and which thus cannot easily be denied. These stereotypes so permeate the society that they are not noticed as contestable. (Heldke and O'Connor, 2004)

e. Violence

The last type of oppression that is mentioned by Iris Marion Young (2014) is violence. Maybe this oppression is the most common one. Many groups suffer the oppression of systematic violence. Members of some groups live with the knowledge that they must fear random, unprovoked attacks on their persons or property, which have no motive but to damage, humiliate, or destroy the person. In American society, groups like women, Blacks, Asians, Arabs, gay men, and lesbians live under such threats of violence, and in at least some regions Jews,

Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other Spanish-speaking Americans must fear such violence as well. What makes violence a face of oppression is less the particular acts themselves, though these are often utterly horrible than the social context surrounding them, which makes them possible and even acceptable. What makes violence a phenomenon of social injustice, and not merely an individual moral wrong, is its systematic character, its existence as a social practice (Heldke and O'Connor, 2004).

Violence is systematic because it is directed at members of a group simply because they are members of that group. The oppression of violence consists not only in direct victimization but in the daily knowledge shared by all members of oppressed groups that they are liable to violation, solely on account of their group identity. Just living under such a threat of attack on oneself or family or friends deprives the oppressed of freedom and dignity, and needlessly expends their energy. Group of violence approaches legitimacy, moreover, in the sense that it is tolerated. Often third parties find it unsurprising because it happens frequently and lies as a constant possibility at the horizon of the social imagination. Even when they are caught, those who perpetrate acts of group-directed violence or harassment often receive light or no punishment. To that extent society renders their acts acceptable.

There are many possible ways to define violence, depending on who is defining it and for what purpose. A definition for the purposes of arrest and conviction, for example, will be different from one for social service interventions. As far as public health is concerned, the challenge is to define violence in such a way that it captures the range of acts by perpetrators and the subjective experiences

of the victims without becoming so broad that it loses meaning – or so broad that it describes the natural vicissitudes of everyday living in terms of pathology. Furthermore, the global consensus is needed so that data can be compared between countries and a sound base of knowledge built up.

The World Health Organization (2002), defines violence The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either result in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation. The definition encompasses interpersonal violence as well as suicidal behaviour and armed conflict. It also covers a wide range of acts, going beyond physical acts to include threats and intimidation. Besides death and injury, the definition also includes the myriad and often less obvious consequences of violent behaviour, such as psychological harm, deprivation and maldevelopment that compromise the well-being of individuals, families and communities.

Regarding to World Health Organization (2002), violence divided into several types. In the novel *The Years of Voiceless* which is used as the object of the study, the researcher only finds two kinds of violence, they are physical violence and psychological violence.

1) Physical Violence

Physical violence occurs when someone uses a part of their body or an object to control a person's action. Physical violence is defined as intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing harm. Common physical acts of

violence include being slapped, pushed, punched, kicked, pinched, whipped, or beat with an object, choked, smothered, tied, burned, scalded intentionally, or uses or threatened with a weapon. (WHO, 2002)

2) Psychological Violence

Psychological violence occurs when someone uses threats and causes fear in an individual to gain control. World Health Organization defines a variety of actions as psychological violence, some of which include intimidation, harassment, public ridicule or humiliation, repeated verbal abuse and causing or allowing the victim to witness physical, sexual or psychological abuse of a member of the family, pornography or abusive injury to pets. (WHO, 2002)

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS

This chapter discusses the analysis of the study in accordance with the research question over the research in *The Years of the Voiceless*. It covers the discussion which has been analysed over the oppression that is portrayed in *The Years of Voiceless* novel. The oppression itself, according to Iris Marion Young (2014), is divided into several types, they are exploitation, powerlessness, marginalization, cultural imperialism, and violence.

The Years of the Voiceless novel tells the lives of mother and daughter, Sumarni and Rahayu. Marni is an animist woman who is resilient to achieve what she wants in her life. Her character has been shaped since she was a teenager. Meanwhile, Rahayu character is smart, educated and obedient woman in practicing her religion. The story of *The Years of the Voiceless* is the life journey of these two women whose lives are full of struggle against injustice and arbitrariness. Moreover, in picking up the setting of the story, this novel also tells about the social and political situations from the perspective of the citizens (Singget villagers) represented by Marni and Rahayu. In this novel, there was time when Marni was very successful with her business, but it also was a golden period for a corrupt government which is dominated by the government military staffs. Thus, *The Years of the Voiceless* portrays the corruption and the social issue related to the arrogance of the government. Under the pretext of being a security guard, the government military staffs in Singget village demand some money from whoever has money.

A. Faces of Oppression to the Citizen

Oppression may be one of the social issues that should be avoided in society. Of course there are many kinds of oppression that might happen in society. According to Iris Marion Young (2014) oppression has five faces to differentiate one with another kind. They are exploitation, powerlessness, marginalization, cultural imperialism, and violence. In the following discussion, this study will explore the faces of oppression experienced by citizens portrayed in the novel *The Years of Voiceless*.

1. Exploitation

The first oppression that will be discussed is exploitation. Exploitation is kind of oppression that likely happens in the relationship between capitalist and labour workers. In Heldke and O'Connor (2004), Young states that exploitation uses capitalism to oppress. In *The Years of the Voiceless*, the citizens of Singget village live in Indonesian new order regime era controlled by the corrupt government military. On that era, it was very common to see exploitation as part of their lives, and Singget village is not an exception. Singget villagers are usually oppressed by the government military staff. They had to give whatever the government military had requested and they could not say no to the request if they do not want something bad happen to them.

The Years of the Voiceless novel, take a setting location in Madiun in the year around 1950-1999. It tells about the social condition and everyday life which portrayed by the leading character, Marni, as a worker. She was a trader and she was the only woman trader around her village. Her business ran smoothly and she

became one of the richest people at that time. Since Marni became the richest person, of course, she was widely known and recognized by the entire people in Singget Village. That was the time when the government military staff started to come to her house for asking 'security' money. 'Security' money here is unofficial tax that should be given to their own military staffs' pocket instead of the official government. It is a kind of 'bribing' money that the military requested in order to keep the village safe. The action by these military staffs is portrayed the exploitation over the labour during the New Order regime done by the government military staffs. Thus, this exploitation is an example of one of the faces of oppression. Below is the conversation taken from the novel *Years of the Voiceless* which indicates the exploitation done by one of the military staff.

