

**THE STIGMA OF BEING PKI IN THE NOVEL THE YEARS OF THE
VOICELESS BY OKKY MADASARI**

THESIS

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FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM
MALANG
2021**

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THESIS

Presented to
Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)

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2021**

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled **“The Stigma of Being PKI in The Novel The Years Of The Voiceless by Okky Madasari”** 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, June, 10th 2021

The researcher



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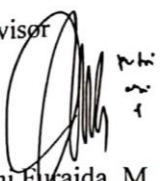
APPROVAL SHEET

This to certify that Dwi Rana Nabillah's thesis entitled **The Stigma of Being PKI in The Novel The Years Of The Voiceless by Okky Madasari** 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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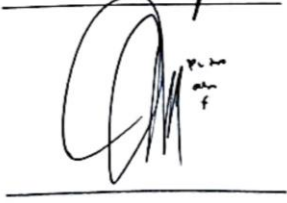

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LEGITIMATION SHEET

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MOTTO

Life is not easy no matter who you are and what you do.

-Doh Kyung Soo

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the old me, who was always pessimistic about anythings that face us. To my family, my friend, people who have always supported me trough the lowest part in my life, I can't stop feeling thankful for all the loves that you give to me.

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Alhamdulillahirobbil Alamin, my highest gratitude for the presence of Allah SWT who has given me everything in my life and allowed me to be able to complete this thesis. Salawat and salam for my greatest prophet Muhammad SWA who has brought us from the darkness to the brightness in the name of Islam.

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This thesis "The Stigma of being PKI in the Novel the Years of the Voiceless by Okky Madasari". I might arrange this thesis as much as I can. If there is a lack in terms of language, sentences, or even analysis I fully realize that humans are not free from mistakes. I hope that this thesis can benefit readers and researchers.

Malang, June, 10th 2021



Dwi Rana Nabillah
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ABSTRACT

Nabillah, Dwi Rana 2021. **The Stigma of being PKI in the Novel the Years of the Voiceless by Okky Madasari**
Department of English Literature, Faculty of Humanity. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Asni Furaida.

Key Words: Stigma, PKI, The Years of the Voiceless.

The word PKI is like a nightmare in the Indonesian history. Many people who were suspected of being members of the PKI or similar organizations were imprisoned, exiled or even killed. These people will be released again if they are judged not to be dangerous to their surroundings. However, this release has several conditions, including that former prisoners must report to the nearest military district once a week, and also the detainees will have a new identity card (KTP) with the ET mark. The community believed that it was a sign that the person was a PKI. People with the ET mark start to live a hard life with the stigma attached to them as soon as they get out of prison. They will find it difficult to find work, get married, and even socialize with their environment because the stigma is a wall that separates society from them. This study aims to find the reasons why the main character is called PKI, and how the PKI is stigmatized in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* by Okky Madasari.

This study uses a literary criticism design. The researcher also uses interpretation, analysis, clarification, and identifying data in descriptive and conversational texts contained in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*. The researcher uses the stigma theory of Erving Goffman to find the reasons why the actors are called PKI, and how the PKI is stigmatized in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* by Okky Madasari.

From this research, the researcher found data which are the answers to the research objectives. The first is the reason why the main characters are labeled PKI. This is because Rahayu refused orders from the government to leave the eviction area, and his mother, Sumarni, who has tried throughout her career to avoid this label, has to accept that she is now the family of a PKI. The second is the public's view of the PKI in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*. In the second finding, researchers found four types of stigmas, namely public stigma, structural stigma, self's stigma, and perceived stigma. The second finding also includes the process of stigmatization that starts with labeling, stereotyping, segregation, then discrimination. In addition, the researcher also found the impact of the stigma formed in society on the main characters in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*.

ABSTRAK

Nabillah, Dwi Rana 2021. **The Stigma of being PKI in the Novel the Years of the Voiceless by Okky Madasari**
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Penasehat : Asni Furaida

Kata Kunci : Stigma, PKI, The Years of the Voiceless.

Kata PKI seperti menjadi mimpi buruk dalam penulisan sejarah negara Indonesia. Banyak orang-orang yang diduga adalah anggota PKI atau organisasi sepihak dengannya dipenjara, diasingkan atau bahkan dibunuh. Orang-orang tersebut akan dibebaskan kembali jika dinilai tidak berbahaya untuk lingkungan sekitarnya. Namun pembebasan tersebut memiliki beberapa syarat di antaranya adalah para mantan tahanan harus melapor ke distrik militer terdekat setiap satu minggu sekali, dan juga para tahanan akan memiliki kartu identitas (KTP) baru dengan tanda ET. Masyarakat percaya bahwa tanda tersebut sebagai tanda bahwa orang itu adalah PKI. Orang-orang dengan tanda ET mulai menjalani hidup yang berat dengan stigma yang melekat dalam diri mereka segera setelah mereka keluar dari penjara. Mereka akan sulit untuk mencari pekerjaan, menikah, bahkan bersosial dengan lingkungan mereka karena stigma tersebut menjadi dinding pemisah antara masyarakat dengan mereka. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menemukan penyebab mengapa pemeran untuk disebut sebagai PKI, dan bagaimana stigma PKI dalam novel *The Years of the Voiceless* oleh Okky Madasari.

Penelitian ini menggunakan desain kritik sastra. Peneliti juga menggunakan interpretasi, analisis, klarifikasi, dan mengidentifikasi data pada teks deskriptif dan percakapan yang terdapat pada novel *The Years of the Voiceless*. Peneliti menggunakan teori stigma dari Erving Goffman untuk menemukan penyebab mengapa pemeran untuk disebut sebagai PKI, dan bagaimana stigma PKI dalam novel *The Years of the Voiceless* oleh Okky Madasari.

Dari penelitian ini peneliti menemukan dua data yang menjadi jawaban dari tujuan penelitian. Yang pertama yaitu penyebab para tokoh utama diberi label PKI. Hal ini karena Rahayu menolak perintah dari pemerintah untuk meninggalkan area penggusuran, dan ibunya, Sumarni yang sudah berupaya sepanjang karirnya untuk menghindari label tersebut harus menrima bahwa kini dia adalah keluarga dari seorang PKI. Yang kedua adalah pandangan masyarakat terhadap PKI dalam novel *The Years of the Voiceless*. Dalam temuan kedua, peneliti menemukan empat jenis stigma yaitu public stigma, structural stigma, self stigma, dan perceived stigma. Temuan kedua juga memuat tentang proses stigmatisasi yang berawal dari labeling, stereotyping, segregation, lalu diskriminasi. Selain itu peneliti juga menemukan dampak dari stigma yang terbentuk dalam masyarakat terhadap para pemeran utama dalam novel *The Years of the Voiceless*.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

Indonesian Communist Party or known as PKI was a large party that existed in 1914 – 1965. PKI was disbanded after staging a purposeful rebellion in 1965. The rebellion was known as G30SPKI (*Gerakan 30 September Partai Komunis Indonesia*). However, many years after the communist party was dissolved, the public still felt uneasy for the fear that the party allies would return to rebellion which was so terrible for the Indonesian people to remember.

The fear did not go away completely. Even today there are still some issues regarding the revival of PKI. To respond this issue, the SMRC survey institute (Saiful Murjani Research and Consulting) released the result of national survey entitled *Hanya 14% Warga yang Percaya Ada Kebangkitan PKI di Indonesia*, this article talk about how the public believed in the issue of the rise of the PKI. The results of the survey are 14 percent of respondents who believe the issue. This was revealed by the executive director, Sirojudin Abbas in the national opinion survey of SMRC 'public assessment of the issue of PKI departures' (Saiful Mujani, September 30, 2020).

Why is it so serious regarding that it is old issues? It is because for Indonesian community, PKI rebellion has been told from generation to generation and it is able to foster its own fear in the hearts of the people if this dark history will repeat again. But in order to remind the public of the sacrifices of the heroes

who died in the tragedy and to prevent a recurrence of this dark history, the head of military gave orders to show the film of G30SPKI on September 30th every year (Wismabrata, September 19, 2017).

The film was made during the New Order regime under Suharto with the aim of building a negative image of the PKI movement, so that there is a traumatic impact on people's memories when they think about the PKI. Not only that, the government's efforts include creating a Pancasila museum which stores every scene that occurred during the rebellion. Another effort is to ensure that history books for students contain the descriptions of the G30S/PKI rebellion. This was called an attempt to purge the PKI and its followers (Cricksetra, 2022, hal. 55).

