

**THE PORTRAYAL OF TOTALITARIANISM IN CHRISTINA
DALCHER'S VOX**

THESIS

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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK
IBRAHIM MALANG
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**THE PORTRAYAL OF TOTALITARIANISM IN CHRISTINA
DALCHER'S VOX**

THESIS

Presented to
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in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.)

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2023

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled "**The Portrayal of Totalitarianism in Christina Dalcher's *Vox***" is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, May 2023

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APPROVAL SHEET

Thus is to certify that Aulia Indah Oktania's thesis entitled **The Portrayal of Totalitarianism in Christina Dalcher's *Vox*** has been approved for thesis examination at Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.).

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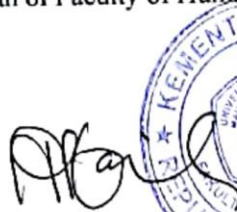
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MOTTO

“Allah does not burden a soul but to the extent of their ability.”

(QS. Al-Baqarah: 286)

DEDICATION

I proudly dedicate my thesis to:

My beloved father, Drs. Abdullah Untung

My pretty mother, Lastini, S.Pi.

My personal advisor, Irmansyah, S.P., M.Si.

My only one brother, Briptu. Alan Julian Amirul Akbar

My only one sister, Anna Qurrota A'yun Amalia, S.Kep., Ns.

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All praise and thanks be to Allah SWT for His blessing so that the researcher can finish this thesis. Second, Shalawat and greetings are still poured out to the leader of the people, Prophet Muhammed SAW, as the bearer of light from the dark ages to the bright light, namely Islam.

On this occasion, the researcher would like to thank her family, especial her parents and her uncle, who always supported her financially through prayers, facilities, and support during her studies at Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University.

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Malang, June 16th, 2023

The Researcher,
Aulia Indah Oktania

ABSTRACT

Oktania, Aulia Indah (2023) The Portrayal of Totalitarianism in Christina Dalcher's *Vox*. Undergraduate Thesis. Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Advisor Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum.

Keywords: *Novel, sociological approach, totalitarianism*

Totalitarianism is a regime effort that wants to fully control the lives of the people under its control. This study aims to explain the characteristics of totalitarianism and the operation of the totalitarian regime in the *Vox*. This research is important to add insight into the characteristics of totalitarian regime and how totalitarian regime operates in *Vox*. This research applies the Totalitarianism theory by Friedrich and Brzezinski. Meanwhile, the approach used in this study is a sociological approach. This research uses data taken from phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and dialogues between characters related to the characteristics of totalitarianism and the operation of totalitarian regime. As a result, the researcher finds evidence of totalitarian characteristics and the operation of totalitarian regime in *Vox*. The first characteristic is the existence of an official ideology. The ideological doctrine of totalitarianism intends to domesticate women. Second, a single mass party led by President Myers as a dictator, this party consisted of elite people like Anna Myers and Reverend Carl, who succeeded in gathering votes for Sam Myers. Furthermore, in the terror system, the researcher finds a technology called a 'counter' with its spontaneous electric shocks, CCTV in every room, and a concentration camp for anyone who does not comply with regime regulations. Next is monopolizing mass communication, the regime monopolizing television broadcasts for propaganda purposes. Furthermore, totalitarian regimes also monopolize weapons to control society. Finally, the regime has a centralized directed economy; this control is included in the policy of replacing all female employees with men chosen by the regime. Furthermore, the first operation totalitarian regime was indoctrination through schools. This indoctrination requires each student to attend the Philosophy of Christianity class. Second, the totalitarian regime changes the rules of law to control the people; the regime prohibits people from traveling abroad and forbids women from working. Lastly, the totalitarian regime punishes the criminals such as adulterers, homosexuals, and traitors.

مستخلص البحث

أوكتانيا ، يوليا إنداه (2023) تصوير الشمولية في فيلم Vox لكريستينا دالشر. أطروحة جامعية. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي ، كلية العلوم الإنسانية ، جامعة الإسلام نيجري مولانا مالك إبراهيم مالانج. المستشار الدكتور مندي راهايو ، محمد هم.

الكلمة الرئيسية: رواية ، نهج اجتماعي ، شمولية

الشمولية هي جهد حكومي يريد السيطرة الكاملة على حياة الناس الخاضعين لسيطرتها. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى شرح خصائص الشمولية في رواية Vox وعمل النظام الشمولي في رواية Vox. هذا البحث مهم للقيام به لإضافة نظرة ثاقبة على خصائص الحكومات الشمولية وكيف تعمل الأنظمة الشمولية. النظرية المستخدمة في هذه الدراسة هي نظرية الشمولية لفريدريك وبريزنسكي. وفي الوقت نفسه ، فإن النهج المستخدم في هذه الدراسة هو نهج اجتماعي. تستخدم هذه الدراسة بيانات مأخوذة من عبارات وجمل وفقرات وحوارات بين الشخصيات المتعلقة بخصائص الشمولية وتصوير الشمولية. من نتائج البحث الذي تم إجراؤه ، وجد الباحث أدلة على الخصائص الشمولية في رواية Vox. السمة الأولى هي وجود أيديولوجية رسمية ، فالحكومة في رواية Vox تستخدم الأيديولوجية المسيحية كمرجع لجميع تحركاتهم. ثانيًا ، حزب جماهيري واحد ، يتكون هذا الحزب من نخبة مثل أنا مايرز والقس كارل الذي نجح في جمع الأصوات لصالح سام مايرز. علاوة على ذلك ، تم تسليط الضوء في هذه الرواية على نظام الإرهاب ، وهو جهاز تحكم يسمى "العداد" بصدمة الكهربية العفوية ، جنبًا إلى جنب مع الدوائر التلفزيونية المغلقة التي تراقب المناطق الخاصة بالناس ، وهناك معسكر اعتقال لأي شخص لا يلتزم باللوائح الحكومية. التالي هو احتكار مرافق الاتصال الجماهيري ، حيث تحتكر الحكومة البث التلفزيوني للصحف لأغراض دعائية. بالإضافة إلى ، تحتكر الأنظمة الشمولية الأسلحة للسيطرة على المجتمع. أخيرًا ، هناك سيطرة مركزية من قبل النظام ، وهذه الرقابة تدخل في سياسة استبدال جميع العاملين رجال يختارهم النظام. بينما العملية التي نفذها النظام الشمولي الأول كانت تقوم بالتلقين العقائدي من خلال المدارس. يتم هذا التلقين من خلال مطالبة كل طالب بحضور فصل فلسفة المسيحية. ثانيًا ، النظام الشمولي يغير قواعد القانون للسيطرة على الناس ، فالنظام يمنع الناس من السفر للخارج ويمنع النساء من العمل. أخيرًا ، يعاقب النظام الشمولي المجرمين مثل الزناة والمثليين والمعارضين. هذه السيطرة تدخل في سياسة استبدال جميع العاملين رجال يختارهم النظام. بينما العملية التي نفذها النظام الشمولي الأول كانت تقوم بالتلقين العقائدي من خلال المدارس. يتم هذا التلقين من خلال مطالبة كل طالب بحضور فصل فلسفة المسيحية. ثانيًا ، النظام الشمولي يغير قواعد القانون للسيطرة على الناس ، فالنظام يمنع الناس من السفر للخارج ويمنع النساء من العمل. أخيرًا ، يعاقب النظام الشمولي المجرمين مثل الزناة والمثليين والمعارضين. يتم هذا التلقين من خلال مطالبة كل طالب بحضور فصل فلسفة المسيحية. ثانيًا ، النظام الشمولي يغير قواعد القانون للسيطرة على الناس ، فالنظام يمنع الناس من السفر للخارج ويمنع النساء من العمل. أخيرًا ، يعاقب النظام الشمولي المجرمين مثل الزناة والمثليين والمعارضين.