"Hahaha...! Yu..Yu.. You're something else. How can Bank Marni be tight? You're got money everywhere. You don't have to lift a finger and you still get ten percent a month, you've got rice fields and farms everywhere. So how can things be tight?" (p.47)

That conversation is taken when 'the chief' of the military came to Marni's house and asking how Marni's business is going. At that time, Marni answered him that her business is a bit tight because people were not paying their debt and that Marni did not know how much she could give to the chief as paying to him was a regular thing. Hearing that answer, 'the chief' of course was in disbelief and insisted that Marni should have something to give to him. The chief's line "you've got rice fields and farms everywhere. So how can things be tight?" indicates that the chief did not believe in Marni. He cornered Marni with the fact that she 'got rice fields and farms everywhere' that refutes her statement that her business was tight. Of course, his argument did not stop there. This following line shows that 'the chief'

of the military intimidated Marni after took the bulk of money on the table that Marni offered.

“This is what you call tight, Yu?”

“It is tight, chief. But you have get paid no matter what, right?”

“Well of course. This is for your own security and your neighbourhood’s, isn’t it?”

If it wasn’t for us, who’d take care of that?”

They all laugh, Mother too. “Anyway, Yu, we have to go to now. I hope your business goes well and people pay their debts.” (p.48)

In those lines, they show how Marni was afraid of the military staffs and how they kept intimidating her. Marni’s line “but you have get paid no matter what, right?” indicates that she knew there was no other choice rather than giving them what they wanted. She did not have the courage nor the power to reject their request. She had to give them the money, whether she liked it or not. On the other hand, the military staff, who knew that Marni was afraid of them, reminded her that it was for her own sake. They were saying that the money was for “your own security and your neighbourhood”, while it was actually them who were secretly threatening the society.

That is an example of exploitation that is one of the faces of oppression. In this case, the government military staff as a capitalist, who has power, oppressed Marni by demanding her some money. The data did not mention who actually were the names of the government military staffs who came to Marni's house. But it was clear that their intention was to exploit people in Singget Village who had some money to spare. And they would leave peacefully as long as they got what they wanted. It is proven that after they got the money, they immediately said that they “had to go now”. They even wished that Marni’s business “goes well and people

pay their debt”, although of course this could mean they did not want Marni to go bankrupt because they would lose an opportunity to exploit her.

Meanwhile, it was also clear that Marni or people at that time who got oppressed by the military staffs did not have any choice to reject their wishes. They were afraid of the military hidden threat and they rather chose to pay the ransom. Thus, this exploitation was going over and over because both of the parties were reluctant to do things differently. The military did not want to lose their ‘side job’ and the people were too afraid of their own safety if they ever rejected them.

Furthermore, there are other evidence that this kind of exploitation happened regularly in the novel. Since the exploitation happens regularly, it is normal to see oppression in their daily basis. *In The Years of the Voiceless*, it is described by one the characters that the military staffs often visited them. Below is Rahayu’s narration taken from the novel,

They come to house often, every two weeks on Monday. Sometimes they come at other times too. They’ll say they just happened to be in the area, or they wanted to drop by. But Mother knows what she has to do each time they come. It’s only ever about the money. (p.49)

This narration is taken from Rahayu thought when she was young. She witnessed the exploitation that happened to her mother “every two weeks, on Monday”. This line also reveals the military’s excuse every time they went to their house. According to Rahayu, they always say that “they just happened to be in the area, or they wanted to drop by”. But apparently, although Rayahu never heard that the military came and told them that they went there only for the money, Rahayu knew that “it’s only ever about the money”. Despite, they knew what will happen

to them if they rejected their request for 'the security money' like in the previous data before. They will corner her family, and for sure, no one wants to be cornered by people who have gun hanging on their hips.

As the narrator of the book, Rahayu was paying so much attention to the condition that was happening at that time. And according to her, this type of exploitation was not only required money as their means of payment. Below is the data that shows when Rahayu saw someone from the military came and asking for their trading stuff.

One of the men in the camouflage uniforms came up to us. He was tall and skinny, and his boots seemed too big for him. "How's it going, ma'am?" he asked Mother. It's going well, sir. I'm in luck.",
"Well, luck doesn't come by itself, you know... You have to look for it.",
"Yes, sir.",
"If you get lucky here, that means it's the state that helped you. Right?",
"Well the luck comes through here from Gusti.",
"But it's also the soldiers who helped you get lucky, ma'am. All of this is possible because of us." He took one of Mother's pots. "My wife needs a pot like this ma'am.",
"Sure thing. It's 5.000, but you can pay in 30 install-ments.",
"How can you charge me like the others, ma'am? Look at my uniform, look at this gun.",
"Oh it's not like that, sir. I'm just a trader. I don't make that much profit.",
"Ah, you really don't know how it works!".(p.58)

From the conversation above we learn that whenever soldiers want something, then they should get what they wanted. That scene is taken when one of the government military staff came to Marni's house. He asked "how her business doing" which was the introduction of his aim for coming into their house. Initially, Marni said that her business "is good and is in luck", but then the soldier reminded her that "luck does not come by itself". Here, he tried to doctrine her by saying that "the soldiers helped you get lucky". This was an attempt to make Marni felt in debt with the soldiers who kept their security so that he thought that Marni would give

him something in return. But he was wrong at that time. When the soldier asked for ‘a pot’ as is for the payment, Marni did not give it for free. Naturally, the soldier was in disbelief and thought that Marni “does not know how it works”, thus he showed her his uniform and his gun in order to make her understand. After that, when Marni did not understand his intention, the soldier went out to get help from the others. Below is the scene when the soldier came back with his people and tried to make Marni understand.

“Ma’am you’ve been selling here, so our commander says that you have to pay a security fee,” he said. He had two other uniformed men with him.

“Security fee for what, sir?” Mother asked, in a fearful tone that was very different from her usual trader’s banter.

“Well, for the security in here. It’s thanks to our security arrangements that you’ve been able to do brisk business here. We’re the ones taking care of all security. So you make a profit, but what do we get?” one of the other soldiers said.

“Yes, sir. Sorry, my wife here doesn’t understand. Please understand, we’re both illiterate. So how much do we have to pay, sir?”

“How about this: Instead of paying the fee, you just give us whatever you haven’t sold. That works out better, right? You won’t have to give us any money.” The soldiers took Mother’s merchandise. There were four buckets and six pots, all of them seized. They also took the remaining half sack of rice. My parents stayed and didn’t do anything. (p.60)

This scene is taken when the soldiers came back for Marni. This time, they are being clearer with their intention for asking ‘security money’. Here, Marni started to feel scared. It is written in the narration that Marni’s voice was ‘in a fearful tone’ and it was very different from her usual one. In this critical situation, her husband mediated the conversation between the soldiers and Marni. He immediately asked for apologize to the soldiers for his wife who ‘did not understand’. He asked how much they have to pay to the soldiers, but, the outraged soldiers chose to pick up every merchandise they had not sold that day. For sure, they did not pay a cent for stuff that they had taken.

