

Unravelling Power Relations in Sexual Violence in the Penyalin Cahaya Movie: Sara Mills' Feminist Stylistic Analysis Framework

Mengungkap Relasi Kekuasaan dalam Kekerasan Seksual dalam Film Penyalin Cahaya: Kerangka Analisis Stilistika Feminis Sara Mills



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ABSTRACT

The number of sexual violence cases against women in Indonesia almost reached 9,000 cases from January to November 2021. This number is increasing every year as protection against victims, whom predominantly are women, remains weak. All this time, social stigma has labeled women as victims since they are weak and easily oppressed. However, the reality of sexual violence does not only affect women but also men, who have long been regarded as the ruling group. In the Penyalin Cahaya movie, the issue of sexual violence is packed with different perspectives. The image of women as victims, who have been portrayed as a second class, weak, and confined group, is not seen in this film. Conversely, men as victims choose to shut up and surrender. This research aims to reveal the representation of sexual violence victims experienced by men and women using the framework of the Feminist Stylistics Approach/FSA developed by Sara Mills. The research body consists of scenes depicting (1) forms of sexual violence, (2) the social narrative of the victims and power relations in handling cases of sexual violence in academic environments, and (3) the representation of victims who choose to remain silent to stay accepted by the society. The documentation techniques were used to look more deeply into the positions and actions taken by the victims to fight the stigma caused by sexual violence. The research results show (1) the negation against male victims of sexual violence, (2) that women's appearance still becomes the main reason for her to be harassed and (3) academic institutions are weak in dealing with sexual violence cases.

Kata Kunci

*Analisis Wacana Kritis,
 Film Penyalin Cahaya,
 Relasi Kuasa,
 Kekerasan Seksual*

ABSTRAK

Angka kekerasan seksual terhadap perempuan di Indonesia hampir mencapai 9000 kasus pada rentang Januari-November 2021. Jumlah ini semakin meningkat tiap tahunnya seiring dengan masih lemahnya perlindungan terhadap korban yang (cenderung) didominasi oleh perempuan. Selama ini, stigma sosial yang melabeli perempuan sebagai korban karena ia lemah dan mudah ditekan. Namun, sebenarnya realita kekerasan seksual tidak hanya terjadi pada perempuan, tetapi juga laki-laki, yang selama ini dianggap sebagai kelompok yang berkuasa. Dalam film Penyalin Cahaya, isu kekerasan seksual dikemas dengan sudut pandang yang berbeda. Gambaran perempuan sebagai korban yang selama ini direpresentasikan sebagai kelompok kelas dua, lemah, dan terbungkam, tidak tampak dalam film ini. Justru, laki-laki sebagai korban yang memilih untuk diam dan mengalah. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap representasi korban kekerasan seksual yang dialami oleh laki-laki dan perempuan dengan menggunakan kerangka Feminist Stylistics Approach/FSA yang dikembangkan oleh Sara Mills. Korpus penelitian berupa potongan adegan yang menggambarkan (1) bentuk-bentuk kekerasan seksual, (2) narasi sosial terhadap korban dan relasi kuasa dalam penanganan kasus kekerasan seksual di lingkungan akademik, dan (3) representasi korban kekerasan yang memilih bungkam demi tetap diterima oleh lingkungan sosial. Teknik dokumentasi digunakan untuk melihat lebih dalam mengenai posisi dan tindakan yang diambil oleh korban untuk melawan stigma akibat kekerasan seksual yang dialami. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa (1) negasi terhadap laki-laki korban kekerasan, (2) penampilan perempuan masih dijadikan alasan utama ia berhak dilecehkan, dan (3) lemahnya institusi akademik dalam penanganan kasus kekerasan

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Introduction

Violence is one of many issues prevailed in the society. The increase in violence makes women an object since the major value system that has been established in the society considers women as weak and inferior to men (Cecep & Humaedi, 2018). Sexual harassment is one sort of violence experienced by women. It is induced by power and expression, and males are placed higher than women, making it easier for them to manipulate their superiority (Dwiyanti, 2014). In Indonesia, according to data from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA), there were 8,800 cases of sexual violence from January to November 2021, ranging from violence against people with disabilities to sexual harassment on campus, which became the buzz of numerous news websites and social media platforms (Indonesia, 2021).

Those cases provide real examples of sexual harassment driven by gender disparities. These disparities are not due to the nature of God's destiny, but are constructed and modified according to the class, era, and location that can be exchanged between men's and women's positions (Yunitasari & Hanifah, 2020). One of the most debated gender issues is about equality, especially related to the gap between men and women in various fields, such as in economy (employment), education and representation in political institutions. Inequality is often constructed in countries with a strong patriarchal culture, including Indonesia. Discrimination experienced by women is also related to access to the right to speak when they become the victims of sexual harassment. The results of a study conducted by Farnisari & Sudrajat (2016) on gender bias in a Korean drama entitled *Sungkyunwan Scandal* show that gender discrimination between men and women is most prevalent in education. Moreover, another study by Safira et.al (2022) found that the discriminatory practices received by women strengthen further the narrative that women are weak individuals and always subordinated in the private and public spheres (Farnisari, 2013; Safira et al., 2022).

Various conveniences in accessing online media have brought numerous effects in the current modern era, including those linked to how the media displays sexuality in the news presented (Susilo & Haezer, 2017). Apart from news broadcasts, movies are included in the category of popular culture products that play a role in constructing various events based on realities that emerge in society (Triana et al., 2021). Over time, the existence of movies has expanded to include educational value, as seen by messages directed to the audience concerning social, moral, and cultural values that are commonly employed by the society as social norms in everyday life (Basri, 2018). The delivery of messages in a movie is often separated into two categories: 1) verbal messages sent through narration or dialogue, and 2)

nonverbal messages given through character expressions, appearances, acting, videography, music, and symbols carrying meaning (Yulisetiani, 2016).