Clean-up efforts were also implemented by killing anyone who was found to have links to the PKI. Several cases stated that those suspected of being PKI sympathizers would be imprisoned and exiled. Some of those who were finally released from prison did not escape the consequences as ex-Tapol (Former Political Prisoners). Once free they will have a new ID card with the ET mark on it. This sign is what will start their nightmare. They will receive various forms of discrimination from the government and society (Cricksetra, 2022, hal. 55).

In addition to the term ex-tapol, the government at that time also popularized the phrase 'the latent danger of the PKI' which contained a dangerous threat that could destabilize Indonesia and undermine the ideology of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which is Pancasila. Threats were spread to make people think again about helping the dissidents and rebels. The citizens will

prefer to remain silent and not deal with these ex-tapols for the sake of their peaceful life (Cricksetra, 2022, hal. 56).

This history make us aware that social stigma can limit other people's lives or even destroy other people's lives. In a national symposium forum, a social psychologist at Persada Indonesia University said, of all the stigmatization in Indonesia, the labeling of the PKI was the cruelest labeling. It has a huge negative effect on the person being labeled (Mukhti, April 19, 2016).

Stigma and stereotype is an over generalized belief about a particular group or class of people (Cardwell, 1996). Stereotype could be positive or negative, it depends on the attitude, cultures and situation. Indonesia has the most friendly citizen, there will never exist a competitor for italian pasta's, and Javanese people are well-known as their politeness, is the example of positive stereotypes. In the other hand, being PKI or having a relation with them can accused the negative stereotype.

The presence of stigma is created by society about something that looks deviant or there are strange things that are not appropriate in this life. According to the Oxford dictionary, stigma is the negative feelings that people have about particular circumstances or characteristics that someone may have. The existence of stigma can also lead to a decrease in self-confidence, motivation, withdrawal from the social environment, avoiding work and losing the future.

The existence of stigma also goes through several processes. According to Scheid & Brown (2010) there are three types of processes that can form a stigma in a person. The three processes that form the occurrence of stigma are;

1. Someone gives a label to the differences in others.
2. The emergence of cultural beliefs that are owned by a person against the characteristics of other people or other groups that can lead to a stereotype.
3. Placing an individual or a group that has been given a label to another individual or group in a different category to cause a separation. Later those who have been given the label will feel a discrimination.

Stigma refers to a “mark” or “label” used as a social designation, linking the label to negative stereotypes, or a tendency to exclude or otherwise discriminate against certain people. The process of forming stigma through several stages of community behavior is called; Stereotyping, labeling, segregation and discrimination. The process of forming stigma through several stages of community behavior is called; Stereotyping, labeling, segregation and discrimination.

According to Link & Phelan in Scheid & Brown, 2010, labeling is a form of differentiation by embedding label based on the differences that are owned by each individual in social life. But not all differences become a problem that raises labeling. Labeling can occur when differences come of the group who feel they have "more power" than people who given that label. And that difference is something that stands out and visible (known). According to Baron & Byrne, 2003 Stereotification is the frame of mind or cognitive aspects consisting of knowledge and beliefs about certain social groups and certain traits. Meanwhile,

according to Rahman (2013), stereotypes are beliefs about certain characteristics of members certain group. Stereotypes are beliefs about personal attributes that people share in certain groups or certain social categories (Taylor, Peplau, & Sears, 2009).

Separation or segregation is the separation between parties from stigmatized or stigmatized groups and non-stigmatized group parties or stigmatizer. Discrimination according to Taylor, Peplau, and Sears (2009), states that discrimination is a component of behavior that is a negative behavior towards an individual because the individual is a member of a certain group. Discrimination is closely related to unfair and unbalanced treatment.

The PKI and the New Order are very interesting cases to be discussed by various groups. This is often found as the theme of a debate program, TV news and also news on social media. However, several times the discussion on the PKI and the New Order was presented in an interesting way, such as in stand-up comedies and also in the form of literary works. Several writers who raised the PKI and the New Order as the setting for their literary works were Ahmad Tohari, Eka Kurniawan, and Okky Madasari. One novel that has caught the writer's attention is the novel Okky Madasari, *The Years of The Voiceless*.

The Year of the Voiceless is the first novel created by Okky Puspa Madasari or often called as Okky Madasari in 2010. She won the prestigious literary award in Indonesia, the 2012 Khatulistiwa Literary Award for her third novel, *Maryam*. Okky Madasari is the youngest winner to get this award. Her

novels have been selected three years in a row in the same award. This shows that Okky Madasari is a writer who has extraordinary skills in the world of literature in Indonesia. *The Years of the Voiceless* is a translation novel from the Indonesian novel *Entrok*. *Entrok* comes in the English version in 2013 so that it can be enjoyed by the wider public.

Some readers state that the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* has more than one theme. Feminism, pluralism, politics, and faith are the biggest themes in the novel. It is proven by the background of the story that shows the condition of the nation during the period of 1950-1999, years after the rebellion of PKI.

The Years of the Voiceless is written in the background of 1950-1999, a time when the New Order regime was triumphant and filled with political problems, one of them are PKI case. *The Years of the Voiceless* tells the story of two women, Sumarni and Rahayu (mother and daughter) who live in the new order regime. Even though at that time it looked peaceful, the people still believed in the issues of PKI that were spreading among the people. Sumarni's friend got arrested on charges of being a PKI ally for violating government regulations not to go to Klenteng (a place of worship for Confucian people). Rahayu was also jailed for being an ally of the PKI and after that her life was no longer the same.

The community tried to avoid dealing with anyone suspected of the PKI as much as possible. At that time, one of Sumarni and Rahayu neighbors was arrested by military personnel on charges of the PKI for daring to disobey orders

from the military. He is a landowner who does not want to give a small part of their land to be used as a guard post. After that incident, no one knew about his life. His family also felt the suffering because of discrimination committed by the society.

In the novel, it is described that people who disobey the government will be labeled as a PKI and if that continue, it leads to prison then there is no more life for them. They will be ostracized, hated, and do not get rights like the other citizens. As it is happened to Rahayu who had to be willing to be expelled from the university where she studied and also carried a new title behind her name, a title that only former PKI prisoners had.

A nation will never be separated from its history in the past. Likewise, Indonesia has a recorded and unrecorded history. It is a reflection of the country's condition in the past. Although it does not fully record the condition of the state in the period after PKI rebellion, this novel tells an outline of the impact of one of the largest political parties from the mother and her daughter perspectives. It is reinforced by the arrangement of the author Okky Madasari during an interview session with a student. On that occasion, Okky Explained that part of the novel was inspired by the story of her grandmother.

Literature is a verbal art that leads readers to appreciate the beauty of language. It adds aesthetic dimensions to readers' lives, leading them to view their personal experiences in different ways. Fictions, nonfiction and poetry are artistic interpretations of experiences, events and people (Rahayu, 2011)

Okky Madasari in her novel describes the struggle of Rahayu and her mother to live in an era where the PKI label could easily be given to ordinary people. Likewise, Rahayu's life has been slowly destroyed since she received the extapol label, it is not just a label that given by the society but she got the label from the government. That label really made anyone during the New Order era feel miserable because of the negative stereotypes embedded in that label.

Therefore the author will analyze the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* using the concept of Stigmatization theory. It also aims to find out the extent to which this stigma affected the two main characters of the novel and also the local community during the New Order era.

Several previous studies have been conducted concerning the *The Years of the Voiceless* both in English or Indonesian version. The first researcher is Octria Tirafiah from Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta. She analyzes the role and position of Teja as Sumarni's husband in *The Years of the Voiceless*. The title is *Sexism in Okky Madasari's The Years of the Voiceless (2013)*. And the results of this study, Sumarni's husband is taking control in arguing participation. It is inappropriate in welding over economics and lacking regard for women's dignity and self-esteem.

The second is Ayu Monita Eka Sinta from Dian Nuswantoro University. She analyzes Sumarni who appears as an uncommon woman in her village. The title is *Feminism Reality as Expressed by Sumarni in The Years of The Voiceless Novel (2018)*. The result of this study is that the use of relational process is higher than material process, and mental process internalized and externalized. Based on

the finding, it can be seen that Sumarni appears as an uncommon woman since she can be a landlord and moneylender in the end of the novel.