ABSTRAK

Oktania, Aulia Indah (2023) Penggambaran Totalitarianisme dalam *Vox* karya Christina Dalcher. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris, Fakultas Humaniora, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing Dr. Mundi Rahayu, M.Hum.
Kata kunci: *Novel, pendekatan sosiologis, totalitarianisme*

Totaliterisme merupakan usaha rezim yang berkeinginan untuk mengontrol penuh kehidupan masyarakat dibawah kendalinya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan ciri-ciri totaliterisme dalam novel *Vox* dan operasi rezim totaliter di novel *Vox*. Penelitian ini penting dilakukan untuk menambah wawasan tentang karakteristik pemerintahan totaliter dan bagaimana rezim totaliter beroperasi. Teori yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah teori Totaliterisme dari Friedrich dan Brzezinski. Sedangkan, pendekatan yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan sosiologis. Penelitian ini menggunakan data yang diambil dari frasa, kalimat, paragraf, dan dialog antar tokoh yang terkait dengan ciri-ciri totaliterisme dan operasi rezim totaliter. Dari hasil penelitian yang telah dilakukan, peneliti menemukan bukti adanya ciri-ciri totaliter dalam novel *Vox*. Ciri pertama adalah adanya ideologi resmi, pemerintahan dalam novel *Vox* menggunakan Ideologi Kristiani sebagai acuan segala pergerakan mereka. Kedua, partai massa tunggal, partai ini terdiri dari elite people seperti Anna Myers dan Reverend Carl yang berhasil mengumpulkan suara untuk Sam Myers. Selanjutnya, sistem teror, alat kontrol yang disebut 'counter', CCTV dipasang disetiap ruangan, dan ada kamp konsentrasi bagi siapa saja yang tidak mematuhi peraturan Pemerintah. Berikutnya adalah memonopoli sarana komunikasi massa, pemerintah memonopoli siaran televisi untuk kepentingan propaganda. Selanjutnya, rezim totaliter juga memonopoli senjata untuk mengontrol masyarakat. Terakhir yaitu adanya kontrol ekonomi terpusat oleh rezim, kontrol ini termasuk dalam kebijakan mengganti seluruh pekerja wanita dengan para lelaki pilihan rezim. Sedangkan operasi yang dilakukan rezim totaliter yang pertama yaitu melakukan indoktrinasi ideologi melalui sekolah. Indoktrinasi ini dilakukan dengan mewajibkan setiap siswa mengikuti kelas Philosophy of Christianity. Kedua, rezim totaliter mengubah aturan-aturan hukum untuk mengontrol masyarakat, rezim melarang masyarakat untuk bepergian ke luar negeri dan melarang wanita bekerja. Terakhir, Rezim totaliter menghukum para penjahat seperti pelaku zina, para homoseksual, dan para pengkhianat.

TABLE OF CONTENT

THESIS COVER.....	i
STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP	ii
APPROVAL SHEET	iii
LEGITIMATION SHEET	iv
MOTTO	v
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENT.....	vii
ABSTRACT (English).....	viii
ABSTRACT (Arab)	ix
ABSTRACT (Bahasa Indonesia)	x
TABLE OF CONTENT	xi
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
A. Background of the Study.....	1
B. Research Question.....	6
C. Significance of the Study	6
D. Scope and Limitation	6
E. Definition of Key Terms	7
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	9
A. Sociological Literary Criticism.....	9
B. The Theory of Totalitarianism	12
CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHOD	21
A. Research Design.....	21
B. Data Source	21
C. Data Collection.....	21
D. Data Analysis	22
CHAPTER IV: FINDING AND DISCUSSION	23
A. The Characteristics of Totalitarianism in Christina Dalcher's Vox	23
1. An Official Ideology	24
2. A Single Mass Party.....	25
3. A System of Terror.....	26
4. A Monopoly of Mass Communication.....	28
5. A Monopoly of Weapons	30
6. Centrally Directed Economy	31
B. The Operation of Totalitarian Regime Operating in Vox.....	31
1. Indoctrination of Ideology Through Education.....	32
2. Changing the Rules of Law to Control the People.....	36
3. Punishing the Criminal.....	38

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION.....	41
A. Conclusion	41
B. Suggestion.....	42
BIBLIOGRAPHY	43
CURRICULUM VITAE	46

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the background of the research that explains the topic of discussion and the selection of literary works that are used as objects of research, research problems, the significance of the study, scope and limitations, and the definition of key terms.

A. Background of the Study

The word “totalitarianism” was used for the very first time in 1925. In a totalitarian regime, as opposed to a democratic one, only one leader has the power to control every aspect of his people’s lives. Andrez Borowski, who was paraphrasing Perlmutter (1981), said that totalitarianism is the same as dictatorship because it severely limits civil liberties and personal freedom, ends freedom of speech and religion, limits the inviolability of private property, and punishes people who do not follow the rules (Borowski, 2017).

Totalitarianism is centered on the regime’s efforts to remodel and transform human beings under its control in the image of its ideology. The theory holds that the "essence" of totalitarianism is to be seen in such a regime’s total control of the everyday life of its citizens, of its control, more particularly, of their thoughts and attitudes as well as their activities. (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.16).

Totalitarianism is not only a part of history. It is also a social phenomenon that still occurs in this world. An example of a country that now has a totalitarian system is North Korea, led by Kim Jong Un. Considering that this phenomenon still occurs, it is not uncommon for novelists to raise totalitarianism as the background in their novels. Some novelists who are famous for their totalitarian stories are Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale* and George Orwell's *Animal Farm* or *1984*. Meanwhile, one of the novelists who recently released a novel with a similar theme is Christina Dalcher.

Christina Dalcher published the *Vox* on August 15, 2018. *Vox* illustrates the horrible things of totalitarianism. Some horrible things about this novel are that people are prohibited from traveling abroad, women can only say 100 words a day, lose their jobs, cannot read books, maintain their accounts, and cannot have passports. This novel was one of the top three Goodreads Choice Award finalists for best science fiction and the Sunday Times' top ten books of the year (U.K.).

Several things contributed to the creation of the *Vox*. In an interview on the website *she writes*, Dalcher (2020) remarked that she is aware of the propensity of people to accept all aspects of their lives without question, including political decisions, environmental issues, economic and social issues. Due to their ignorance, the risk of dystopian radicalism occurs, as history has proven that the world is continually changing. Moreover, on *France24.com*, Dalcher (2019) explained that she aimed to make the novel seem "real-unreal". Therefore, Dalcher made a totalitarian regime to create events that were perceived as real-not

real, such as the 100 words per day beating of women and the installation of bracelet counters as a means of control.

The readers of *Vox* think it was written in response to Trump. In *washingtonpost.com*, Charles (2018) said “Donald Trump may be a disaster for women’s rights, but he is made feminist dystopias great again”. The president has a proclivity for a certain religion, notably Christianity, and for degrading women, as heard in several of Donald Trump’s speeches. Trump says, "Hillary is not tough enough to face Russian president Vladimir Putin or ISIS. She is a lying bitch", Trump not only insinuates that Hillary is weak, but he accuses her of being a lying bitch. He thinks that women should not nominate for election just because they are women and for him being a woman equals being weak (Darwiseesh & Abdullah, 2016). Meanwhile, Dalcher (2019) in *France24.com* said that *Vox*’s political settings and present American politics are just coincidences. This unique coincidence is also the reason for the researcher to choose *Vox* as an interesting object to study.

Several previous studies with the same object have been done. The researchers raised topics about feminism, such as gender issues, body politics, and feminism in general. Studies with discussions of gender issues can be found in the study entitled “Gender Issues in U.S. Literature: An Analysis of the Female Characters in *The Handmaid’s Tale* and *Vox*”, written by Arancha Alvarez Lamas (2021) that discusses the evolution of the role of the female protagonist from a feminist perspective, and a study written by Karla Spiranec (2021) entitled

“Scripts and Counter-Scripts of Gender in Contemporary Feminist Dystopia” that analyzes the radical patriarchy depicted in feminist dystopias.

Another topic that has been discussed in *Vox* is body politics. The first study, entitled “My Body Isn’t Yours to Own: Body Politics and Narratives of Reproduction in Three Feminist Dystopias”, written by Laurien Schonewille (2019), and an article entitled “Female Struggle and Negotiation in Christina Dalcher’s *Vox*” written by Maria Pinakoulia (2020). The difference that is clearly visible in the two studies above is the study written by Laurien using three similar objects, namely *Vox* by Christina Dalcher, *Red Clocks* by Leni Zumas, and *Gather the Daughter* by Jennie Melamed, while the study written by Maria only focuses on *Vox* by Christina Dalcher.