According to Noviani (2011), movies are cultural representations found in various contemporary mass media in terms of groups, ordinary people, famous individuals, elites, and the original culture of society (Noviani, 2011). Film was created as a medium to depict the reality that occurs around us, presenting a new reality that is caught on camera. Therefore, film is not just a medium that produces reality, but defines a reality that occurs in society (Noviani, 2011).

Study findings regarding particular societal issues, such as social issues, humanitarian issues, and women's issues, frequently accompany the selection of themes in a movie. Hollywood, Disney, Century Fox, and other global movie business players usually emphasize female subjects as the main focus of their movie production. Stereotypes, discrimination, marginalization, and sexual violence against women are frequently raised as a result of class and gender disparities, and are used as main themes in the movies.

The myriad relationships portrayed in a movie about women are often inspired by class differences. For example, in the Korean movie entitled *Parasite*, the conflict caused by class inequalities indicates violence tolerated by the oppressed groups, ranging from torture with bare hands to the use of weapons induced by the gap between the wealthy and poor classes (Glenkevin et al., 2019). Various oppressions can also occur, including sexual harassment such as catcalling in the form of giving praise, and advice to direct temptation toward the victim (Asti et al., 2021). Furthermore, the categorization of women as patriarchal objects is represented in the movie “*Arini*”, where women are defined as subjugated, the object of men, the weak, and someone who must obey the men (Purwanti & Suana, 2020). Women are always portrayed as objects with impoverished backgrounds, limited education, and a tendency to obey the rules (Rahmadani & Manaf, 2020). Furthermore, the author identifies the involvement of media as a result of gender bias in online media journalistic practices, which generated a victim-blaming culture that positions women as objects of diction and bias, prompting readers to accept stereotypes of such behaviors that frequently occur (Ihsani, 2021). According to several studies, the existence of social media has the potential to be a means of obtaining justice, even if it is only limited to justice carried out online (Fileborn, 2017). Furthermore, the results of a research by (Evianda et al., 2019) reveal that women are positioned as subjects and objects in news articles through exclusion and inclusion strategies in viewing:

1. Marginalization;
2. Objectification-Abstraction;
3. Nomination-Identification;
4. Indifferentiation.

Apart from the movies produced by Disney, in Indonesia, several movies tell stories about the marginalization of women. One example is a movie entitled *Mereka Bilang Saya Monyet/ They Say I'm a Monkey* (2008) by female director Djenar Maesa Ayu, which tells the story about a female character named Ajeng, who has a dark childhood as a victim of repeated sexual violence by her mother's boyfriend. Another movie entitled *Imperfect* (2019) tells a story about symbolic violence experienced by a woman with a 'big-size' body that makes it difficult for her to be accepted by her social environment. The latest movie is *Penyalin Cahaya/ Photocopier* (2021), a movie by Wregas Bhanuteja. This 130-minute movie has captured both national and international audiences as it is considered brave enough to show scenes related to sexual harassment, especially when men are also the victims of sexual violence. These movies attempt to break the masculine dominance often appearing in Indonesian movies (Dayanti, 2011).

As a mass communication medium, movies can construct gender relations based on the imagination of the director's script. The director's role in transferring ideas into pictorial language is a central activity in shaping reality in the minds of the audience (McQuail, 2010). *Penyalin Cahaya* movie was chosen as it was successfully screened at the Busan International Film Festival (BIFF) in 2021. Moreover, this movie brings a new paradigm in depicting cases of sexual harassment. Paradoxically, after the movie was released and received positive reviews, it turned out that one of the scriptwriters with the initials "HP" was allegedly involved in a case of sexual violence in his past. Hence, his name had to be removed from the movie's title credits. In addition, *Penyalin Cahaya* movie highlights cases of sexual violence occurred in educational institutions as well as provides other insights to the audience about how power relations occur anywhere. In this movie, the university, which is supposed to protect the victim, actually marginalizes the victim by revoking his scholarship and asking the victim to apologize publicly.

One of the researches that show the representation of women in movies and the inequality of discourse between men and women is conducted by Liestianingsih (2005) in her study about *Perempuan dalam Sinetron Komedi* (Women in Comedy Soap Operas), illustrating that women are stupid, submissive, and weak, while men are strong, aggressive, brave, and independent human beings (Dayanti & Susantari, 2005). Additionally, a research conducted by Sunarto (2009) on the representation of violence against women in animated movies on television found that the dominant gender ideology in children's movies is shown through scenes of violence as justification for male superiority over women (Sunarto, 2009). Meanwhile, a recent research that discusses women's struggles in rejecting patriarchal culture

has been conducted by Sumakud & Septyana (2020), who examined a movie entitled *Marlina the Murderer in Four Acts* (*Marlina Si Pembunuh Dalam Empat Babak*) (Sumakud & Septyana, 2020). Marlina is a female rape victim who killed her rapist by beheading him. The movie depicts Marlina as a woman who brought the severed head of her rapist to the police station. Through this action, she wanted to show that she was struggling to reject the patriarchal tradition in her living area, which states that a woman must be submissive and obedient to men. Marlina also wants to show that women have the right to express what they feel, such as sadness, joy, anger, hurt, even revenge. The social stigma, that considers it taboo for a victim of sexual harassment/violence to tell about their condition to other people (family/friends), seems to be desirably eradicated by the director of the movie *Marlina*. The inherent perception in the society, regarding a victim of abuse who talks about their condition that is considered as exposing their own shame, is completely dismissed in the movie *Marlina* where it is shown how she chose to kill the perpetrator of her own rape rather than remain silent and endure the suffering.

Previous researches have focused on depicting women in communication artefacts such as movies, ads, and newspapers. It is uncommon to find research exploring women's resistance as victims of sexual harassment in a movie. Women have traditionally been represented as weak and silent, but the female characters in the movie *Penyalin Cahaya* portray a different image. This research is essential since it focuses on victims of sexual harassment, who are both women and men. So far, the victims of sexual violence exposed by the media have been women, even though men can also be victims of harassment. Furthermore, *Penyalin Cahaya* movie depicts the practice of sexual violence in the campus environment.