The following are the previous studies based on the same theory; first a study written by Risya Rizki Nurul Qurani, Inriawati Lewa and Mardi Adi Amin. They analyze the number of stigmas that experienced by netra disabilities in the novel that written by disability writer. *The title is The Stigma of Netra Disability in Eko Ramaditya Adikara's Mata Kedua Novel.* The approach of this novel use The Concept of Stigmatization by Erving Goffman. The result of this study is they discovered four concept of stigmatization in the novel. Those are labeling, stereotyping, separation and also discrimination that build a stigma in the novel Mata Kedua that written by Adikara.

The second is *The Influence Of Japanese Society`S Negative Stigma To Shoko Tendo`S Psychological Condition in "Yakuza Moon"* by Kurniawan Widyatmiko from Brawijaya University. Based on the writer`s analysis, The results of this study reveal that the negative stigma received by Shoko Tendo creates intimidation, humiliation, and discrimination. This study also confirms that there is a different treatment from Japanese society against Shoko Tendo's family, the first while Hiroyashu was serving as a Yakuza boss, and secondly when he retires

The following study is *Stigma pada tokoh utama dalam novel 813 karya Maurice Leblanc* by Rahma Adelia Nabila, Ninuk Lustyantie, and Wahyu Tri Widyastuti from Jakarta State University. The results of this study shows that

there are 22 citations that shows a perceived stigma-forming phase the main character in the novel 813 by Maurice Leblanc. Among them the first phase of prejudice totals 11 quotes, phases labeling amounted to 7 citations and discrimination phases totaling 4 citations. Based on the research that has been When done, it can be concluded that the prejudice phase becomes a phase which is felt the most by the main character in novel 813 by Maurice Leblanc, then followed by the second phase is the phase labeling and the last is the discrimination phase.

B. Problems of the Study

1. What are the causes of Rahayu being labeled as PKI in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* by Okky Madasari?
2. How is the stigma of PKI described in Okky Madasari's *The Years of the Voiceless* by Okky Madasari?

C. Objective of the Study

1. To describe the causes of the main character being labeled as PKI in the novel *The Years of The Voiceless* by Okky Madasari
2. To describe the stigma of PKI in the novel *The Years of The Voiceless* by Okky Madasari.

D. Scope and Limitation

The focus of this study concerns the analysis of the stigma of PKI labeling toward Sumarni and Rahayu's life in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* by Okky Madasari, using concept of stigmatization.

E. Significance of the Study

This research will be seen from theoretical and practical aspects. Theoretically, this study is expected to be an academic contribution in analyzing politics in literary work especially using concept of stigmatization. Practically, this study also expected to give more understanding to the literature student about the application of the Stigmatization in the novel, which are still rare.

F. Definition of Key Terms

1. PKI

Communism party that exist around 1914 untill 1966. History records them carrying out a rebellion by killing seven state officials and after that the government carried out a large-scale eradication to hunt down the plotters of the party. Including family and people who had relations with them during the New Order era.

2. PKI Labeling

Label that given by society toward some people that suspected having a relation with PKI. Some of those who have been jailed for these charges will have a special mark on their identity card.

3. Stigma

According to (Evans-Lacko, Gronholm, Hankir, Pingani, & Corrigan, 2016) stigma is related to normal social life addressed to people who are seen differently and people who get the stigma labeled or marked as guilty.

G. Research Methodology

This chapter presents a research method consisting of research design, data sources, data collection and data analysis.

1. Research Design

The relevant type of research used in this study is qualitative research using descriptive methods. Qualitative research is research that is carried out by not prioritizing numbers but prioritizing the depth of passion for the interaction between concepts that are being studied empirically. This procedure produces findings obtained through data collected by various means, including documents or archives and tests.

This involves researchers in total in this study to look at stigma of PKI labeling towards Rahayu and Sumarni in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*. The research method is a way to obtain knowledge regarding the object, as stated by the theory. The descriptive method is a method that is carried out by describing material objects to be studied qualitatively, then followed by analysis (Faruk, 2012: 3).

2. Data Source

This present research will taken the data from *The Years of the Voiceless*. The data could be in the form of sentences or paragraphs related to the research topics and are supported by secondary data in the form of a number of reviews of the The concept of stigmatization in applying data analysis. Both data are analyzed and given interpretation.

3. Data Collection

The data will be taken from *The Years of The Voiceless*. The study is employing literary criticism approach: reading the selected novel critically, taking some evidence related to the research topic, and looking for several sources such as book, journal, article, reviews, etc. which are relating to the topic discussed in the novel.

4. Data Analysis

Researcher increases her own understanding in the process of finding and organizing research materials. These steps generally refer to the process of working with data, organizing data, breaking down the data into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for pattern, finding out what is important and what needs to be learned, and deciding what others will tell (Bogdan & Biklen/ 1998).

H. Previous Studies

In order to get the various previous study and make a deep analysis, this previous study will show previous research from the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* or *Entrok*.

The first researcher is Octria Tirafiah from Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta. She analyzes the role and position of Teja as Sumarni's husband in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*. The title is *Sexism in Okky Madasari's The Years of the Voiceless (2013)*. The results of this analysis are Sumarni's husband taking control in arguing participation, inappropriate in welding over economics and lacking regard for women's dignity and self-esteem.

The second are Ayu Monita Eka Sinta from Dian Nuswantoro University. She analyzes Sumarni who appears as an unusual woman in her village. The title is *Feminism Reality as Expressed by Sumarni in the Years of the Voiceless Novel (2018)*. The result of this study is that the use of relational process is higher than material process, and mental process. Based on the finding, it can be seen that Sumarni appears as an uncommon woman since she can be a landlord and moneylender in the end of the novel.

The third is Ririn Setyowati (2017), *Diskriminasi Gender dalam Novel Entrok Karya Okky Madasari*. This study uses qualitative research method and new historicism approach. This research reveals about gender discrimination experienced by the main character, which made Sumarni have to violate her norms and nature as a woman at that time.

And the following are the previous studies based on the same theory. first a study written by Risyia Rizki Nurul Qurani, Inriawati Lewa and Mardi Adi Amin. They analyze the number of stigmas that experienced by netra disabilities in the novel that written by difable writer. The title is *The Stigma of Netra Disability in Eko Ramaditya Adikara's Mata Kedua Novel*. The approach of this novel use the concept of Stigmatization by Erving Goffman. The result of this study is they discovered four concept of stigmatization in the novel. Those are labeling, stereotyping, separation and also discrimination that build a stigma in the novel Mata Kedua that written by Adikara.

The second is *The Influence Of Japanese Society'S Negative Stigma To Shoko Tendo'S Psychological Condition in "Yakuza Moon" by Kurniawan*

Widyatmiko from Brawijaya University. Based on the writer's analysis, The results of this study reveal that the negative stigma received by Shoko Tendo creates intimidation, humiliation, and discrimination. This study also confirms that there is a different treatment from Japanese society against Shoko Tendo's family, the first while Hiroyashu was serving as a Yakuza boss, and secondly when he retires

The following study is *Stigma pada tokoh utama dalam novel 813 karya Maurice Leblanc* by Rahma Adelia Nabila, Ninuk Lustyantie, and Wahyu Tri Widyastuti from Jakarta State University. The results of this study shows that there are 22 citations that shows a perceived stigma-forming phase the main character in the novel 813 by Maurice Leblanc. Among them the first phase of prejudice totals 11 quotes, phases labeling amounted to 7 citations and discrimination phases totaling 4 citations. Based on the research that has been When done, it can be concluded that the prejudice phase becomes a phase which is felt the most by the main character in novel 813 by Maurice Leblanc, then followed by the second phase is the phase labeling and the last is the discrimination phase.

Research Organization

To make discussions easier and specific, the researcher divides this discussion into four chapter:

Chapter I: Introduction

This chapter is an introduction consists of background of the study that describes the topic. These topic are explained in research and research problems. Other things from this chapter provide problems of the study, objectives of the study, significance of the study, scope and limitations, definition of key terms, previous studies, research methodology and research organization.

Chapter II: Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, we will discuss the theoretical framework used in this study. The research explained the previous research that had examined the individuation process.

Chapter III: Finding and Discussion

This is the important part of the thesis where researcher will determine the result of this study after analyzing the data and providing a discussion of the result aimed at answering the problem of this research.