Another study with the same object was conducted to examine certain topics, such as the study entitled “The Resistance of Women Toward Oppression in Christina Dalcher’s *Vox*” by Riska Mardianti, Dahlan, and Mariati (2021). Another topic is about women’s rights and the relevance of certain religions as ideologies used by the regime, as in the discussion of the study entitled “Women’s Rights and Religious in Dystopian Speculative Fiction: A Closer Look at Louise Erdrich’s *Future Home of the Living God* and Christina Dalcher’s *Vox*” which was written by Kelli D. Macomber (2022). Then a study entitled “Anihilasi Simbolis dan Resistensi Perempuan dalam Novel *Vox*” was written by Rizqi Auliawati Putri (2021). This study focuses on uncovering the symbolic forms of annihilation that women experience, revealing the efforts of women’s resistance

as a response to annihilation actions, and disclosing the author's genuine intentions for women in the *Vox*.

In accordance with the current research theory, there are several studies with the same theory but different objects. The first article used the theory of totalitarianism by Friedrich and Brzezinski, entitled "Offred as the Victim of Totalitarianism in Margaret Atwood's *The Handmaid's Tale*", which was written by Ribka Transiska Deboranti and Mamik Tri Wedati (2020). Next, a thesis was written by Fuad Khoirul Umam (2016) entitled "The Portrayal of Totalitarianism in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*". With the object of the 1984 novel by George Orwell, this research is an article entitled "Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Treatise on Tyranny" authored by Thomas Banks (2018), utilizing the totalitarianism theory of Friedrich and Brzezinski. Next research is an article by Muslimah and Mustofa (2014) entitled "Totalitarianism in Mo Yan's *Big Breast and Wide Hips*". These articles discuss totalitarianism in the novel, which has a similar conflict to the *Vox*. The previous researchers used the same theory as this study.

In seven prior studies on the same object, the researchers of previous studies tend to discuss feminism in various aspects. The researcher realizes that there is an aspect that has yet to be discussed in depth in the *Vox*, and that is totalitarianism. This totalitarianism is the root of existing problems, such as gender issues to the doctrine of certain religious ideologies used by the regime. Therefore, the researcher intends to fill the existing gap by conducting a study entitled "The Portrayal of Totalitarianism in Christina Dalcher's *Vox*", which will focus on the characteristics of totalitarianism in Christina Dalcher's *Vox* and the

operations of totalitarian regime operating in Vox by applying the totalitarianism theory by Friedrich and Brzezinski and the sociological approach.

The researcher uses a sociological approach because this research is related to social life and politics. This study will be conducted by looking at the regime's political program. In addition, considering that there are still countries with totalitarian regimes, it is essential to do this research to provide readers with an in-depth understanding of the characteristics of totalitarianism in Vox and how the totalitarian regime operates in Vox.

B. Problem of the Study

Based on the background statement that has been explained, the researcher endeavors to investigate several problems, that are:

1. What are the characteristics of totalitarianism in Christina Dalcher's Vox?
2. How does the totalitarian regime operate in Christina Dalcher's Vox?

C. Significance of the Study

The researcher realizes that totalitarianism has become a phenomenon that is still applied in several countries. Totalitarianism can occur anywhere when society is not aware of its causes and effects. For that reason, this research is expected to provide readers with a deep understanding of totalitarianism, especially its characteristics and the operation of totalitarian regime in Christina Dalcher's Vox.

D. Scope and Limitation

To answer the above question, the researcher will focus on examining the characteristics of totalitarianism in the Vox and the operation of totalitarian regime operates in Christina Dalcher's Vox. These characteristics will be reviewed through the regime's political program based on the totalitarianism theory by Friedrich and Brzezinski. Researchers will not discuss topics beyond this limit.

E. Definition of Key Terms

1. Totalitarianism

Totalitarianism is centered on the regime's efforts to remodel and transform the human beings under its control in the image of its ideology. The theory holds that the "essence" of totalitarianism is to be seen in such a regime's total control of the everyday life of its citizens, of its control, more particularly, of their thoughts and attitudes as well as their activities. (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1956, p.16).

2. Indoctrination

According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary, indoctrination is giving in-depth teachings (without criticism) or training regarding a certain understanding or doctrine by looking at truth from a certain direction.

3. Propaganda

According to Leonard W. Dobb, the meaning of propaganda is efforts made by individuals who have an interest in controlling group attitudes, including by using suggestions, so that the result is control over the group's activities.

4. Regime

According to the Cambridge Dictionary, a regime is a particular government, a system, or a method of government.

5. Monopoly

According to the Cambridge dictionary, monopoly is a situation in which the regime owns and controls a particular industry, and there is no competition.

6. Ideology

According to the Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy, an ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs and attitudes, consciously or unconsciously held, which reflects or shapes understandings or misconceptions of the social and political world.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In this chapter, the researcher will discuss the approach and the theory that will be applied to this study. These literature reviews are related to the main topic of the research and intended to answer the problems of this study. The researcher will provide an explanation of the sociological literary criticism and totalitarianism theory by Friedrich and Brzezinski.

A. Sociological Literary Criticism

The sociology of literature is comprised of two terms, sociology and literature, whose meanings are essentially interrelated. Sociology is the scientific study of social behavior and social actions. Sociology examines society through the lens of the relationships between individuals and the processes that result from these relationships. While literature is also concerned with humans, this is because literati are themselves humans and members of society. Literature is the morals and soul of the author based on various social, mental, and emotional patterns of existence in his environment (Rahayu, Mediyansyah, & Zuhro, 2020).

Wellek & Warren (1956, p.95) stated that the sociology of literature is utilized both in describing the influence that society is having on literature as well as in determining the position that literature holds within society. This methodology evolved in response to concerns regarding the connection between literature and particular social contexts, as well as the political and economic systems. The study of sociology in relation to works of literature can be classified

into three distinct subfields: the sociology of the author, the social content of the work itself, and the influence of literature on society.

1) Sociology of the author

A writer is also a member of society. Considering this, the primary source for this investigation is the author's background. The background covers everything from the origin of the authors to the history of their families, the authors' ideologies, and their economic situations. In relation to literary studies, the notion of ideology is often equated with a world view, namely the overall complex of ideas, aspirations, and feelings that link together members of a particular social group and oppose them to other groups (Goldmann, 1977, p.17). These factors undoubtedly have an impact on the nature of their work.

2) The social content of the work itself

In this particular instance, the topic of the investigation is the content of the literary work itself, as well as its purpose and the things that can be inferred from it about the parallels between the social conditions depicted in literary works and actual social issues. By another name, literary works are a reflection of social life itself.

3) The Sociology of Readers and the Social Impact of Literary Works

The sociology of readers is one model of the study of the sociology of literature that focuses on the relationship between literary works and readers. The areas of this study include readers' problems and the social impact of

literary works, as well as the extent to which literary works are determined or dependent on social background, social change, and development.

According to Diana T. and Alan Swingewood (1972, p. 11-13), sociology is a scientific and objective study of people in society, the study of social institutions, and the study of social processes. It seeks to answer questions regarding how society is possible, how it functions, and why it continues to exist. Literature, much the same as sociology, is very concerned with the social world of man, his adaptation to it, and his desire to change it. This is because literature is an expression of human experience. Therefore, the novel, which is the primary literary genre of industrial society, can be seen as an earnest attempt to recreate the social relations of the human world with his family, with politics, and with the state; it also depicts conflicts and differences between groups and social classes occurring within the family and other institutions.

Junus gives a more detailed opinion (in Sangidu, 2004), which shows two parts to the study of the sociology of literature: (1) a sociology of literature approach and seeing the social factors that led to literary works at a certain time. So, this approach sees social factors as the most important and literature as the least important; (2) the sociology of literature approach literally starts with the social factors that show up in literary works and then uses them to figure out what is going on in society outside of the literary texts. So, this way of thinking sees the world of literature or literary works as the most important thing and social events as the least important.

Sangidu (2004) also discusses the techniques needed to use the dialectical method (the relationship between social factors in a literary work and social factors in real life). In this way of putting it, the sociology of literature is an approach that looks at how social realities in society relate to literary realities in literary texts without ignoring the mirror of the author's life.