Penyalin Cahaya movie also shows how educational institutions (which is known as university) should be more sensitive and defend victims instead of doing the opposite. Victims of harassment, who should get protection from the educational institutions where they study, are the ones who get the most severe sanctions. It includes social sanctions, such as being considered a spreader of fake news to revoking access to scholarships, which makes the victims increasingly feel judged. However, interestingly, the victims choose to speak out and garner support from various parties, one of which was male victims of harassment.

This research uses Sara Mills' Feminist Stylistic Analysis (FSA) model, which aims to reveal the hidden meaning behind the text (Mills, 2004). In this research, operational analysis is applied to see the representation of the main character as a victim of sexual harassment in the *Penyalin Cahaya* movie. Referring to Van Dijk (1997 in Darma, 2008), CDA is generally used in analyzing issues related to race, gender, social class, politics, and hegemony.

Fairclough & Wodak (1997) also mention characteristics of critical discourse that include (1) exploring social problems, (2) revealing discursive power relations, (3) unraveling matters related to society and culture, (4) ideological, (5) historical, (6) disclosing the correlation between text and society, and (7) interpretive and explanatory.

Sara Mills' model was selected as it is more often utilized to examine events associated with gender discourse and feminism, which depicts the injustice against women through images, photos, texts, or news (Eriyanto, 2001a). Sara Mills employs Althusser's analysis to examine the role of actors shown in the text, concerning how the actors are positioned and how the actors' position as an interpretation in the text (Eriyanto, 2002). Mills examines the position of actors in a text, who is the subject and who is the object of the narrator. Another distinction that differentiates Mills' discourse analysis from other discourses is the importance of the reader and writer's positions in the text (Eriyanto, 2001b).

To strengthen the research findings that focus on the silencing aspect of sexual violence cases, researchers borrow Michel Foucault's power-relations theoretical foundation. According to Foucault, language (discourse) is a system of meaning production that provides individuals with ways of seeing, thinking, and behaving (Foucault, 1982). One of the things that distinguishes Foucault's approach is the promise that discourse not only reflects social relations and social action, but also contributes to the construction of them (Budd, 2006). In this context, the discursive practices of individuals are seen as the effects of discourse, which is fundamentally linked to power relations. Thus, in communication texts, the CDA analysis model views that power can create subjects and agents. The constitution of the subject through knowledge production presupposes the subject's dependence on external elements that are social and cultural in the process of becoming. In short, Foucault sees that 'power' can be born from everyday practices, sometimes without recognizing the upper and lower classes' social structure, as Marx proposed (Olssen, 2004).

Gender discussions and portrayals of women are inextricably linked to descriptions of ideology and power. These two ideas are critical in the language used to depict the world. It is often assumed that the linguistic choices made by language authors and speakers are ideologically driven since "language is not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator" (Fowler, 2013). Sara Mills' discourse analysis focuses on how women are depicted as a frequently-marginalized group in news texts and how patterns and marginalization are displayed. The researcher believes this framework is ideal to reveal how the director and the society position Suryani and other male victims of sexual violence. Furthermore, feminist stylistic model focuses not only on how the actors' position is presented in a text, but also on

the readers and writers. Moreover, this research examines the disparities in social status between Tariq, a guy who was the victim of Rama's sexual disclosure, as well as Suryani and Farah, two women who have been victims of sexual disclosure.

Method

This research applies the Feminist Stylistic Framework coined by Sara Mills'. Some academics or researchers in the field of communication (especially media research) often refer to the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework which focuses on revealing the hidden meaning behind a text. Mills divides the stages of discourse analysis into two stages. The first stage is mapping the subjects and objects in the news. Positions as subjects and objects in the news contain particular ideological content that can limit the position of women in reporting (Eriyanto, 2001b). The subject position will place one party as the interpreter of events, while the object position places the party as the interpreted entity. In this reality, the subject position is always superior to the object position. In the second stage, Mills' discourse model analysis maps the reader's position (Fauzan, 2014; Ghofur, 2016; Perwitasari & Hendariningrum, 2014; Prasetyo, 2016). Mills argues that the depiction of reality must be distinct from how news producers identify audience segmentation. Starting from the argument that texts are resulted from negotiations between writers and readers, Mills argues that producers tend to present news favoring their readers. Readers cannot be placed merely as recipients but rather determine the predisposition of the message. Thus, Mills' analysis comprehensively correlates the text, the author, and the reader.

Table 1. FSA Framework by Sara Mills

Level	Analysis Objectives
Analysis of Subject-Object Positions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. How events are viewed? b. From whose point of view the event was seen? c. Who is positioned as the narrator (subject) and who is the object being told? d. Does each actor and social group has the opportunity to present themselves and their own ideas or is displayed by other groups/people?
Analysis of the Reader's Position	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. How is the reader's position represented by the writer in the text? b. How does the reader position themselves in the text? c. To which society do the readers identify themselves?
Analysis at the level of word	The word-level analysis of feminist stylistics focused on how sexism happens in language and

Analysis at the level of phrase/sentence	how it affects the readers, especially females, by examining how much sex-specific pronouns used, addressing terms, the misuse of generics, and the negative description of women
Analysis at the level of discourse	Phrases and sentences create meaning in connection to their co-text, context, history of usage, and background information required for comprehension The feminist stylistics in the level of discourse connects words and phrases with a larger part of an ideology, also called it a 'gendered framework' (Mills, 2004)

Feminist stylistics, at the discourse level, establishes connections between words and phrases within a broader ideological framework, utilizing textual patterns and structures. According to Mills (2004), the term 'gender frameworks' is used to describe analytical tools that operate at a stereotypical level in order to examine the language often employed in a given text. Sara Mills commences her analysis by examining the linguistic selections employed in character descriptions within the book, followed by an exploration of many roles that women can assume. Subsequently, an analysis of several linguistic selections is conducted to comprehend the fragmented portrayal of women inside a certain textual context. The gender framework ultimately seeks to construct comprehensive schemas for the allocation of women's responsibilities across diverse texts (Mills, 2004).