Chapter IV: Conclusion

This chapter is conclusion of this research; the result and discussion. The researcher will show the conclusions of this research to make it clearer and also for the better future research, the researcher gives suggestions to the reader.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW ON RELATED LITERATURE

In this life everyone has different thoughts. There are people who have positive thoughts and also people who experience negative thinking. Those who have negative thoughts, perspectives, and beliefs are more commonly known as stigma. The presence of stigma is created by society about something that looks deviant or that there are strange things that are not appropriate in this life. There are still many interesting things that can be discussed about the stigma itself.

A. The Concept of Stigma

1. The Definition of Stigma.

Stigma theory was presented by Erving Goffman. Erving Goffman (1963, 3) classically defined stigma as an “attribute that is deeply discrediting. According to him, stigma is all forms of physical and social attributes that reduce a person's social identity, disqualify that person from acceptance of others. Stigma makes a person different from other people such as being worse, dangerous, or weak. According to him, stigma is an attribute that has a negative impact on the image of the person who gets the label.

Stigma is a term which means stain or defect. If interpreted again, stigma is a public disapproval of something, for example, is an action or a condition. Stigma can also be interpreted as a process of devaluing dimensions that will

significantly describe a person. As previously explained, stigma appear when people see something that is deviant or strange because it seems inappropriate.

Citing from the journal “Stigmatization and Discriminatory Behavior in Women with Tattoos”, Goffman (1963) mentions three types of stigma that given to the individual:

- i. Stigma related to desablements in a person’s body (*Abomination of the Body*)
- ii. Stigma related to individual character damage (*Blemishes of Individual Character*)
- iii. Stigma that related with race, religion and ethnicity (*Tribal Stigma*)

Most people, Goffman (1963, 138) argued, experience the role of being stigmatized “at least in some connections and in some phases of life.” Indeed, Goffman’s broad definition of stigma incorporates many contemporary discredited attributes, including what he defined as “tribal stigmas” (e.g., race, ethnicity, and religion), “physical deformities” (e.g., deafness, blindness, and leprosy), and “blemishes of character” (e.g., homosexuality, addiction, and mental illness).

The first is Abominations of the Body, this type is a stigma that related to physical abnormalities. Goffman stated that abominations of the body can be considered as a form of deviance. Like the other types of stigma, undesirable physical characteristics isolate some individuals, disqualifying them from full

social acceptance. Blind, deaf and people with special needs are regarded part of Abominations of the body by Goffman.

The second is Blemishes of Individual Character, this types is related to an individual that having damaged character and considered as a weak, harmful and weird. People with mental illness, suicide trial, addicted, alcoholism, LGBTQ are categorized as Blemishes of Individual Character. And the last one is Tribal Stigma. This type of stigma related to ethnicity, race and religion. It is like Europeans label that terrorism only carried out by moslem.

Erving Goffman (1963, 5) called people who are not affected by negative issues of Stigmatization by *the Normal*. They consider people that affected by negatife issues of stigmatization as *the abnormal*. Then, this presumption will causes people with negative stigma receive the discrimination that fully affected and ruin their life.

Goffman also state that however people with negative stigma might think, they are as normal as the other, and they have their right to get the chance in any condition. But the *Normals* one still can not accept them and consider them as a normal people. Those who have a negative stigma perceive this condition by trying to discover within themselves what might cause the stigma.

2. Process of Stigma

. Drawing on Goffman but incorporating a broader concern for the operation of power in society, Link and Phelan define stigma as the co-occurrence

of four processes. According to Goffman (in Salim,2021:129), the process of stigmatization begins with labeling, stereotyping, discrimination, then segregation.

i. Labeling

Labeling is a distinction and also giving a label or naming based on the differences that exist in other people. Those who are labeled are perceived as socially unequal and the dissimilarities stand out too much to look at.

ii. Stereotyping

Stereotypes are ideological or cognitive frameworks that consist of knowledge and beliefs about groups and social characteristics certain. Stereotypes are beliefs about characteristics, namely about personal attributes possessed by people in groups or certain social category.

iii. Discrimination

Discrimination can be interpreted as a behavior that demeans other people due to their membership in a group. Discrimination is also a behavioral component of negative behavior towards an individual because the individual is a member of certain groups.

iv. Segregation

The separation between the members of the stigmatized group and the members of the unstigmatized group or the stigmatizer is known as segregation or separation. It may be argued that the practice of assigning stereotypes is successful since the connection between labels and negative characteristics would be a reason when the labeled individual believes that he or she is actually different (Scheid & Brown, 2010).

3. Factors that Cause Stigma

i. Fear

Fear is the common causes of Stigma. This case just like people with infectious illness. They will keep their illness because they afraid that if it known by people around them, it will create a stigma and they receive several difficulties.

ii. Unattractive

There are several condition that make someone considered unattractive, like the disablement on someone body, blind, deaf. People with disablement will be avoided by society because they are different, they do not look like common people.

iii. Anxiety

People that have the disablement on their body feel worry when they have to interact with society around them. They do not know what to do and feel nervous while they surround by society. This feeling make them avoid the crowded.

iv. Association

The stigma that causes by society also called as the symbolic stigma. When the health condition is related to the bad condition such as prostitute, drug addict, certain sexual orientation, poverty, and unemployment.

Values and beliefs has a powerful role in creating and maintaining a stigma. for example, beliefs about why a citizen has a certain mark on their ID card, a mark that has negative meaning and will afect anyone whoe deals with them as well. This kind of stigma comes from a particular association in society.

v. Policy and Constitution

Having certain marks on the ID cards of citizens who have just been released from prison and regulations to report at a certain time can cause stigma to arise and spread among the community.

vi. Lack of Secrecy

Incidents of revealing identities that should be an individual's secret will become an issues that quickly spread among society.

4. The Impact of Stigma

The harmful effects of stigma can generate feelings and negative emotions such as shame, hopelessness, and isolation. Do not want to search help or treatment due to lack of understanding from family, friends or someone else. The impact of stigma can undermine social cohesion and encourage the possibility of social isolation of the group, which can contributed to a situation where it was more likely, didn't it prevent the spread of disease. This can cause problems more severe health and difficulty controlling disease outbreaks (WHO, UNICEF, & IFRC, 2020).

According to Phulf (Indriani & Damalita, 2015) there is some of the impacts or consequences of stigma, namely:

- i. Stigma is hard to find help
- ii. Stigma makes it even more difficult to restore life because of stigma can cause self-confidence to erode so as to withdraw from public
- iii. Stigma causes discrimination so it's hard to get accommodation and work
- iv. Society can be more violent and less humane
- v. His family became even more humiliated and disturbed

The impact of Stigma is not only felt by individuals who get the stigma but also their families or even those closest to them can be affected. Therefore the people around people with stigma tend to stay away and do not want to make any contact with them. This was done in order to avoid negative stigma from society that would also affect them and their families.

B. PKI

1. PKI According to History

The PKI stands for the Indonesian Communist Party which was formed on May 23, 1914. The PKI was the largest party in Indonesia at its time. The PKI's glory had to collapse in 1966 because of a rebellion which was recorded by history as the largest rebellion involving the kidnapping and murder of 7 generals and officers of the Indonesian state.

The G30SPKI crackdown operation began on October 1, 1965 in the afternoon. The RRI central building and Telecommunications Headquarters were recaptured without bloodshed by the RPKAD unit under the command of Colonel Sarwo Edhi Wibowo, the Para Kujang/328 Siliwangi troops, and assisted by a number of cavalry troops. The people involved in the G30S PKI were arrested and detained. In fact, some were detained on the island of Nusakambangan or Buru island.

PKI rebellion has been told from generation to generation and it is able to foster its own fear in the hearts of the people if this dark history will repeat again.

But in order to remind the public of the sacrifices of the heroes who died in the tragedy and to prevent a recurrence of this dark history, the head of military gave orders to show the film of G30SPKI on September 30th every year (Wismabrata, September 19, 2017).

We never know how the condition of the Indonesian nation was at that time, but history records the PKI rebellion as a cruel thing. Regardless of whether the historical records about the PKI are true or not, the impact of the PKI was in fact enormous. How is the life of former prisoners accused of being the PKI after they were released from prison? What was the public's view of ex-tapol and their families during their prison terms and also after they were released?