That was the example of exploitation that happened in the story of *The Years of the Voiceless*. People are constantly being exploited by the ruler, the military staffs, who kept asking for 'security money'. Of course, it was not really 'security money'. It was more into bribing money that the citizens should pay. Of course, citizens were paying them because they were afraid of what will happen to them since the soldiers had the power to do couple things that will make people suffer. For example, on that scene before, it shows that Marni lost her trading stuff after refusing to pay and making the soldiers unhappy. It happened because at that particular time, Indonesia was led by corrupt government and military had more power than they ever had before. It is told in the story *The Years of the Voiceless* that they even had the capacity to put someone in jail without a trial. That was solid evidence that the law was broken and the military staff as the law enforcements were abusing their power. Here below is another example of the government military staffs who were abusing their power to exploit others.

"You can say whatever you like, but those are the facts. Now it's up to you whether you need security or not."
"What do you mean 'security'? I haven't done anything wrong. I have no enemies. The money I lend is my own, I don't rob people for it. And I don't force people to borrow from me, they come on their own. How am I making things difficult for people?" Mother couldn't hide her exasperation. *She knew these men only came for the money. But for her, every cent she had was the product of hard work, and should only be spent on things that she felt were important. (p.66)*

This dialogue is taken months later after the previous incident. There were several soldiers came into Marni's house and discussing about the security system they plan for Marni, but in fact, they just wanted to add more tax on her load since they heard that Marni had a bank and had a lot of money.

In that dialogue, it implicitly shows that the soldier would not accept rejection from Marni. They said “whether you need security or not” implies that Marni should do whatever they said no matter what. Of course, while experiencing this kind of oppression from the soldiers, Marni fought back for her freedom. She refused to be quiet while was exploited by the corrupt government military staffs, but eventually she would pay the ransom in the end. But then, as the time goes by and the soldiers were kept coming again and again, she was forced to follow the system where the citizens should give anything that the soldiers want if they want nothing bad happen to them.

In *the Years of the Voiceless*, there was even a scene where Marni was asking the chief to ask for their security guard. It was because a few days before, there were some people who threaten her. Oddly, this was happening just after Marni rejected the ‘security service’ from the military commander. Below here is the dialogue that is taken when Marni went to the commander and asked for her security services after the threat, which was highly possible being set up by the commander himself.

“First of all, chief, we apologize for taking up your time. We’d also like to apologize for upsetting you last time...”

“Pffft... No need to beat about the bush. What do you want?”

“Sorry, chief. We... uh... we’ve come to ask for some security.”

Sumadi laughed hard. “Is that true, Yu?”

Mother nodded and said, “Yes, chief. I beg you, I just want to earn money. I don’t want to be bothered by the neighbourhood unit chief or the other villagers.”

Sumadi was still laughing. Who knows what it was about Mother’s words that he found funny. Then he said, “Alright. You may do your business. But from now, every fourteen days, you’re to set aside a security allocation. I or one of my men will collect it. Do you understand?” (p. 72)

Marni and her husband came to military command to meet Commander Sumadi. They came for asking the security services he was offered before, although

at that time, Marni rejected Commander's offer. But then, a few days after she rejected the offer, some of Singget villagers came to their house then threatening to report them to police because they had burdened the villagers by lending up some money. After that incident, Marni had no choice other than took Commander's offer for security service and playing along with his scheme. It is proven by the line "first of all, chief, we apologize for taking up your time. We're also like to apologize for upsetting you last time". That dialogue shows that they knew that they made the commander angry. They knew that they did something wrong by rejecting his offer the other day, and they had seen what happen when you make the commander unhappy. Thus, the first thing they mentioned in that dialogue with the commander was asking for apologies. In addition, later Marni also said that they came for "asking for security", the thing that she refused few days ago. Seeing Marni begged in front of him, Commander Sumadi was laughing and said "is that true, yu?". Here, this line might implicitly show that Commander Sumadi was satisfied over himself. Seeing someone who refused his offer few days ago was begging in front of him just satisfied his ego to be the superior one, and that is why he laughed to Marni even though the narrator said that Marni did not say something funny. His laugh could also express hidden mockery toward fearful Marni and her husband because finally he got what he wanted, for Marni to have the security service from the soldiers so that he could exploit her by asking security money. The commander's line: *"Alright. You may do your business. But from now, every fourteen days, you're to set aside a security allocation. I or one of my men will collect it. Do you understand?"* expresses the scheme he was set up by putting security money as the

tool to exploit Marni. For instance, this was a perfect oppression scheme where actually Marni was the one who asked for the security services, and gave Commander Sumadi reason to exploit her.

Beside Commander Sumadi, the ward chief and the neighbourhood association of Singget villagers also exploited Marni. They exploited her by asking money for the campaign, whereas she had to work hard to collect the money. Whenever the ward chief and the neighbourhood association of Singget villagers came to her house, she must provide the money requested by them. They thought that Marni had a lot of money to spare while in fact, she had to work really hard to collect them and fulfil her ransom quota. Below is the dialogue taken from *the Years of the Voiceless* that shows how Marni was struggling to keep fulfil her quota.

*When the ward chief and the neighbourhood unit chief came to our house the next day, Mother handed them the 50.000. Half of it was from her savings, and the rest were from Yu Ningsih, Mr. Pahing and what little she could get from a few other borrowers earlier in the day. The ward chief's face shone with happiness as he took the money.
 "You see, what did I tell you? For Yu Marni, 50.000 is a trifle!" he said, holding up his pinky finger.
 Mother smiled weakly. (p.80)*

In the dialogue above, it says that Marni had to fulfil her 50.000 quota for the soldiers. He did indeed fulfil the quota and handed out the money to the chief. The chief was certainly happy and bragging out that the 50.000 rupiah was "a trifle" and really not a problem for her which misleads him to believe that Marni had indeed lots of money. What he did not really know was Marni really had a hard time to collect that 50.000 rupiah until she had to use her own savings since her profit did not really cover up the bill that she had to pay to the soldiers.