B. The Theory of Totalitarianism

The term "totalitarianism" became more popular in the twentieth century. According to Kamenka (1995, p.629), "Totalitarianism" is used to describe states, ideologies, leaders, and political parties that have the political goal of controlling society in total. This term first appeared on the political stage when it was used by the leader of the fascist regime in Italy, namely Mussolini, in a State of the Union speech attacking the remnants of opposition members in Parliament on June 22, 1925, with the term 'la nostra force volontà totalitarian which means 'our fierce totalitarian will'.

Friedrich and Brzezinski also share the definition of totalitarianism. According to them, totalitarianism is a regime-centered way of thinking that tries to rebuild and change society, and it controls the ideological framework that the regime applies to all parts of people's lives. People thought that the world and civilization could change without stopping while he was in charge because his actions were seen as political (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1956, p.16).

According to Richard Pipes (1993, p.242), totalitarian regimes strive to control practically every element of social life, including the economics, education, art, science, private life, and morals of its population. Some totalitarian

regimes may create a new ideology in which the “official ideology” reaches “to the very roots of the social structure and the totalitarian regime likewise attempts to totally control its citizens’ thoughts and behaviours”.

One of the famous political theorists, Hannah Arendt (1976), mentions several characteristics of totalitarianism. According to her, the characteristics of totalitarianism are the leader, propaganda that will end in indoctrination, and indoctrination that leads to terror.

There are six characteristics of totalitarianism according to Friedrich & Brzezinski, namely an official ideology, a single mass party, a system of terror, a monopoly of mass communication, a monopoly of weapons, and a centrally directed economy (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.33).

a) An Official Ideology

An official ideology, consisting of an official body of doctrine covering all vital aspects of man’s existence to which everyone living in that society is supposed to adhere, at least passively; this ideology is characteristically focused and projected toward a perfect final state of mankind (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.22).

Ideology is the basis for totalitarian state leaders forming perfect ideal values in running the wheels of regime. All policies and regulations become an excuse for the regime to realize its ideology. Then ideology is inserted into all areas of culture and activities related to education, morality, creating good and bad standards, and trust (Borowski, 2017). This ideology will control the minds

and behavior of its subject, as quoted by Hameed from Richard Pipes (Hameed, 2022).

This ideology is spread through indoctrination. This indoctrination tries to reach the child as early as possible. One way to reach young people as early as possible is through school education. The totalitarians will turn a large part of the educational process itself into a school for their particular ideology (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.148). In relation to education, ideological values will be indoctrinated by teachers. As Friedrich and Brzezinski said that “The teacher becomes the long-range indoctrinator, the installer of an ideology that is intended to subjugate the students intellectually and to commit them for the rest of their lives to a doctrinal orthodoxy” (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.160).

b) A Single Mass Party

A single mass party typically led by one man, the "dictator", and consisting of a relatively small percentage of the total population (up to 10 percent) of men and women, a hard core of them passionately and unquestioningly dedicated to the ideology and prepared to assist in every way in promoting its general acceptance, such a party being hierarchically, oligarchically organized and typically either superior to or completely intertwined with, the regime bureaucracy (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.22). Moreover, the party members were an elite group of people, educated people and people who were most loyal to the state and had a special duty to serve the country (Borowski, 2017). They fully contribute to dedicating ideological values to general dissemination. Apart from the party itself,

several organizations, such as religious organizations and small political parties, are controlled by the regime to support an official party ideology (Hameed, 2022).

A Totalitarian dictator is a ruler who is also a high priest. He interpreted authoritatively the doctrines underlying the regime movement. In a totalitarian order, the dictator works closely with the dictator's political lieutenants, also known as subleaders. These dictators and subleaders are united in ideological views. These subleaders hold the joystick that holds the totalitarian dictatorship together and is instrumental in keeping the dictator in power. Each in their own field, the totalitarian lieutenants will seek to destroy all resistance to the regime's ideological aims (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.33).

c) A System of Terror

One of the most important essences of a totalitarian system is a system of terror. A system of terror through party, whether physical or psychic, effected through party and secret-police control, supporting but also supervising the party for its leaders, and characteristically directed not only against demonstrable "enemies" of the regime but against more or less arbitrarily selected classes of the population; the terror whether of the secret police or of party-directed social pressure systematically exploits modern science, and more especially scientific psychology (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.22).

Terror works by threats of execution or by defamation and social shame. Its main characteristic is an attempt to intimidate. Regime terror seeks to frighten those under its power to conform and obey. An atmosphere of anxiety and insecurity are the things that accompany terror. Arendt said that nobody, not even

the executors, can ever be free of fear; in our context, we are dealing merely with the arbitrariness by which victims are chosen, and for this, it is decisive that they are objectively innocent, that they are chosen regardless of what they may or may not have done (Arendt, 1976, p.6). In the execution of terror, modern technology is very likely to be used. This technology is used to support the performance of the secret police in technical supervision and controlling the movement of people (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.129).

The terror system is carried out through symbolic violence, physical, and mental violence. Symbolic violence can be defined as the ideas and values of a ruling cultural class that purposefully impose them (often through subconscious means) onto a dominant social group, such as women and poor people (Rahayu, 2021). Purwahida & Sayuti (2011) cites Arendt's concept of violence; Arendt emphasizes that this type of violence originates from a totalitarian government that seeks to destroy public space, eliminate the freedom to incite citizens to obey totally. Physical violence such as sadistic torture, murder, exploitation, and enslavement is the punishment that must be received by the prisoners. Meanwhile, mental violence can be in the form of doctrines or things that make people afraid and obedient.

Another significant and familiar feature of totalitarian terror is the concentration camp. According to Eugen Kogon, mentioned by Friedrich and Brzezinski (1965, p.197), who has written the most penetrating study of the Nazi concentration camp, these camps (called Kazett, from Konzentrationslager) were the sharpest expression of the system of terror and, at the same time, its most

effective method. He believes that their purpose was to eliminate all actual, potential, and imagined enemies of the regime by first separating them, then humiliating, breaking, and destroying them, killing ten innocents rather than allowing one “guilty” one to escape. It is also claimed by Borowski (2017) said that these camps were or are part of each of such problem circles as deprivation of freedom, lawlessness, terror, cruelty, deportations, forced labor and slave labor, exploitation, and mass murder.

Murders can occur anywhere in a totalitarian country, not simply in concentration camps. One of them is the murdering of opposition groups deemed enemies by the state. According to Friedrich and Brzezinski (1965), extreme opponents of the dictatorship would be eliminated by murder or kidnapping. Arendt (1976) also claimed that mass deaths posed a threat to anybody who did not follow the regime’s ideology. In this way, it can be interpreted that anyone who does not follow ideology is considered an enemy of the state and must be removed by being killed.

d) A Monopoly of Mass Communication

A technologically conditioned, near-complete monopoly of control, in the hands of the party and regime, of all means of effective mass communication, such as the press, radio, and motion pictures (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.22).

The regime monopolizes the mass media with the aim of carrying out propaganda. Through the effective use of communication monopolies such as through the press, radio, and motion pictures, mass change is constantly being attempted by totalitarian propaganda (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p. 25).

Propaganda is also used to win the masses, which contains practical lies, predictions, and ideological doctrines. Parties and other totalitarians always make official predictions in front of the populace. When those predictions do not come true and are different from reality, they are responsible for revising the records to match the predictions (Renaldi & Widyastuti, 2015). In addition, propaganda is also used to free the mind from experience and reality. This propaganda always tries to “inject” a secret meaning into every open and visible event and suspects a secret intention behind public political actions (Arendt, 1976, p.276).

e) A Monopoly of Weapons

There is a similarly technologically conditioned in totalitarianism that is near-complete monopoly of the effective use of all weapons of armed combat (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.22). These weapons are used as a tool to control citizens. As Friedrich & Brzezinski said, the citizen as an individual, and indeed in larger groups, is simply defenseless against the overwhelming technological superiority of those who can centralize in their hands the means with which to wield modern weapons and thereby physically to coerce the mass of the citizenry (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.24).

f) Centrally Directed Economy

Totalitarian dictatorships develop a centrally directed economy as the sixth characteristic. Central control and direction of the entire economy through the bureaucratic coordination of formerly independent corporate entities, typically including most other associations and group activities (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.22).