The data collection technique was carried out in several stages, including (1) watching and listening to the movie for 130 minutes, (2) reading the dialog text in the movie, and (3) recording the scene along with the time of the scene related to the research focus. The listening method is one of the data collection approaches that involve observing or listening to the language under study (Zaim, 2014). Reading is done to get in-depth data by reading texts that are considered meaningful. Researchers read the discourse contained in the movie through reading and recording. The recording is used to note the minute of scenes that contain power relations due to the portrayal of sexual violence victims. The author used a mobile phone to capture several scene which relates to 'sexual violence', 'power relations', 'subordinate', and 'resistance'.

This research also uses Michael Foucault's idea of power relations to provide an in-depth account of the dominance in the context of the class. According to Foucault, power comes finely through the production of knowledge, and knowledge always has the effect of power (Foucault, 1980). Foucault's view of knowledge is a reduction of discourse. It is

structured like our minds and subtly becomes our paradigm in thinking and acting. This discourse then lives and becomes as part of ourselves that regulates our behavior and limits our movements, which Foucault calls as the dominant truth in a societal structure (Eriyanto, 2002). In practice, knowledge discourse is often used to overthrow power. Strength is an institutional network that dominates and relates to other relationships, such as family, which plays the role of conditioning (Foucault, 2022).

The stages of data analysis include (1) watching the *Penyalin Cahaya* movie, (2) marking scenes showing (a) sexual harassment; (b) power relations; (3) word-using for victims, and continue with (3) compiling data classifications in the form of movie sequences for further analysis using word, phrase, and discourse analysis levels (coding schemes). The data was meticulously analyzed to uncover hidden ideologies, power relationships, and the representation of female actors as victims of sexual violence in the *Penyalin Cahaya* movie. Furthermore, it is honed by integrating Michael Foucault's theory of power to investigate the power practice observed in movie scenes. Finally, the last stage was (4) summarizing the results of the analysis and drawing conclusions.

Result and Discussion

The findings in this research are in line with the research questions. First, gender bias based on subject-object relations includes (a) the portrayal of Suryani as a victim of sexual violence who comes from a low economic class; (b) the placement of victims of sexual violence as commodities; and (c) the patriarchal culture that places women with a double burden. Second, gender bias based on author-reader includes (a) the compromised meaning of sexual violence activities through power relations, (b) the depiction of culture and code of ethics in the academic environment, and (c) the representation of victims of sexual violence who are not only women but also men, as well as (d) resistance movements from victims aimed at bringing perpetrators of sexual violence to justice.

Feminists argue that the subordination of women occurs in all social institutions and practices and is structural. This practice of structural subordination of women is called as patriarchy (Barker & Galasinski, 2001). In a patriarchal society, from the beginning, the gender roles of boys are considered more dominant than girls, thus there is a comparison between gender roles. In turn, boys are considered superior in daily life compared to girls. This opinion was strongly protested by fourth-wave feminists, who chose to protest against abusers through print media (news) and social media. According to them, expressing opinions regarding equal opportunities for women in accessing public rights through mass media will make it easier for

them to gain support and collaborate with other parties, thus having a broader impact (Chamberlain, 2016).

Table 2. The Positions of Subject-Object and the Reader in *Penyalin Cahaya* Movie

Position of Subject - Object	<p>The position of subject-object in this research refers to the identification of the actors, who is the subject and who is the object of storytelling in a text. The analysis revealed that there is a subordination that places women as objects. Subordination is an assessment of one gender position that is placed lower under the position of the other one.</p> <p>Suryani (next written “Sur”) is depicted as coming from the lower class as seen at 03.49. Suryani is a student majoring in computer science who comes from a lower class. She is the only child of a rice pack seller in a village in Jakarta. She only relies on scholarships for her study. Sur’s economic background is shown in such a way that it becomes a reason for injustice. Sur experienced injustice such as rejections for her report and proof of sexual violence she got.</p> <p>The movie also subordinates victims of sexual abuse by treating them like a commodity; the victims are utilized to satisfy the needs and interests of the perpetrators. In addition, society believes that men are often the perpetrators and are not permitted to show their ‘weak’ side.</p> <p>Patriarchal culture is also depicted in the movie’s scenes. Women are presented with a domestic sphere and a double-burden label that is always attached, thus they do not have freedom. At 02.44, it is shown that Suryani is not as free as her other friends to spend time without any other duties as she should divide her time for lectures, activities, and helping her mother sell food in <i>warteg</i> (traditional food seller). In this movie, the position of the man (Suryani’s father) is only considered as the head of the family who controls space for women, indicating the patriarchal culture. The characters of Sur and his mother are depicted in the domestic sphere. At 09.50, Suryani’s father is very protective regarding the clothes that Sur is wearing. He asks her to wear more polite clothes to the celebration held at Rama’s house. In the religious context, this is very common, but if we examine it further with feminism theory, men often control women (this is related to how to dress) which ultimately limits women's movements.</p>
Reader’s Position	<p>The reader whose role is to find out the impact of the meaning contained in a text can be examined through the resistance or questions related to the meaning contained in the text. The article makes an implicit assumption about the reader, particularly on what causes victims of sexual violence, which affects both men and women. Readers include both men and women who are engaged in the stories presented and the facts revealed about the problems of sexual violence cases. This</p>