Furthermore, there are many more other evidences in *the Years of the Voiceless* that showed how brutal the soldiers were in New Order Regime. The exploitation as one of the faces of oppression is just a little example of what citizens were facing at that time. That exploitation was set up in a perfect scheme where mostly ruled by the soldiers. And since Soldiers were so powerful at that era, no one would be brave enough to stand on their way and prefer to be submissive over their money thirst. Sadly, exploitation is not the only face of oppression that is founded on the novel. Thus, later on this study there will be explanation about other faces of oppression that was founded in *the Years of the Voiceless*.

2. Powerlessness

Beside exploitation that has been discussed before, another face of oppression is powerlessness. Irish Marion Young (2014) said that the powerless are dominated by the ruling class. Some of fundamental injustice which associated with powerlessness are inhibition to develop one's capacities, lack of decision making power, and exposure to disrespectful treatment because of lowered status. The powerless lack the authority and status (Asumah and Nagel, 2014). Thus, powerlessness is a helpless condition where one of the party being disrespected by the other without having power to fight back or to get justice. This condition is found everywhere mainly in communist group where the lower status must follow the willingness of the ruling group.

In the novel *the Years of the Voiceless*, there are a lot of conditions regarding this issue. Powerlessness is shown everywhere along the story of Marni and other

characters that had been through the same thing as Mardi did. The story points out that the citizens on New Order Regime have no power against the ruling group at that time, which is their own national government military. *The Years of the Voiceless*, tried to portray the actual condition at that time where people were losing their belief toward the government because the politic scheme and bad attitude of the law enforcements that leads to awful riot in May, 1998 forcing this powerful and oppressive regime to fall.

In order to bring the actual condition on that era, *the Years of the Voiceless* tried to portray it through Marni's life. The oppressive attitude which is shown by the government also has been shown in this story, especially the powerless condition of the citizens at that time against the soldiers. In one of the scenes in the novel, Marni and her husband found helpless and powerless in enduring the oppression from the government military soldiers. Below is the example of their powerlessness shown in *the Years of the Voiceless*.

"If he comes back just give it to him. Don't look for trouble. We don't want to end up like Mr. Tikno," Father said, the fear written on his face. Mother didn't answer, but I saw her expression change the moment she heard Mr. Tikno's name. She was also scared. (p.58)

This scene is taken from the *Years of the Voiceless*, when Marni and her husband, Teja, tried to sell their stuff in hall while people in Singget Village were conducting national election for the president. In his fearful voice, Teja warned Marni to "do not look for trouble" because he was afraid that they would "end up like Mr. Tikno". Of course, it was the soldier that he was talking about. Teja tried to warn Marni since he knew that his wife was the target of the soldiers since she was one of the biggest traders at that time. Implicitly, Teja warned her to just give

anything that they wanted, unlike Mr. Tikno who fought back and had to pay the price. He was jailed for being accused as a communist after refused to give his piece of land to the soldiers. Thus, Teja did not want them to have the same fate as Mr. Tikno had. It was an example of powerlessness that they showed towards the tyranny of the soldiers at that time. In addition, Marni, who had seen with her own eyes that several soldiers brought Mr. Tikno out of his house and he never went home ever again, froze with fear processing this information. It is clear that she was scared and agreed that to not stand in their way was maybe the wisest thing to do. Meanwhile, this fearfulness of the citizens towards the soldiers were making them powerful and on the other hand making the citizens more powerless.

Unfortunately, the powerlessness of the citizen at that time was not only about their helplessness to fight for their finance and their private possession. New Order Regime was also known for their absolute victory whenever the national election was held. No other parties could compete their power which turned up that it was conditionally set up by the soldiers. *The Years of the Voiceless* had told that the citizens at that time were forced to choose one particular political party by the soldiers. In instance, the citizens were losing their freedom to vote. Below is the conversation taken from *the Years of the Voiceless* that shows the people powerlessness to choose and to vote by their own willingness.

“Well there we are, ma’am. Kang, everything’s fine now. Have you had a chance to vote yet? Well come on, you can go now. Don’t forget, it’s the one with the picture of a banyan tree. You’re not PKI, right?”
My parents nodded. They got up and went to the voting booths. The lines had thinned out. As Mother waited her turn. I saw her look back at the soldiers who had taken her merchandise. They were talking and laughing. (p.61)

The conversation above shows that during the election, Marni, Teja and Singget villagers did not actually have their right to vote. They were being forced by the soldiers to vote their party. It is shown in the line “don’t forget, it’s the one with the picture of a banyan tree” that the soldiers were giving them order to choose one particular party among all. Moreover, to make sure that people were doing what they asked, they added “you’re not PKI, right?” which is actually a hidden threat for the citizens. It was a psychological trick where the citizens were forced to believe that if they chose any political party beside the one that the soldier suggested than they were considered as PKI. While being PKI meant you were going to prison because you were considered as a national threat. Thus, with this psychological trick that they implemented, the soldiers were successful to lead the powerless citizens for doing something that they did not really want to do. It also means that the soldiers as the national law enforcer were abusing their power towards the powerless citizens who did not really know about political world. This is shown in *the Years of the Voiceless* in this dialogue below.

I always voted for that party. Number two, the yellow one. But I didn't actually know what a party was or what it did for me. All I knew for sure was that when an election was approaching, there were always demands for money, which they said was for the party. If that was all there was to it, then it would be better not to have an election at all, no need to campaign or bother people. But I kept the thought to myself. I wouldn't dare say that to the ward chief or to anyone else. I would hate to get into trouble with government people. With those kinds of people, the most important thing was to do as they said, so that everything went well. Like my payments to the commander. As long as he got the money, all the security matters were taken care of. No one dared bother us.

This dialogue shows that the citizen actually did not understand the importance of the election and did not really understand what it would do to them. It also shows that the citizen were directed to choose one particular party by the

soldier, even though they did not really know what that was or why should be that one particular party. That is shown in the line “I always voted for that party. Number two, the yellow one. But I did not actually know what a party was it or what it did for me” which does not only shows that the citizens were directed by the soldiers, but they were actually clueless that they lost their right to vote. The only thing that the citizens worried about was the fact that they were forced to donate by the soldiers for campaign. That is shown in the line “there were always demands for money, which they said was for the party. If that was all there was to it, then it would be better not to have an election at all”. This line shows that the citizens did not really care about the election, but they more worried about the campaign because they would be a demand for some money for the campaign.

Of course, the citizens could not refuse the demand. They had learned from their lesson before that it was not really good idea to say no to the soldiers. On the other hand, this condition was fully be used by the soldiers and the government to control the citizens and directed them into the way that they wanted. This is the example of the powerlessness that the citizens portrayed in *the Years of the Voiceless*. The only thing that matter to them at that time was their own safety and “no one dare to bother us” as long as they give “the money, all the security matters had been taken care of”.