2. The Stigma of Being PKI

There are two stigmas for the PKI and their families, namely the stigma from society (public stigma) which means the community's reaction or assessment of the PKI and self-stigmatism (self stigma) which means a reaction or self-assessment due to the PKI problem (Corrigan, 2008). Both of these stigmas are related to stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination and also labeling which is the process by which stigma is formed. Stigma also causes a person or the group feels isolated, useless, isolated from the general public (Jones et. al, 1984).

Both PKI prisoners, who are referred as ex-tapol and their families, will receive a negative stigma from the surrounding community. The ex-tapol will receive social sanctions with difficulty finding jobs, socializing with neighbors or

people who know their identities until the difficulty of getting married. Their families also feel the same impact, they will find it difficult to live life as ordinary people if society around them know about the identities of their family members. They will be ostracized and also get various discrimination from the society around them.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS

In this section, the researcher discusses about the stigma of being PKI in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* by Okky Madasari context, which will answer the research questions formulated in the first chapter. The discussion is divided into two parts. The first part will identify the causes of the main character being labeled PKI that described in the novel. The second part of the analysis is going to describe the stigma of PKI that described in his novel.

3.1 The Causes of Main Character is Labeled as PKI : disobedience

In the past PKI is the largest communist party in Indonesia. Political life in Indonesia before 1965 is undeniably influenced by communist ideology. In the 1955 election which was the first election held by the republic of Indonesia, the PKI won 16.47% of the vote. To get support from the lower classes, they campaigned for LandReform which was considered to only benefit regional heads, officials, Islamic kyai and the rich (Sukamto 2015: 3)

Until the rebellion occurred in September 1965 and killed several generals in Indonesia. The fact that the general was kidnapped and then killed makes the PKI the main perpetrator or the party that must be held responsible. As a result, communist ideology was prohibited from living in Indonesia. This prohibition was stipulated in the decree No. XXV / MPRS / 1966, which part of which reads;

Provisions regarding the dissolution of the Indonesian Communist Party, a statement as a prohibited organization throughout the territory of the Republic of Indonesia and the prohibition of any activities to spread or develop Communism / Marxism-Leninism ideas or teachings (Sukanto 2015:5).

According to Herlambang (2013), efforts to eradicate the rise of communism in all lines of life were continuously carried out by the New Order government in which Suharto played a role as the mastermind of this plan. Military propaganda began to spread, calling for a PKI 'purge' throughout the country. As a result of this 'cleansing' agenda, it was not uncommon for innocent citizens to feel threatened or even caught because they were considered PKI sympathizers.

The *Years of the Voiceless* novel by Okky Madasari tells of the struggles of a mother and child in the New Order era. In the midst of the threat of PKI rebellion and critical eras that limited many of their movements and also Indonesian citizens at that time. The story of Sumarni's actions, who tried to fulfill her dream since she was a girl, had to go through many obstacles. And also her daughter, Rahayu, who must be strong in the midst of the negative stigma given by society, including her school teacher for her mother. Rahayu hates his mother and everything she does.

Rahayu tries to find her own way by living away from her parents. She is active in organizations and various Qur'an recital on her campus. Sometimes she also participates in charity work. Rahayu still hates the state apparatus that she used to see often come to her mother's house. State apparatus who always collect security money and make her mother, Sumarni feel pressured.

Rahayu married a man who was a friend of the same organization as her. After getting married, the two of them as well as other friends began to actively speak out against the injustice that was happening around them. Rahayu is also often involved in several volunteer events held by her organization, one of which is when she and others try to help people who are threatened with losing their homes due to developments that will be carried out by the government. It was here that Rahayu lost her husband and she had to be imprisoned because she was considered to have participated in opposing government regulations.

The conflict could be solved by a consensus or agreement between two opposing forces but the conflict also led to the violence such as genocide if they didn't make the consensus (Marisa Santi Dewi, 2020)

Rahayu's arrest was based on the reason that she had disobeyed and did not comply with government regulations. This is because Rahayu refuses to leave the eviction site and chooses to continue helping the community to defend their homes. So it was from here that Rahayu's bad luck came. Rahayu is released from prison on bail given by his mother. However, this freedom is still limited by several conditions. Rahayu still has to report to the nearest military headquarters once a week and also Rahayu will receive a new identity card that has a certain mark.

As well as the violence, there were also mass arrests and imprisonments against people affiliated with the PKI and members of organizations like it (van der Kroef, 1976). History says that anyone who is a member of the PKI,

family, friends or has a relationship with the PKI will be jailed. They were imprisoned as political prisoners, a term that general law applies to about 700,000 people who were detained after October 1965 on suspicion the Gestapu coup of 1965 (Cribb & Kahin, 2004).

Rahayu has her own mark on her identity card, the mark is ET (former political prisoner). The same marks as those of PKI prisoners, who were real political prisoners, who had been released. So Rahayu's sign was considered the same as that of the PKI.

"Mun, it's your call now. Next week your village is scheduled to be destroyed. Those machines will go right through you. You're going to die crushed beneath your own houses. Or if you're lucky, you could survive. But all the troops are going to be in this area in that day. You'll all be arrested. You'll spend the rest of your lives in jail with the PKI people. You've all become PKI"

Wagimun said nothing. He didn't even look at the officer. He was looking off into the distance, at the machines in the next village. The soldier came up to Kyai Hasbi.

"I'm sure you won't become PKI too. It would be a shame for your forebears who helped to wipe out the PKI" He held out his hand to Kyai Hasbi. "Help the state. Get these people to move. You can build a school elsewhere. Let's get this over with quickly so there's no more trouble."

The soldiers left Wagimun's yard. They didn't leave the village, but stopped by the other houses Kyai Hasbi signaled to us to follow them. The commander stopped at every house. "Move from here now before you died on your own land or you get thrown in jail for life. You've now become PKI" (The Years of the Voiceless, 213)

So it can be said that Rahayu earned the title of ex-tapol because she refused to leave the village where she volunteered and chose to stay to help the villagers defend their rights. Rahayu's behavior was considered deviant and disobedient, so she was eventually jailed. People who had links with the PKI or organizations in principle controlled. The government considers them to have

been and are still involved in criminal thought – a term introduced by George Orwell in the 1984 novel (Orwell, 2016).

Like her daughter, Sumarni also often received threats that she would be labeled a PKI when she did not want to do what government officials ordered. However, Sumarni tried to comply with what the government said in order to avoid being labeled a PKI.

Mundi Rahayu (2017) who explained the discipline system "gratification-punishment." This discipline gives rewards so that it is possible for someone to reach a higher position. However, this system also gives punishment with the opposite process. Sumarni who was in a desperate position, was forced to follow the discipline concept created by the authorities in order to continue running her business.

The first time she had to deal with state officials was when an election event was held in her village in 1970. At that time Sumarni and her husband were trading in the election area. While they were waiting for buyers, a state official came to take a pot of merchandise without paying. The officer said that he took the things were compensation because the officers kept the election area safe and comfortable for Sumarni to sell.

Sumarni felt the officer's decision would harm her and she insisted that the officer must pay for the items the officer wanted to take. Seeing that his wife still refused the officer's offer, Sumarni's husband warned his wife to just do what the officer said. Sumarni's husband said she had to make sacrifices if he

did not want his fate to end the same as Mr. Tikno, a neighbor who was jailed as PKI for refusing to give up parts of his land to build a monitoring building.

“What does he want? We’re tryig to earn a living here and he’s asking for freebies,” Mother said.

“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 her expression change the momentshe heard Mr. Tikno’s name. She was also scared.

Mr. Tikno ws in jail. The soldiers had put him there six months earlier. They said it was because he reused to give them his garden, which was really just small piece of land. The soldiers wanted to build a security post there. (The Years of the Voiceless, P. 58 – 59)

Hearing Mr. Tikno was called by her husband, inevitably making this woman afraid too. The thought that she would be jailed and labeled a PKI made Sumarni finally give up when the officer took some of her belongings. She did not want to be called a member of the PKI because she opposed the officers who were on duty in his place. Just like Mr. Tikno.

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. (The Years of the Voiceless, P. 59)

“You shouldn’t be like that, Ni. Do you want to be branded PKI, to be thrown in jail like Mr. Tikno?”