	assumes that what readers want to know is the disclosure of sexual violence victims and which parties are frequently engaged in the case, so the movie packs it in a lighter, slicker fashion, with a storyline that arouses the audience's curiosity.
Word Level	<p>Researchers found several points that show sexism in language or meaning, as follows:</p> <p>Sexism on Language:</p> <p>a) Porn photos of the victims were found on Amin's hard drive</p> <p>b) Matching the evidence found on several victims</p> <p>Sexism on meaning:</p> <p>a) Suryani's photos spread on the Instagram account</p> <p>b) The case of video found on the NetCar driver's cellphone</p> <p>The level of words portrayed in the discourse of <i>Penyalin Cahaya</i> that deals with the issue of sexual violence will influence how the reader defines Sur. In this discourse, the movie more focuses on the struggle of sexual violence victims in obtaining justice compared to Rama as the perpetrator of sexual violence. This has a significant impact on the reader's ability to identify her as the victim to the campus investigator, and the perpetrator seems to be safe from the crime that has been committed.</p> <p>19.57 : "Sir, it wasn't me who uploaded it, sir"</p> <p>20. 33 : "First, I never take that photo. Second, I still meet the scholarship criteria"</p> <p>1.35.24 : "I want this case to be investigated" Suryani was very weak and could not do anything to defend the evidence that showed Rama as the main perpetrator in the sexual violence case at that time. Thus, the reader can identify her in a position of a victim.</p>
Phrase/ Sentence Level	<p>In addition to the word level that affects the position of women displayed through discourse in a movie, there is also phrase level:</p> <p>1. Sexual harassment of women</p> <p>In viewing harassment against women, it generally pertains to how the phrase level is perceived. One of them is a sentence showing harassment of women in the scene between Rama and Amin:</p> <p><i>Rama : cupang how, cupang?</i> (In Bahasa Indonesia, cupang can mean two things; it can refer to Siamese fighting fish, it can also refer to hickey)</p> <p><i>Amin : There is old stock, the red one, do you want it?</i></p> <p><i>Rama : Not that cupang. Bottom drawer cupang?</i></p> <p><i>Amin : What do you mean?</i></p> <p><i>Rama : Come on, Min. I need it. So stressful. No ideas. You know, if I use a bottom drawer cupang, the idea will come again. Let me know if there's anything new.</i></p> <p>It is no secret that women's beautiful and attractive</p>

	<p>features are always utilized as objects that drives men to judge their physical appearance with the value of sensuality (Putra, 2021). Women often seem worthless and demeaned. Although women are not the only victims of sexual violence in the movie, data from SIMFONI-PPA show that female still leads with 7,000 victims compared to men with 1,211 victims (kemenpppa, 2022). In the excerpt of the conversation, women as the victims of sexual violence are used for buying and selling goods which shows the subordination of women by male perpetrators (Rama and Amin).</p> <p>2. Taboo</p> <p>The analysis reveals that there are discourses that show taboo words in a more polite way:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> in minute 1.50.35: "A number of photos are evidence that the faculty considers to be photos that should not be shared on social media accounts" in minute 1.51.57: "The discovery of some <i>syur</i> (polite word for porn in Bahasa Indonesia) photos of the victims in the cellphone of the NetCar driver".
Discourse Level	<p>In addition to the description of word and phrase level, the discourse level analysed are presented as follows:</p> <p><i>Penyalin Cahaya</i> shows the ideology developed in the society that someone with power will more easily cover up crimes than the lower classes. It can be implied that the developed ideology is capitalism which is more selfish by using power and privilege as the main tool for the perpetrators to cover up the crimes they have committed.</p> <p><i>Rama said:</i></p> <p><i>"We still consider Sur like a family and prefer it to be resolved as a family. ... I just need Sur to make an apology and clarification. Tomorrow, Sur, we can be like family again in the theatre. Sir, for the scholarship which Sur had lost, my father is ready to fully pay for Sur's fees, and Sur can still make a website and get a salary as she should".</i></p> <p>According to the findings of the dialogue quoted above, Suryani made attempts in front of the campus, parents, and Rama (as the perpetrator) to get justice, which resulted in zero outcomes, and she was prompted to record a video of apology. Rama's words from minute 1.34.53 to 1.35.30 show that he acts like he became a victim of defamation despite the evidence that shows that he is the main perpetrator. He positions himself above Sur and her family by stating that he will pay for Sur's tuition fee and salary.</p>

Based on the analysis results, there is a power relation represented by the perpetrator, Rama as the son of a wealthy family who became a donor at Sur's campus. Rama pretended to be a victim of defamation when Suryani accused him of being a perpetrator of sexual violence who was 'deliberately' shielded by the college. Rama is also asserting his dominance by informing Sur that his parents will pay for Sur's education and even pay her a salary for her work. The apology issued by Sur's father to Rama and his lawyer over Rama's disclosure of sexual harassment is further marginalizing Sur's position as a victim.

When Suryani's father apologizes to Rama, it shows the vulnerability of the lower economic class when dealing with the upper class. However, there is a piece of evidence (in the video) of how Rama sexually abused Suryani, Farah and Tariq, it means nothing. Rama, who comes from a wealthy family with a higher social status than Suryani's family, easily pressures the university to do what he wants. This scene clearly shows that sexual harassment victims are still oppressed by others, even in academic institutions. Also, this scene shows that the law is blunt up and sharp down (Amrunsyah, 2017).

Table 3. Data Results and Analysis with FSA

Minute	Description
1.41.00	<p>Farah's confession of her tattoos used in theatre installations.</p> <p>a. <i>Farah</i> : Yes, that's my tattoo, sorry I didn't help you from the start. I brought help btw. There is also his body in the installation that Rama made.</p> <p>b. <i>Rama</i> : Since my mother died, the psychologist advised me to do activities so that I would be distracted. That bastard is my family. I've never seen this one before. He must have taken this photo when I was drunk and I tried to deny it because I was afraid of losing my family.</p> <p>c. <i>Farah</i> : Rama was also the first one who invited me to join the theatre and helped me to forget my abusive ex. Last year, I joined a theatre party as a documentary crew. I like drinking. But that night, I was more dizzy than usual even though I only had two glasses. I was under general anaesthesia; I wouldn't have realized it. But because I like to drink, so yeah, maybe the drug did not work 100 percent. After that, I remember, my body was taken to a car and approached me. My clothes were slowly taken off and I heard the camera shutter. I wrote everything here (shows notebook).</p> <p>d. <i>Sur</i> : Why didn't you tell me earlier?</p> <p>e. <i>Farah</i> : They said it was a drunken dream, "Are you sure, isn't it the sound of a bottle?". You're used to going to male boarding house after drinking. I was making it up and decided to get out of the theatre.</p>
2.01.12	<p>Sur and Farah brought a photocopy machine to the rooftop to spread the evidence on the campus to get sympathy and a response from the campus.</p>