But of course, this powerlessness brought them some burden. Since the citizens had not any option beside obeying the soldiers. In one of the scene in *the Years of the Voiceless*, Marni should lend her truck to the soldiers for campaign.

Despite the fact that she also needed it for work, she realized that she did not have option to say no. Below here is the dialogue.

It didn't matter whether I could, because I had to. They knew I needed the truck to earn money, yet they still insisted on taking it away for the day for the campaign. And on top of lending them the truck for free, I also had to pray for the gas. Asking whether I could was moot. If I refused, they would definitely accuse me of not supporting the government. They would talk again about how I was making the poor suffer. And the soldiers would no doubt follow soon after, asking for payments on top of their usual payments. So I didn't really have a choice, did I? (p.107)

In this dialogue, Marni had been forced to lend her truck to the soldiers for campaign although “they knew that Marni needed the truck to earn money”. This powerlessness leads Marni to lend her truck for free for a day, because she knew that if she refused. She would be accused “of not supporting the government”. For that, Marni realized that “she did not really have a choice” and her position was not in a good one. She was powerless and she was abused by her own country through this corrupt government.

Things never got better after each election. The dirt roads that punctured the tires of our motorbikes and bicycles were never paved like the roads in Madiun after the election. Things remained the same. If I wanted to make more money, I would have to work harder, walk further, make more offerings. Government officials were never expected to be of any help. Instead, they were the ones asking for a cut. I always worked hard and never bothered other people, yet I was still accused of keeping a tuyul and of practicing pesugihan. (p.116)

Moreover, the powerlessness of the citizen that happened around the election was not stop after the election finished. In fact, the condition never got better even after the election. People in Singget Village did not get any good facility. The road remained the same broken as before. It was something that Marni complaining about in the dialogue above. She knew that “government officials were never expected to be of any help”. She knew that if she wanted to make a difference

and wanted to make more money, then she “would have to work harder, walk further, and make more offerings”, because the things “remained the same” and government offered no help at all. This is an example of another powerlessness of the citizens towards the dictatorial government in New Order Regime that is shown in *the Years of the Voiceless*. People had no power at all to stand for their right as the citizen of this country.

The powerlessness is the only one that captivated their feeling and emotion. In *the Years of the Voiceless*, it shows that the citizens are actually fed up by the feeling of helpless and the oppression from the law enforcement. That is shown in Marni’s dialogue below

I leaned back. Now I was facing him. Our eyes locked. Gusti, why do you always pit me against people like this? Powerful people with their uniforms and their boots. People who were strong because of their guns. People who were always right because they worked for the state. People who never had trouble getting money without breaking a sweat. And I, with no power or strength, who always wrong, had to submit to their commands. To give up that which I had learned through hard work and in the face of contempt. (p.173)

The dialogue above shows how Marni was truly feeling at that time. It is told that Marni knew that she had “no power or strength, who always wrong, had to submit to their commands”. She realized that she was helpless and powerless, and that dialogue indicates that she was tired with her miserable condition. She was brokenly talk to God in in her desperate complain “Gusti, why do you always pit me against people like this?”. For sure, it implicitly indicates that she was tired with oppression she got. She was tired with “people who were strong because of their guns” and “people who were always right because they worked for the state”. And between her helpless feeling, she got no one to talk to about her powerlessness

beside God. Thus, she was desperately calling His name, on her grievance and her effort to be more patient than before in order to face the injustice and oppression in her life. Of course, her fear was not because of nothing. It came for a reason. Below is the dialogue that shows where Marni's fear came from and why should she be afraid with the soldiers' threat.

In this village, the people had found the answers to all of nature's riddles. Now they had suddenly become strangers in their own world. They were being forced out, away from the land where their ancestors were buried and their own flesh and blood was born. The people with the power and the guns just came along, claimed their land said, "Leave immediately or you will drown with your ancestors who are buried in the ground." (p.202)

Marni said that "people had found the answers to all of nature's riddles". It indicates that people in that era understand what they should do even no one told them what they should. It was like normal norm to obey the soldiers if they wanted to live. Marni added in her line that "people with the power and the guns just came along, claimed their land, and said 'leave immediately or you will drown with your ancestors who are buried in the ground'". Here in this dialogue, Marni showed us how mean the soldiers were and how desperately people at that time to always giving them their wishes although it was something against their willingness. However, they did not really have an option since the soldiers would kill them and sent them to meet their "ancestors who are buried in the ground". Thus, this is where the fear which grown inside people's heart came from. And Marni, like many of the people at that time in *the Years of the Voiceless*, chose to keep silent and bow their head for the ruling group at New Order Regime.

From the data mentioned above, it can be concluded that Marni and other Singget villagers could not do anything against the government military staff. They were powerless, helpless, and afraid. They knew if the other party was actually so powerful, with their guns and uniform. And they realized that they did not have any power compare to theirs. In result, they could only be obedient to the government military staff in Singget village and powerlessly being oppressed.

3. Marginalization

Another face of oppression that Iris Marion Young (2014) mentioned is marginalization. According to Asumah & Nagel (2014), marginalization is the act of relegating or confining a group of people to lower social standing or outer limit or edge of society. Marginalization is in some ways worse than exploitation because society has decided that they discriminate these people and wish that they would not have any interaction with these people even for labour. Most commonly, people are marginalized based upon their race.

In novel the *Years of the Voiceless*, this study only finds a single scene that shows marginalization that happens that story in New Order Regime. It says that marginalization happened toward the Chinese people in the story. The Years of the Voiceless portrayed the condition of Chinese people who were being marginalized by the government military. The dialogue below shows how the soldiers were telling Teja not to have anything to do with Chinese.

*“What are you looking for, Yu?” one of the soldiers asked me.
 “I came to see Koh Cahyadi. I have some business with him.” I answered.
 “What business do you have with a Chinese? You want to buy a radio... or TV?
 Go look somewhere else. Lots of places sell them.”,
 “Oh, I’m not buying anything, chief. It’s something else.”,*

“And what would that be? Just forget it, it’s no good dealing with Chinese. Especially the kind that likes to burn incense. You could get into trouble.” (p.100)

This dialogue shows that the soldier was trying to stop Marni and Teja for having any business with Chinese. He said “go look somewhere else” to Marni after he knew that they wanted to see Koh Cahyadi. The soldier also warned her that is “no good dealing with Chinese. Especially the kind that likes to burn incense. You could get into trouble”. Of course, it is a clear discrimination since he were relating and mentioning one particular race in the tone of disgust. Here is the example of marginalization.