“Please! I’m not PKI! I’m Just trying to make a living. I’m npt stealing and I’m not robbing. What am I doing wrong? They’re the ones who’re shaking down people. First they took my pans, and now they’re after my money!” (The Years of the Voiceless, P. 67)

Sumarni had refused the request from the officers, she considered that the request would only harm her. But in the end she had to give in because the threat given by the state official was labeled PKI. The label she knew would destroy her life, her career and her family. She gave up on the principle that what the officials were asking for was something that would harm one party and benefit the other party.

Sumarni always tries to avoid interacting with these officers at every opportunity. Like when she wanted to meet Koh Cayadi, her friend who is a Chinese national, she found several apparatuses in Koh Cayadi's shop. The shop owner is seen slumped in her chair with an officer in front of him. Several officers who guarded the front of the shop advised Sumarni to look for goods at other shops and said that it was not good for them to deal with Chinese people. Sumarni, who didn't want anything to do with the security forces, then went to another friend's shop. In fact, at that time, people of Chinese descent were considered to have brought communism to Indonesia, so they had the right to be monitored and restricted in their movements by the government. This was done in order to prevent the revival of the PKI.

“What are you looking for, Yu?” One of the soldiers asked me.
“I came to see Koh Cayadi. I have some business with him,” I answered.
“What business do you have with Chinese? You want to buy Radio ... or TV? Go look somewhere else. Lots of place sell them.”
“Oh, I'm not buying anything, chief. It's something else.”
“and what would that be? Just forget it, it's not good dealing with Chinese. Especially the kind that likes to burn incense. You could go into trouble.”
The soldier told us to leave. We did as he said. ... (The Years of the Voiceless, P.101)

“So what are the soldiers doing now in koh Cayadi's store?”
“I don't know. We're all afraid to get there. We are scared that we might get into trouble too, that they'll think we're the same as koh Cayadi.” (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 102).

Sumarni doesn't want to play with fire. She will obey what the authorities say as long as it's good for her. But she also couldn't refuse Koh Cayadi's request, who was her friend. So when Koh Cayadi asks for her help hiding in her house while he is a fugitive. Sumarni felt sorry for her friend, but in the end it made her get dragged into the Koh Cayadi problem. And this time she had to

pay a heavy price to avoid being accused of having a relationship with Koh Cayadi, who was suspected of being the PKI.

I shook my head. I really didn't know anything about Koh Cayadi's troubles. I was just an ignorant villager who had unknowingly sheltered a fugitive. That was it, right?

"Will he go to jail?" I asked

"For sure. He went to 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 dances – you don't know, but they're all PKI symbols. That was forbidden. The chink knew it was forbidden, but he still broke the rules." Sumadi brought his lips to my ear. "It's OK, no need to talk anymore. What's important is that you're free to go. I can arrange for you to be sent home this afternoon. We just have to agree on the sum." (The years of the Voiceless, P. 173)

"This is a serious matter. It's not like before."

"How much?"

"You've got sugarcane fields, right? One hectare shouldn't be a problem for you." He turned away from my glare and continued smoking. (The Years of the Voiceless, P 173 - 174)

Sumarni lost a hectare of land that she owned to get her off the hook for the Koh Cayadi case. She would do anything to avoid the threat of imprisonment which would carry the PKI label on her. She also said that when she heard about the fate of her daughter, Rahayu, who had been in prison for three years.

I don't know what I felt when I heard the word "Prison." For decades I had done everything I could to stay out of those places. For decades I had given what I had so that the people who ran the prisons would leave me alone. Now my own child was in one of those places. I began shivering as though I could feel the cold where you were, Yuk. I felt pain, too, like the stories people told of the torture that went on inside prisons. I couldn't hold back my tears. (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 247)

My Child really was dead. Could anyone still live after being branded PKI? For decades I had always been careful, doing what those in power told me to, just so I and my Family wouldn't suffer a fate like this. But now my own daughter had been stamped as PKI. Oh Gusti! What is this karma for? (The years of the Voiceless, p. 258)

Sumarni voiced her regret that her only child is now silently waiting for her in prison. What had she done to get her imprisoned without a fight? Such is the good fortune of Sumarni who has repeatedly managed to avoid being imprisoned, labeled as a PKI and all the consequences she would have to bear if she were one of them - things that have haunted her all this time. But she must be strong to face the fate of her poor daughter, as she had been afraid. Sumarni may have escaped direct prison threats but she must accept that she belongs to the 'family' of a former political prisoner.

3.2 The Stigma of PKI

According to Erving Goffman, stigma is all forms of physical and social attributes that reduce a person's social identity, disqualify that person from acceptance of others (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). Stigma is a term which means stain or defect. If interpreted again, stigma is a public disapproval of something, for example, is an action or a condition. In the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*, there is also a stigma that can trigger a reaction from society, namely when someone is labeled as a PKI or that person is a member of the PKI. The reaction of the people will vary widely because the stigma attached to the word PKI is negative. Then, with this stigma, does it make people stay away from people with the PKI label?

In the novel *The Yearst the Voiceless* by Okky Madasari, several kinds of stigma are found, the process by which this stigma occurs in society, the factors that cause stigma and also the impact of this stigma.

I. Type of Stigma

According to Fiorillo et al (2016), there are six types of stigma that explained below:

a. Public Stigma

Public stigma is the emergence of negative public reaction toward something. This type of stigma is related to the views of the surrounding community in responding to unusual things. In this context, explaining society's assessment of people labeled as PKI.

The public's view of the PKI can be seen from how Sutomo, Rahayu's husband-to-be, canceled his marriage because he knew a special mark on his future wife's identity card. He said he did not want his children and grandchildren to suffer because his mother was a PKI.

“Mo, think again, Mo. Why must you think it’s PKI? If you marry Rahayu, Mo, you’ll be moving up. This house will be all yours. You won’t be poor again.”

Sutomo shook his head. “I don’t want my children and grandchildren to suffer.” (The Years of the Voiceless, P. 263)

This did not only happen to Rahayu, but also to Yu Nah, Tikno's wife. After Mr. Tikno was imprisoned as a PKI, the people of Singget village did not want to give Yu Nah a job. His son was also expelled from school some time after his father went to prison.

Since then, his wife and son grew poorer. No one would give them a job because they were considered a PKI family. Tikno’s wife, Yu Nah, was never allowed to work in the fields, yet that the only thing she could do. No one had field would hire her. She once came to my house and asked for work helping Tonah. But I refused. I didn’t want any trouble. I already had a lot on my plate. (The Years of the Voiceless, P. 122)

b. Structural Stigma

Structural stigma is everything related to the institution law, company operation that refuse people who have certain conditions. Companies will usually select CVs from job applicants, and ask them to attach a good certificate from the local sector. For the former prisoner, it's definitely going to be difficult to find a job. Rahayu also felt this. The ET mark on his ID card will make it difficult to find a job.

“But how can someone who’s been in prison get a job, Mother?”

“But not everyone knows. Just people at the village hall and at the military office”

“Everyone must know, Mother.” (The Years of the Voiceless, P. 257)

c. Self Stigma

Namely the decrease in self-confidence for people who have been political prisoners. In this case, Rahayu experience this type of stigma by her own self.

This was evident when Sumarni, Rahayu's mother felt that her daughter was no longer the same as she used to be. Rahayu, who used to have the courage to refuse things she didn't like, now just keeps quiet when she hears that from her mother.

I tried to get Rahayu to talk about the things we saw along our way back. But she was not the same Rahayu of old, the one who had once thrown away my offering. She was now quiet most of the time. She just nodded and said yes... (The Years of the Voiceless, P. 252)

I also told her about the antics of the other market vendors. Rahayu mostly just listened. Ever since getting out of prison, she rarely spoke (The Years of the Voiceless, P. 254)

Rahayu got up and went to her room. I was at my wit’s end. That child had truly lost all her sense of life and enthusiasm. She was dead long before death had come to her. (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 257)

d. Felt or Perceived Stigma

Defined into a situation where people can feel that there is a stigma in him and feel afraid to be within a community. Sumarni said that her daughter, Rahayu, has become very different since she got out of prison. she became more silent and listened to whatever her mother had to say. Another thing that did not escape her mother's supervision was that her child always refused when asked to go out and go to the market.

Every morning as I was getting ready to go to the market, I would ask Rahayu if she wanted to come along. "Let's take a walk. See the people," I said. Rahayu always refused. She chose to stay on her own at home. She stayed away from people until Monday came around. That was when she would come out of her cage and go and see the soldiers... (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 254)

In addition, there are two types of individuals who sympathize and provide support to people who are stigmatized, namely people who have the same stigma and people who because of certain situations become close to people who are stigmatized.