In minute 23.47, it was shown that the faculty decided that Suryani would no longer receive the scholarship due to her bad behavior as evidenced by her photos taken while under the influence of alcohol and posted to her social media account. Suryani was also kicked out of the house by her father for violating family and societal norms by drinking alcohol and returning home late at night. Sur's father was ashamed to answer his neighbors' questions. Apart from Suryani, at 1.40.54, it was shown that there were other victims of sexual violence named Farah and Thoriq. As experienced by Suryani, Thoriq as a victim of sexual violence also accepts the consequences. He had to take antidepressant drugs to relieve the trauma he felt after the sexual violence.

The victims' resistance in the movie *Penyalin Cahaya* is significantly underlined by the independent investigations conducted by Suryani, Farah, and Thoriq, despite rejections from fellow students and faculty. The victim's efforts to get justice did not stop there, at 2.01.12, it was shown that Sur and Farah take a photocopy machine to the campus rooftop to spread the evidence related to sexual violence committed by Rama. The evidence was in the form of photographs of the victim's body that Rama used as part of an art installation at the Matahari theatre. After the evidence had been copied, the victims simply distributed it around the academic community on their campus, asking other students to lend moral support to the victims. Furthermore, the victims' actions prompted students to call on the college to accept responsibility by conducting a comprehensive investigation into the incidents of sexual violence happened.

The decision of a person to conduct sexual violence is motivated by several causes. One of them is the power relations from the higher social status. To observe how power relations are produced based on social class, Michel Foucault's theory through his views on "power relations" was used in this research. According to Foucault, power occurs when there is a relationship; where there is a relation of meaning, there is power. Power cannot be separated from a regulated strategy that can occur everywhere, therefore power does not come from outside but appears as a result of interactions and relationships occurred in society, giving rise to the ruling party and the controlled party, both of which demonstrate the potential for power (Kamahi, 2017). Based on the findings, one of the factors behind someone committing violence is power relations that are represented in social status. Quoting Foucault in his writings:

“...Power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relation immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; ... and lastly, as the strategy in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulations of the law, in the various social hegemony”. (Foucault, 1990).

Foucault argues that power can actually be unstable, positive, productive and omnipresent like a network that has a strategic scope in every social relationship, for example in the relationship between parents and children, husband and wife, teachers and students, friendships, work relationships, and others. These social relationships are always unequal, such as parents who often forbid their children from going out at night, a teacher who asks his students to write exam questions, and a boss who asks his employees to write reports. Foucault also argues that power evolutionarily undergoes transformation, meaning that if in the past a king exercised social control and punished his citizens who were deemed guilty by means of violence and repression (sovereign power) through obedience to the law, while in the context of modern society, this has begun to be abandoned completely and slowly in many countries. This method is replaced by the disciplinary power mode or normalization of actions designed to be internalized by utilizing the body's productive and reproductive abilities and placing the subject as an effect and field for power.

Power Relations in Sexual Violence: Social Status, Family Culture, and Social Resistance

Several scenes in *Penyalin Cahaya* movie show that there is a power relation over social status, from the placement of victims as commodities as well as the depiction of the patriarchal culture. The depiction of the lower class found in the movie is tied to the prevailing economic situation. Furthermore, it is a sort of subordination that assigns positions between men and women. In general, women are portrayed as dependent, helpless, and emotional figures, whereas males are shown as leaders, strong, brave, and independent (Ramadhan, 2019).

Suryani comes from a family with lower economic status which is shown by the location of their little house, in a small alley on the outskirts of the city. In addition, Suryani's mother is described as a food stall's owner. Meanwhile, Sur's father is simply the family's leader, who is sole of a regulatory type and is hesitant to assist with household affairs. For tuition fees, Sur relies on scholarships from campus. Rama has a very distinct state. He comes from a family with high economic and social status as seen from his house, the facilities at home, and the educational background of his parents. Furthermore, the description of Farah and Tariq's figures must be evaluated.

The description of the victims as a second-class group is drawn from Suryani, Farah, and Tariq. Farah, a student who receives a negative social stigma for socializing with the

opposite sex, goes beyond socially permissible bounds (stays at her male friend's house/boarding house), enjoying alcohol, and returns home late night. The portrait of Farah as a victim of sexual violence is inferior to the narrative built by the social environment as reflected in the following dialogue “she deserves such harassment; she likes getting drunk and hanging out with men”. It is only logical that the audience interprets this based on Farah's everyday behaviour, as the option for such treatment is quite wide open to her. Tariq is renowned for his violent temper and emotional instability. In addition, Tariq is shown as having to deal with his trauma by taking sedatives and seeing a psychiatrist on a daily basis. The victims' inability to expose the truth owing to social class inequalities places them in the position of objects in situations of sexual violence. This powerlessness creates a very visible gap due to class differences. It is strengthened by Rama who has everything with ease to do everything he wants.



**Figure 1. Victim of sexual harassment in Penyalin Cahaya movie
(left-right: Suryani, Tariq, Farah)**

According to the data findings and interpretations, power relations in society are created by inequalities in social class, for example low-high economy class, university-college students, chairman/chief of social group members. The formation of social classes in society is an unavoidable feature of the system of social layers. This layer of the system emerges naturally in the society in the shape of intelligence, seniority of assets organized to achieve a certain goal (Maunah, 2015). The power relations in Penyalin Cahaya movie that are motivated by social class do not emerge naturally. It occurs due to social conditions. Socio-economic status entitles a person to everything since they believe have superior qualities and hence, a high social value in the society (Côté et al., 2021). In addition, privilege is frequently mentioned as a supporting factor related to this issue. As depicted in the movie, Rama's position is greatly benefited by the social status of his parents who have an important role as a permanent donor at the campus. Rama's parents are making donations to Matahari theatre, where Rama is an active member. The representation of social class related to privilege is illustrated in another study which is depicted through the movie titled Gundala. In that study,

privilege is described through different and recurring time sets which reveal the truth that a person's privilege determines the class where he or she belongs to (Bimantara & Dharmawan, 2021).