This hatred toward one particular race or group actually comes from their unreasonable reason. In the novel, it is told that Chinese people was called PKI. It was because their temple and dragon symbol when they perform their religion were also the symbol of PKI. Thus, this misunderstanding leads into hatred. At that time, it was told in the story that Chinese people who went to the temple and burn incense considered violating the rules. Of course, violating the rule means no good for anyone, included whoever have a business with Chinese people. They would also get a problem as the government statement. Thus, this action is an effort to make one particular race suffer. They obviously tried to marginalize Chinese people in the story by limiting their source and their status in society, and this is considered as oppression.

4. Cultural Imperialism

The fourth oppression that has been mentioned by Iris Marion Young (2014) is cultural imperialism. According to Young (2014), cultural imperialism involves

taking the culture of the ruling class and establishing it as the norm. It means that the group which has power in society could control the people in that society on how they interpret and communicate. According to Asumah & Nagel (2014), the beliefs of that society are the most widely disseminated and express the experience, values, goals and achievements of these groups.

The Years of the Voiceless is a portrayal of society in Indonesia around New Order Regime. There are also some cultural imperialism that were found in the story *the Years of the Voiceless*. One example of social imperialism is when Mr. Tikno resists giving a piece of his land to be made as a commando post in Singget Village. Below are some the dialogues that show the cultural imperialism in the novel.

The soldiers got angry. They said Mr. Tikno was a PKI member, that he was one of those plotting against the state. One day they picked him up in a green truck (p.59)

People in Singget Village are forced to do exactly the same like the soldiers want them to do. This is the example that the soldiers have a power to make people do what they want to do and implement it as the normal condition and cultural norm. First, they implied the fear of being PKI in people's mind. That being PKI was something against the rule and would be punished like Mr. Tikno did when he refused to give his land to the soldiers. Thus, after people were watching what they would get after refusing the soldiers willing, they did not dare to do the same mistake as Mr. Tikno did. This fear grew so strong in their back of their mind and the soldiers were taking advantage of this and implemented this until it become normal for them to be afraid all the time.

“Well there we are, ma’am, kang, everything’s fine now. Have you had a chance to vote yet? Well come on, you can go now. Don’t forget, it’s the one with the picture of a banyan tree. You’re not PKI, right?” (p.61)

The dialogue above is also the example that the soldier was implementing the fear of being called PKI to society. That scene was taken whenever there was an election in Singget Village. The soldiers want people to vote for their party, and they played using the fear that people have. In result, the soldier could get anything they want just by saying “you are not PKI, right?”. On the other hand, the people would be fully terrified whenever a word PKI was said. Because it is known that In Singget Village, anyone who rejected the government military staff request or instruction will be called PKI and they would be imprisoned until an indefinite time. Anyone who did not vote party with the picture of a banyan tree, they would also call PKI. Thus, in order to make the fear of PKI the soldiers were practicing cultural imperialism.

Historically, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) spread communism in Indonesia and threatened the ideology of Pancasila. The emergence of the new order started when President Soekarno handed over his mandate to General Suharto which called the Eleven March Order (SUPERSEMAR). After accepting supersemar, Soeharto made the first step. He dissolved PKI, because Soeharto considered that PKI was a source of the September 30 movement and had to be erased in order to create social and political stability in Indonesia (Djumarwan, 2013).

There were no more parties with names in Arabic. It was said that they had united a single party with a star for a logo. And the parties of the abangan people had also apparently merged. The new party now had a bull’s head logo on a red background. But neither of those was our party, the one that the singget voters

were required to vote for. Because we were patriots and we supported the government, we all supported the yellow party. We would punch the logo with banyan tree. (p.73-74)

The dialogue above shows that in Singget village, all of the villagers was required to choose the yellow party. The line “but neither of those was our party, the one that the Singget voters were required to vote for.... We all supported the yellow party” shows that the people were forced to vote for the party. Explained in the data, all of Singget villagers had to choose yellow party because yellow party was the government party. Also mentioned that Singget villagers were the patriots when they choose yellow party. Therefore, Singget villagers forced to support the government yellow party to make sure that they run for another presidential period and that they could ruling them again. It seems like they did not have any right to vote.

I always voted for the yellow party because it was what the ward chief and uniformed men who guarded the voting booths said we must do. After punching the paper, I gave it to the soldiers, and they put it into a box. Rather than kick up a fuss, I just went along. Now it was the district chief who was telling us to vote, and like the others I would do as he said. (p.99)

In this dialogue, it is clearly described that Marni voted for the yellow party because the ward chief and the government military staff require her to choose that one. In her line “now, it was the district chief who was telling us to vote, and like the others I would do as he said”, she clearly showed her intention to vote at that time was because the chief told her to do so. The election was being set up instead of being a democratic practice. Marni also added that she voted for the yellow party because if she did not choose that party she would get into trouble with the government military staff because they were the one who guarded the box. Here,

the oppression is shown obviously from the soldiers attitude toward the people in Singget village by controlling their wishes and stole their right to vote. But yet, it seems that this condition was already accepted by the society and they made this kind of oppression as a new norm that they had to live with.

The normalization of the new norm was not easy, for sure. The soldiers had to feed up the people with the image and value that they wanted them to see. Below is another example of the soldiers who wanted to ensure Marni that PKI was the ultimate mistake a person could do.

*“Will he go to jail?” I asked,
 “For sure. He went against the state. He may have wanted to be PKI”
 “What did he do wrong, chief? It’s no different than when we hold a traditional dance at a sacred grave.”,
 “Shush! Don’t talk if you don’t know anything. Temples, dragon dance-you don’t know, but they’re all PKI symbols. That’s why they’re forbidden. The chink knew it was forbidden, but he still broke the rules.” Sumadi brought his lips to my ear.*

The conversation above shows that the commander of government military staff said that PKI is a mistake. Being PKI means breaking the rules and “went against the state”. Of course, even his accusation had no based or evidence, he rather did not answer Marni question and blame her to know knowing anything. His line “do not talk if you do not know anything” is his effort to stop Marni for asking or questioning his justification.

Thus, from all those data, this study conclude that in new order era PKI was considered a mistake since they were the man behind September 30 movement which had to be crushed in order to create social and political stability in Indonesia. In the other hand, since PKI was declared as a national threat, the government took advantage by pressing a hidden threat to the people. They used PKI’s name and

threat people that if they did not want to do as they said, they would be accused as PKI and did not want to cooperate with the state. Yet, the people also did not really have the power to cut this satanic circle because the ruling group were so powerful. The election for choosing a formal government were also set up by the soldiers by forcing Singget villagers to vote the banyan party or yellow party and for that was the example of cultural imperialism.