A totalitarian economy is centrally directed and controlled. In order to execute such central direction and control, there must be a plan. Totalitarian planning is formulated based on ideologically determined goals; its scope, in the final analysis, is total; and that effective time limits are absent, the usual four- or five-year periods being mere accounting devices. Totalitarian planning is a necessary concomitant of the total revolution that these regimes set in motion; without it, they would easily degenerate into anarchy, and it is this political quality that sets it apart from democratic economic planning (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.229).

In addition, a totalitarian regime also changes the rules of laws to control the people. Law is the combination of rules of conduct, customs and rules of social life which express the will of the ruling class. The ruler of a totalitarian regime can freely change all laws to make him rule effectively. This law makes people do not have the right to their life. As Friedrich and Brzezinski said "No one has any rights and all power must be concentrated in the hands of the victorious proletariat, that is to say, its leaders" (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1965, p.117). Arendt also added that an arbitrary system aims to destroy the civil rights of the whole population, who ultimately become just as outlawed in their own country as the stateless and homeless. The destruction of a man's rights, the killing of the juridical person in him, is a prerequisite for dominating him entirely. Moreover, this applies not only to special categories such as criminals, political opponents, Jews, and homosexuals, on whom the early experiments were done, but to every inhabitant of a totalitarian state (Arendt, 1976, p.451).

Lastly, the totalitarian regime also punished criminals. They are also called as enemies of the totalitarian regime. According to the totalitarian regime, criminals are traitors, offend the regime, and some other activities which the regime considers guilty. Even the Nazi regime in 1933 established homosexuality as a crime.

From the explanations above, it can be concluded that totalitarianism is a regime system that applies total control to all its people. This total control even goes beyond people's privacy. Moreover, according to Friedrich and Brzezinski, there are six characteristics of totalitarianism. Those are an official ideology, a single mass party, a system of terror, a monopoly of mass communication, a monopoly of weapons, centrally directed economy. In addition, the totalitarian regime also operates by indoctrination of ideology through education, changing the rules of laws to control the people, and punishing criminals. This study will examine the characteristics of totalitarianism portrayed in Christina Dalcher's *Vox* and how the totalitarian regime operates in Christina Dalcher's *Vox*.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

The following chapter will elaborate on how the researcher investigated the novel, in addition to explaining the research design, the source of the data, how the data was acquired, and how the researcher analyzed the literary work.

A. Research Design

In this study, literary criticism serves as the analytical framework. This study seeks to identify the characteristics of totalitarianism in Christina Dalcher's *Vox* and the operation totalitarian regime in Christina Dalcher's *Vox* by applying the totalitarianism theory by Friedrich and Brzezinski. The relationship between literature and social life is the focus of this study. Hence the research applied a sociological approach. This approach helps clarify the societal issues that totalitarianism causes.

B. Data Source

In this research, the data source is *Vox* novel written by Christina Dalcher. This novel was published in 2018 by Penguin Random House. It consists of 80 chapters and 326 pages.

C. Data Collection

There are several steps to collect the data. First, read the novel carefully to get a good understanding of the novel. Second, marking the words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and dialogue among the characters related to the characteristics of totalitarianism in Christina Dalcher's *Vox* and the operation

totalitarian regime in Christina Dalcher's *Vox*. Third, taking the data relevant to the research problems and then processing the data to the next step, which is data analysis.

D. Data Analysis

After collecting the data, the next step is analyzing the data. To analyze, the researcher classifies the data about the characteristics of totalitarianism and the operation of totalitarian regime. The second step is comparing the data to decide the most relevant data for the research questions. After that, the researcher interprets the data until finally can make a conclusion. The conclusion will explain the answer to the research problems.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter will discuss the findings and discussion of the characteristics of totalitarianism and totalitarian regime operations in *Vox*. This chapter will be reviewed according to the totalitarianism theory by Friedrich and Brzezinski.

Vox tells us about the character Jean who struggles to take back women's rights and voice. In *Vox*, social life changes and worsens since the new president ruled. Jean was a scientist, and she researched Wernicke's aphasia. However, Jean was forced to quit her job because all women are prohibited from having a job. In addition, since the government set a quota for talking to women, there is no more small talk between women. Furthermore, in the school environment, teachers only give closed-ended questions requiring a nod or a head shake. There are no more discussions with peers for girl students. This change in social conditions is the impact of the new government that uses a totalitarian system.

A. Characteristics of Totalitarianism in Christina Dalcher's *Vox*

Vox tells of a country that has a totalitarian regime background. It can be seen from several characteristics in accordance with Friedrich and Brzezinski's totalitarianism theory. According to them, there are six general characteristics of totalitarianism. Those are an official ideology, a single mass party, a system of terror, a monopoly of mass communication, a monopoly of weapons, and a centrally directed economy. All the characteristics contained in *Vox* will be discussed below.

1. An Official Ideology

Ideology is a system of ideas, beliefs, and attitudes embodied by the way of life in certain groups, classes and societies. An official ideology consists of an official doctrine that covers all important aspects of human life. Below is data on the official doctrine of totalitarianism.

Reverend Carl nods each time I speak one of the beliefs, affirmations, or declarations of intent into the black bracelet.

"I Believe that man was created in the image and glory of God, and that woman is the glory of the man, for man was not made of woman, but the woman was made from man."

"We are called as women to keep silent and to be under obedience. If we must learn, let us ask our husband in the closeness of the home, for it is shameful that a woman question God-ordained male leadership."

"When we obey male leadership with humility and submission, we acknowledge that the head of every man is Christ and that the head of every woman is the man."

"God's plan for woman, whether married or single, is that she adorns herself with shamefacedness and sobriety and that she exhibit modesty and femininity without fanciful or proud display."

"I will seek to adorn myself inwardly and to be pure, modest, and submissive. In this way, I will glorify man, thereby glorifying God."

"I will honour the sanctity of marriage, both mine and that of others, for God will judge adulterers with a vengeance." (Dalcher, p. 82-83)

The data above is a condition where Reverend Carl forces Jean's character to pronounce one of the beliefs or affirmation or declaration of totalitarian ideology into the black bracelet or 'counter'. Based on these conditions, the characters in the *Vox* are divided into characters of authority and those controlled by authority. The regime tried to separate society into men and women. Jean describes the character of a woman whose life is regulated by the regime. While the character of Reverend Carl depicts a subleader of a totalitarian regime who has full control of society. Reverend Carl requires all women to speak this belief every day. This is to inculcate the totalitarian ideology in the mindset of women.

From these data, it can be interpreted that the intention of the ideological doctrine of totalitarianism is to domesticate women. Totalitarian ideology wants women to be submissive to men. The sentence "God's plan for woman, whether married or single, is that she adorns herself with shamefacedness and sobriety and that exhibits modesty and femininity without fanciful or proud display" shows the totalitarian ideology that governs how the attitude and appearance of women should be.

2. A Single Mass Party

A single mass party is a single party that dominates a country and wants no opposition party. A single mass party led by a "dictator". Moreover, party members are a group of elite people, educated people, and the most loyal people by country. In *Vox*, a single mass party is not clearly stated but is depicted with the character Sam Myers as a leader and the members which consist of elite people. Below will explain the evidence of the existence of a single mass party.

No elections were held, no confirmation hearings -the president wanted votes, and he got them. (Dalcher, 119)

The dictatorial leadership of President Sam Myers proves the existence of a mass party. The narrative above is a condition where Sam Myers sets the rules regarding birth control. Sam Myers banned the use of condom and birth control; he replaced them with baby equipment in a shelf pharmacy. The characteristic of a dictator in Sam Myers can be seen from the data above. Sam Myers does not need anyone's opinion, and he will get everything he wants, just as the rule is applied without needing someone else's opinion. These conditions make Sam Myers as a powerful character.