The scene in which Suryani had no freedom in expressing her opinion demonstrates the existence of a power relation. Suryani tried to explain the evidence she had collected. However, the investigators and the campus were hesitant to listen since they believed this was not the truth. Furthermore, as revealed in the dialogue sequence, Suryani did not gain the freedom of expression from her father:

Suryani : Dad, stop it! You do not need to bow down

Sur's Father : Shut up! Shut up, you were wrong before, you don't admit it, now you want to make another mistake.

Solving problems through compromise facilitates decision-making thus the victims are not harmed. It is obvious that the victims of Rama's sexual violence suffered significant harm to their self-esteem and mental health. It demonstrates that there is a restriction on the room for victims to voice the actual truth due to the decision made through a compromise. This exemplifies how a person with authority may easily subdue others by casting an impact of reality on the statements that have been spoken, as Rama did against the Suryani family. The analysis using Foucault's theory of power shows that Rama has been successful in using the strategy of genealogical effects to conceal the facts about perpetrators of sexual violence due to his authority and knowledge.

Because of patriarchal culture, women are always seen to be weaker or inferior to men. It is described by Suryani and her mother who sell food at warteg (traditional resto in Indonesia). While the father is depicted as a person who controls and is hesitant to assist his wife and daughter's domestic affairs. This shows that there is still behavior that demonstrates patriarchal culture in which women are expected to handle all home affairs. Patriarchal culture cannot be used to justify violence against women, whether in the household or elsewhere, because it essentially generates discrimination (Dwirahayu et al., 2019).

In addition to the form of power resulted from social status, life partner, and relations, the form of power relations also frequently occurs in the household. The depiction of a house, which should be a place to rest and relieve fatigue, has become a source of power in controlling the other party. It can be found in the conversation between Suryani and her father:

Sur's Father : Why are you (returning home) late?

Sur : The theatre performance had just finished

Sur's Father : Reduce it, isn't that off-campus activities? The warteg is busy again (while playing with his cell phone and putting a headset in his ear).

Suryani is shown as a student who does not have the same freedom as the other students. She was frequently mocked when she begged for permission to leave work sooner than her friends. As the only daughter of a lower economy class family, Suryani has the obligation to help her parents look after the rice stall where her mother sells, which sometimes makes it difficult for her to divide her time between her roles as a child, college student, and organizational member in campus. The individual burden felt by Suryani is perfectly portrayed in the *Penyalin Cahaya* movie – with the aim of showing that as girls from a certain cultural background, they are accustomed to having more responsibilities than boys. Another conversation between Suryani and her father shows that Suryani as a woman does not have the freedom to express herself through her appearance (clothing). As Foucault said, 'power' is not always negative, shown by how a father forbids his daughter from dressing (fairly) openly in order to avoid crime or harassment. A father's statement prohibiting daughters can be seen as an act of protecting the family – which is certainly not a bad or coercive act. However, for (some) feminist groups, Suryani's father's statements prohibiting his children from wearing revealing clothes, coming home late at night, and being active on campus are part of limiting or restricting women's movement space.

Sur's Father : Do you want to go to a party or to find a job?

Suryani : Of course to find a job.

Sur's Father : If you want to find a job, don't wear see-through clothing like that!

Suryani : But everyone is wearing this kind of clothes.

Sur's Father : You can wear double clothes, hey, promise me not to drink.



Figure 2. The scene where Suryani was reprimanded by her father for wearing 'revealing' clothes (in frame: green kebaya)

At 09.50, Suryani's father is very protective regarding the clothes that Sur is wearing. He asks her to wear a more polite dress to the party held at Rama's house to celebrate the theatre achievement. This is fairly prevalent in a religious context, but if we investigate it

further using feminist theory, it is worth noting that men frequently intervene and control women (like how to dress) or sometimes they tell about what kind of “space” that woman may express their feeling. According to Foucault’s theory of power, there is a relationship between the concept of the body as an object of power, and the description of Suryani’s father shows how the power relation over one’s body is formed in a consciousness way of acting, indicating the treatment of a man’s power towards his wife and children. This shows how patriarchal culture reinforces the perception of the assertion that males have authority over women.

Power Relations: How does it works in Penyalin Cahaya Movie?

Following the discussion regarding the representation of power relations through Foucault’s theory of power, the next analysis deals with the resistance of the victims in Penyalin Cahaya movie. Everyone may obtain power even if they have no visible superstructure; this may be manifested in two ways: restrictive and productive. Restrictive power is gained by restrictions used to shake an existing power, whereas productive power is obtained through self-defence in various ways. This increases the power within the individual, allowing it to contain a resistance movement. This is the case for victims of sexual violence in their efforts to gain justice and recognition from numerous parties, ranging from close family to other communities.

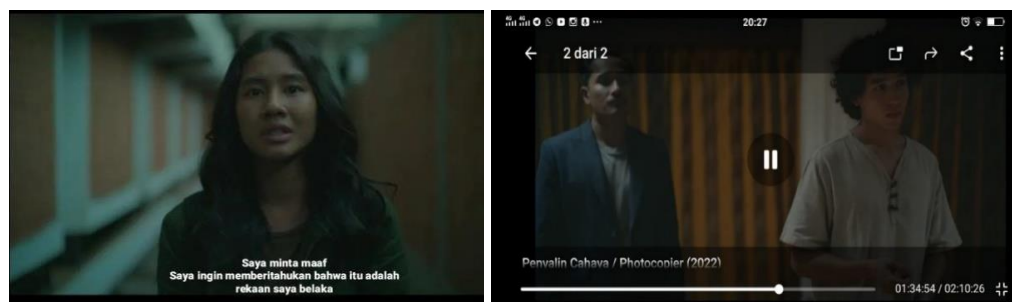


Figure 3. (a) Scene of Sur being forced to make a public apology; (b) Scene of Rama lying in front of the University ethics committee.