5. Violence

The last oppression that is mentioned by Iris Marion Young (2014) is violence. Violence as its name, is one of the face of oppression. Regarding to World Health Organization (WHO), violence is divided into several types. In the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*, this study found two types of violence that were endured by the citizen in the story, they were physical violence and psychological violence.

a. Physical Violence

The type of violence that might be the most common one to be found and seen is maybe a physical violence. According to WHO (2002), physical violence is defined as the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing harm. Common physical acts of violence include being slapped, pushed, kicked, and etc. In the novel *the Years of the Voiceless*, there are some scenes that show physical violence, for example:

Singget may have been tranquil, but that didn't mean that Ngranget Market was tranquil. I had just gotten out of my pickup truck, which was being driven by Ratno. A crowd had gathered near the trash heap next to the market. I was curious, so I went to see what was going on. It was another corpse. The tattoo-covered body was drenched in blood. The head appeared to have been bashed in with a large rock. This was one of the security guards at the market. Well... not really a security guard. Every day he asked for money form the vendors, and if they didn't pay, he

made things difficult for them. So for security, everyone gave him what he wanted. Every time a vendor lost something or one of the buyers shouted out that they had been pickpocketed, people immediately suspected this man and his gang. And now he was dead. The police came and took the body to who knows where. No one cared. A lot of people were grateful for his death. (p.123-124)

Physical violence was not something new back in the New Order Regime.

The novel *the Years of the Voiceless* was representing the social life at that time where gang and mafia were found everywhere, but unfortunately the law enforcements were also fighting them with the same violent attitude. In the dialogue above, Marni saw the result of this physical violence in her harsh society. Someone was died. In the dialogue, Marni said “it was another corpse”. That means that was not the first time a physical violence happened with a cost of someone’s life. She also said that “the tattoo covered body was drenched in blood. The head appeared to have been bashed in with a large rock”. The tattoo indicates that the corps was a mafia, who was considered as disturber for Singget villagers. In this scene, he died because unnaturally. Through her dialogue, Marni said that his head “have been bashed in with a large rock”, and of course, this is appeared to be one of the faces of oppression, a violence. Although the victim was actually considered as bad guy since he was a mafia who always disturbed the traders in Ngranget Market by asking for some money, it does not mean that he deserve that physical violence. He did broke the criminal law and he might deserve jail, but not for violence and dead. This is an example of the physical violence which one of the faces of oppression in *the Years of the Voiceless*. But, it seems that society did not really care about the violence happened and even glad that someone killed someone else just because the

victim was a bad guy. It is proven by Marni's dialogue that "a lot of people were grateful for his dead".

The Years of the Voiceless also shows that the violence was actually happened all over Indonesia. It was not only in Madiun, where Marni lived. Below is the dialogue where Rahayu's dialogue implicitly tells us that the violence was not only occurred in one particular place but everywhere.

*"Lots of people are getting killed there too. There are dead bodies everywhere. In the markets, on the streets, in the fields. Everyone's scared.",
 "Oh heaven! Yuk, be careful there. There are lots of bad people in the city.",
 "It's actually the bad guy that are getting killed. Thieves, robbers. People say there's being killed to scare them. But why are so many?",
 "They say that the ones that died here were also thieves, extorters.",
 "Then it's same. Both in the cities and in the villages. If they really were thieves. What if they weren't?" (p.125)*

This dialogue tells us that similar incident also occurred in Yogyakarta, a place where Rahayu's, Marni daughter, studied in collage. She said that many people also died in many places, their death was also unnatural death. She said that their death happened because they were bad people. Their presence made the people around them frightened. And for that reason, it seemed that someone wiped them off. Rahayu speculated that it was because someone tried to show his power and threaten society that death would come from those who did not obey the rule. The bodies were used as the propaganda and deliberately had been put down in a place that could be seen by many people. Of course, it was good to have less mafia on the street, but to get them with violent way was really not fair and was also a form of oppression.

However, there was also a doubt that whether people that had been killed was really bad guy. Because no one really knew what was happening at that time

and everyone only heard the official news that the official government made. In fact, *the Years of the Violence* also shows us that the violence could get you even you have done anything. The dialogue below shows the violent soldiers were punished some men because one of them was farting.

*The two soldiers were now using their guns. No, they weren't shooting. They are hitting Amri and Iman with their rifle butts, catching them in the face, the back, the stomach. I couldn't stand it anymore.
 "Stop it... stop it!",
 Thud... I felt my cheek burn up and sting. I had caught a rifle butt in the face. There soldiers stopped. Amri and Iman were both curled up on the ground. (p.140-141)*

Initially, they were arrested by the government military because they were playing cards outdoors that can be seen by many people. Then, when they finally allowed to go home, one of them farted. The soldiers took them to Manggis River. There, the soldiers were punishing the pedicab driver because one of pedicab driver farted in front of him. They were beaten by the soldiers, and the soldiers even tried to drown them into the river. This is the example of the oppression which took a form as physical violence. The government military staff could punish and do a physical harm because they have power. It was example of power abuse by a powerful group. The novel shows us that in New Order Regime it was okay to be violent as long as you had power.

Moreover, the worst thing that the novel has portrayed about the physical violence that was commonly happened during New Order Regime was the effort to cover up the story.

*Very early next day, Taufik returned from Magelang. His eyes were puffy, like he hadn't slept all night. I was the only one at the lodging. My pulse raced. I waited nervously for him to speak. Would it be good news or bad?
 "Where's Mrs. Mehong?"*

*"In the back, cooking.",
 Taufik put his lips to my ear. "Mehong's not there anymore.",
 "Huh? What do you mean?" I kept my voice down.
 "He's dead. They found his body last night outside the market. I'd gone there to
 look for the five other people who were with him that night in the Manggis River.
 But I wasn't quick enough. Mehong was dead by then. I can only meet the
 Magelang military commander later this afternoon." (p.151)*

After Manggis River incident brought a dead victim, the activist did not want to let it go. They asked for justice for powerless people like Mehong. They realized that the incident could happen in anyone else. Just because you were in the wrong place at the wrong time, you could get killed by your official government law enforcement. It was told in the story that Mehong's story in manggis river was published in the newspaper. Amri and his friends was hoping that the police could help them to adjudicate the government military staff who killed Mehong and his friends in manggis river. But the shocking part is that, few days later, Mehong's wife came to see Amri, she told him that Mehong was bought by some strangers who confessed as the government military staff. Then, the next day, Mehong has been found dead. This is the example of covering up the story of the violence done by the soldiers. Thus, the soldiers could not be blame for what they have done. It causes people to afraid of them, and in the other hand, encourage them to continue to use physical violence over people. This condition of course making the oppression grows in the society.