Sam Myers was a terrible choice for the chief executive. Young and inexperienced in big-time politics, his military training a one-year ROTC stint from college days, Myers ran his presidential race with a crutch under each arm. Bobby, his older brother and a career senator, supplied the practical advice. There was a shit ton of that, I'm guessing. The other crutch was Reverend Carl, the vote supplier, the man people listened to. Anna Myers, pretty and popular, didn't hurt the campaign, although, in the end, it hurt her. Plenty. (Dalcher, 184)

The data above shows that there are elite people who join the party. One of the characteristics of a single mass party is that its members are elite people. Elite people are a group of people in power, and these people have a higher position than commoners. The elite people are described by Bobby, Anna Myers, and the Reverend Carl Corbin. These elite people succeeded in bringing the dominance of the voice to the leadership of President Sam Myers.

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that the existence of a single mass party can be proven by the existence of a dictatorial leader of Sam Myers. Besides that, the presence of elite people like Bobby, Anna, and Carl as the characteristic of a mass party can strengthen the evidence of the existence of a single mass party in Vox. These characters represent powerful characters.

3. A System of Terror

A system of terror is an attempt by the state to achieve total domination of the country. Regime terror seeks to create fear, insecurity, and anxiety among people under its control. This is so that they can adapt and comply with regime regulations. In practice, terror can use modern technology to make it easier for the regime to supervise and control society. Some evidence of terror will be explained below.

"The contraption is circling my wrist pings four times, and I watch the number tick up from 46 to 50. Then it emits a sound like a diseased frog, and the 50

becomes 60. Okay "Hell" is now out of my vocabulary. So much for George Carlin's list of seven dirty words..." (Dalcher, p.90)

Also, I knew something else about the counters. The pain increases with each infraction.

There was no time for me, on that first day, to process the steady surge in charge. Patrick explained afterward as he applied cold cream to the scar on my wrist.

"First word over a hundred, and you'll get a slight shock, Jean. Nothing disabling, just a little jolt. A warning. You'll perceive it, but it won't actually hurt,"

Terrific, I thought.

"For every ten words after that, the charge augments by a tenth of microcoulomb. Get to a half a microcoulomb, and you'll feel pain. Reach a full microcoulomb and "-he paused and looked away-" and the pain becomes unbearable." (Dalcher, p.63)

The dialogue above shows the "counter" as a tool of terror. This 'counter' is included in modern technology. The regime uses this technology to control women's behavior. The women are only allowed to speak a hundred words a day. In second data, it is explained that those who over the limit will be electrocuted and tormented. From the data, it can be concluded that the 'counter' is a technology of terror.

The black eye of the camera stares at me from the bus door. They're everywhere now, the cameras. In supermarkets and schools, hair salons, and restaurants, waiting to catch any gesture that might be seen as sign language, even the most rudimentary form of nonverbal communication. (Dalcher, p.30)

It took only five minutes, there in the bleached white regime building office. The men spoke to me, at me, never with me. Patrick would be notified and given instructions; a crew would come to the house—was this evening convenient?—to install cameras at the front and back doors..." (Dalcher, p.56)

Another form of terror is the installation of CCTV/Cameras in every public and private space. First data, it is explained that cameras are installed in public places such as schools, hair salons, and restaurants. Meanwhile, the second data explained that the camera also installed in private spaces such as homes. The

line “the camera’s black eyes are looking at me from the bus door” indicates the subordinate character feeling stalked by the technology. This camera was directly installed by the regime. The camera is also one of the modern technologies that are the regime’s means of spying on every community activity. This act of surveillance has an impact on the mentality of society. They will always feel worried and there are no freedom to do everything.

The camps aren’t camps at all; they’re prisons. Or they were prisons before the new executive orders on crime were signed. There isn’t much need for prisons anymore, which isn’t to say there’s no crime. There is, but the criminals don’t need to be put anywhere, not for long. (Dalcher, p. 98)

The data above is proof of the existence of concentration camps as a form of terror. The concentration camps are another significant and familiar feature of totalitarian terror. These camps are designed to accommodate those social elements that, for one reason or another, are allegedly incapable or unwilling to adjust themselves to the totalitarian society.

From some of the evidence above, it can be concluded that the terror system has various ways. The regime uses modern technology called ‘counter’ to terrorize women. They also installed CCTV in public and private spaces to spy on all people’s activities. Finally, there were concentration camps where anyone who was unable to adapt to the totalitarian regime.

4. A Monopoly of Mass Communications

A monopoly of mass communication also involves modern technology such as television, radio, and telephone. Monopoly on mass communication is done to deliver totalitarian propaganda. This propaganda aims to convey a secret

meaning into every event and has a secret intention behind its political actions.

Some evidence of mass communication monopoly will be explained below.

CNN isn't what it used to be -nothing is- but Patrick's job might have a better chance of survival if it looks like I've been overdosing on presidential propaganda instead of watching balls fly over manicured courses. (Dalcher, p.43)

The narrative above is the first evidence of monopolizing mass communication. From the data above, it is explained that CNN is a television channel that contains presidential propaganda. In addition, the word “overdosing” describes how often presidential propaganda is broadcast on television.

President Myers was on television again today. He's always on television, it seems, always trumpeting a new plan to turn the country around, constantly telling us how much better off we are. (Dalcher, p.91)

This second data strengthen the evidence about a mass communication monopoly in Vox. The sentence “he’s always on tv” means that the regime monopolizes television as mass communication. In the propaganda, President Myers’ secret intention was to make a conversion in his society. According to him, this change will bring life to a better direction, even though it is not.

Then I read the counter on her red bracelet. They call them bracelets in school, at the doctor's office, in the advertisements they show before movies.... Advertisements for electric-shock-inducing silencers: Pick your own color, and add some sparkles or stripes. They've got a mood-ring type that will match your clothing if you're obsessive about being coordinated, a variety of ringtones, cartoon character design for the younger set." (Dalcher, p.87)

A monopoly of mass communication, such as television, does not only broadcast presidential speeches but also through advertisements. From the data above, this advertisement can be interpreted as the regime’s intention to influence people’s views about ‘counters’. The public’s view of ‘counters’, which was originally a terror tool, was changed to a ‘bracelet’ as a fashion item.

From some of the above data, it can be concluded that the regime has a monopoly on mass communication in the form of television. This monopoly not only conveys propaganda but also influences people's mindsets about "counters" terror tools as fashion items.

5. A Monopoly of Weapons

Totalitarian regimes have a monopoly on weapons. That is, the regime has full rights over weapons. By monopolizing weapons, it will be easier for a totalitarian regime to control society. Society cannot fight the totalitarian regime. Some evidence of totalitarian regimes monopolizing weapons to frighten the people will be discussed below.

On the day I announced our team's progress to a packed seminar room, two dozen uniformed men, their left arms banded with the presidential seal, midnight black weapons in their right hands, pushed through the crowd. My projector dimmed in the time it took me to catch a breath.

Behind me, only ghosts of my formulas remained on the white scrim.

It had begun, the terrible, unthinkable thing Patrick had warned me about only days earlier. They separated our crowd, sending the men away, lining the rest of us up and leading fifty students and faculty women, some tenured, some new, through empty hallways. Lin was the first to voice her resistance. Thomas was on her like a cougar after prey, that midnight black torture stick of his now pointing menacingly at Lin Kwan's petite frame. I watched her fold and bend and collapse on herself, wordlessly, only the thread of a pained sigh, high-pitched and taut, coming from her lips. Five of us ran to the crumpled mass of woman on the tile floor, only to be beaten off. Those who lingered were also tased or stunned. Like misbehaving animals. Cows. Pets. (Dalcher, 83)

The data above is evidence that the regime has a monopoly on weapons. The above conditions occurred at the beginning of the totalitarian regime rule. When Jean and her team wanted to announce the progress of their research on aphasia, the totalitarian regime sent the armed forces to break up seminars led by women. They told the men to leave and only the women were left. The women researchers could not rebel because they wielded weapons. From these conditions,

it can be concluded that a totalitarian regime controls society, one of which is by monopolizing weapons.

6. Centrally Directed Economy

The totalitarian economy is centrally directed and controlled by the totalitarian regime. In order to execute such central direction and control, there must be a plan. Totalitarian planning is formulated based on ideologically determined goals. Below is the evidence of a centrally directed economy.