The second type is the type that corresponds to what Sumarni did when she saw Mr. Tikno's wife and children doesn't get a job and lives in poverty. Sumarni, who couldn't bear to see it, finally gave help in the form of food for them. Sumarni also often uses the services of Mali, son of Mr. Tikno to carry her groceries at the market.

... She once came to my house and asked for work helping Tonah. But I refused. I didn't want any trouble. I already had a lot on my plate. But I always had Tonah send food to their house on the sly. The son, Mali, dropped out of school in the first grade, not long after his father went to jail. All he did since was wander the streets. No one in Singget would give him work. I often saw him with the porters as Ngranget market, and I would ask him to to crry my shopping for me. (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 122)

II. Process of Stigma

Rahayu and Yu Nah, two figures who played a major role in the process of stigmatization among the village community. They were both just ordinary people at first, but several circumstances forced them to accept the consequences of the stigma that existed in society. According to Goffman (in Salim, 2021:129), the process of stigmatization begins with labeling, stereotyping, discrimination, then segregation.

a. Labeling

Labeling is a distinction and also giving a label or naming based on the differences that exist in other people. Those who are labeled are perceived as socially unequal and the dissimilarities stand out too much to look at.

The two PKI labels that were given to Rahayu and Mr. Tikno actually have something in common, namely that they were given this label by government officials because they refused to obey their orders. Therefore Mr. Tikno and Rahayu were labeled PKI and imprisoned. Mr. Tikno was labeled as a PKI and every villager knew about it. Meanwhile, Rahayu has a written label on his identity card, the ET label, belonging to a former political criminal.

When other people found out that they were called PKI by government officials, the news would quickly circulate widely among the public. When a PKI label is shown to someone, the label will remain

attached to that person. When his name is accidentally said, other people will immediately remember the label that is on that person.

They tried to persuade Mr. Tikno onto letting go of the land. They even tried to tempt him with an offer of a job at the sub-district office. It would have been a far more respectable position than working the land. And besides, the land in question was so small anyway. But Mr. Tikno refused to be swayed.

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. (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 59)

“Here, Mother, look. This writing. It isn’t on your KTP, only on mine.”

“what’s the writing? It looks the same as all the other writing.”

“But it’s only on my id card, Mother. This is the sign for someone whos’s been in prison, like me.”

“Like the PKI?” I knew that former PKI members had something extra printed on their cards. They would never be able to live well. They were bound to be poor.

Rahayu nodded. “Yes.”

“But you’re not PKI, though, Nduk. Your great-grandfather, your grandfather, your parents-none of us was ever PKI. You were still a baby during the PKI unrest.”

“But the fact is that I now have this sign on my ID card, Mother.” (The Years of he Voiceless. P. 257-258)

b. Stereotype

Stereotypes are ideological or cognitive frameworks that consist of knowledge and beliefs about groups and social characteristics certain.

Stereotypes are beliefs about characteristics, namely about personal attributes possessed by people in groups or certain social category.

PKI stereotypes in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* are described as those who selfishly refused to obey orders from the government, because of their actions their neighbors became anxious and worried. In addition, having relations with people who are considered as PKI or their sympathizer will only give you a loss.

“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.

Mr. Tikno was in jail. The soldiers had put him there six months earlier. They said it because he refused to give them his garden, which was really just small piece of land. The soldiers wanted to build a security post here. (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 58-59)

“I’m not scared like that, ma’am. I’m sorry, but I’m scared of being married with a... PKI.” (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 263)

I shook my head. I really didn’t know anything about Koh Cayadi’s troubles. I was just an ignorant villager who had unknowingly sheltered a fugitive. That was it, right?

“Will he go to jail?” I asked

“For sure. He went to 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 dances – you don’t know, but they’re all PKI symbols. That was forbidden. The chink knew it was forbidden, but he still broke the rules.” Sumadi brought his lips to my ear. “It’s OK, no need to talk anymore. What’s important is that you’re free to go. I can arrange for you to be sent home this afternoon. We just have to agree on the sum.” (The years of the Voiceless, P. 173)

c. Segregation

Segregation is the separation of "we" (as parties who do not own stigma or stigma giver) with "they" (the group that gets stigma). The label relationship with the negative attribute will be a justification when an individual has a trust label himself that he is indeed different so that it can be said that the stereotyping process is successful.

In the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*, this separation appears as a reaction from the stereotypes attached to a person. Just like what society did to yu Nah and her son, Mali. The villagers of Singget deliberately kept their distance by not giving them jobs because they were family

members of the PKI (Mr. Tikno). They did this because they did not want anything to do with the PKI family.

Since then, his wife and son grew poorer. No one would give them a job because they were considered a PKI family. Tikno's wife, Yu Nah, was never allowed to work in the fields, yet that was the only thing she could do. No one who had field would hire her. (The years of the Voiceless, p. 121)

The same problem also happened to Rahayu when her future husband suddenly decided to cancel their marriage. This happened because Sutomo saw the ET sign on Rahayu's identity card. Sutomo also added that his reason for canceling the marriage was because he did not want his children and grandchildren to suffer because of their mother's status.

“When we were getting the papers at the village hall, I, er, I saw that Rahayu's ID card had ET written on it. Just like a PKI person.”
“Mo, think again, Mo. Why must you think it's PKI? If you marry Rahayu, Mo, you'll be moving up. This house will be all yours. You won't be poor again.”
Sutomo shook his head. “I don't want my children and grandchildren to suffer.” (The Years of the Voiceless, p.263)

d. Discrimination

Discrimination can be interpreted as a behavior that demeans other people due to their membership in a group. Discrimination is also a behavioral component of negative behavior towards an individual because the individual is a member of certain groups.

Discrimination is not only perpetrated by society, but also by the civil government. In the factory, injustice and unfairness show that the perpetrator of the injustice is the one in the dominant group or the

employer and the victims are the ones as the subordinate position (Mundi Rahayu, 2020)

The discrimination done for a specific purpose. People who had links with the PKI or organizations in principle controlled. The government considers them to have been and are still involved in criminal thought –a term introduced by George Orwell in the 1984 novel (Orwell, 2016). They are subject to a self-cleaning policy so they cannot work inside a number of fields. This policy also applies to families. This rule is known as clean environment. It is intended that people who are considered to have been involved with Communism does not have a strategic position in society. The government considers that they could simply redistribute communism. (Haldi Patra, Anatona, Yenny Narny, 2022)

One form of discrimination by the government against former political prisoners is the marking of ET on their identity cards. Then it is this sign that in the future will bring its owner a lot of trouble. a sign that cannot be easily removed, a sign indicating that the owner of the card is under the supervision of state security. The worst part is that not only card holders with ET marks are discriminated against by both the government and society, but their families will also receive special surveillance.

“Here, Mother, look. This writing. It isn’t on your KTP, only on mine.”
“what’s the writing? It looks the same as all the other writing.”
“But it’s only on my id card, Mother. This is the sign for someone whos’s been in prison, like me.”

“Like the PKI?” I knew that former PKI members had something extra printed on their cards. They would never be able to live well. They were bound to be poor.

Rahayu nodded. “Yes.”

“But you’re not PKI, though, Nduk. Your great-grandfather, your grandfather, your parents—none of us was ever PKI. You were still a baby during the PKI unrest.”

The discrimination that Rahayu received did not stop there, it is strongly suspected that he was discriminated against while she was in prison. She once told this to his mother, Sumarni. Not much is included in the novel about how Rahayu experienced sexual harassment and torture while she was in prison.

... Then you cover your face when I talk about soldiers. You scream when I tell you I was raped and tortured ... (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 10).

III. The Impact of Stigma

Stigma is an attribute that greatly discredits and damages social identity or a person's sense of self because of his environment. Stigma is defined as management of spoiled identity; which describes the effects arising from the occurrence of stigma disqualifies individual who are stigmatized by their social environment, as this term is taken from the theory of Goffman (1959). The harmful effects of stigma can generate feelings and negative emotions such as shame, hopelessness, and isolation. Do not want to search help or treatment due to lack of understanding from family, friends or someone else.

The stigma in the environment really made Rahayu a different person. Sumarni, Rahayu's mother said that Rahayu used to be an expressive person, she would reject things that she thought were not right. But apparently the PKI label turned her into a living corpse even before her death caught her.