In more detail, power relation theory looks at how the practice of power operates through the depiction of the perpetrator of sexual violence (Rama), who received complete protection from the educational institution where he studied and blamed Sur (Suryani – the victim of violence), forcing her to make an apology video to the public for having defamed Rama and his family. It should be noted that this different treatment is based on the fact that Rama's family is the biggest donor to their campus. Hence, the campus chose the 'safe' step of saving Rama, thus his family would not withdraw the financial support provided to the campus.

Apart from that, there was a scene when Tariq, as a victim of sexual violence, had to refrain from telling his friends about what happened to him thus he would still be accepted by the social environment (theatre club on campus X). Tariq was forced to take several types of medication to calm himself down after Rama abused him. Unfortunately, he was accused of using drugs and harassing Suryani during the welcome party at Rama's house. This scene shows how the practice of sexual violence is difficult to be prosecuted since the victim chooses to remain silent to avoid any social sanctions or embarrassment if other people find out about his or her condition, especially the female victims. The society tends to bully female victims as they are considered to dress openly, often come home late at night, and have many friends of the opposite sex (men).

Cultural Resistance

The influence of power relations observed in *Penyalin Cahaya* movie shows that there is a resistance in this regard. The impact demonstrated in the movie is positive, showing that women can also establish their existence through their expertise and knowledge. The director expects the movie to make the audience more sensitive to the issue by making it as a medium of resistance to get justice. Suryani, Farah, and Thoriq play as three victims of sexual violence in this movie, depicting resistance to domestication and power relations. The resistance is described when Suryani and Farah took a copying machine to the rooftop to spread proof of Rama's long-term sexual violence. The evidence is collected and spread from the lecture building's rooftop to draw the attention of the campus and ensure that the victims receive justice. The three figures have courage and intelligence. Suryani, who has intelligence, employs herself to completely examine the perpetrators who have led her to face numerous conflicts. Meanwhile, Farah and Thoriq have the skills to devise a plan for an investigation of the NetCar driver. The three have demonstrated that victims of sexual violence can and should do everything in their power to fight against injustice and to prove their existence, thus they do not feel discriminated in obtaining the justice and the recognition that victims of sexual violence deserve.

The explanation above indicates resistance to cultural stigma, which normally describes that woman are weak and lack of knowledge. However, in the movie, this stigma is broken by Suryani and Farah's efforts. Furthermore, the community's opinion of sexual violence victims is always regarded to be biased toward women. The figure of Tariq appears to carry a clear message in this movie. Hence, it is not only women who have been the victims of sexual violence, but also men. This is in line with the statement of Bestha and Naomi that there were

33% cases of sexual harassment in 2020 and the survey in 2018 found that sexual violence was found to be more common in men than women. Boys account for 60% of cases, while females account for 40% of cases. The data shows that sexual violence is often regarded as a minor crime. Toxic masculinity is a cause behind this notion, which asserts that victims are deemed illogical and constantly think that males always seek sexual relations, hence the chance of rape is small (Ashila & Barus, 2021).

According to the foregoing explanation, a person with power can easily take down others who hold no power. In this situation, someone with power over economic status will easily establish authority and a false truth impact. In *Penyalin Cahaya*, the actor is placed as an oppressed object who finds it difficult to seek justice and receive no support from the surrounding environment to uncover the truth, leading the reader to be curious since the storyline is written with many surprises. The reality that victims of sexual abuse are not only women but also men is well wrapped through cinematic presentations by including power relations into them. This demonstrates that the truth of Foucault's ideas about power is a type of relationship that can be disseminated everywhere, as expressed by the figure of Rama through his power over 'wealth', which makes it easier for him to use his power to trick the people around him to cover his immoral act. This clarifies Foucault's thought that power is a form of relationship that can occur everywhere.

Conclusion

The movie *Penyalin Cahaya* shows how power and gender relations greatly influence the occurrence of sexual violence cases. Based on Sara Mills' critical discourse analysis framework and Michel Foucault's power relations theory, the argument that the perpetrators of abuse hold more power space than the victims is proven. The practice of power relations and knowledge is shown by the characteristics of (1) the perpetrator that coming from a high economic group, (2) being a donor to a university, which indeed, has different access to protection from the victim, (3) the perpetrator is portrayed as an individual who has more intelligence than his peers in campus, and (4) the compromising communication behavior carried out by the perpetrator to the victim or other parties, which makes the victim seen as a perpetrator of spreading fake news instead of getting protection for her identity.

The next point (2) is that the gender relations owned by Rama, the perpetrator of sexual violence, are shown by his closeness to one of the male characters, Tariq. Rama deliberately approaches Tariq, who was also a victim of sexual violence before Suryani. In the movie *Penyalin Cahaya*, Tariq is portrayed as someone who often takes medication, which turns out

to be a doctor's prescription due to the psychological impact after he became a victim of Rama's abuse. In the scene at the beginning of the movie, Tariq was portrayed as an emotional figure, shown when he was caught taking drugs and alcohol drinker. Rama took advantage of Tariq's unstable psychological condition and created the discourse that the perpetrator of sexual harassment was Tariq.

Rama's possession of economic and social capital as the criminal provided him access to frame information that eventually entrapped the victims. Even though Suryani encouraged Tariq to demonstrate, he declined out of fear of upsetting Rama, whom he knew wielded authority on campus. Farah, presented as a strong, spiteful, and tattooed woman, waited a similar amount of time to admit that she had been a victim of Rama's sexual harassment. The director of the movie *Penyalin Cahaya* aims to demonstrate that victims of sexual harassment are not just women, but also men. Furthermore, this movie demonstrates that women, who have been portrayed as a downtrodden group, may resist and expose the perpetrators of sexual abuse, even if they lose their scholarships and face negative stigma in the community.

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