Lin was wrong about the economy falling apart. It might not be thriving, but the machine chugs along at a consistent, working speed. Our workspace wasn't cut in half, only resembled and redistributed. Men who performed unskilled labor were replaced with whoever the Pure deemed unworthy of hanging about in society. Industries -and that all-encompassing industry, regime- cherry-picked freshly graduated males from the country's top universities to fill the gaps women left: CEOs, doctors, lawyers, engineers. (Dalcher, p.217)

The data above is evidence of how the regime directly controls the economy. From these data, the regime's decisions on employees are based on ideology. Totalitarian ideology prohibits women from having a job and becoming keepers at home. Therefore, there are gaps in job positions that were previously filled by women. To overcome this problem, the regime chose fresh graduate men to take over these positions.

B. Totalitarian Regime Operating in Christina Dalcher's Vox

In this sub-chapter, the researcher will analyze the operation of totalitarian regime operating in Christina Dalcher's Vox. Totalitarian regime aims to fully control the people under its rule. This regime is led by a dictator leader. The totalitarian regime operates by conducting indoctrination of ideology through school, changing the rules of law, and punishing the criminals.

1. **Indoctrination of Totalitarian Ideology Through Education**

Indoctrination is the process of inculcating a person with ideas, attitudes, and cognitive strategies of professional methodologies. All totalitarian regimes have been concerned with the indoctrination of the young as early as possible. One way to reach young people as early as possible is through education in school. Some evidence of totalitarian regime indoctrination will be discussed below.

"The religious studies course is new. They offered it to everywhere, even the frosh babies. I think they're phasing it into the regular curriculum next year. Anyway," he says from the kitchen, "that means no time for bio or history this year." "So what is it? Comparative theology? I guess I can tolerate that even in a public school." He comes back into the den with a brownie. His nightcap. "Nah. More like, I don't know, philosophy of Christianity. Anyway night, Mom. Love ya"(Dalcher, p.11)

The narrative above describes a totalitarian regime indoctrination the totalitarian ideology through education in school. Based on these data, it can be interpreted that to convince the public that the totalitarian ideological doctrine is true, the regime acts in the name of religion. This regime presented several biblical texts which were interpreted authoritatively in disseminating their doctrines. Totalitarian regimes use Christian philosophy as a tool to achieve the regime's wishes.

My eyes didn't stray from the page, a chapter titled "In Search of a Natural Order in the Modern Family." The chapter, like all the others, was preceded by a biblical quote; this one, from Corinthians, informed the reader that "The head of every man is Christ, the head of woman is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. Further along, chapter twenty-seven began with this nugget from the book of Titus: "Be a teacher of good things: teach the young women to be sober, to love their husband, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home,

good, obedient to their own husband." The gist of the text was a call to arms of sorts, a teaching out to older generations of women. (Dalcher, p.34)

From the above data, Religious Studies cites several Bible texts. The data is the condition when Jean saw Steven's religious study book. The text of the Bible quoted contains values that support a totalitarian ideology that intends to domesticate women. These values indoctrinate the students that the position of men is above women. This is so that youth can form a mindset that is in accordance with the ideology of the regime. The regime tries to indoctrinate people as early as possible because the students cannot think critically. That way, they can easily accept ideological doctrines quickly without resisting.

From the data above, it can be concluded that one of the ways the regime indoctrinates is by offering religious subjects. The religious subject is just the manipulation of the regime to spread the true totalitarian doctrine through education in schools.

"I wish you'd drop it," I said. "No way, Jose. I need the A.P. credits for college." "Why? So you can major in modern Christian thought?" "No. So I can get into college." (Dalcher, p.35)

The quote above is another evidence of the indoctrination of totalitarian ideology to youth in schools. It is the regime's follow-up step in setting subjects not only as a new subject, but religious studies is also a mandatory requirement for continuing studies in colleges. With this condition, all teenagers who have dreams of going to college inevitably have to take part in religious Studies. This makes totalitarian ideological doctrines more effective in entering society at the youth level.

Another glass of milk disappears down Steven's gullet. "Save some for cereal tomorrow," I say. "You're not the only human in this house." "Maybe you should go out and get another carton, then. It's your job, right?" (Dalcher, 67)

The character Steven depicts one of the results of the totalitarian ideological doctrine to youth. The data occurred when Jean told Steven to save his cereal. However, Steven's answer surprised her; Steven did not obey his mother. Instead, he told his mother to buy new cereal. Steven thinks it is just a housewife's job. The data above means that Steven began to degrade women by assuming that all household matters were the responsibility of the housewife. Steven's attitude is result of indoctrination at school.

"They're doing daily contest first, Ice cream for the girl in each grade with the lowest number on her counter."
He continues. "At the end of the month, they'll tally all the counts, and- There's a grade prize of what they're calling an age-appropriate gift. A doll for the younger girls, games for the middle graders, make up for the over-sixteen."
(Dalcher, p.89-90)

The dialogue above describes various ways the totalitarian regime implements ideological doctrine in schools, one of which is holding a contest. A contest that is actually covered by totalitarian ideological values. Totalitarian ideology intends to silence women. Meanwhile, contest is a competition to do better than other people. The contest lures things that are liked according to their age. This approach will be very effective for attracting students into the regime movement. In fact, this contest unknowingly instills in girl students the idea that the few words they say, the better.

"...A guy from the Department of Health and Welfare came to our school today. Major assembly. He talked about how next year, they're rolling out a new program. Get this: ten thousand bucks, full college tuition, and a guaranteed regime job for anyone who's married by eighteen. Boys, of course. And another ten thousand for each kid you have..." (Dalcher, p.101)

The quote above is also one of the regime programs distributed in schools, which is the early marriage program. There is always a lure that accompanies the program, which is job assurance. In addition, certainly, this program is only intended for men. That way, men are persuaded to marry without considering the negative effects of early marriage. In this way, the regime tries to create a new population that is easier to control. This program was made more quickly for the regime to form a totalitarian state completely. Women are quicker to settle down and take care of the household without continuing their education like men. Moreover, the lives of the men will continue to depend on the regime. That way, the result obtained is the obedience of the whole community to the regime.

"So her picture came on the screen, and Mr. Gustavson told us she was the kind of girl we all had to watch out for because she had the devil in her and would drag us down. You know, like to hell."

"He said we should never call people ugly things, like whore and slut and harlot. But then he told us that some people deserved to be called that stuff. Like Julia. So he made us scream at her while she was on television. She looked so small, Mom. So helpless. And they cut off all her hair. All of it. Like a marine cut, you know? Mr. Gustavson said that was good. It's what they used to do to heretics during the Spanish Inquisition and witches in Salem."

"It gets worse. He went around the room, smiling, and he handed out a sheet of paper with the foulest garbage written on it. Do you remember that old thing about seven dirty words? Well, they were there, and about fifty other ones. He wanted us to take out our notebooks and write a letter -one letter from each of us- to Julia King, using as many shitty words as we could. We were supposed to tell her she deserved whatever she got, to have fun breaking her back in the fields." (Dalcher, p.192)

The data above is the other evidence about teachers who become indoctrinators. The punishment of a woman who is not in line with the regime's ideology is broadcast on television, including on school television. Students are required to watch the punishment as a lesson. Mr. Gustavson, Steven's teacher, taught his students the wrong way. He becomes misogynistic and spreads the

totalitarian ideology to all students. In line with the understanding of totalitarian ideology, Mr. Gustavson convinced the students that a woman who broke the rules was like someone who was possessed by a demon and deserved punishment, even if the punishment was inhumane. By influencing the mindset of the students, he succeeded in indoctrinating ideological teachings according to the regime's ideology. The above evidence also proves that Friedrich and Brzezinski's claim that "the teacher becomes an indoctrinator" is valid.

2. Changing the Rules of Law to Control the People

Law is the combination of rules of conduct, customs, and rules of social life which express the will of the ruling class. As the character who has power, the leader of a totalitarian regime can freely change all laws to make him rule effectively. Some of the evidence below will explain the change of law that govern people's lives.

"We can't have our citizens, our families, our mothers and fathers, fleeing," The president said in one of his early addresses. (Dalcher, p.6)

The data above is evidence of changes in the law governing people's lives. The data above occurred when President Myers gave a speech at the beginning of his leadership. His introduction as a president begins with a rule that prohibits his people from 'fleeing'; if interpreted, 'fleeing' can mean running away or leaving their current country.