Those dialogues above are the examples and evidence that in *the Years of the Voiceless*, the government military staff in Singget village commonly used physical violence to the citizens. The fact that the government military staffs were killing people for propaganda and even try to publish and show their power to the

citizens is included as oppression. They do physical violence and threaten people which of course affects the society to live their life in fear.

b. Psychological Violence

Beside physical violence, a form of violence is included psychological violence. These two kinds of violence obviously have different form of violence. Physical violence deals with physical harm that could hurt people physically. It may give wound, scar, or even kill someone, but psychological violence is different. World Health Organization defines a variety of actions as psychological violence, some of which include intimidation, harassment, public ridicule or humiliation, repeated verbal abuse and causing or allowing the victim to witness physical, sexual or psychological abuse of a member of the family, pornography or abusive injury to pets (WHO, 2002). Psychological violence may not leave a physical wound or scar, but it is considered more dangerous than physical violence since it leaves invisible wound that may affect how people live.

There are many examples about oppression in *the Years of the Voiceless*. One of the faces of the oppression that has been faced by the citizens in the novel is psychological violence. This study finds a lot of examples that show intimidation, humiliation, and verbal abuse through the story. Below is the dialogue taken from *the Years of the Voiceless* that indicates psychological violence.

“So, Yu, I hear you’re not just selling vegetables and house-hold items anymore. You’re now a moneylender, are you?” Sumadi said.
 “Oh. I’m still trading, chief. I don’t lend a lot.”
 “Hahaha...! Whether it’s a little or a lot, it’s still money-lending. You’re a moneylender, a loan shark! It’s people like you that make life difficult for others.”
 “Hold on, now chief. I’m just trying to help people. When they need money, I give it to them. If they need a pan, I sell them a pan.”

“Yeah, right... Don’t try to wriggle out of this one! You’ve made a lot of enemies now, and that makes you an enemy of the state too” (p.66)

Initially, Marni was a trader in her village. She sold vegetables and kitchen utensils. As her business growing bigger and bigger, Marni tried to start a new business. She tried to lend her money to people who wanted to borrow it and then asked for 10% interest. Knowing her new business, The commander of government military staff, Sumadi, called Marni as a “loan shark”. Fortunately, this is considered rude. It is what people called as humiliation as Sumadi judged Marni by her job. This could be included as psychological violence. In addition, as humiliated Marni did not seem enough for him, Sumadi also said that Marni will “make other people life difficult” referring the fact that she will charge 10% interest to people. The interest was pretty high, but of course, people are not allowed to judge what is wrong and what is right. Respecting other people’s job is mandatory, while humiliate them is considered as a violence. Thus, that dialogue above shows how Marni was humiliated by the commander who had a higher status than her.

Unfortunately, this kind of bullying was done not only by the commander, but also from people around Marni. Other Singget villagers had bully her and her family because of what she did for work. People called her “loan shark”. Below here is the dialogue when Marni was called “loan shark” by the citizen.

“You no-good, shameless moneylender. You’re a loan shark, a bloodsucker. You think I can’t repay my debt? Don’t underestimate me, Yu. I’m an official. I get paid by the state every month. You’re just a loan shark who makes others suffer.” (p.83)

In this dialogue, Marni has called as “a loan shark, a bloodsucker” by someone who borrowed her money. This was happening when Marni asked Mr. Waji to pay his loan. It did not stop right there. This bullying continued in the school where Rahayu, Marni’s daughter studied. Mr. Waji was a teacher in this school and he made everyone in the school called Rahayu as a daughter of loan shark.

I was sure that the next day Mr. Waji would pour out all his disappointment and anger in class. He didn't just talk about sinner, but gave an example by calling my name. All the children in the school would know. "Rahayu's mother is an example of a loan shark. She lends money to people and charges them ten percent interest. She preys on those poor people." (p.84)

In this line, Marni knew that people were bullying her because of her profession. People were calling her with “loan shark and bloodsucker”. Beside those two names, she also got “sinner”. Of course, this bullying and humiliation that she endured would not leave an actual physical scar, but this psychological violence might be dangerous because it was consuming her mind and soul from the inside. Moreover, her daughter who had nothing to do with her mother profession also took effect from this kind of psychological bullying from the people around her.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter summarize the result of the analysis on research findings which consist of two main points: the faces of oppression suffered by the citizen that found in *The Years of the Voiceless*. This chapter will also present a suggestion for further research in the end of the chapter.

A. Conclusion

This study has shown the types of oppression suffered by the citizen. The types of oppression in *The Years of the voiceless* are Exploitation, Powerlessness, Marginalization, and Violence. Thus, in result, the Years of the Voiceless consist of all five faces of oppression that is stated by Iris Marion Young (2014). Exploitation suffered by the citizen especially Marni. In this novel, Marni is representation of Singget villagers. She was made an example because she was one of the successful citizens in Singget village in that era. She was exploited because she was a rich trader in her village. She was exploited by the government military. They come to her house asking the security money, when she refused, they threatened to make her life unsafe. Powerlessness also occurs to Marni because she did not have the power to resist the command of government military staff. They always used their position and do everything as they forced to the citizen. Marginalization occurs to the Chinese person, Koh Cahyadi, because he was considered as symbol of PKI. Anyone who becomes his friends would definitely get some problems. Cultural imperialism is also found, i.e. PKI is considered wrong

because they were a source of the September 30 movement which had to be crushed in order to create social and political stability in Indonesia and the reason of Singget villagers participate to vote banyan party because that party is a government party, they have to follow and support the government party. The violence happened to the citizens who are considered thieves and thugs in the form of physical and psychological violence.

B. Suggestion

The researcher suggests to the next researches who want to use the research with the same novel and topics. The researcher hopefully can analyse *The Years of the voiceless* from other points of view because in *The Years of the Voiceless* there are still many topics that should be analysed and discussed more deeply. The theory of oppression by Irish Marion Young is also needed to be applied in other research.

Undoubtedly, this research has many weaknesses. Therefore, the researcher expects there will be the next researcher who completes limitation in this study. Furthermore, critics and suggestions are also accepted by the researcher as the amelioration for the next project.

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