Rahayu got up and went to her room. I was at my wit's end. That child had truly lost all her sense of life and enthusiasm. She was dead long before death had come to her. (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 257)

Rahayu is a quiet woman. He just locked himself in the house and will only come out to report on Monday. He seemed to have lost his purpose in life. Her mother felt that she saw a different person, she felt that the current Rahayu was very different from the previous Rahayu.

Every morning as I was getting ready to go to the market, I would ask Rahayu if she wanted to come along. "Let's take a walk. See the people," I said.

Rahayu always refused. She chose to stay on her own at home. She stayed away from people until Monday came around. That was when she would come out of her cage and go and see the soldiers... (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 254)

The secret about her identity had to be uncovered when Sutomo, her husband-to-be, saw the ET sign on her identity card. Then the man canceled the marriage with a reason that he was afraid that his children and grandchildren would live a life of suffering because of their mother's status.

"When we were getting the papers at the village hall, I, er, I saw that Rahayu's ID card had ET written on it. Just like a PKI person."

"Mo, think again, Mo. Why must you think it's PKI? If you marry Rahayu, Mo, you'll be moving up. This house will be all yours. You won't be poor again."

Sutomo shook his head. "I don't want my children and grandchildren to suffer." (The Years of the Voiceless, p.263)

Not only Rahayu, Sumarni, her mother was also affected by this stigma. After years of trying to avoid the word prison as well as the PKI, Sumarni finally had to accept the fact that her daughter had earned this label after spending three years in prison.

I don't know what I felt when I heard the word "Prison." For decades I had done everything I could to stay out of those places. For decades I had given what I had so that the people who ran the prisons would leave me alone. Now my own child was in one of those places. I began shivering as though I could feel the cold where you were, Yuk. I felt pain, too, like the stories people told of the torture that went on inside prisons. I couldn't hold back my tears. (The Years of the Voiceless, p. 247)

Sumarni is always careful with what she does, in order to avoid dealing with government officials. He was even willing to give up his wealth to keep his status safe. The impact of the Stigma that Sumarni got was that she spent a lot of money including her property.

"This is a serious matter. It's not like before."

"How much?"

"You've got sugarcane fields, right? One hectare shouldn't be a problem for you." He turned away from my glare and continued smoking. (The Years of the Voiceless, P 173 - 174)

Apart from his money and possessions, Sumarni also lost his mind. After her son's marriage was forcibly annulled, Sumarni had asked her future son-in-law to continue with the marriage, he promised his wealth to Sutomo. But the man still didn't want to and left. After that, the story shows that Sumarni started talking rambling and the story closes with Sumarni mentioning the word 'grandson' many times

I need to find more lipstick. Where's my red lipstick? This will be the biggest wedding procession in Singget. My beautiful daughter wants to be Srikandi with her golden clothes. Srikandi will marry Arjuna. Then I will have grandchildren. I'll carry you... I'll carry you, my grandchild... I will carry you everywhere.(The Years of the Voiceless, p. 264)

CHAPTER IV

Researcher have arrived at this part after the previous chapter on the analysis the object, *The Years of the Voiceless* novel by Okky Madasari using the tigma concept in the previous chapter. This part will contain the conclusions from the previous analysis and also suggestions that are shown to anyone who is interested in this research, especially the next researchers. Based on the analysis conducted in the previous chapter, the conclusion of this study is about revealing; the stigma of being PKI in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* by Okky Madasari.

A. Conclusion

From the analysis above, the researcher will answer two research questions, to describe the causes of the main character being labeled as PKI in the novel *The Years of The Voiceless* by Okky Madasari, and describe the stigma of PKI in the novel *The Years of The Voiceless* by Okky Madasari. From the results of the analysis in the previous chapter, the researcher found several aspects that could support to answer the first question, the causes of main caracter being labeled as PKI.

Rahayu's arrest was based on the reason that she had disobeyed and did not comply with government regulations. This is because Rahayu refuses to leave the eviction site and chooses to continue helping the community to defend their homes. So it was from here that Rahayu's bad luck came, she was

imprisoned on charges of disobeying state orders and being considered an enemy of the state, which at that time generally had this character among PKI members.

Rahayu is released from prison on bail given by his mother. However, this freedom is still limited by several conditions. Rahayu still has to report to the nearest military headquarters at a certain time. She also receive a new identity card with an ET mark, it stands for Ex-Tapol (former political prisoner). It signs that Rahayu is really considered as a rebel against the state.

The opposite of Rahayu, Sumarni, her mother in order to protect her business, she prefers to obey what the state apparatus says. She sacrifices her welt as long as she is safe and not labeled as a rebel and the enemy of the state. But she must be strong to face the fate of her poor daughter, as she had been afraid. Sumarni may have escaped direct prison threats but she must accept that she belongs to the 'family' of a former political prisoner.

Move to the second research question that is describe the stigma of PKI in the novel *The Years of the Voiceless*. The stigma against the PKI that found in *The Years of the Voiceless* is categorized into four types, namely; public stigma, structural stigma, self stigma, felt or perceived stigma. The four stigmas will be summarized as follows;

The Public Stigma means negative public reaction toward something. This type of stigma is related to the views of the surrounding community in responding to unusual things. Public's view of the PKI can be seen from how Sutomo, Rahayu's husband-to-be, canceled his marriage because he knew a

special mark on his future wife's identity card. He said he did not want his children and grandchildren to suffer because his mother was a PKI.

And that kind of situation not only happen to Rahayu, but also to Yu Nah, Mr. Tikno's wife. After her husband was imprisoned as a PKI, the people of Singget village did not want to give Yu Nah a job. His son was also expelled from school some time after his father went to prison.

The structural stigma means the condition when people who is labeled as PKI can't get any job easily. In this case, it was Yu Nah, Mr. Tikno's wife. The villagers of Singget did not want to give her a job because he was a family member of the PKI. Rahayu also refused to work as a teacher as requested by her mother because she knew finding a job for someone like her was very difficult.

The next is self stigma, people who experience self-stigma will feel less confident, become closed and the worst part is losing their purpose in life. After getting out of prison, Rahayu became a completely different person, she became quiet, she showed no protest for her mother, became introverted and she became withdrawn and would rather listen to stories from her own mother than tell what happened to her during her disappearance

And the last type of stigma, perceived stigma. This is where people can feel that there is a stigma in him and feel afraid to be within a community. Sumarni said that her daughter, Rahayu, has become very different since she got out of prison. she became more silent and listened to whatever her mother

had to say. Another thing that did not escape her mother's supervision was that her child always refused when asked to go out and go to the market.

Stigma arises through a series of processes that involve every level of society and also the government, which often takes part in building the stigma itself. The process of stigma in *The Years of the Voiceless* is structured into four stages, namely; labeling, stereotyping, segregation, and the last is discrimination.

The stigma that is formed in society has an unavoidable impact. In general, people who are aware of the stigma attached to them will experience a decrease in self-confidence. Likewise with Rahayu's experience after finding the ET sign on her identity card. Rahayu became increasingly secretive, she only isolated herself at home because she did not want others to know about her status as a PKI. Rahayu lost her future, the marriage that her mother had always wanted had to run aground because her future husband annulled the wedding.

The impact was also felt by her mother, Sumarni. She lost all the treasures she had painstakingly amassed. Sumarni always tries to avoid long dealings with state officials who threaten her with imprisonment and are also enemies of the state. To avoid this, Sumarni gave up many of her wealth and money. However, she still has to accept the condition that now she is the mother of a former political prisoner, Rahayu.

B. Suggestion

After analyzing and concluding the analysis, in this part, researcher would like to convey suggestion and hope. stigma theory will always be interesting to discuss. analyzing the novel *The Years of the Voiceless* using Erving Goffman's theory is very challenging because of the background of the novel. Several other theories can also be applied, the theory that can be used to analyze this novel is feminism because the issue raised is a woman's point of view.

However, *The Years of the Voiceless* is not the only Okky Madasari's famous works. There are still many works from Okky Madasari which are also interesting to study. Therefore, the author hopes that there will be many researchers who examine various novel from Okky Madasari.

The last, analyzing novels is not easy, and there will certainly be many mistakes in this study. Therefore, the researcher expects criticism from readers, so that the researcher can present a better and more perfect study in the later opportunity

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