The law that prohibits citizens from going abroad creates an isolated social condition. The isolated social conditions aim to focus on that sources of information are only under the regime's strict control. That way, people are not easily influenced by other countries. This rule applies to all people under a totalitarian

regime regardless of gender. From his early addresses, it can be seen that Sam Myers as the ruling authority changed the rule about social life.

I learned other things a year ago. I learned how difficult it is to write a letter to a congressman without a pen or to mail a letter without a stamp. I learned how easy it is for the man at the office supply store to say, "I'm sorry, ma'am. I can't sell you that," or for the postal worker to shake his head when anyone without a Y chromosome asks for stamps. I learned how quickly a cell phone account can be canceled and how efficient young enlisted men can be at installing cameras. (Dalcher, p. 21)

"Sorry, ma'am. I gotta put the mail in the mailbox. Rules, you know." They do have these new rules, except if Patrick is around on Saturday mornings." (Dalcher, p.32)

The data above also illustrates how the totalitarian regime changes the law regarding women's life. The totalitarian regime in the novel tries to separate men and women. The regime makes regulations that limit women's rights. The data above is a condition when the character Jean tells how she experiences difficulties when doing something related to correspondence activities. The totalitarian regime prohibits office supply stores selling goods to women, all women can't ask for stamps anymore, in the second data explained that they can't even receive any mail either. From these data it can be concluded that the totalitarian regime makes rules so that women are prohibited from correspondence activity.

We don't have female postal workers anymore. (Dalcher, 32)

The chance to correct his tense is too good to miss. "Was", I say. "I don't need to tell you I haven't worked for the past year." (Dalcher, 48)

No sense in asking why my paycheck will go to Patrick's account; all my money has been sitting there since last year. Words, passports, money-even criminals get two out of three, at least they used to. (Dalcher, p.104)

Lorenzo, of course, still has a cell phone; I don't. (Dalcher, p.264)

The boys exchange worried looks, the kind of worry that comes from knowing what occurs if the counter surpasses those three digits. One, zero, zero. This is when I say my last Monday word. (Dalcher, p.3)

In addition, some of the narratives above are the last evidence of how the totalitarian regime changed the law. These narratives mean that the totalitarian regime prohibits women from working, having a bank account, and even owning a cell phone. Even the regime also changes the law about the limit of words per day for women. The women were given a limit to speak only one hundred words per day.

From some of the explanations above, it can be concluded that the regime changed the rules regarding traveling abroad for all citizens of the country, but what stood out the most was the rules for women. Women were prohibited from working and possessing certain items.

3. Punishing the Criminal

Punishment, commonly, is the imposition of an undesirable or unpleasant outcome upon a group or individual imposed by an authority. Totalitarian regimes provide punishment through murder or kidnapping to criminals. According to the totalitarian regime, criminals are traitors, offend the regime, and some other activities which the regime considers guilty. Even the Nazi regime in 1933 established homosexuality as a crime. Several evidence of totalitarian regime that punished criminals will discuss below.

As two minutes ago, my name isn't Jean. My Name is thief. Or traitor, I think, and wonder for a moment what sort of punishment Reverend Carl and his pack of Pure Men might have set aside for subversives. In a world where women are sent to the Siberia of North Dakota for crimes as petty as fornication, where Jackie serves a life sentence in a concentration camp for homosexuals, surely there must be some fresh horror for women who steal state secrets. (Dalcher, 199)

Reverend Carl dreamt up the idea, which was a hit with the Pure Majority until they balked at the idea of putting gay men and lesbians in cells with each other. It would be counterproductive, they argued; think what they'd get up to. So Reverend Carl modified his plan and decided to pair one woman and one man in each cell. "They'll get the idea soon enough," he said. (Dalcher, p. 98)

Julia is about to join the supermarket women, and Jackie, and God only knows how many others in their twisted version of solitary confinement. Zero words per day, girlies. (Dalcher, p.149)

The data above shows the regime's punishment of criminals. From these data it can be interpreted that in Vox adulterers and homosexuals are criminal acts. The punishment for adulterers is exile to North Dakota, while homosexuals are imprisoned in concentration camps for life. Homosexuals are imprisoned with the opposite sex. In second data, it is explained that Reverend Carl as a character representing the regime hopes that homosexuals will return to normal. Also, in the third data explained that adulterers and homosexuals have no word to talk anymore.

What I'm not planning on doing: watching Julia King's public shaming. There she is, Julia King, up on the screen in the time it takes me to locate the remote. She's in a drab gray smock, long-sleeved and down to her ankles, even in this heat, and her hair is cut, which I don't remember them doing to Annie of Mr. Blue Pickup Truck fame, but maybe they've changed something, introduced a new brand of humiliation into their ritual. (Dalcher, 159)

The data above also shows that the totalitarian regime also humiliates adulterers in public as punishment. Julia's shabby clothes and face shown on all-over television broadcasts. Broadcasting on television also includes symbolic violence against other women. Additionally, television also holds a powerful position in constructing symbolic violence that is important in shaping the public

ideas (Rahayu, 2022). Reverend Carl broadcasts the punishment on television, aiming to threaten anyone not to do the same thing.

"On the way to my doctor's appointment, I think of Del, my mailman, running errands for some underground group of anti-Pure people, and I laugh." (Dalcher, p.237)

"They'll shoot him, you know. Like they shot Jim Borden. They put us in a bus, Jean. Well, two buses. Drove us up to Fort Meade, not saying a word about where we were headed... Thomas-you remember Thomas-well, it was that son of a bitch who did the shooting. No trial, no jury of peers, no last request. They just fucking shot him, there in the rifle range of Fort Meade. I watched Jimbo go down, slump down the pole he was cuffed to, watched him bleed our life onto a patch of sand that was already stained red." (Dalcher, p.238)

The data above is evidence of a totalitarian regime that punished the criminal with the death penalty. The above narrative occurs when Patrick's character tells how Del and Jim Borden were punished. In every government, there is often opposition. The first data explained that in Vox, there is a movement called the anti-pure movement. This movement opposes the pure movement that is part of the regime. Del and Jimbo are people who run this underground to resist the regime. The totalitarian regime regards this movement as a traitor. Therefore, they were punished by being killed.

From some of the explanations above, it can be concluded that the totalitarian regime punishes adulterers and homosexuals in concentration camps. They also lost the right to speak. Meanwhile, traitors like Del and Jimbo get the death penalty.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter discusses the conclusion and suggestions. After analyzing the *Vox* by Christina Dalcher using the theory of totalitarianism by Friedrich and Brzezinski, the researcher will explain the results of the analysis that found in the previous chapter. In addition to the research results, the researcher also provides suggestions for future researchers who want to use the same object.

A. Conclusion

This research focuses on the characteristic of totalitarianism and the operation of totalitarian regime operating in *Vox*. From the analysis in the previous chapter, researchers found the first characteristic is the existence of a totalitarian ideology that intends to domesticate women. Second, there is a single mass party which was proven by Sam Myers as the dictator leader of the state. Third is a system of terror; there are counter, CCTV, and concentration camps that terrorize the people. Forth, a monopoly of mass communication, the regime monopolizes mass media such as television to deliver propaganda. Fifth, monopolizing the weapon to control the society. Lastly, the result of a centrally controlled economy is the redistribution of employees. All female employees were replaced with men chosen by the regime.

The second discussion is about the operation of a totalitarian regime operating in *Vox*. Firstly, the researcher found that the totalitarian regime conducts the indoctrination of totalitarian ideology through school. The Totalitarian regime offers a religious subject that contains totalitarian doctrine and make it as a

mandatory requirement to college. They also made a competition that had an ideological value in it. Secondly, a totalitarian regime changes the rules of law to control the people. They prohibited all people from leaving the country, they also prohibited women from working and have some stuff. Last, totalitarian regime also punished the criminals such as adulterers, homosexuals, and traitors. The totalitarian regime exiles adulterers to North Dakota to become forced laborers. Homosexuals are imprisoned in a concentration camp with the opposite sex in one cell. Meanwhile, the traitors will be shot dead.

B. Suggestion

With the same object, further researchers can use other theories to discuss the contents of *Vox*, bearing in mind that many social events and personal problems can be analyzed. Future researchers can also use a different approach, such as psychological analysis, to analyze the characters' personal problems in *Vox*.

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